Czechoslovakia has been at the center of some of the most difficult—and tragic—episodes of modern European history: its sacrifice to Nazi Germany at Munich, the Communist Coup of 1948, and the military crushing of the Prague Spring. It has also enacted momentous change almost magically, as in the peaceful overthrow of communism in 1989 and then the negotiated end to the country in 1992. Czechoslovak history has consequently produced enduring political metaphors for our times, such as the Velvet Revolution and Velvet Divorce.

This second edition of the Historical Dictionary of the Czech State has been thoroughly updated and greatly expanded. Featuring a chronology, introductory essay, appendix, bibliography, and hundreds of cross-referenced dictionary entries, this detailed, authoritative reference provides descriptions of the Czechs as a people; the territory they inhabit; their social, cultural, political, and economic developments throughout history; and their interactions with neighbors and the wider world.

Rick Fawn is a senior lecturer in international relations at the University of St. Andrews and editor of Ideology and National Identity in Post-Communist Foreign Policies. He is the author of The Czech Republic: A Nation of Velvet.

Jiří Hochman, formerly a leading journalist in Czechoslovakia, now lives in the United States after having been forced to leave during the repressive aftermath of the Prague Spring reforms of 1968. Among his numerous publications is Soviet Union and the Failure of Collective Security, 1934–1938. He coauthored Alexander Dubček’s autobiography (Hope Dies Last), which has been translated into 16 languages.
HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF EUROPE
Jon Woronoff, Series Editor

   See no. 58.
54. *Contemporary Germany*, by Derek Lewis with Ulrike Zitzlsperger. 2007.
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Few European populations have gone through as much as the Czechs have in terms of achieving and maintaining their sovereignty. It has been lost three times in the past—each time under dramatic circumstances instigated by overwhelming, continental forces. For three centuries they were absorbed within the Habsburg Empire. Then, after only two decades of freedom, they came under the yoke of the Third Reich. Finally, they endured over four decades of often incompetent domination by the Communist Party, which only worsened under Soviet occupation until finally the Soviet empire collapsed and Czechoslovakia became free again. But even this phase was not without its drawbacks, and eventually the Czech Republic parted company with Slovakia and became a sovereign state in 1993.

Obviously, little can be understood of this present state without reaching back into earlier periods, through this book’s chronology and then introduction. Further details are provided in the dictionary section, which is far more than just historical. It deals with, among other things, geographical features and ethnic groups; art, literature, and music; banking, industrialization, and the economy in general; and politics, including major political parties and their leaders, foreign policy, and the Czech Republic’s engagement with the wider world. Appendixes provide useful information, such as lists of kings, presidents, prime ministers, and election results. The full text of the important dissident document Charter 77 is also included. In addition, this Historical Dictionary of the Czech State provides a bibliography subdivided to provide both chronological and thematic direction to major areas of scholarly interest.

The first edition of this volume was written by Jiří Hochman, a native of Czechoslovakia and a journalist and writer, who was a foreign
correspondent until the Prague Spring of 1968. Forced to leave the country in 1974, he and his family have been living in the United States, where he earned a doctorate in European history at Ohio State University. After that, he lectured in history and journalism and wrote prolifically, including several books of his own and as coauthor (with Dubček) of *Hope Dies Last: The Autobiography of Alexander Dubček*. The second edition of this historical dictionary was expanded and revised throughout by Rick Fawn, and it also details the enormous recent changes in the Czech Republic. Fawn studied at the University of Toronto and lived in post-Communist Czechoslovakia, where he learned the language and then obtained a doctorate on Czechoslovakian foreign policy at the London School of Economics. He is senior lecturer in international relations at the University of St. Andrews in Great Britain, where he focuses on post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe. He has published numerous articles and books, including *The Czech Republic: A Nation of Velvet*. Between them, these two authors have provided an excellent guide to a European country that is at once both old and new, one that will now be understood far better thanks to this book.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor
We must express our gratitude for assistance in the completion of this dictionary. Most important was the help of librarians in the Czech Republic, namely Dr. Jan Bayer, Dr. Petr Kopp, Mrs. Ulrika Horáková, Dr. Zuzana Lišková, Dr. Miroslav Ressler, Mrs. Jana Runštuková, Dr. J. Veselá, and others from the national libraries system, various university libraries, and the Czech Academy of Sciences. Public Relations officers of a number of institutions, political parties, and companies provided data otherwise largely unknown, and we are grateful to them.

Valuable advice in specific stages of the work was received from former Czechoslovak minister of culture Miroslav Galuška; former counselor of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington, D.C., Dr. Miloš Chrobok; former rector of the Department of Social Sciences of Charles University in Prague, Professor Čestmír Suchý; economist Dr. Zdislav Šulc; and historian Dr. Václav Vrabec.

Several old friends of Jiří Hochman in Prague and elsewhere previously helped with little, detailed pieces of information, and I would like to express particular gratitude to four of them: Mrs. Drahomíra Lírová, Mr. Miloslav Kořínek, Reverend Miloš Rejchert, and Mr. Alexander Zemánek.

Dr. Seán Hanley, Professor Martin Myant, and Paul Vyšný, quite apart from producing valuable scholarship that helps to inform this project, also kindly provided insightful comments. Professor George Sanford, author of the *Historical Dictionary of Poland*, gave kind and sound advice.

Margaret Grundy, Katrina Acland, and the staff of interlibrary loan services of the University of St. Andrews always provided kind, invaluable
assistance in securing material. Series editor Jon Woronoff offered continued and close attention to detail and gave important assistance throughout, and April Snider and Kellie Hagan offered kind assistance during the book’s production. Needless to say we are grateful to everyone mentioned and absolve them of any errors in the contents that follow.
The Czech language uses the Latin alphabet. A special kind of the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced into Moravia and Bohemia mainly for transliteration of Old Church Slavonic texts in the late 9th century. It was soon generally replaced by Latin while Cyrillic continued to be used in some monasteries until the 13th century. Until the 15th century, Czechs were using diagraphs and triagraphs as is still common today in most other European languages (e.g., zz, sc, gn, ch, sh, sch, cz, sz, etc.) such as Italian, French, English, German, or Spanish. Czech usage of this system was, until the 15th century, almost the same as in contemporary Polish. Diagraphs and triagraphs were removed and replaced by diacritical marks during an early 15th-century writing reform believed to be designed by Jan Hus.

This system proved very practical and economical, especially after the introduction of movable print in the middle of the 15th century. The system was perfected in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and it was later adopted by some other peoples, namely the Slovenes, the Croats, and the Lithuanians. The Czech language contains 10 principal diacritical letters:

á pronounced “ah”
č pronounced as “ch”
ě pronounced “ye”
í pronounced “ee”
ř pronounced similarly to “rz,” but there is no sound in English that emulates the Czech “ř”; this is how the composer Antonín Dvořák comes to have such an unfamiliar pronunciation in English, especially when his last name is printed without the diacritical mark
š pronounced “sh”
ú pronounced “ooh”
ů pronounced “ooh”; there is a grammatical difference between the two ways of writing the “ooh” sound in Czech
ý pronounced “ee”
ž pronounced as the French “je”

The diacritical mark on the letter “T” will appear differently in upper- and lowercase; for example, the entry on industrialist Tomáš Baťa has what appears as a “t” followed by an apostrophe (although this is a single letter), whereas its capitalized counterpart appears clearly as one letter: “Ť.”

This dictionary follows the English alphabet, disregarding the position of words starting with the diacritical letters in the Czech alphabet.

