Czechs in the USA and Canada During Communism (1945 – 1989)

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ABSTRAKT
Bakalářská práce se zaměřuje na Čechy, kteří emigrovali do USA a Kanady a to v době komunismu. Na začátku práce se zabývám příčinami a důvody, které vedly Čechy k odchodu z vlasti. Poté se soustředím na tři důležité emigrační vlny během komunismu. Avšak hlavním cílem je odhalit rozdíly mezi životem v USA a v Kanadě.

Klíčová slova: Češi v USA, Češi v Kanadě, komunismus, emigrace, příčiny odchodu z vlasti

ABSTRACT
The bachelor thesis focuses on Czechs who emigrated during communism in the USA and Canada. At the beginning of the work I deal with causes and reasons that led the Czech people to leave their homeland. Then I concentrate on three important emigration waves during communism. However, the main aim of this thesis is to reveal the differences between life in the USA and Canada.

Keywords: Czechs in the USA, Czechs in Canada, communism, emigration, causes of leaving homeland
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Especially, I would like to give my thanks to my parents for their patience and support.
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own and certify that any secondary material used has been acknowledged in the text and listed in the bibliography.

May 13, 2009
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INTRODUCTION

The subject of my thesis is: Czechs in the USA and Canada During Communism. I chose this topic since migration impressed me. I wanted to concentrate on the Czech Republic and two countries beyond the sea, which are English speaking. The Czech Republic wrestled with emigration during the communist regime and many people left the country and started their new lives abroad.

I divided the work into three parts. In the first part I am describing time after WWII until the fall of communism in the Czech Republic. I am also researching the causes and reasons of leaving their homeland and I concentrate on the big inflow of the immigrants that appeared during communism in the CR. I have expected from this part that the biggest waves will be after the years in 1948 and 1968.

The second part of my thesis is dealing with the immigration policy in Canada and in the United States. I am looking for differences and similarities in the immigration law in the 20th century and show criteria for both states. I have expected from this part that Czech people were easier accepted to the US than to Canada.

Last part focuses on the new countries of immigrants. Czech immigrants, as others, had to faced some problems when they arrived to these countries. I depict psychosocial problems, language barrier, also how the immigrants find their first job and how they continued in their career or whether they preserve Czech holidays and traditions and joined them with children or not. I have expected that Czech immigrants lived easier and better in the US than in Canada. I also want to show the cultural life of immigrants in the US and Canada and to compare it. I mainly concentrate on compatriot organizations and cultural places. The aim of this part is also to find places where Czech people mostly settled in each country and the reasons. I try to match the facts with stories of immigrants in these chapters. At the end of this part I chose famous Czech people from each country who left the Czech Republic during communism and they somehow contributed to the development of good name of the Czech Republic abroad.
1 COMMUNISM

The European countries were desolated after World War II. They needed help from world powers that were either the USA or the Soviet Union. There was confrontation between them from 1945 to 1991\(^1\). This period is called the Cold War. There was a threat of nuclear war that could destroy life in world. During the Cold War, Europe was divided into two parts. The west on the one side that represented democratic states and on the other side the east that represented the communist Soviet Union and other states, those were under the Soviet Union control. People who were dissatisfied with the communist regime fled to the opposite site.

Thus the border areas were changing in process of time. The State border turned to the iron border where the Red Army guarded it thoroughly. Since the people had constantly escaped over the frontier. The iron curtain was built later on the German territory. The Berlin Wall, the most considerable symbol of the Cold War, was built on 13\(^{th}\) August 1961\(^2\) and it became a borderline between the west and the east. Later, the crossing over the border was more and more difficult and people had to undergo a high risk, which was connected with escape to the democratic states.

1.1 Communist Progress in the Czech State

During the forty-four years of communist dominance, there are things that cannot be ignored. One of them is a communist start and victory in election of 1948, followed by the cruel terror of the fifties when the communists set up processes with unfit people. The next significant step is the Prague Spring in 1968 that finished with an invasion of the army of Warsaw Pact and subsequently normalization. Finally, there was a fall of the communist regime, in which people hoped, in the autumn of 1989.

The Communist Party was established in 1921, but during World War II, it was forbidden. Later, at the end of World War II, it was re-established and in the election of 1946, Communists received 40\% of the votes and became party in power, with the Prime Minister Klement Gottwald. It started the first wave of nationalizing. The power of

\(^1\) PhDr. Stanislav Biman et al., Kronika 20. století (Praha: Fortuna Print, 1995), 655 and 1355.

\(^2\) PhDr. Stanislav Biman et al., Kronika 20. století (Praha: Fortuna Print, 1995), 896.
authority of the Soviet Union enabled the Communist Party to put pressure on the people. It culminated in the February Coup and the communists took over control. They continued with nationalizing industry, abolished private sector and started with collectivization.

The Czech state passed through the tough stage of the fifties. It was time of processes. Many people were prosecuted. Those who caught to run were adjudged in absent. Those who stayed got mostly capital punishment or life imprisonment. The most widely known process is one with Milada Horáková, who was a politician, executed by communists for treason and conspiracy\textsuperscript{3}. This process was the deterrent example for the potential antagonists of regime. Thus people left from political reason. However, in this period it was very difficult and migration was slowdown. The gates were closed to those who sought entry into the west world and people had to wait for a right moment when the regime liberalized.

The Prague Spring was a right time even though did not last too long, just almost eight months. It was a period of political liberalization and it raised the wave of emigration. However, after the liberalization came again the time of frightfulness and hopelessness. 21\textsuperscript{st} August 1968 the Army forces of the Soviet Union had crossed the border of the Czech state. This happened without the knowledge of the president of republic, chairman of the National Assembly, prime minister, first secretary of the party as well as the organizations they represented\textsuperscript{4}. The people hoped that this must not be the end of the Czech state. They trusted the Russian people and took them as their brothers. They could not believe that their brothers betrayed them. Many people went out into the streets with slogan banners and notices against occupation. The Russian soldiers looked for provocation without causation to justify their deeds, at least to themselves. Many Czech people got together at the sculpture of Saint Wenceslas, the patron of Bohemia, who was murdered by his own brother to show the similarities. This occupation shocked many people who decided to leave their homeland after that.

Then followed normalization that came after Alexander Dubček’s suspension from office of highest representative of the Communist Party in 1969.\textsuperscript{5} It should have stabilized

\textsuperscript{3} PhDr. Stanislav Biman et al., \textit{Kronika 20. století} (Praha: Fortuna Print, 1995), 738.


\textsuperscript{5} PhDr. Stanislav Biman et al., \textit{Kronika 20. století} (Praha: Fortuna Print, 1995), 1004.
the situation after August 1968. It was time of the purges, the abolitions of interest and political organizations, the censorship implementation and other repressive measures.\textsuperscript{6} People had just a slight opportunity to leave the homeland. The regime worked with threats, constraints, and intimidated the people who think unlike the regime allowed. Normalization is characterized by the labor demoralization or more precisely the demoralization at all. The opponents of the regime established Charta 77 and they resorted to human rights. Among the leaders were Václav Havel, Jan Patočka, Pavel Kohout\textsuperscript{7} and others. The Communist Party unleashed the public campaign against them and arrested some of them. This document included resistance against communism that disappeared for a while after the occupation in 1968. The Charta 77 raised next and last wave of immigration in the eighties.

The fall of communism was coming. The Nazis closed the Czech universities on 17\textsuperscript{th} November 1939 in response to the students’ demonstration against the occupation. Since that time, 17\textsuperscript{th} November is allowed to be International Students’ Day. The students’ manifestation was convened on 17\textsuperscript{th} November 1989 in order to celebrate International Students’ Day and to dignify the memory of Jan Opletal. Although the students’ manifestation proceeded peacefully, the police stopped it and assaulted the students cruelly. Nevertheless, the crackdown aroused great protest in the Czech state. It led to the Velvet Revolution that wanted government change and it was the beginning of the end of the Communist Party. People met their family and relatives who did not see for ages and they could travel and visit them easily.

“Our question, the Czech question, is either the world question or it is not question at all,” said Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk.\textsuperscript{8} It means that even big states should interest in the small countries and their democracy or at least to help people who lost their home. The time of communism was an ordeal for citizens and state too. The people lived with the fear about their lives and the lives of relatives. Communists took severe measures that were against human rights and violated democratic principles. It is no wonder that the people looked for a proper life and new possibilities in foreign countries.