In this book, the use of bold print signifies that the term is dealt with in its own entry in the dictionary section. The other form of cross-referencing is See also, which refers to other related entries.
Acronyms and abbreviations are used according to the Czech name, but without diacritical marks. Acronyms and abbreviations that are originally English and are used in Czech as such, or are foreign to the Czech language but have international usage (for example, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, WTO) are listed accordingly. The Czech variation will then follow (e.g., CPSU: Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Komunistická strana Sovětského svazu—KSS). Other than for the first word, the names of Czech organizations tend not to be capitalized.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AVCR</td>
<td>Akademie věd České republiky (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEFTA</td>
<td>Středoevropská dohoda o volném obchodu (Central European Free Trade Agreement; in Czech the English abbreviation is used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>Czech Philharmonic (Česká filharmonie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Commonwealth of Independent States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CKOS</td>
<td>Československá konfederace odborových svazů (Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMKOS</td>
<td>Českomoravská konfederace odborových svazů (Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNB</td>
<td>Česká národní banka (Czech National Bank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNR</td>
<td>Česká národní rada (Czech National Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMECON</td>
<td>Rada vzájemné hospodářské pomoci—RVHP; Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; also abbreviated as CMEA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COS</td>
<td>Československá obec sokolská (Czechoslovak Sokol Society)</td>
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</table>
CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Komunistická strana Sovětského svazu—KSS)
CR Česká republika (Czech Republic)
CSA Česká strana lidová (Czech Agrarian Party); the same abbreviation was used by Československé aerolinie (Czechoslovak Airlines until 1992), and now by České aerolinie (Czech Airlines since 1993)
CSAV Československá akademie věd (Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences)
CSL Československá strana lidová (Czechoslovak People’s Party)
CSNS Československá strana národně socialistická (Czechoslovak National Socialist Party)
CSR Československá republika (Czechoslovak Republic)
CSS Československá strana socialistická (Czechoslovak Socialist Party)
CSSD Česká strana sociálně demokratická (Czech Social Democratic Party)
CSSR Československá socialistická republika (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic)
CTK Českoslovenká tisková kancelář (Czechoslovak News Agency—until 1992), and Česká tisková kancelář (Czech News Agency—since 1992)
CVUT České vysoké učení technické v Praze (Czech Technical University in Prague)
EU Evropská unie (European Union)
FNM Fond národního majetku (Fund of National Property)
FRG Federal Republic of Germany
FS Federální shromáždění (Federal Assembly)
GDP Gross Domestic Product (Hrubý domácí produkt), although in Czech the English abbreviation is used
GDR German Democratic Republic
HOS Hnutí za občanskou svobodu (Movement for Civic Freedom)
HZDS Hnutí za demokratické Slovensko (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia)
IFHR International Federation for Human Rights
Kč Koruna Česká (Czech koruna; referred to in English as the Czech crown)
Kčs  Koruna Československá (Czechoslovak koruna; referred to in English as the Czechoslovak crown)
KDU-CSL  Křesťanská a demokratická unie–Československá strana lidová; Křesťanská a demokratická unie–Česká strana lidová (Christian and Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party; Christian and Democratic Union–Czech People’s Party)
KSC  Komunistická strana Československa (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia)
KSCM  Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia)
LSNS  Liberální strana národně sociální (Liberal National Social Party)
MU  Masarykova univerzita (Masaryk University)
NATO  North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Organizace Severoatlantické smlouvy); in Czech the English abbreviation is used
NBC  Národní banka Československá (National Bank of Czechoslovakia)
NF  Národní fronta (National Front)
NRC  Národní rada Československá (Czech National Council)
NV  Národní výbor (National Committee)
ODA  Občanská demokratická aliance (Civic Democratic Alliance)
ODS  Občanská demokratická strana (Civic Democratic Party)
OECD  Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; in Czech the English abbreviation is used
OF  Občanské fórum (Civic Forum)
OH  Občanské hnutí (Civic Movement)
OSC  Odborové sdružení Československé; Odborové sdružení Československé (Association of Czecho-Slavic Trade Unions; Association of Czechoslovak Trade Unions)
PfP  Partnership for Peace (in Czech: Partnerství pro mír, although the English abbreviation is used in Czech)
RHVP  Rada vzájemné hospodářské pomoci (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [COMECON]; also abbreviated as CMEA)
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ROH  Revoluční odborové hnutí (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement)

SBC  Státní banka Československá (Czechoslovak State Bank)

SCP  Slovak Communist Party

SD  Sicherheitsdienst ([Nazi] Security Service)

SD  Svobodní demokraté (Free Democrats)

SDL  Strana demokratické levice (Party of the Democratic Left)

SD-LSNS  Svobodní demokraté–Liberální strana národně sociální (Free Democrats–Liberal National Social Party)

SdP  Sudetendeutsche Partei (Sudeten-German Party)

SHF  Sudetendeutsche Heimatsfront (Sudeten-German Patriotic Front)

SNP  Slovenské národní povstání (Slovak National Uprising)

SNR  Slovenská národná rada (Slovak National Council)

SPR-RSC  Association for the Republic–Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (Sdružení pro republiku–Republikánska strana Československa)

StB  Státní bezpečnost (State Security)

SZ  Strana zelených (Green Party)

UK  Univerzita Karlova (Charles University)

UP  Univerzita Palackého (Palacky University)

US  Unie Svobody (Freedom Union)

US-DEU  Unie Svobody–Demokratická Unie (Freedom Union–Democratic Union)

USSR  Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VONS  Výbor na obranu nespravedlivě stíhaných (Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted)

VPN  Verejnosť proti násiliu (Public against Violence)

VSZ  Vysoká škola zemědělská (Czech Agricultural University)

WFTU  World Federation of Trade Unions
Dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, 1938–1939
The Czech Republic since 1993
Chronology

Seventh–fourth centuries B.C. Early Iron Age settlements in parts of Bohemia and Moravia by groups of undefined ethnicity.

Fourth century A.D. Celts inhabited the territory of Bohemia and Moravia.

Fifth–sixth century Groups of several Germanic tribes, primarily the Markomans, inhabited parts of Bohemia and Moravia for periods of time. Most of them moved to Bavaria around year 500. The first Slavic tribes arrived at approximately the same time.

Sixth century Presence of Slavic tribes in Bohemia and Moravia is historically documented. The Slavs assimilated the remaining Germanic and Celtic populations, but they soon came under the control of nomadic Avars.

Seventh century A successful uprising of Slavic tribes against Avar domination, probably in Moravia and parts of Slovakia (623–624). Led by a Frankish trader named Sámo, they formed a tribal union. The fate of this state after Sámo’s death (658) is unknown.

830s Reign of the Moravian Prince Mojmír I marks the beginning of the gradual rise of Great Moravia.

846–870 Moravian Prince Rastislav attained independence from the Franks and established a Church structure separate from the Bavarian episcopate.

871–894 Reign of Prince Svatopluk marked the apex of Greater Moravia. Czech Prince Bořivoj received baptism in Moravia.
906–908  Great Moravia collapsed under the onslaught of the Hungarians.

924–935  Prince Václav I, “the good king Wenceslaus,” reigned in Bohemia.

936–967  Boleslav I centralized the country by subordinating local dukes to the Premyslite authority. First coins, Roman denárs, were minted in Bohemia and used until the 13th century.

963  The Holy German Empire was founded during the reign of East Frankish King Otto I. Bohemia became the empire’s formal fief.

965–966  Ibrahim ibn-Jacob, member of a mission of the Caliph of Cordoba to the emperor, visited Prague. He described it as an important trade center, the largest in the Slavic lands, and one built of stone.

973  Founding of the Prague diocese.

1054  Prince Betislav I issued the Decree on Succession, which stated that after the death of a Czech ruler, the throne would go to the oldest male of the Premyslite dynasty.