\textsuperscript{6} PhDr. Stanislav Biman et al., \textit{Kronika 20. století} (Praha: Fortuna Print, 1995), 1005 and 1011.
\textsuperscript{7} PhDr. Stanislav Biman et al., \textit{Kronika 20. století} (Praha: Fortuna Print, 1995), 1126.
1.2 Waves of Migration from 1945 to 1989

Within the communist era most of the people went away in three main waves. Firstly, it was the post-war emigration, which was mostly concentrated after 1948 until 1950. The second wave took place soon after the invasion of the army of Warsaw Pact until early seventies and the last emigration wave was in the eighties when the people traveled easier. Among the waves was the decrease of emigrants. It was the cause of communist victory in the election of 1948 and assumption of all power. In the fifties the borders were booby-trapped and had barbed wires. It was too risky. Firstly, it was almost impossible to escape and secondly, if they were caught, they would go to prison. In the period of normalization the escapes to abroad were also complicated.

Until February 1948, the illegal crossing was taken just as an offense but then it was taken as a crime. Nevertheless, many people still managed to run two years after the election. The number of emigrants form the Czech and Slovak states is not known, it is estimated about 260,000 but other sources estimate no more than 60,000. This wave, sometimes called ‘patriotic’, consisted of different groups and people with a variety of specialization or interests. It was a time of brain drain. Most of the reasons were political and economical, but some people left the country because of their job. They could not assert themselves in the Czech state.

The people who were previously persecuted by the communist regime formed the second wave as well as the specialists (e.g. doctors, architects, artists, students, technicians etc.), and the reformists from the Communist Party, who made the highest percentage. The people who were previously persecuted were worried about worse time that could come and could mainly strike them. People who had good education and experience were seeking for better opportunities outside the communist states. They knew that they could develop their career in the democratic states easier. Most people who were on holiday in

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9 Pavel Tigrid, Politická emigrace v atomovém věku (Praha: Prostor, 1990), 43.
12 Zdeněk R. Nešpor, Reemigranti a sociálně sdílené hodnoty: Prolegomena k sociologickému studiu českých emigračních procesů 20. století se zvláštním zvětem k západní reemigraci 90. let. (Praha: Sociologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2002), 51
August 1968 had never returned to their home and stayed in the capitalistic countries. Likewise in the first emigration wave, it is difficult to say how many people left or prolonged their holiday till the end of communism. Some authors guess about 100.000\textsuperscript{13} (Czech and Slovak), other about 80.000\textsuperscript{14} (Czech and Slovak).

Last big wave of emigration was in the eighties and was caused mainly by economic and social reasons. People were dissatisfied with standard of living and faced towards the west with the vision of better life and better job. The possibility to travel more easily helped the people to escape. They usually left the package tour in a capitalistic country or ran over Yugoslavia to the democratic states. Sometimes they call it ‘petrol emigration’\textsuperscript{15}. About 75.000\textsuperscript{16} Czech and Slovak went away.

It is clear that too many people quit the country in a short time. However, there are different reasons of emigration as well as groups between the waves. Emigration stress proof of their life. The emigrants have had to face the losses and be prepared to change their attitude and values in a new country with a different natural environment and culture. It needed big courage and efforts to do that.

### 1.3 Escape from the Communist Land

It is quite right to highlight the particular groups of people who had to escape from the communist tyranny. Communists did not like the people who rose against their regime and therefore chased them and arrested them. On their list were people who had a lot of money which was accompanied by power, also intellectuals, religious representatives and commoners who resisted. All of them had thing in common to escape and become free in their speech, thoughts, and acts.

Communists detested the wealthy people for many reasons. Throughout history occurs the aversion to people who own something. They were worried about them and were aware

\textsuperscript{13} Pavel Tigrid, \textit{Politická emigrace v atomovém věku} (Praha: Prostor, 1990), 92
\textsuperscript{14} Zdeněk R. Nešpor, \textit{Reemigranti a sociálně sdílené hodnoty: Prolegomena k sociologickému studiu českých emigračních procesů 20. století se zvláštním zvětšením k západní reemigrací 90. let.} (Praha: Sociologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2002), 50
\textsuperscript{16} Zdeněk R. Nešpor, Reemigranti a sociálně sdílené hodnoty: Prolegomena k sociologickému studiu českých emigračních procesů 20. století se zvláštním zvětšením k západní reemigrací 90. let. (Praha: Sociologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2002), 50
of their power, which be used to mobilize the people against them. Also a communist idea is based on statement: ‘everybody is equivalent to everyone.’ That means nobody should have more than others. Communists nationalized many factories, companies and the owners had to run away from the republic because if they stayed, communists would imprison them. They had two opportunities to choose from. They could have stayed, become poor, and have no chance of changing their lives and in some cases they could be killed. Or they could immigrate, leave their possessions to communists and start a new life abroad with a better life. In some cases it happened that communists killed the factory’s owner, then they wrote a letter that he committed suicide and at the end they nationalized all his possessions.

Into the second group belong to intellectuals, students who resisted, and political elite headed by Jan Garrigue Masaryk and Eduard Beneš. These people were most dangerous for them, mainly concerned with democracy and free speech. On the other hand, foreign heads of executive departments took interest about political elite and they protected them because they were valuable source of information for the west.

Further groups were forbidden. During the communist era the churches were banned. Communists punished any sign of religion. They prosecuted the bishops, priests and other people who had a liking for church. Communists made up the stories just because to had a reason for conflict and consequently could arrest them and judge them. Communists were frightened of them because many people listened to them and they could hatch a plot.

The last group was the most numerous. A lot of them did not share any communist’s meetings. Thus they and their family members could not attend universities. They had less money than communist’s followings and had other disadvantages.

These people wanted to live as human beings, they decided to leave their homeland, and they usually had to leave their friends and relatives without saying goodbye and without any possession. After they passed hurdles during the run from the communist land, they started from the scratch in their new country. However, they had rights, liberty of thought and feeling, and were free.
2 QUOTAS FOR ENTRANCE INTO THE USA AND CANADA

If the immigrants want to entrance any state, they have to meet some criteria, which have each state different. In this chapter are described criteria and immigration policy during the 20th century in the US and Canada. There are showed the changes during the time and how each state faced up to the large number of immigrants.

2.1 Canada

Throughout the 20th century, there have been many additions to Canada's immigration policy, which range from accepting any person of any nationality to limiting immigrants to only those that have a prearranged working arrangement with a domestic employer. "Since 1951, Canada has offered protection to people who are persecuted and who are afraid of returning to their home country." It was mainly related to the people from the communist states. Canadian government was aware of bad situation in these states and offered help to people who were worried about the returning to their country. Canadian government also wanted in order that the immigrants find better life just in Canada. Since they knew that these people could refresh the population, bring know how and improve economical situation in the future. Nevertheless, Canadian government claimed at least one year hard work in a farm or a wood.

The aim of the Canadian immigration policy was to promote population growth, however, only European immigrants were favored and Asian immigrants had some restriction. In 1962, the government of Canada removed the discriminatory aspects of its immigration policy and there were new criteria based on education or other skills rather than on a candidate’s nationality. This step did not influence communist states too much, but caused an increase of immigrants who came to Canada.

The next major step to limit discrimination was a Selection or Points System. Canada introduced this law in 1967. It gave preference to immigrants who knew English or French, were not too old/too young to take regular jobs, had arranged employment in Canada, had a relative or family member in Canada, had proper education and training, and

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were immigrating to a region of high employment.\footnote{19} These criteria fit rather younger and skilled people. Also people with higher education and experienced were requested. However, the old people had some problems to meet these criteria. On the other hand, there was a bigger chance to get there, because Canada had no quotas or restrictions placed on the number of people who could immigrate.

A new Immigration Act came into law in April 1978. Nevertheless, it is called Immigration Act of 1976, due to the year it was drafted. This act gave more power to the provinces to set their own immigration laws and established four new classes of immigrants who could come to Canada. These classes are divided in refugees, families, assisted relatives and independent immigrants. While independent immigrants had to take part in the Points System, other classes did not have to take part in this test.\footnote{20} If the people had their partners or someone from relatives in Canada, it was no problem to get there. If they had not anyone there, they had to rely on their skills, physical conditions and experience.