1085  Prince Vratislav II (1061–1092) received royal title from Emperor Henry IV in Regensburg. The title was not hereditary.

1088  Founding of a second Czech diocese in the Moravian town of Olomouc.

1158  Prince Vladislav II (1140–1173) received the hereditary title of King of Bohemia from Emperor Frederic I Barbarossa. He reigned as King Vladislav I.

1173–1197  Succession struggles took place between various Premyslite factions. One of the interim rulers, Prince Konrád Oto (1182–1191) issued an important collection of laws (Statuta ducis Ottonis) in 1189. Permitting the inheritance of property previously granted as a fief on a personal basis, it launched the rise of the aristocracy.
1197–1230  During the reign of King Přemysl Otakar I, the first national coin, the brakteat (in Latin, *bracteatus*), was minted.

1212  Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250) issued the Golden Bull of Sicily, which regulated the relationship between the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire. The status of the Czech king was confirmed as hereditary; the Czech king was named one of the electors of the Holy Roman emperor; Moravia was recognized as an inseparable part of the Czech Kingdom; the emperors could grant the kingdom as a fief only to rulers accepted by the Czech diet.

1216  King Přemysl Otakar I issued a new Decree on Succession based on the principle of primogeniture, a system of inheritance by the eldest son of the king.

1253–1278  The reign of King Přemysl Otakar II was characterized by further dynamic growth of the kingdom’s economy and by social differentiation. Weights and measures were regularized, a land register was founded to record ownership of land, and a supreme court was established.

1278  A battle took place at Marchfeld, north of Vienna, between Emperor Rudolf I Habsburg and King Přemysl Otakar II. Betrayed by his aristocrats, the Czech king lost the battle and was himself killed.

1278–1283  The nine-year-old heir to the throne, Václav, was held prisoner by Duke Otto of Brandenburg, entrusted by the emperor to administer Bohemia for five years. The Brandenburg soldiery pillaged and plundered Bohemia.

1283  Otto released Václav after the Czech diet paid a ransom. Václav succeeded his father as King Václav II.

1300  Following large finds of silver in east central Bohemia, a new national currency unit was introduced, the Prague gros (*grossus Pragensis*), a large silver coin minted until the 16th century.
1306 King Václav III was assassinated in Olomouc, Moravia. Only 17 years old at the time of his death, he had no children. With him died out the Premyslite male line.

1310–1311 After a short interregnum, the Czech diet turned to Emperor Henry VII Luxemburg (1308–1313) and offered the Czech crown to his son John. He married the daughter of King Václav II, Eliška Přemyslovna, and was crowned in Prague as King John (Jan) I Luxemburg.

1339–1346 Because of King John’s frequent absence from the kingdom, his son Charles (Karel) acted as de facto coruler, first in domestic affairs and later also in foreign affairs.

1344 Pope Clement VI (1342–52) raised the Prague diocese to an archdiocese.

1346 The son of King John I, Karel, was elected Holy Roman Emperor as Charles IV Luxemburg.

1346 King John I, fighting on the French side in the Battle of Crecy against England, was killed.

1347 King Charles I Luxemburg was crowned in Prague.

1348 Founding of Prague University by Emperor Charles IV.

1356 Charles IV issued his most important imperial decree, The Golden Bull of Charles IV.

1357 Karlštejn Castle was ceremonially opened.

1363 The son of Charles IV was crowned in Prague as King Václav IV.

1364 The Inheritance Pact was signed between Charles IV and his son-in-law, Duke Rudolf IV Habsburg of Austria. According to this contract, the domains of one of the dynasties of which all male members had died would be inherited by the other family.
1376  Václav IV was elected Emperor Wenceslaus I Luxemburg of the Holy Roman Empire.

1378–1419  Reign of King Václav IV. A weak ruler compared to his father, he lost the imperial title in 1400 and was unable to control the Czech magnates who allied with the king’s younger brother Sigismund.

1409  Václav IV’s ruling (Decree of Kutná Hora) about the voting system at Prague University ended its German domination. The decree gave three votes to the Czechs and one to the other groups, namely, Saxons and Bavarians.

1409  Jan Hus (1371–1415) was elected rector of Prague University.

1410  Sigismund Luxemburg, brother of the Czech king, was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

1414  Jan Hus appeared before the Council of Constance to defend his ideas. In spite of his safe-conduct issued by Emperor Sigismund, he was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake on 6 July 1415.

1419  Death of King Václav IV.

1420  The outbreak of the Hussite revolution in Bohemia.

1420–1436  Hussite wars, which included crushing defeats of three crusades against Bohemia, were fought.

1458–71  King George of Podebrady (Jiří z Poděbrad), a Protestant aristocrat elected by the Czech diet, reigned.

1471–1526  Polish Jagello dynasty sits on the Czech throne. The second ruler of this dynasty, King Louis I (Ludvík I), perished when fleeing from a lost battle with the Turks at Mohács in 1526. With him, the Jagello dynasty became extinct.

1526  The accession of Ferdinand I (1526–1564) began an almost 400-year-long Habsburg hold on the Czech throne. Ferdinand I was also emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1558–1564). Bringing Bohemia,
Hungary, and Austria under the same reign laid the foundation for the Habsburg empire.

1547  Ferdinand I suppressed a rebellion of Czech towns and lower aristocracy against his absolutist tendencies and policy of re-Catholicization. Autonomy of townships was severely limited.

1576–1612  Reign of Rudolf II Habsburg. As emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, he made Prague his seat and center of imperial policy. Leading European scientists and artists of the era gathered in Prague.

1618  The uprising of the Czech Estates against the Habsburgs was started by the Defenestration of Prague, when two imperial officials were thrown out of the window of a Prague Castle meeting hall.

1618–48  The Thirty Years War laid Bohemia waste. Heavy taxation, oppression, and general economic decline caused misery and severe depopulation estimated at 50 percent of the prewar situation.

1619  The Czech diet dethroned Ferdinand II Habsburg and elected as Czech king a Protestant, Elector Frederic V of Palatinate (Bedřich Falcký), known as “the Winter King” because of his short reign.

1620  Ferdinand II defeated the army of the revolting Czech Estates in the White Mountain Battle outside Prague. Frederic fled the country.

1621  Twenty-seven leaders of the rebellion of Czech Estates against Ferdinand II were publicly executed in Prague.

1627  After confiscation of the vast properties of Protestant families and banishment of non-Catholic clergy, Ferdinand II issued a decree called New Political Order of the Land, 1627 (Obnovené zřízení zemské, 1627). Bohemia lost its historical equal standing within the empire.

1628  Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius) went into exile to escape persecution. A mass exodus of Protestants from the Czech lands at that time is estimated at 30,000 families, among whom were some of the best writers and educators.
1648  The Westphalian Peace Treaties ended the Thirty Years War. Mutual toleration of Catholics and Protestants became the law in relations between states of the empire, but it did not apply to Bohemia as a Habsburg domain. Re-Catholicization intensified.

1654  Prague University lost its previous independent status and came under the control of the Jesuits. The name of the institution was changed to Charles-Ferdinand University.

1680  Corvée, which had been imposed on the Czech peasantry, was regulated by a decree (Robotní patent) of Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705). Manorial labor was limited to three days per week.

1713  Emperor Charles VI issued The Pragmatic Sanction, which legitimized female succession in Habsburg lands in case of the extinction of the male line.

1740–1780  The reign of Queen Maria Theresa, wife of Emperor Francis I (1745–1765). In wars with Prussia and Saxony, she lost Silesia and Glatz (Kladsko), until then parts of the Czech Kingdom.