\section*{2.2 The United States}

In the history, the US accepted whoever arrived and people usually migrated to North America for the vision of freedom, safety and opportunity. It changed in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century and American immigration laws have regulated and prioritized some immigrants. The aim of the American government was to reduce the flow of ethnic populations and thus a law about the national origin appeared in 1924. Since 1890 there came a large number of immigrants from South and Eastern Europe. Thus this law discriminated these immigrants and immigration from the Far East forbade at all. On the other hand, it promoted ones from North-Western Europe. The laws became stricter after the Wall Street Crash in 1929. It was a time of depression and many of the US citizens lost their jobs. That was the reason why new immigrants could not find any job and rely on the support of the US. But the poor economic condition was not able to support new immigrants and slowed the wave of immigration.

\begin{footnotesize}
\end{footnotesize}
Beginning in late 1945, millions of people had been displaced from their homelands and many of them were worried about return and the political or religious persecution. Although the US had political reasons for assisting these people, it was not easy to grant them admission as immigrants because many of them did not have permission from their governments or they did not meet the criteria for the immigration law at that time. Thus the US Congress had passed the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.\(^{21}\) It was the first expression of the US policy for admitting the people who fled from political or religious persecution. Then the US Congress had also passed International Security Act. This act amended immigration laws and prohibited admission anyone who had ever been a member of a totalitarian party. It also restricted the civil rights of communists in the US because the US was in fight against the communist Soviet Union in the Cold War and they did not want to spread members of their rival in their country.

US immigration law changed in 1965 with the adoption of the Immigration Act that abolished the quota system of the national origin and replaced it with the Preference System. This system was based on numeric restriction. The visas of immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere, which includes the European, Asian, African and Australian continents, were limited to 170,000 and a limit for immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, which includes American continent, was 120,000. Petr Bísek, who immigrated in 1965, mentioned that the limit for Czech and Slovak was 1500 and everybody had to have a sponsor who gave security for them and helped them at the beginning. The limits of both systems were put together in 1978 and a global upper limit of immigrants was 290,000.\(^{22}\)

US Congress had passed few refugee acts, but the most significant is The Refugee Act that became law in 1980. It eliminated the refugees as a category of preference system and established for them a comprehensive humanitarian program. The act also limited the number of immigrants to 270,000 from 290,000.\(^{23}\)

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It is clear that the United States had more restrictive quota for entrance to their country in comparison to Canada. Canada had no quotas or restrictions placed on the number of people who could immigrate to its country. On the other hand, the people, who immigrated to Canada during 1950s, had to work at least one year on farms or in the woods as woodcutters. The government did not care if they were students, doctors or lawyers, everybody had to meet this requirement. For example, Vlasta Menšíková along with her husband decided to immigrate in 1948 to Canada. Her husband was chosen first and had to work as a woodcutter. Mrs. Menšíková could follow him after three months. Before this, they had to get the check-up whether they were strong enough to work there or not. Mostly serious eye defects or strong spectacles could deprive them of the possibility to immigrate into Canada.24

Since 1960s, Canadian and US immigration policies differentiated in some ways. While Canadian immigration policy became more skill-selective, US policy put the accent on family reunification. The United States, which was a rival of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, was also heavily involved in refugee resettlement from countries in the opposing camp. Likewise US, Canada played a significant role in refugee resettlement but the course of Canadian immigration policy remained economic. In addition, the difference between these two states is in the view of immigration culture. Whilst Canada has been officially multicultural since 197125, the United States remained rather integrated that means the minority or immigrants usually adapted to majority of society.

Other contrasts can be seen in the organization of state bureaucracy dealing with immigration. The large wave of immigrants that arrived in the United States after 1965 obtained little public assistance. However, Canadian governments helped immigrants by force of programs and also established a different policy that give the support to multiculturalism and citizenship.26

3 NEW HOME

Migration is big interference with people’s lives. Emigrants are exposed to stress in a new country and the more it is enforced the worse it is. Usually it was enforced and the reason was communism. There are other reasons like language barrier, no contact on someone in a new land who can help them, they are not prepared and without material and financial resources. All these things and others influence the adapting. Emigrants also keep in mind their horrifying memories from homeland and escaping. People often had to leave their family in home and when they are secured, they suffer from doubts if their family is all right because they had no contact with them. Even worse, the communists opened the letters. They censored them and sent them to right recipient or were not sent at all. Emigrants frequently ask questions, “Where will we go? Are we able to take care of others and ourselves? Do they accept us? …” These questions show difficulties of emigrants. They were worried whether they succeed and survive or not. There are some stages that appear after arrival, for examples enthusiasm, frustration, adaptation and returning or stay.

Enthusiasm came up immediately after arrival in a new country and showed up a feeling of happiness. People were glad to escape from tyrants and were exited from everything that was new. They were also busy to find a job, school for children or to settle in appropriate place and perceived just slight signs of isolation from home.

But then came frustration. People were exhausted physically from continual new experience and became sensitive to negative things in comparison to Czech culture. They started to criticise and deplore. It was worse due to the fact that the return to home was not possible because of danger that threatened them.

Reversal appeared in the third stage. People started adapting in new things deeply. They got to know more about new culture, their values, customs and traditions. They also, and what is most important, started communicating with local people more widely. They acknowledged both positive and negative characteristics.

The last stage, if it were to ever come, was return. Some people went back after 1989 to the Czech Republic. Even though people came to the well-known surroundings, they had

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prolonged problems to adapting. It lasts few days but sometimes an entire lifetime and they never act as before.\textsuperscript{28}

How much these stages influence emigrants depend on several factors such as length of stay, type of person, their psychical conditions, similarity of new and origin culture, previous experience in a foreign country (e.g. some people had access to business trips abroad, or to holiday, but they were exception during communism) and if an emigrant came to the foreign country alone or with someone who was very close to them. It also depend if they had a contact on someone in a new country, who can encourage them and speak with them, it could simplify adaptation and decrease negative aspects of it.

Sonia Choquette, born in the United States and lived five years in France, likens immigrants to a tree whose roots have been cut off. She also said that the human spirit, fortunately, is regenerative and immigrants can build new roots.

### 3.1 Czechs and First Experience with A New Land

Many people remembered the first minutes in a new country very well. They described it with emotions and enthusiasm, and also gave a lot of details about it, which you can see below. At the beginning of that day D, they had mixed feelings (fears, sorrow, happiness, thrilled, etc.) On the one hand, they did not know, at the time, if they would ever get to see their place of birth again, on the other hand, they were excited from big cities and new things that impress them completely.

For example, Jiří Fisher, who immigrated in August 1980 to the USA, remembered this day and his landing in New York City, J.F.K. airport in details. He depicted this day as very hot and humid. He also remembered that he bought a beautiful leather jacket in Germany that cost a lot of money and when they landed, he got immediately totally wet and the beautiful leather jacket was basically gone. When Americans took them to Manhattan, cars impressed him. He remembered the cars just from the American movie, when they were watching in home. The huge cars like ten meters long Rolls Royce and Chevrolets were on the roads of Manhattan. It took them 10 minutes to got around the cars.

Nevertheless, the beginning for him was very hard. It was a cultural shock and chaos as he mentioned. According to him, nothing worked from his experience. Everything was different. The locking was from left to right, but in the Czech Republic it is vice versa. Moreover, in the Czech Republic we closed and opened the windows inwards and outwards, but in the US it is up and down. He started from the scratch.\textsuperscript{29} It is amazing that he remembered that day with little things. As we can see he had mixed feelings. On the one hand, he described his enthusiasm from a new country. On the other hand, he showed the difficulties and despair, which he had to cope with at the beginning.

Another emigrant, Mrs. Marta, who immigrated in 1987, had the feeling of liberation when she landed in the US. She felt free. It happened quite a few years ago but her memory is still very vivid.\textsuperscript{30}

Marta Topferová, who immigrated in 1987 to the US, also described her first impression similarly. As she said, it was a culture shock pretty much for a long time for her. The size of things shocked her mostly. Everything seemed to her so big, such as garages with three cars, big mall and supermarkets, the size of airport, and just things that happened to her like green-lawn and removed control for everything.\textsuperscript{31} People were surprised from new modern or big things that were not in the communist states at that time. These things made them busy and helped them to forget about bad things that happened to them for a while.