1748–1752  The state administration was modernized and a number of economic, legal, and social reforms were carried out, which was known as Enlightened Absolutism. In Bohemia and Moravia, it brought along heavy Germanization.

1765  Josef II became emperor (until 1790) and coruler of the Czech Kingdom with his mother, the Empress Maria Theresa.

1781–1782  Josef II capped previous reforms by freeing the serfs and permitting freedom of worship.

1780s–1790s  The Czech National Revival, of which the first stage was the revival of the Czech literary language, began.

1792–1835  The reign of Francis I, the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1792–1806) and first emperor of Austria (1804–1835). He presided over the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) and, with Metternich, designed the Holy Alliance.
1800s–1840s  The industrial revolution progressed in the Czech lands, accompanied by general modernization, fast social stratification, and the rise of Czech nationalism.

1848  Accession of Franz Josef I (died 1916) after an uprising in Vienna.

1848–49  The Czech leadership rejected the idea of joining a unified Germany and demanded the restitution of the autonomous status of Bohemia within the Austrian empire. The Prague uprising (June 1848) was defeated and absolute Habsburg domination was restored. The only achievement was complete abolition of corvée.

1861  Weakened by the defeat in Italy, the emperor promulgated a basic law called the February Constitution (*Únorová ústava*), a first step toward a representative system.

1866  Austria lost a war with Prussia for the leading role in Germany. The main battle took place at Sadová, near Hradec Králové (in German, Königsgrätz) in Bohemia.

1867  The Austrian-Hungarian Compromise (*Vyrovnání*) reconstituted the empire into a dual monarchy (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) with a common ruler. Bohemia’s constituent place in the empire was not recognized.


1871  The Czech Land Assembly adopted the Fundamental Articles (*Fundamentální články*), which specified Czech demands for recognition of the Czech Kingdom’s constitutional place in the empire. The emperor rejected the demands.

1883  The Czech National Theater opened in Prague with Bedřich Smetana’s opera *Bartered Bride* (*Prodaná nevěsta*).
1907 Enactment of general suffrage for the Reichsrat elections. The strongest political parties in Bohemia in the ensuing elections were the Czech Agrarians and the Social Democrats.

1911 Last elections for the Reichsrat before the outbreak of World War I.

1914 28 July: Outbreak of World War I. August: First fighting units of the Czechoslovak Legions in World War I went into action in France and in Russia. December: Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, a Czech philosopher and a deputy in the Vienna Reichsrat, left the country to seek international support for Czech independence.

1915 Masaryk opened a public campaign for the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire. Joined by sociologist Edvard Beneš, he founded the Czech External Committee (Český zahraniční komitét) in Paris.

1916 The Czech External Committee in Paris reconstituted itself as the Czechoslovak National Council (Národní rada Československá—NRC), responding to initiatives toward a common state of Czechs and Slovaks.

1917 Czech deputies in the Reichsrat issued a declaration of loyalty to the Habsburg Empire. Damaging to Masaryk’s external action, the declaration was countered by a patriotic manifesto by Czech writers.

1918 8 January: President Woodrow T. Wilson presented his Fourteen Points in the U.S. Congress. One of Wilson’s points demanded autonomy for nations of the Habsburg Empire. 30 May: The Pittsburgh Agreement between Masaryk and representatives of Czech and Slovak organizations in America approved the idea of the Czecho–Slovak state. June–September: France, Great Britain, and the United States recognized the NRC in Paris as the de facto Czechoslovak government. 10 October: The NRC constituted itself as the interim Czechoslovak government. Edvard Beneš acted as foreign minister. 14 October: A general strike in Czech lands demanded an independent Czechoslovak Republic (CSR). 28 October: Austria-Hungary accepted Allied conditions to end the war. The National Committee (Národní výbor—NV), a
coordinating body of Czech deputies in the Vienna Reichsrat, declared the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. **13 November:** The National Committee was expanded into the National Assembly (*Národní shromáždění*), an interim parliament. Slovak representatives arrived a few weeks later. Among the first acts of the new parliament was the enactment of the eight-hour work day, paid leave for employees, and prohibition of child labor. **14 November:** Masaryk was elected president of the republic and Karel Kramář, a conservative politician, became prime minister. **21 December:** Masaryk returned home.

**1919 14 April:** The Land Reform Law adopted by the National Assembly limited individual holdings of arable land to 150 hectares (370 acres). Thirty percent of farmland was redistributed. **10 September:** The Treaty of St. Germain, a peace settlement of the Allies with Austria, was signed in Paris. With the Treaty of Trianon, signed with Hungary in 1920, it defined the territory and the international standing of the CSR, which also became a founding member of the League of Nations.

**1920 20 February:** The new constitution established a parliamentary democracy with a two-chamber legislature. Aristocratic titles were abolished. **4 April:** The first general elections were held in the CSR. Social Democrats received over 36 percent of the vote. The second-strongest party was the Agrarian, with 13.6 percent. **27 May:** Masaryk was reelected president. **4 June:** The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary was signed. It determined the southern border of the CSR between Hungary and Slovakia. **14 August:** A defensive pact was signed with Yugoslavia.

**1921 23 April:** The alliance treaty with Romania was signed. **16 May:** The radical majority in the Social Democratic Party founded the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), which joined the Comintern in Moscow and accepted its “Twenty-one conditions.” **17 June:** The Little Entente between the CSR, Yugoslavia, and Romania was formalized by the conclusion of an alliance between Yugoslavia and Romania.

**1922–1923** A coalition system of five political parties (the Agrarians, Social Democrats, National Democrats, Christian Democrats, and
National Socialists), known as the Pětka, became the leading political force, and would remain so throughout most of the First Republic.

**1924 25 January:** The Alliance Treaty between France and the CSR was signed in Paris. **10 October:** The Law on Social Security was adopted by the National Assembly.

**1925 October:** The Locarno Treaty guaranteed common boundaries between Germany, France, and Belgium, leaving the eastern borders of Germany opened to arbitration. CSR’s external security was significantly weakened.

**1927 7 May:** Masaryk was elected for a third term as president.

**1930–1932** The Great Depression had its full impact on the CSR. Unemployment affected over 1 million people and aggravated social and ethnic relations.

**1933 10 October:** A pro-Nazi grouping called Sudeten-German Patriotic Front (Sudetendeutsche Heimatsfront—SHF) was founded by Bohemian Germans as a byproduct of the rise of the fascist Adolf Hitler to power in Germany.

**1934 24 May:** T. G. Masaryk was elected president for a fourth term. **30 April:** The SHF was renamed the Sudeten-German Party (Sudetendeutsche Partei—SdP). In the elections of 1935, the SdP won 67 percent of the German vote in Bohemia and Moravia.

**1935 16 May:** An alliance treaty between the CSR and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was signed in Moscow. A supplement made the activation of the pact dependent on the fulfillment by France of the 1923 treaty obligations. **12 December:** President T. G. Masaryk resigned. **18 December:** Edvard Beneš was elected second president of the CSR.

**1936 January–July:** A sharp increase in separatist activities of the SdP occurred, openly supported by Nazi Germany. **August:** SdP leader Konrad Henlein was received by Hitler in Berlin. **September:**
Czechoslovakia failed in its efforts to turn the Little Entente into a full-fledged general alliance.

1937 14 September: Masaryk died at the age of 87.