3.1.1 Language

People had to face many problems, but the biggest one was the level of language. If there is a language barrier, it could considerably make difficult situation. Level of language influences selection of jobs, friends, and it helps with assimilating to a new culture, society and life generally. Oral and written formulation also as correct pronunciation without foreign accent is one of the objective criteria for adaptation. It is a long process, which


\textsuperscript{30} According to emigrant who filled my questionnaire.

requires big efforts and strong motivation. Local people are proud of their language and are interested how quickly and well immigrants take the language. Being understood is the basic condition to create new social relationships, which are necessary in a job and in a private life. The government in Canada knew it very well, and since 1968 offered language classes free of charge.

Mrs. Marta knew it also very well and started to learn English from books in the Czech Republic. However, the books were quite old and not very good. Thus it was hard for her to get used to it. She did not feel self-confident when she spoke. It took her about two years to become proficient with the new language and this is how she did it. One of the crucial things was that she was surrounded by people who spoke just English. Furthermore, she started to read in English with a dictionary over night. Sometimes she got a bit of a headache but she kept reading. Two years later her English was pretty good. The last thing, which she improved, was to be able to express or read emotion in a new language. She also mentioned that just fluent English speakers could succeed in the prestige jobs.\textsuperscript{32} On the other hand, Jiří Fisher got a job as an actor because of his accent. They were looking for someone with natural accent from other world.\textsuperscript{33} It is vital to start learning the language very hard at the beginning and adapt quickly. These things assist immigrants to overcome obstacles such as finding job and get familiarized with local culture.

The ability to speak two languages has potential benefits, however, if no one in the home spoke English well, the family had difficulties with finding higher wage employment, talking with children's teachers, and accessing health and other social services.

\subsection*{3.1.2 New job, career and money}

When the people arrived in new surroundings, immediately were looking for a job. The beginning was hard, the people wrestled with many problems such as lack of money, lack of orientation, and as was mentioned above, language barrier. Some of them started from the scratch, some of them were lucky. For example, if they were lawyers, they had to

\textsuperscript{32} According to emigrant who filled my questionnaire.
choose other possible job or to learn new legal system. They must have been willing to work very hard and take risks.

Most of the emigrants, who went from 1948 to 1951 to Canada, were well-educated people. Among them were doctors, lawyers, politicians, scientists, businessmen and work people. They were obliged to do a job that did not fit them or had to accept the underemployment. The denizens were nice and kind and tried to find some jobs for newcomers, sometimes with the aid of government. The situation of Czech immigrants who came after 1968 changed a bit. These people came to Canada with experience and with higher professional ambition. The knowledge of English or French language facilitated the access into the big cities. The assistance from the government was considerably better in 1968 than in 1948 because the government was better prepared. At the same time, the US had the same experience, but the citizens were not so friendly like in Canada and also government was not generous as in the first case.

Some stories describe this topic widely. For example, Josef Čermák, who emigrated in 1948, changed a lot of jobs until he worked his way up and became a lawyer in Canada. In the first instance, he earned his living in a farming and a health service, where he helped ill people and cleaned the corridors. Later, for four years, he was a general worker in Toronto Public Library and then he studied on Faculty of Arts, later on continued in his lawyer studies on University College (both University of Toronto). During the studies he earned the money by cleaning and doing everything in trains. When he finished the university, he worked as a lawyer for Smith Company, Lyons Torrance Stevenson & Mayer. He became a partner and stayed there. It is good example of Czechs who work hard and climb up slowly but safely.

Another Czech emigrant, who came in 1968 to Canada, had received a finance support from the government until he found his first job. He was afraid to take a lot of foreign currency in the Czech Republic because it could be seen as suspicious. He started in hard conditions, but he said that the first job is very important. The work, which got from Czech denizen, took place outside of Canada during the winter, where temperature usually shows 40 degrees below zero. He worked with many nationalities, but according to him, the best

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fellowship workers were Canadians. Then he got a chance to work in his field, which was chemistry. He worked in laboratory and step by step he climbed up and up.

Another example is about Paul Jelen who was fortunate. He did not return from his studies and stayed in 1969 in the US. He had no problem with money, because as a student he received an income. It was not much, but it was enough to live. When he finished the University of Minnesota, he moved in 1973 to Canada. All his life he has stayed on academic land and did not stop to educate himself.

Miloš Forman was also lucky. He moved after the invasion of 1968 to United States and taught at University of Columbia’s School of Arts. He wished to continue with films and it became real. In spite of initial difficulties, he started to direct in his new country. Later he became very popular with his films such as One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest, Amadeus and The People vs. Larry Flynt. He received many awards and brought fame to Czech nation.

Last story is about Jiří Fisher who immigrated with his wife in 1980 to the US. He started as a bodyguard and continued as a technician in NY Telephone Company, after that he was a skyscraper window cleaner and then taxi driver. Afterwards, he succeeded in television due to his wife who worked as a waitress in famous restaurant on Time Square. The actors sit for a coffee and chat there before the rehearsal. It was a big chance to meet plenty of famous people and to gain a lot of significant contacts. He also played at theater and has finished his career in radio Voice of America (Hlas Ameriky).

To sum up, the immigrants coming to Canada had to work in hard conditions at least one year. The work in a farm or in a wood was compulsory while the immigrants in the US chose their first job. Although the people took any first job, it was their choice.

3.1.3 Children of immigrants

When immigrants with their families arrived in a new land, they usually settled in communities whose members came from their country of origin. Former immigrants, who

35 Paul Jelen, e-mail message to author, April 3, 2009
36 Paul Jelen, e-mail message to author, April 3, 2009.
were already adapted in a new country, could facilitate their assimilation. They helped them to learn new systems and find them institutions, such as schools, and jobs. Parents mostly came to the new country with poor English and spoke Czech in the new home. Thus, the children had a chance to listen the Czech language and could keep it. Parents also tried to avoid the alienation from the Czech culture and hold some Czech traditions such as Christmas, Easter, and St. Nicolas, which will be more described in chapter about holidays and traditions. Parents also organised for them Czech days and cultural events, where other Czech people joined them.

Parents worked hard to send their children to school in order to make their life easier. New friends and surroundings influenced children’s language a lot and their ability to speak Czech decreased. Some of them speak Czech but cannot read, some of them can understand but cannot read and speak and some of them know just basic words. In spite of the bad Czech language, they are interested in the Czech culture and have visited the Czech Republic at least once. Even third generation travelled to the Czech Republic to see the country, which was home of their grandparents. Some of the second generation stayed there for a short time to teach English or provide other services. They brought back experiences that enhance their ties with the Czech culture. An example could be Jane’s story. Her both parents are Czechs and she grew up in the United States. Her grandfather immigrated to Canada in 1948, her father followed him but stayed in 1968 in the US and her mother immigrated in 1980 to the US. Now Jane speaks about her experience with the Czech language: “Speak Czech not English!” was phrase I grew up hearing a lot. As a child, I learned English from watching Sesame Street or just being around people. My mother did not speak English at the time and it took some time before she spoke it fluently and my dad was afraid I would pick up bad linguistic habits from him. As a result of starting school I lost or began losing the ability to speak Czech and my family was constantly telling me ‘Speak Czech not English!’ They could not do anything until November 1989. So I was on a plane with my grandmother on May 1990 to the Czech Republic, where I spent a month. When I got back, I spoke Czech fluently and my family was in disbelief. Nowadays, I read blogs, newspapers online in Czech and do translations. I have also Czech conversation
maybe once a week. I have to continually work on my language.”³⁹ It is clear that parents tried to push Jane to speak Czech quiet often and did their best. However, Jane was surrounded with American children at school and the impact was huge. She started to lose her ability to speak Czech in spite of parent’s efforts. Nevertheless, Jane’s interest about parent’s homeland was strong enough to start keeping the language.

There are slight differences between American and Canadian children of Czech immigrants. The language and knowledge of Czech culture depend on education from parent side and institutional side such as school, church, etc. “By the early 1970s the Czech language was being gradually replace by English in the church in Canada. Nowadays everything is run in English with the exception of one Sunday School class which is still run in the Czech language for the eldest of the congregation who although speaking English quite well prefer to hear the lesson in Czech.”⁴⁰ It is the reason why Czech people lost their ability to speak and understand Czech. Furthermore, it depends on attitude of every child.

In Canada the Czech language is taught in Edmonton and Calgary, Alberta or Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia. As well in the United States the schools, where the Czech language is used freely along with English, are located there, particularly in Texas and in major centers such as Nebraska, Wisconsin or Chicago. These centers accumulated not only Czech immigrants but also the traditions, customs, as well as language. South Moravian accent is spoken in Texas even nowadays.

Charles University in Prague (since 1954), Masaryk University in Brno (since 1967) and other universities open Summer School of Slavonic Studies every summer holidays. Many immigrants and their children take part in these courses. They have a great chance to improve their Czech language and get to know the Czech land and its culture because they also visit museum, theatres and historical places.

3.1.4 Contact with home

The Czech emigrants were not allowed to visit their mother country for the long time. They were isolated from their home and their closest friends. Communists took them as their enemies and traitors. It was a punishment that they did not adapt to their regime and protested against it by their leaving from homeland. Later, when they got an American or Canadian nationality and the totalitarian regime relieved, they could see their relatives but the visits were restricted and controlled. Communists treated them as foreign citizens, but Czech immigrants were still afraid of them and they feared that they could not return to the democratic states. Thus, Czech-Americans and Czech-Canadians chose other solutions. It was easier to meet their closest friends in other communist states, usually in Poland, but it depended whether their friends received the permission or not. They also tried to keep in contact with them through letters or telephones, but both were controlled and it was difficult to not threat their freedom. They did not want to cause any difficulties and they had to be careful what they said and whom they spoke with. Marketa Topferová has kept in contact with her family through telephone and was careful what she said. She says that it helps her also to retain and remember the Czech language. After the Velvet Revolution, the situation changed rapidly. Free country welcomed them with enthusiasm and open arms. Since 1989, most of them have visited the Czech Republic. Today Czechs keep in touch with their relatives and friends much better, due to the advancement of technologies and free access to the Internet. For example, Jane keeps in touch with her friends and relatives through the Internet almost every day. She can see them and speaks with them through Skype, a free online telephone service. Also the approach to the news from Europe is not a problem from any corner of the world either. Some Czech emigrants are interested in what is happening in the Czech Republic and are well informed by various sources.

Until 1989, typical Czech family living in Canada or the US usually kept in contact only with their parents through letters. After 1990, they renewed the contacts with their

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relatives and friends. They also started to visit the Czech Republic frequently for personal as well as professional reasons.

There are no differences between the US and Canada in this chapter. The conditions were same for both states, and the way each group of emigrants contacted their loved ones is almost the same. The access to the Internet is also the same in both states as well as in the world.

3.1.5 Holidays and traditions

Traditional Czech foods settled in the families without consideration as they were brought to the US or Canada. Among the culinary favorites are roast pork, dumplings and sauerkraut, round cakes (called kolach), fruit dumplings, sausages and many others that find their fans in even mixed families and those who do not cook these traditional dishes but are regular customers in local Czech restaurants. The recipes are passed through generations, from mother to daughter and the same system functions with passing the whole cookbooks. The round cakes (kolach) and dumpling recipes are kept in families as part of heritage. Homemade bread, jams or sauerkraut are routinely made in Czech communities in the United States or Canada, while in the Czech Republic these practices are gradually disappearing, even in the countryside. Although the Czech cuisine is not the healthiest, the tasty Czech cooking remains alive in these communities and Czech descendants.

There is a similar situation with the traditional village dances, particularly in the US. The folk life is a very pleasant surprise discovery. While the Czech Republic has naturally lost some traditions, Czech-Americans who migrated keep this history and traditions alive in the US.

Some of the Czech Americans and Czech Canadians have also maintained celebrating Czech festivals and holiday traditions. Among the popular holidays are Christmas, Three Kings, Easter and St. Nicolas. Czech Christmas Eve started on December 24 with decorating trees, cookies, and a traditional evening meal of carp. For most people abroad

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Czech Christmas meant ‘Jezisek’. For those who do not celebrate Czech Christmas and do not keep any Czech traditions, Christmas meant Santa Claus. And for some Czechs, Christmas meant Santa Claus and ‘Jezisek’ because they keep traditions of both cultures. On Three Kings Day, they hold initials written on the front door in early January. Czech Easter traditions are linked with decorating eggs for this festive day and welcoming of spring. St. Nicholas is celebrated at the beginning of December and arrives in the company of an angel and a devil. The angel gives gifts to children who have been good, while the devil hands lumps of coal to anyone who has misbehaved. Other Czech traditions are typical in the celebrations of the Name day. Czech customs that are not often recognized as purely Czech are showering at night and taking off the shoes inside the house.44

“In the 1960s and 1970s, a revival of ethnic pride and consciousness prompted many Americans to reexamine their immigrant heritage. In the case of Czech Americans, this translated into the revival of ethnic festivals and a growing interest in genealogy and family history. Since the reestablishment of Czech democracy in 1989 and the peaceful division of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993, many Czech Americans have established closer ties to their ancestral homeland.”45 People started to declare Czech nationality and raised the wave of pride that they are Czech people. Thus they preserved Czech traditions and culture abroad.

Most of the emigrants living in the United States or Canada sometimes get together with other Czechs and watch Czech films or prepare Czech festivals for their children and grandchildren. Some of them prefer picnic and some of them prefer camping like they did in the Czech Republic.

Czech-Americans and Czech-Canadians preserved Czech cuisine, folk arts, festivals, and holiday traditions. However, Czech-Americans are concentrated more on Czech folk music than in Canada. Nevertheless, both Czech Americans and Czech-Canadians are willing to keep alive the traditions of Czech culture.

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In addition, there were and are different customs in the United States and Canada compared to Czech ones. For example, the Czech culture focused on interpersonal relationships during the communist era. The work carrier was not so important and was on the lower level. The difference between Czech and US culture was in the work place. In the US was common to talk to many people about work even they did not know them, but it was strange in the Czech Republic.

Customer service was also totally different. In the Czech country, you could walk into a store and nobody would greet you or show any courtesy for stopping in their store. In the US and Canada, there is a huge difference in the amount of kindness shown when you enter a store. They greet you and say ‘Can I help you with anything?’ and are very welcoming. Customer service is one thing in the US and Canada that people stay on top.

There was not and is not a lot of people with old cars in the US. People have lived on credit and it is part of their culture. It’s not even about how much money they have, but it is about how much credit they can get. Nobody asks them how much cash they have in the bank. They only check their credit. That is a big cultural difference.

In these states are many different comparisons with the Czech culture. I cannot say that one thing is better than another. It is just different, and nice when more cultures are mingled.

### 3.1.6 New people and friends

Czech emigrants have met a lot of people since their arrival. They communicated with them and tried to find new friends among them even though they had different customs. Either they got used to it or they isolated and stayed just in their communities. Although it was not easy at the beginning, most of them adapted and started to make new friends in a foreign country.

According to Marta Topferova, it was and it is still easy to meet people in the United States. But on the other hand, she stressed that it was hard to meet good people and good friends because they think just one way. They do not care about the world, what is happening there. She mentioned that this is patriotism for most Americans. She added that it starts in the school programs. Children do not have to take world history, only American
history. Consequently, they cannot know about all these other things. Nevertheless, she made friends finally. She met her best friend standing in line for an event.”

Jane also provides the view of Americans. She points out that it is very difficult to know who is in front of her in the US because Americans could show up in a limo and wearing a Gucci outfit but they could have zero money and don’t even have a job. However, there could be people who are millionaires but it is not easy to discover that.”

As it is mentioned above, Americans live on credit because it is a part of their culture. Thus Czech people see them this way that they never really know who people are.

On the other hand, Canadians are very polite people and always helpful as Czech emigrants described them. When the Czech immigrants needed help or were in desperate situation, they immediately tried to assist them and gave them advice how to solve the problems.