1938 13 March: The annexation of Austria to Germany exposed the unfortified southern border of the CSR to Nazi aggression. 28 March: SdP leader Henlein was instructed by Hitler to intensify his party’s campaign against the CSR and to put forward “unacceptable demands.” 24 April: Hitler adopted a plan of aggression against the CSR. May: The Czechoslovak Army underwent partial mobilization after intelligence sources reported movements of German troops toward the borders of the CSR. Summer: The SdP rejected far-reaching concessions offered by the Czechoslovak government. “Heim ins Reich” (Back in the [German] Empire) became the slogan of the day of Bohemian Germans. 23 September: The CSR mobilized after the Godesberg meeting between British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and Adolf Hitler. 28 September: The Munich Conference between Germany, Italy, France, and Great Britain ordered Czechoslovakia to cede substantial territory to Germany. 30 September: After desperate and futile attempts to secure at least Soviet support, President Beneš and the CSR government accepted the dictates of the Munich Conference. 1 October: German armed forces started to occupy Czech borderlands. The CSR lost all its frontier fortifications. Polish troops occupied the Teschen region in north Moravia. 5 October: President Beneš resigned and left the country. 6 October: Slovakia declared autonomy. 2 November: Czechoslovakia was forced to cede southern Slovak territory to Hungary after a decision of the Nazi and Italian foreign ministers. This act is known as the Vienna Arbitration (Vídeňská arbitráž). 30 November: Dr. Emil Hácha, head of the Supreme Court, was elected president of the truncated and defenseless state.

1939 14 March: Slovakia declared independence with Hitler’s encouragement and guarantees. 15 March: The remaining territory of Bohemia and Moravia was occupied by the German Army. 16 March: In occupied Prague, Adolf Hitler issued a decree about the creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, a Nazi colonial province.
June–July: Nazi anti-Jewish policies were applied to the protectorate. 1 September: World War II started with the German invasion of Poland. 17 November: All Czech institutions of higher education, including Charles University in Prague, were closed. Nine student leaders were executed and over 1,000 students were deported to German concentration camps.

1940 7 July: Czechoslovak representation in exile constituted itself in London. It consisted of the office of the president (Edvard Beneš), the government, and a state council. 21 July: Britain recognized the Czechoslovak government-in-exile.

1941 January: Forced labor was enacted. Between 1940 and 1945, over 400,000 Czech males aged 18 to 50 were sent as forced labor to Germany. July: The Czechoslovak government-in-exile was recognized by the USSR and the United States. September: Hitler sent Reinhard Heydrich, head of the Nazi Security Service (SD), to Prague as acting Reichsprotektor. Heydrich decreed martial law, during which thousands of Czechs were killed or deported. October: The beginning of the deportation of Jews from the protectorate. The first transports went to Lodz in occupied Poland. November: Theresienstadt (Terezín), a fortress city in north Bohemia, was transformed into a transit ghetto for Jews from the protectorate and from other occupied countries before their final deportation to eastern extermination camps.

1942 27 May: Czech paratroopers from Britain, aided by the Czech underground, ambushed Heydrich in Prague. He was critically injured and died of his wounds a week later. June–July: Mass German reprisals occurred, during which over 3,000 people were killed. 18 July: The British government accorded the Czechoslovak government-in-exile full recognition.

1943 May–June: President Beneš visited the United States and Canada. December: President Beneš held talks with Stalin and with the exiled leadership of the KSC in Moscow. A new alliance treaty with the USSR was signed. Beneš and KSC leaders agreed on a new political system in the postwar CSR with a limited number of political parties.
1944  29 August: The Slovak National Uprising, which declared its support for the renewal of Czechoslovakia, broke out. 27 October: Superior German forces suppressed the Slovak uprising.

1945  17 March: President Beneš and the government-in-exile moved from London to Moscow after the Soviet Army liberated parts of the CSR. 21 March: The National Front (NF) was founded, with four Czech and initially two, then four, Slovak parties. 29 March: A new government was formed, headed by Zdeněk Fierlinger, a Social Democrat. Jan Masaryk, son of the founder of Czechoslovakia, was named foreign minister. 3 April: President Beneš arrived in eastern Slovakia. 5 April: The Program of a National and Democratic Revolution (Košický vládní program, or more commonly known in English as the Košice Government Program) was adopted in Košice, a city in eastern Slovakia. 21 April: The U.S. Third Army entered western Bohemia. Within two weeks, a large area was liberated, including Plzeň, the west Bohemian metropolis. 5 May: An uprising took place in Prague. 9 May: After an agreement between the U.S. and Soviet high commands, Prague was liberated by the Soviet Army. 10–16 May: The Czechoslovak government and President Beneš returned to Prague. May–November: President Beneš issued several decrees, later approved by the parliament as constitutional laws. These laws included confiscation of German property and nationalization of key industries, banks, and insurance companies. 29 June: Ruthenia (or Carpatho-Ukraine) was ceded to the USSR; Czechoslovakia’s international borders from the time of the Munich Conference were otherwise restored. July–August: The Potsdam Conference between the United States, Britain, and the USSR authorized the transfer of German populations from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. December: American and Soviet troops withdrew from Czechoslovakia.

1946  January: The mass transfer of the German population from the CSR began. Within 10 months, 2,170,598 Germans were transferred to the American and Soviet zones of Germany. 26 May: General elections were held in the CSR. The KSC won over 40 percent of the vote in the Czech lands, with over 30 percent in Slovakia. With a total of 38
percent of the vote, it became the strongest political force. **19 June:** The newly elected National Assembly unanimously reelected Edvard Beneš as president of the republic. **2 July:** President Beneš named a new government with Klement Gottwald, the KSC leader, as prime minister.

**1947 July:** Under Soviet pressure, Czechoslovakia declined the invitation to take part in the Marshall Plan. **November:** A political crisis in Slovakia resulted in suppression of the democratically elected majority in the autonomous administration. The Communists took over in Slovakia.

**1948 25 February:** The KSC seized complete control of the central government in an act referred to by non-Communists as a coup. **10 March:** Jan Masaryk died under unclear circumstances after falling from a window of his apartment in the foreign office building. **April–May:** Further nationalization included all foreign and wholesale trade, the publishing industry, spas, hotels, and travel agencies. The National (health) Insurance system was enacted. **9 May:** A new constitution was approved by the reorganized National Assembly, proclaiming Czechoslovakia a “people’s democracy.” President Beneš refused to sign it. **30 May:** Elections were held for the National Assembly, in which only candidates of the Communist-controlled National Front were on the ballot; almost 90 percent of the votes were reported to have approved the official candidates. **2 June:** President Beneš resigned. **14 June:** Klement Gottwald, the KSC leader, was elected president. He signed the new constitution. **15 June:** Antonín Zápotocký, a trade union leader, became the new prime minister. **27 June:** The Social Democratic Party was absorbed by the KSC. **3 September:** Former President Edvard Beneš died. **27 October:** The first five-year plan was introduced; it included particular measures for the industrialization of Slovakia.

**1949** A regional administration system replaced the old land order. Czechoslovakia took part in the establishment of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), the Soviet bloc organization for economic cooperation.
1950  According to the national census, the CSR had 12,338,450 inhabitants; 8,896,133 lived in the Czech lands, 3,442,317 in Slovakia. May: The Ministry of National Security was created on the Soviet model as a tool of purges and persecution. Tens of thousands of people were sent to prisons and forced labor camps; over 200 were put on trial and executed between 1949 and 1954.

1951  This was the year of accelerated collectivization of agriculture, a slow process still not completed before the end of the decade.

1952  A show trial of 14 leading officials of the KSC, including former General Secretary Rudolf Slánský, was held. Eleven of the accused were hanged.

1953  14 March: Klement Gottwald died. 21 March: Antonín Zápotocký was elected president. Viliam Široký, a Slovak Communist, was named the new prime minister. September: Antonín Novotný was appointed the first secretary of the KSC, the most powerful office in Communist Czechoslovakia.