It is clear that Americans are known for their ability to quickly and effortlessly form casual relationships. However, sometimes it takes just one day or longer but then it seems that nothing will happen further in that friendship. In comparison to Canadians, they are seen as overly polite and in some way naive. According to statistics, Americans are more family oriented than Canadians. And while jobs are the most important national issue for Canadians, for Americans it is international affairs. Americans are also more religious and educated than Canadians. Nevertheless, they are more often accused of crimes and drugs related crimes than Canadians. To it sum up, there are differences between these nations but the people are different everywhere.

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48 Paul Jelen, e-mail message to author, April 3, 2009.

3.2 Czechs in Canada and the United States

3.2.1 Czech settlement
The first wave of emigrants, who received permission to come in 1948 to Canada, headed straight for Montreal and few of them went to Toronto, Winnipeg and Ottawa. The second wave of emigrants from 1968 headed towards Vancouver, Toronto and Edmonton rather than Montreal. Most of the Czech emigrants lived in three provinces: Ontario (18 025), British Columbia (10 430) and Alberta (8 975), mostly in Toronto (7 655), Vancouver (5 400), Edmonton (2 420) and Montreal (2 350). The numbers are according to statistics from 1991, but it is just for orientation. Some of them, who emigrated before 1948, also declared Czech nationality making the results inexact.

Czech emigrants, who came in 1948 to the United States, settled primarily in large cities such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Washington, D.C. Later they went to the big cities too but also chose destinations such as Texas, Florida, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Dakota Territory. In 1990, the national census showed almost 1,300,000 Czechs living in the United States. According to the census, 52% of Czechs reside in the Midwest, 22% in the South, 16% in the West, and 10% in the Northeast. Czech people also lent names to several American towns and cities in which they settled, including New Prague and Litomysl in Minnesota, and Pilsens in Iowa.

It is clear that the emigrants preferred to settle in the big cities rather than the countryside. They had more possibilities there and they could find jobs better. They also chose destinations where Czech people had already settled. One reason this happened was because they had some relatives there and they wanted to stay together. They also relied on these relatives as a support system that would help them at the beginning and in times of need.

3.2.2 Czech compatriot organizations
Czech compatriot organizations played important role in life of Czech emigrant. These compatriot organizations launched out at the beginning of the 20th century in Canada. Their

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The main aim was to help the poor and ill, who were in destitute circumstances. They also built libraries and tried to educate people in their native language. The Czechoslovak National Association of Canada (CNAC), founded in 1939, concentrated on Canadian nationality. They did everything for newcomers to obtain Canadian nationality. They held Czech and Slovak culture and supported the Czech country after the wars. After the coup in 1948, CNAC helped newcomers get jobs and helped them with first contacts. Later, it became the Czechoslovak Association of Canada. Even though there were differences between Czechs who came in 1948 and who came in 1968, their efforts to establish democracy in the Czech country united both groups together. In 1960 was founded division, which developed the charity activities and supported refugees. In that time, there were a big number of Czech immigrants and many new were coming. Then when the fall of communism became real, they could join direct contacts with homelands. The organizations have worked on cultural live of compatriots since 1989 and have done it in their full capacity. Fortunately, they were supported by Canadian government, which promotes the principle of multiculturalism.

Czech emigrants also established a few churches in Canada. The Roman Catholic parishes appeared at the beginning of the 20th century. Only two churches were established between 1948 – 1989. The result was that there were many non-believers among the Czech immigrants. The former, the village of St Wenceslas, was settled in 1951 in Toronto. The later church was established by Jesuits in 1960 in Montreal. The influence of church was significant until fifties and then it became weaker. The second wave of emigrants, who were mostly atheists, had slight interest in church or had no interest at all.

The majority of Czech emigrants who came to the United States have been associated with compatriot organizations too. Some of them are still members in several organizations at the same time. Most of the local organizations have been concentrated on one particular activity. One of the famous organizations is The National Czech and Slovak Museum and Library (NCSML) in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. It was founded in 1974 and was relocated in the new building in 1995. It is the only Czech and Slovak museum in the US and its role is to hold Czech and Slovak relics from the 19th and 20th century. The gifts were collected from immigrants, who were complaisant to contribute. The collection consists of Czech folk

costumes, which are the biggest in the US, and other artifacts. These artifacts document both their lives in the homeland and immigrants fortunes in the US. A major part of the museum is an archive and big library with over 10,000 volumes. The aim is to create a centre of the Czech and Slovak studies for general public. The museum puts the accent on current Czech fine arts and music, and tries to familiarize American society with Czech current situation. The NCSML regularly sets up training program, such as evenings with Czech literature and poetry, lectures about the Czech and Slovak Republic and meetings on current topics. It has preserved Czech culture and literature.

Next compatriot organization is Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU), founded in 1956. There are many famous Czech scientists, professors, economists and artists. Its headquarters is in Rockville, Maryland and has many branches in the US and Europe. In the Czech Republic, the branch was established in 1992. They have done their own independent activities, and are not always cooperating with headquarters. SVU has also their own publications, such as News of SVU (Zprávy SVU) and Kosmas.

Czech emigrants established many churches in the United States. One of them is the basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington. There is a Czech national chapel, Our Lady of Hostyn, which is sacred Saint John Nepomuk. He is also known as John Nepomucene or John of Pomuk.

Another significant organization is the Czech Roman Catholic Mission, with location in New York, Chicago, San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The Czech mass is held once a month in these catholic churches since the seventies. Its publication is the Herald (Věstník).

Nebraska has a lot Czech churches too, but they were established mostly in the 19th century. This was caused by a big wave of Czech emigrants that headed straight for Nebraska to find their fortune as farmers.

The compatriot organizations have been active in the work since their creation in Canada as well as in the United States. They have helped newcomers to assimilate in a new society and have simplified the beginning of their new lives. In both states, the organizations set up Czech events not only for Czech people but also for a broad public. As far as religion, the Czech-Americans are more religious than the Czechs in Canada. Czech-Americans have kept Czech mass in most of the churches while Czech-Canadians have Czech mass in a fewer churches.
3.2.3 Culture life

Czech Canadians have had interest in the cultural life and have taken interest in four cultural fields: theater, music, literature and sport. One famous Czech theater is the New Czech Theater in Toronto, Canada. This theater was established in 1962 and reopened in 1970. The theater had also opportunity to entry in the multicultural theater festival in the seventies in Manitoba. Nowadays, it is called the Folkloram Festival in Winnipeg and is the biggest multicultural folklore festival in the North American continent. The Czech community has regularly joined this well known festival.

Another theater that is also very famous for Czech and Slovak community is called the Theater Around the Corner, which opened in 1977 in Vancouver. It has over three dozen full theatrical productions, ten evenings of poetry and music, three original cabarets, three children’s plays, three guest productions and one costume ball in the Theatre. Some other organizations are dealing with concerts and literature programs and their main aim is to attract the general public and not only people from their ethnic community.

Sokol organization is the most significant organization in Canada and was part of most Czech compatriot organizations. Sokol was formed in 1912-1915, but its greatest influence started in 1941 and finished in 1970. Although Sokol has been slowly disappearing from organizations recently, its role continues in the large cities with Czech community such as Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Kitchener-Waterloo-Guelph. Sokol trained up many talented Canadian and Czech sportsmen, especially hokey players, tennis players and figure skaters.

Masaryk Memorial Institute (MMI), formed in 1945, plays a remarkable role for Czechs in Canada. MMI is situated in Scarborough, Toronto and concentrates on Czech language and traditions. The institute offers Czech language courses and lends Czech books and videocassettes. The institute has own publication called the New Home (Nový domov), and is written in the Czech language.

The compatriot press was and still is the meaningful part of compatriot life. The main compatriot periodicals released in Toronto are New Home (Nový domov), Satellite 1-416, and Canadian Sheets (Kanadské listy). In Canada, there is an eleven compatriot newspapers

and periodicals. Among the well known, as mentioned above, are New Home, which is the most readable periodical and there are some stories from American compatriot press. The next well known compatriot periodical is the Canadian Sheets that is lower level, has taken stories from other Czech and Slovak compatriot periodicals and has concentrated on the stories of legionaries. The last periodical is Satellite, which criticizes events in the Czech Republic. The important information source for first emigration wave was Our Voices (Naše Hlasy) that were since 1955 until 1974.54 Among the notable religious periodicals were involved The Vineyard (Vinice), which released in 1958-1966 in Winnipeg and Glorious Hope (Slavná naděje) released in 1974-1978 in Windsor. Both periodicals were published by Czech Baptists.

Czech-Americans have also taken part in compatriot cultural life. They, as well as Czech-Canadians, have been interested in theater, music, current events in the Czech Republic, sport, and science and art. The Czech people built theaters immediately after their settlement. Not only were these theaters built for their entertainment, but also to preserve the Czech language and culture.

New waves of Czech emigrants resurrected theaters after World War II and during the Cold War in the United States. New theaters were built. Among them were for examples the Wilma Theatre in Philadelphia and the No Curtain Theatre in Washington, D.C. These theaters produced mainly Czech plays in English translation to lure the American public and younger generations. The plays, which were translated from the Czech language, were written usually by Vaclav Havel, Ivan Kilma, and Pavel Kohout.

The Wilma Theatre in Philadelphia was founded in 1973 to encourage Czech theatrical productions and help local artists to envolve their talent. This theater is important in developing the compatriot life, and is known for its original avant-garde and experimental theatrical productions and it is one of Philadelphia’s most popular cultural venues. Blanka Zizka and Jiri Zizka, former Czech actors, have been directors of the theater since 1981.

The Czechoslovak-American Marionette Theatre was established after the Cold War in 1990 in New York City. Its founders are two Czech puppeteers: Vit Hořejš and Jan Unger. In the plays, which are mostly based on classic Czech tales are performed by both puppets.

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and live actors. This theater preserves the Czech cultural through puppets and their stories. Famous Czech performances include Káča and the Devil (Káča a Čert), Salt over Gold (Sůl nad Zlato), and The Water Spirit (Vodník).

Czech music is also very important for Czech community. This music can remind Czechs about their childhood and life in the Czech Republic before emigrating. Thus Czech Americans keep Czech folk music in the organizations such as Friends of Czechoslovak Music, which was founded in 1983 in San Diego, and Czechoslovak American Musicians Club, which was founded in Chicago and some small organizations in Nebraska. These associations arrange concerts of the Czech music and music activities. They support Czech talented musicians and Czechoslovak American Musicians Club publish Newsletters of the Czechoslovak-American Musicians Club that could be read everywhere in the US.

Another cultural focus is sport. Czech people are famous sportsmen who are willing to work hard and follow their dreams. This is the reason why Czechs established sport organizations. One of them is the Association of Free Czechoslovak Sportsmen in New York State and contains a high percentage of Czech immigrants. It was established in 1954 and its aim is to associate sportsmen from the Czech Republic. They have arranged many sport events for Czechs and Slovaks. This association has about 40 members and is very important for the Czech and Slovak community in the sports field.

Another sports organization is Sokol. Its headquarter is in New York and its goal is to guide their members through life in the areas of physical health and to improve their self-confidence. This goal is promoted by their fitness programs as well as various cultural activities. Sokol organization is situated all over the world and also in the US in state such as Iowa (Cedar Rapids), Ohio (Cleveland), Texas (Ennis) and more. They have the same goal to train the children up in sport spirit and organize social activities for them. Its credo is ‘A Sound Mind in a Sound Body’.

Just like the Czech Canadian press, the Czech American press plays important role in the cultural life of emigrants. The two most significant Czech American newspapers are situated in New York. American Letters (Americké listy) is an independent journal that publishes stories of Czech and Slovak authors. They are considered to be most readable among the compatriots in the North America. Their biggest competitor is Czechoslovak News (Československé noviny) that has similar orientation like American Letters but is
more critical against the CR. New York Newspaper (Newyorské listy) is published on the Internet and is more critical and analytical towards the CR.

Washington is a center of Czech emigrants who came after February in 1948 to the US. Nowadays there are about 1.300 Czech people are mostly interested in organizations and the main one is Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU), which is mentioned above in chapter Czech Compatriot Organizations. SVU headquarters is in Maryland. This branch arranges evenings of Czech literature and sets up an SVU Annual Reception every April. Other events include a Wine & Cheese Party, which is set up every September, and SVU Christmas Bazaar, held in December. These events are very contributable for both Czech and other communities. The immigrants feel comfortable among the people who have same traditions, customs and culture.

California ranks third place among the states with the Czech communities. The largest settlement is in Los Angeles. Although California has a big number of Czech immigrants, the level of compatriot life is not too much higher in comparison to other states in the US. However, the oldest Czech monument is situated just here in Guerneville. It is the Korbel Champagne Cellars and Korbel Vineyards, founded in 1882.

It is clear that Czech people in both states want to preserve at least part of the Czech culture in the various cultural fields. Furthermore, they want to keep their identity and heritage values. Theater is the most searching cultural entertainment as well as sport organizations. Theaters are usually non-profit associations and they rely on the persistent interest and support of their audience. They had passed a difficult period of their existence and started to concentrate on the broad public to lure more theatre lovers and to familiarize them with the Czech culture and style.

While sport and music organizations dominate in the US, the Canadian compatriot press has a position similar to the US. Sokol is situated in every district and almost in every state in the US. Some of the US states contains more than one sport organizations, while Sokol in Canada occurs just in fourth cities. The Czech clubs and sport organizations are a place where people enjoy the social activities and spend their free time among their friends and compatriots.

These Czech associations carry one very important role in the communities. Like everywhere else they function as a natural process of assimilation. Purely Czech marriages in the communities are slowly decreasing and new generation is less concerned in Czech traditions. Thus, the Czech associations hold most of the Czech customs, traditions, national cuisine, holidays and festive days with dances and music for their members as well as for a broader public, in order to keep their culture alive. These associations also want to catch the attention of younger generation by holding events for them.

3.3 Famous Czechs in the USA and Canada

Josef Škvorecký, writer, is the most famous Canadian figure of Czech ancestry. Along with Škvorecký are more significant compatriots, for example Josef Čermák. He is a writer and lawyer, and works in the University of Toronto. Josef Čermák had merit in exchange programs for Czech and Canadian students and established department of Czech and Slovak literature. He also arranges many cultural activities for compatriots in Canada and offers legal services. All his activities contributed to the development of Czech compatriots. He was awarded the Masaryk Prize for remarkable achievements services to his country in 1989 in Canada.56

Some other involved popular figures include Karel and Olga Velan, who came in the first wave after February 1948 to Canada. They have actively worked for the benefit of the Czech community and have supported concerts of Czech classic music in Canada. They did a lot for Czechs in Canada as well as for Czechs in the Czech Republic. For example, they have promoted Committee of Good Will, Olga Havlova Foundation (Výbor dobré vůle, Nadace Olgy Havlové) since 1989 and they have acquired more than half million dollars for Czech charity activities. When the Czech Republic was in bad situation due to flood, they did not hesitate and sent financial support to the CR. For all their activities they were awarded the Gratias Agit in 1998. This award is given to prominent persons who greatly promote and represent the Czech Republic abroad.57

Jan Waldauf, who immigrated in 1948 to Canada, did a great deal of work for Sokol organization. He inherited his love for Sokol from his father, who passed away shortly after the wars. Since childhood, Jan put his mind to Sokol and did his best for it. Beyond this, he is a member of few compatriot associations.58

Lubor Zink is a significant Czech Canadian journalist and writer. He moved in 1958 to Canada and became editor of the Brandon Sun in Manitoba. He is mainly noted for his lifetime fight against communism in world and since he assisted the declaration of 17th November as International Students Day. He won a National Newspaper Award in 1961 and was awarded the Gratias Agit in 1999.59

Well-known compatriot is also Rudolf Maštalýř. He was an active sportsman in volleyball, athletics, skiing and fencing, and was a member of Sokol. He helped to establish Sokol immediately after his arrival to Canada in 1968 and participated in compatriot events. He also loved theater, and was a member of Theatre Around the Corner.60

Ferdinand Knobloch and his wife Jiřina Knobloch elevated a good name of the Czech Republic in the field of psychology. Because Ferdinand Knobloch thought at the University of Columbia in 1968 in New York, they had a choice, after the Russian invasion, whether they stay or return to the CR. They decided to not return and moved in 1970 to Canada, where he has thought at University of British Columbia in Vancouver. They spread the fame of the Czech school of psychiatry and contributed to the development of world.61

Vaclav Pavelka was respected figure among the compatriots. He emigrated with his family in 1948 in Canada and settled in Montreal. He directed the Czech Saturday Complementary School that Czech children attended and therefore keep Czech language.

culture and music. He played an intensive role in compatriot life and was awarded the Gratias Agit in 2002.  