1954  April: A show trial was held in Bratislava of leading Slovak Communists (Gustáv Husák and others), who were charged with nationalism. The accused were sentenced to long prison terms. It was the last show trial in the Soviet bloc.

1955  15 May: Czechoslovakia took part in the founding of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, known more commonly by its opponents and generally in the West as the Warsaw Pact.

1956  April: The KSC started a slow retreat from its hard-line policies after Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev’s denunciation of the excesses of Stalinism.

1957  13 November: President Zápotocký died. 19 November: KSC’s first secretary, Antonín Novotný, was elected president.
1958  **February:** The failing system of centralized management of the economy forced the KSC leadership to launch its first attempt at reform.

1960  **April:** A new system of territorial administration of the country was enacted. Czechoslovakia was divided into 10 regions and 108 districts. **11 July:** A new constitution was approved by the National Assembly, changing the name of the state to Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (Československá socialistická republika—CSSR). The autonomous status of Slovakia was further derogated.

1961  **December:** According to the national census, Czechoslovakia had 13,745,577 inhabitants: 9,571,531 lived in the Czech lands, 4,174,046 in Slovakia.


1964  **October:** Khrushchev was removed from power and was replaced by Leonid Brezhnev as the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Brezhnev era would come to be associated with a lack of reform and economic stagnation in the Soviet bloc.

1966  **May–June:** The 13th congress of the KSC reported that the party had almost 1.7 million members and candidate members.

1967  **January:** Limited market elements were introduced into the system of management of the economy. **June:** Open opposition against the dictatorial practices of the regime erupted at the congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers. **October–December:** A crisis broke out within the Central Committee of the KSC, centered on Novotný’s handling of Slovakia. Defiant members challenged Novotný to step down as first secretary.

1968  **January:** Novotný was forced to step down as KSC first secretary; in his place, Alexander Dubček, a Slovak and a reformer, was elected. **4 March:** Censorship collapsed; the Prague Spring of 1968 began. **22 March:** Antonín Novotný resigned as president. **23 March:**
At a closed meeting in Dresden, Brezhnev and East European leaders launched a campaign to intimidate Dubček, urging him to suppress the reform movement. 30 March: Ludvík Svoboda, a retired Army general, was elected president. 5 April: The KSC adopted a program of reforms that Moscow and other Communist countries denounced as counter-revolutionary. 8 April: Oldřich Černík was named prime minister. 26 June: The National Assembly approved a law that Czechoslovakia would become a federation of two states—the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. 21 August: Armed forces of the USSR, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria occupied Czechoslovakia, to which a veneer of legality was given with a new treaty in October. The KSC leadership was kidnapped and taken to Moscow and forced to sign an act of submission, called the Moscow Protocol. September–December: The reforms carried out during the Prague Spring were gradually strangled.

1969 16 January: A philosophy student of the Charles University, Jan Palach, burned himself to death in protest against the retreat of the Czechoslovak leadership before Soviet pressures. 17 April: Dubček was removed from office and replaced by a pro-Soviet quisling, Gustáv Husák. This marked the beginning of an era called “normalization.”

1969–1971 Mass purges and persecutions of supporters of Prague Spring occurred. Over 1 million people were thrown out of their jobs; over 500,000 KSC members either quit the party or were expelled.


1972 30 January: Over 160 Czech intellectuals, accused of underground opposition activities, were arrested. Some were put on trial and sentenced to prison terms, others were forced to leave the country. Opposition was temporarily silenced.

1974 2 December: Hana Beneš, wife of the last non-Communist president of Czechoslovakia, Edvard Beneš, died at age 89.

1977  January: The reform movement Charter 77 (Charta 77) issued its manifesto based on the final act of the Helsinki Conference. The initial document was signed by 216 leading Czech intellectuals, including Václav Havel. Persecution of the Charterists forced many to leave the country; others were jailed.

1978  December: The first Czechoslovak nuclear power station started operation in Jaslovské Bohunice in western Slovakia.

1980  According to the national census, Czechoslovakia had 15,276,799 inhabitants, of whom 10,288,946 lived in the Czech lands and 4,987,853 in Slovakia.

1985  Mikhail Gorbachev was appointed general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Like Brezhnev’s succession in 1964, this change would also be highly consequential for Czechoslovakia.

1985–1988: Gorbachev’s reforms, initiated gradually within the Soviet Union, were closely watched in Czechoslovakia by both the regime and the population. These initiatives, which bore some similarity to those of the Prague Spring, contributed to an erosion of the legitimacy of the Husák regime.

1987  April: Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visited Prague.  December: Gustáv Husák was replaced as the KSC general secretary by Miloš Jakeš, a lower-rank secretary of the Central Committee. Husák retained his position as president.

1988  21 August: The 20th anniversary of Soviet occupation was marked by demonstrations in Prague and other cities, although fears of police retaliation kept numbers small.  19 December: A Trade and Cooperation Agreement between the European Community (EC) and Czechoslovakia was signed, marking the opening of diplomatic relations.
1989  January: An unsanctioned commemoration of the death of Jan Palach 20 years before was broken up by police; many were arrested, including Havel who was again sentenced to prison. 17 November: An officially approved commemorative march of Prague students on the 50th anniversary of the German crackdown on Czech universities in 1939 was brutally attacked by riot police. These events marked the start of what became known worldwide as the Velvet Revolution. November–December: Mass protests against police brutality spread from Prague to the whole country, bringing hundreds of thousands to the streets. Charter 77 activists initiated the formation of an opposition center, Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF). 21 November: Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec opened nominal talks with the opposition. 27 November: A two-hour orderly general strike involved millions. To demonstrate that the protesters were law-abiding and also not seeking to disrupt economic production—and risk regime accusations of being “saboteurs”—the strike was held over lunchtime and workers remained at their posts for an additional two hours at the end of the day. 29 November: The government and the Federal Assembly accepted OF demands to remove from the constitution the clause about the “leading role” of the KSC, about the National Front, and about Marxism-Leninism as the state ideology. The KSC’s monopoly on power was over in principle but Communists continued to hold office. 3 December: Adamec’s proposal of Communist-dominated coalition government was rejected. 10 December: A coalition government was formed in which 13 of 21 posts were held by non-Communists; although the new Prime Minister Marian Čalfa was still a KSČ member, he left the party in January. 28 December: The Federal Assembly was reconstituted after the resignation of many stalwarts of the old regime. Alexander Dubček was elected chairman of the Federal Assembly. 29 December: Václav Havel was elected president of the republic by the Federal Assembly.

1990  23 January: The October 1968 “treaty” meant to legalize Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia was declared invalid. 20 February: An agreement was signed in Moscow with the USSR on the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces from Czechoslovakia. 27 February: A new electoral law was adopted by the parliament, reinstituting the proportional electoral system. 19 April: The Federal Assembly adopted the
Law on State Enterprise, a key legal prerequisite for privatization of property nationalized in 1945 and 1948. Banks, factories, and other enterprises in the public sector were thus transformed from national property status into the property of the state, giving the government the legal right to sell them to private interests. **24 April:** The name of the state was changed from “Czechoslovak Socialist Republic” to “Czech and Slovak Federative Republic” (Česká a Slovenská Federatívni Republika—CSFR). The state symbols were also changed. **31 May:** The first stage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia began. **June 9:** Elections were held for the new Federal Assembly and for both national parliaments, the Czech and Slovak national councils. The OF received over 60 percent of the vote in the Czech Republic; the KSC received less than 15 percent. In Slovakia, the equivalent of the OF, Public against Violence (Verejnost proti násiliu—VPN), received over 37 percent; the Communists received 14 percent. **27 June:** Alexander Dubček was reelected chairman of the Federal Assembly. **5 July:** Václav Havel was reelected president. **September:** Parliament’s “November 17 Commission” was established to investigate the Velvet Revolution and connections of Members of Parliament to the previous regime; start of the “lustration” process to remove Communist party members from major positions in government and society. **22 September:** Czechoslovakia was admitted to the International Monetary Fund. **25 October:** The Federal Assembly approved its first law on privatization, called “small privatization.” **December:** A power-sharing agreement between the federal government and the republics was passed by the federal parliament. The Central bank devalued the Czechoslovak crown and made it internally convertible.

**1991** 1 January: Price liberalization was introduced; trade with former socialist countries was to be conducted thereafter in hard currency. 9 January: The Federal Assembly approved the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms (Listina základních práv a svobod). 15 February: The leaders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland launched Visegrád cooperation, particularly to assist their countries’ efforts at Euro-Atlantic integration. 26 February: A wider law on privatization of state-owned enterprises, called “large privatization,” was approved by parliament. **March:** pro-independence demonstrations occurred in
Slovakia; Havel was attacked by protestors in Bratislava; Slovak politician Vladimír Mečiar made a new faction within Public against Violence called Public against Violence for a Democratic Slovakia. **April:** Civic Forum split into two main factions, the Civic Democratic Party (*Občanská demokratická strana*—ODS), led by Václav Klaus, and the Civic Movement (*Občanské hnutí*—OH), led by former dissident Jiří Dienstbier. **13 June:** Large-scale privatization began. **21 June:** The last Soviet soldier left Czechoslovakia, slightly ahead of the agreed deadline of June 30. **1 July:** The Warsaw Pact formally disbanded itself at a meeting in Prague. The protocols ending the military alliance were to be kept in the Czechoslovak capital. **7 November:** The Constitutional Court was established. **December:** A series of negotiations between the Czech and Slovak national governments on a new federal constitution failed. **16 December:** An Association Agreement was signed between the EC and Czechoslovakia. Separate agreements were also signed with Hungary and Poland, the first three post-Communist states to obtain such status with the EC.

**1992 12 February:** The “Milovy agreement” for a common state was agreed, suggesting that the Federation would be preserved. **May:** The first wave of voucher privatization began. **5–6 June:** General elections were held for the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak national councils. In the Czech lands, the ODS won the most votes (33.9 percent and 29.73 percent respectively); in Slovakia, the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (*Hnutí za demokratické Slovensko*—HZDS) won 33.53 percent and 37.26 percent respectively. Marian Čalfa’s federal government resigned; an interim government was established under Jan Stásky. **3 July:** Václav Havel’s reelection as president was blocked by Slovak deputies. **17 July:** The Slovak National Council declared Slovakia’s independence. **23 July:** Czech Prime Minister Václav Klaus and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar agreed to divide Czechoslovakia peacefully by December 31, 1992. The agreement included a requirement of a 60 percent majority vote in each republic’s parliament. **13 November:** The law on the separation of the Federation was passed and included provisions for the division of federal property between the two constituent republics. **16 December:** The Czech National Council adopted the Constitution of the Czech Republic. The Charter
of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, adopted by the previous Federal Assembly in 1991, was embodied in the constitution. **19 December:** The Czech National Council rejected filling the new Czech Senate with sitting Czech members of the Federal Parliament; the Senate would remain empty until January 1997. **20 December:** The Central European Free Trade Agreement between Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland came into effect.

**1993**  
1 January: Following the so-called Velvet Divorce, the Czech Republic became a sovereign state.  
26 January: Havel was elected president of the Czech Republic and sworn in a week later.  
8 February: The Czech crown was introduced as the legal tender of the new state.  
22 June: The Prague stock exchange expanded from dealing in bonds to trading of company shares from the first wave of voucher privatization.  
30 June: The Czech Republic entered the Council of Europe, having first gained membership as Czechoslovakia.  
4 October: A new Association Agreement was signed with the European Union (EU), replacing the previous agreement signed in December 1991 with Czechoslovakia.

**1994**  
10 March: The Czech Republic signed the Partnership for Peace with NATO.  
May: The Czech Republic gained associate membership of the Western European Union.  
September: A new law stipulated that Czech citizenship was obtainable with two years’ residence and five years without a criminal record. This law would later be seen by some domestic and foreign human rights activists and intergovernmental organizations as discriminatory toward Roma.  
18–19 November: Local elections were held in the Czech Republic. The ODS received 29 percent of the vote; the Communists, 15 percent; the Social Democrats, 9 percent; and the Christian and Democratic Union–Czech People’s Party (Křesťanská a demokratická unie–Česká strana lidová—KDU-ČSL), 8.6 percent.

**1995**  
1 February: The Czech Republic became an associate member of the EU.  
1 March: Shares from the second wave of voucher privatization began trading on the Prague stock exchange.  
30 June: It was announced that 70 percent of the total gross domestic product (GDP) had been produced by the private sector of the economy in the first half of
1995. **26 September:** The parliament passed a new Foreign Exchange Act, making the Czech currency freely convertible starting on October 1. **27 September:** Parliament affirmed the formation of the Senate, although elections would not be held until 1996. **26 October:** The closing of the Czech Ministry of Privatization, a hallmark in the economic transformation, was officially announced as planned for the first half of 1996. **28 November:** The Czech Republic became the first country of the former Soviet bloc to be admitted to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a crucial indicator of economic success and a step toward full membership in the European Union. **18 December:** General elections for the Chamber of Deputies were called for 31 May and 1 June, 1996. The first elections for the Senate were scheduled for 15–16 November, 1996.

1996  **23 January:** The Czech Republic submitted its application for membership of the European Union. **31 May–1 June:** Elections were held for the Chamber of Deputies. **3 June:** The official results of the parliamentary elections were announced. Six political parties qualified for representation in the Chamber of Deputies: the ODS—29.62 percent; Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD)—26.44 percent; the KDU-CSL—8.08 percent; Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSC)—8.1 percent. The previous coalition of ODS, ODA, and KDU-CSL lost its parliamentary majority. **27 June:** Miloš Zeman, the leader of the CSSD, was elected chairman of the Chamber of Deputies. The Coalition Agreement, signed between ODS, ODA, and KDU-CSL, established parity in the new minority cabinet between ODS and its two smaller partners, ODA and KDU-CSL. **2 July:** President Havel asked Václav Klaus, the leader of the largest party, to form a new government. **25 July:** The Chamber of Deputies approved the new government’s program by a vote of 98 (the coalition deputies) to 38 (the Communists and the Republicans). All 64 Social Democratic deputies were absent, showing their reservations about the government program. **November:** The first elections for the Senate were held on November 15–16 (the first round), and 22–23 November (the second round). The coalition parties won 52 seats; the Social Democrats, 25 seats; the Communists, two seats; the Democratic Union, one seat; one mandate was won by an independent candidate.
Former Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart, who was running on the list of the KDU-CSL, was elected chairman of the Senate.