In the US, New York became Czech and Slovak political exile after 1948 and is connected with many significant Czech and Slovak artists. Central figures were Jan Papánek, Ferdinand Peroutka and Pavel Tigrid. All of them protested against communism and partook in origination of Radio Free Europe or also known as Radio Liberty. Jan Papánek was a Slovak and an Ambassador to the United Nations in 1947-1948. He is well known for establishing the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees (1948-1999) that followed the Communist coup in February 1948. Its purpose was to help refugees with their immediate needs and to assist them with adaptation to their new home.  

Ferdinand Peroutka immigrated in 1948 and in 1950 came to the US. He lived in New York and directed Czech section of Radio Free Europe from 1951 to 1961. He regularly wrote critical comments on Czech current events for Radio Free Europe and cooperated with many American periodicals. He was a great representative for the Czech Republic, and contributor to CR news, since he openly protested against communism and in exile he produced many political reflections such as Was Benes Guilty? (Byl Eduard Beneš vinen?) and Democratic manifest (Demokratický manifest).  

“Pavel Tigrid was undoubtedly one of the most influential Czech personalities of the 20th century.” He sharply criticized totalitarian regime with sarcasm and wit. He was very powerful anti-communist in exile and therefore he was the most dangerous for communism. He set up the exile magazine Testimony (Svědectví) in 1956, which was very important for Czechs overseas and in the CR. After 1989 he returned to the CR and became a politician.  

Miroslav Rechcígł immigrated in 1950 in the United States. He is well known for his interest in the Czech history of Bohemians, Moravians, Silesians and Slovak in the United States. He has worked for Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU) since its origin in 1956. He held high position in the organization as a President of Association. This organization  

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spreads Czech culture, arts and science. In addition, he is widely known and respected for his work in the field of biochemistry. He was rewarded the Gratias Agit in 1998.\(^{65}\)

Vladislav Slavík left in 1948 and arrived in 1950 to the US. He actively worked for the benefit of the American Sokol. He was an instructor and coordinated physical activities as well as social and cultural activities. He helped Czech people in the US to raise their self-confidence and to be proud who they are. He also strove for preservation of national awareness mainly among the youngest generation. In 2000, Slavík was awarded the Gratias Agit.\(^{66}\)

Jan Hird Pokorný is famous Czech architect in the US and has specialized in restoration of historic monuments. Although he moved in 1940 to the US, he was a member of American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees and concentrated on helping Czech and Slovak refugees. He was actively involved in organizing aid programs for compatriots and succeed in persuading the American Fund for Czechoslovak Relief (former American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees) to give financial support after the flood in 1997 in Moravia and to grant fellowships to Czech students. For his efforts, he was awarded the Gratias Agit in 2002.\(^{67}\)

Miroslav Turek is significant Czech diplomat and a professor who taught European history and diplomacy at the universities. He has done extraordinary work that promotes the Czech Republic and its culture in the United States and globally. Turek also contributed to the development of Czech-American relationships and was awarded the Gratias Agit in June 2004.\(^{68}\)

Petr Bísek and his wife Vera, who immigrated in 1965 to the US, are publishers of American Letters (Americké listy), which is the leading Czech and Slovak newspaper in the United States. They founded it in 1990 again to continue in the work that initiated Frank Švehla. They have dedicated all their time and energy to it. This newspaper is very prestigious and makes a significant contribution to the promoting of a positive image of the

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Czech Republic in the US and furthermore contributes to the enforcement of the Czech Republic’s interests in the US. They were awarded the Gratias Agit in 2005.\textsuperscript{69} Madeleine (Korbel) Albrightová is widely known in the US as well as globally. Her family along with Madeleine emigrated after the Communist coup in 1948. She concentrated on the foreign policy in the US and became the first female Secretary of State in 1997. The Czech Republic successfully joined NATO during her term in office in 1999. She is always ready to help her homeland and to develop Czech-American relationships. She was also concerned with spreading the democratic development in the Czech Republic during the communism. Ms. Albright has taken part in the establishment of the many Czech associations and organized humanitarian assistance to the Czech Republic when it was needed. She was awarded the Gratias Agit in 2006.\textsuperscript{70}

Miloš Forman is regarded as one of the world’s most important film directors. He came in 1968 to the US and settled in New York. His films celebrated the success in both critics and audience. His films are timeless and contain a humanist message. Moreover, Forman’s films are based on individualism and show the people’s fight for their freedom. It is speculated that he has been influenced by communists and the bad regime was reflected in his films. But certainly, he raised basic human values and significantly contributed to fostering good name of the Czech Republic abroad. Thus, he was rewarded the Gratias Agit in 2007.\textsuperscript{71}

Jiřina Fuchsová is famous poet and friend of Karel Kryl. She immigrated in 1963 to the US and helped establish Czechoslovak Culture Club in Los Angeles. She lectures and cultivates Czech culture and Czech literature among the public. She also established the International Association of Czechs for Dual Citizenship, Restitutions and Voting Rights (Mezinárodní asociace Čechů pro dvojí občanství, restituce a volební právo). Her activities have helped many compatriots.\textsuperscript{72}

In the United States are other famous Czechs who somehow contributed to spreading good image of the Czech Republic. Among them are for examples sportmen such as Ivan

Lendl, Martina Navrátilová and many Czechs hockey players. Other famous figures in the various fields are Ivana Trumpová, Arnošt Lustig (writer), Lubomír Kaválek (chess player), Vaclav Hlavaty (mathematician) and etc.
CONCLUSION

The United States and Canada have always played an important role in the inflow of immigrants, and Czech immigrants were not exception. In addition, the Czech state was controlled by the communist Soviet Union and people were persecuted at that time when they did not assimilate the communist regime. Thus the people left the country and were looking for their opportunities and better life abroad.

Nevertheless, the decision to leave the well-known surroundings and immigrate beyond the sea was not easy. Migration is big interference with people’s lives. The beginning in a new country was difficult and they had to face to the lack of money as well as to cope with language deficits and cultural differences. Finding their first job was also not easy and they usually worked long hours for minimum pay and often in bad conditions.

In the first part of my thesis I discovered three big waves of immigration. I have anticipated first two waves, but the last wave in the eighties I did not expected. However, all three waves were unique and large. Among them there were different reasons of leaving the country. Main causes of immigration were, for examples, political, social, economical and private reasons. In the Czech Republic were few opportunities for them and for their children and they tried their fortune abroad. However, it is difficult to say how many people exactly immigrated. Since the communist’s documents were strict guarded, we can just rely on the people who declared their Czech nationality abroad.

In the second part I investigated the differences between the US and Canadian immigration policy. At first I would like to mention that Czech immigrants were better accepted to Canada than the US. The US had strict quotas based on number of immigrants from different countries and moreover, they had to find a sponsor for their beginning. Nevertheless, the US had a political reason to help people from the communist states. On the other hand, Canada preferred immigrants with skills, education and experience, but the people had to meet criteria that were based on hard work at least one year. However, Canadian government were better prepared for newcomers and granted them better programs that helped them to assimilate in new surroundings. In addition, new Czech immigrants were supported by compatriot organizations in both states.

In the last part I did not investigate where people lived easier. It is controversial issue and I had not enough information. I also concentrated on cultural life of Czech immigrants in the both states. I founded out that Czech people are interested in theatre, sports, current events in the CR, periodicals, Czech music and Czech literature. Sokol organization have
predominated in the sport field both the US and Canada. Czech people founded numerous institutions to preserve their Czech culture and language and these places were important for Czech communities. They have concentrated quite often there and help each other to overcome the difficulties of immigration. Czech people in the US have tended to be more religiously active than their Czech compatriots in Canada. The church played an important role too. People have listened Czech mass and keep their language alive.
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