1997  17 January: The Czech–German Declaration on Mutual Relations and Their Future Development was signed in Prague by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Czech Prime Minister Klaus. The Chamber of Deputies approved the declaration nearly a month later in a vote of 131 to 59. 3 February: A negative balance of Czech foreign trade, dragging for over two years and repeatedly disregarded as insignificant, reached almost 9 percent of Czech GDP in 1996. It was now declared a matter of urgent government concern. March: More signs of economic difficulties were openly admitted by the prime minister and other members of the government. This included a poor legal environment, ambiguous ownership relations, an ineffective banking system, low productivity, and too high earnings. 15 April: To check the worsening economic situation, the government approved a package of measures, particularly import limitations and budget cuts. Widespread embezzlement in the banking sector, a public health-care crisis, and other factors severely undermined public confidence in these important institutions. 24 May: Several members of the government resigned, including two of the main engineers of the Czech economic transformation, Vladimír Dlouhý (economy and commerce), and Ivan Kočárník (finance). The opposition called for the resignation of the whole cabinet. 26–27 May: The Czech currency fell by 10 percent despite massive efforts by the central bank to prevent a devaluation. 28 May: The coalition adopted further emergency measures, called the stabilization program. An austerity budget was introduced with further across-the-board cuts in budgetary expenditures, including social benefits. 10 June: By a vote of 101 to 99, the Chamber of Deputies expressed its confidence in the Klaus government. The narrow vote showed how unstable the political situation was. 9 July: The NATO summit in Madrid issued its first membership invitations to post-Communist countries, which were the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary; their entry was expected, and proved, to be in 1999. 16 July: The European Commission’s Agenda 2000 criticized some aspects of Czech progress but recommended it, with Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Slovenia, and Cyprus, for detailed accession negotiations. Summer: Czech Roma sought political asylum in
Canada, then Britain and France, claiming persecution; President Havel urged Czechs to fight “latent racism” in society after the media gave extensive coverage to the departure of Roma from the country. 23 October: Josef Zieleniec resigned as both foreign minister and deputy ODS chairman in protest over Klaus’s party leadership style and over the sources of party finances. 30 November: Klaus resigned as prime minister to go into what he called “constructive opposition.” 9 December: Havel made a lengthy speech that, while never mentioning Klaus by name, criticized the harm done to society by his former government.

1998  2 January: Central Bank Governor Josef Tošovský was sworn in as prime minister of a caretaker government. 17 January: A new political party, the Freedom Union, was founded as a breakaway faction of Klaus’s ODS. 20 January: Havel was narrowly reelected as Czech president. 31 March: Czech negotiations for membership of the EU began. May: Czechs were startled that the Canadian government imposed visas on all Czechs as a consequence of the migration of Czech Roma in summer 1997. 19–20 June: The CSSD won 74 and ODS 63 of 200 parliamentary seats in elections; with neither of these two largest parties able to govern alone, a month of negotiations followed. 17 July: Zeman was appointed prime minister according to the Opposition Agreement by which Klaus became parliamentary chairman and the ODS pledged not to allow a defeat of the Social Democratic minority government. August 19: In accordance with the Opposition Agreement, ODS parliamentarians walked out of Parliament to avoid voting so that Zeman’s minority government won the requisite confidence vote.

1999  2 February: The Defense Ministry refuted charges of embezzlement made by TV Prima regarding funds paid by the Saudi government to Czechoslovakia for its support in the Gulf War of 1990–1991. 12 March: The Czech Republic, with Poland and Hungary, joined NATO. 24 March: The Czech Republic, as a NATO member, became at war with Yugoslavia as the Alliance sought to bomb Belgrade into ceasing persecution of Kosovo’s Albanian population. Czech Foreign Minister Jan Kavan and his Greek counterpart later unsuccessfully proposed a plan to stop NATO’s bombing. 28 September: Four smaller parties signed the Four-Party Coalition Agreement to work to defeat the CSSD
and ODS. **November:** After considerable foreign and some domestic pressure, the Czech cabinet ordered the removal of the controversial “wall” that separated Roma from other residents in the northern Bohemian city of Ustí nad Labem. Separately, the “Thank you, Now Leave” petition gained 200,000 supporters; its leaders met to formalize a new civic association but that did not materialize.

**2000  1 January:** In one of the most significant reorganizations of the Czech Republic’s public administration, a set of 14 regions was introduced, with Prague as one of them. The regions were to gain powers increasingly from the central government but the planned regional assemblies, an integral part of the new structure, would not begin until after local elections scheduled for much later. **3 January:** Zeman expressed disappointment at the progress of his party’s major initiative called “clean hands” to fight corruption but said that those responsible would be jailed and that his government had filed over 2,000 lawsuits against suspected economic criminals. **January:** The ODS renewed the Opposition Agreement that allowed Zeman’s minority Social Democratic government to remain in office. **17 March:** EU Enlargement Commission Günter Verheugen said that Czech progress toward accession had improved in the previous six months and expected the next accession report to reflect that. **20 March:** Zeman announced that the sale of state enterprises would generate 500 billion crowns, more than twice what was expected, and still before the country’s main utility provider was put on sale. **28 March:** In an assessment after two years of accession negotiations, the EU declared that both Hungary and the Czech Republic had not secured their border sufficiently, allowing the easy movement of criminal activity. The EU particularly criticized governmental practice of concentrating on checking documentation rather than the people and materials crossing the borders. The Czech Interior Ministry stated two days later that it had not received the report and therefore was not replying to the criticisms. **4 April:** The mayor of Ustí nad Labem announced that the “wall” built to enclose some Romani families was sold to the city zoo. **6 April:** The Lower House passed a resolution accepting the treaty to finalize the division of federal assets between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The treaty took seven years to settle. **11 April:** Czech
Airlines (CSA) resumed flights to Yugoslavia, having suspended them before the start of the NATO campaign. 16 June: The government placed the Czech Republic’s third-largest bank, Investiční a Poštovní Banka, under state control after enormous amounts of the bank’s funds had disappeared in the preceding months. October: The first reactor at the Temelín nuclear power plant became operational, provoking further protests in Austria, some leaders of which called for the Czech Republic to be excluded from EU membership. 1 December: Zdeněk Tůma, who was serving as vice governor, was appointed governor of the Czech National Bank.

2001 January: Thousands of Czechs protested to support a strike by journalists against the appointment of Jiří Hodáč as director-general of state television. The appointment was considered political and a compromise of editorial independence. The dispute and protests lasted weeks but Hodáč, and those he appointed, eventually resigned. 28 January: Cyril Svoboda was elected leader of the four-party coalition. 27 February: The Constitutional Court upheld objections brought to it by President Havel against measures supported by the CSSD and ODS to reallocate public funding to political parties. The move was seen as favoring the largest established parties and disadvantaging smaller ones. 1 April: Vladimír Špidla was elected chairman of the Social Democratic Party, to succeed Zeman who remained prime minister until new elections in 2002. 3 April: Finance Minister Pavel Mertlík resigned, citing his inability to influence government decisions, but his resignation was widely believed to be due to ongoing differences with his trade and industry counterpart. June: Hana Marvanová became leader of the Freedom Union, the first time a woman led a Czech political party. 28 June: The delayed sale of the Czech Republic’s last major state-owned bank, Komerční Banka, was announced; the buyer was France’s Société Générale. November: Under EU mediation, Zeman and Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel agreed to a series of safety and monitoring measures for the Temelín nuclear power plant. 12 December: The government passed two resolutions authorizing the deployment of Czech military forces to Afghanistan for humanitarian and peacekeeping operations.
2002  January: A joint investment by French carmaker PSA Peugeot Citroen and Japanese Toyota for the production of small passenger cars in the northern city of Kolín was finalized. At 1.5 billion Euros, this was the largest single foreign investment to date in the Czech Republic. 

March: A 250-person Czech antichemical unit was deployed to Kuwait as part of the U.S.-led military build-up against Iraq. The unit’s deployment would become a political issue as tensions over the terms of going to war increased in the Czech Republic in the following year. 15 March: A new law signed by President Havel made public almost all of the files kept by the Communist-era secret police. 11 April: Visiting Prague EU Enlargement Commissioner Günter Verheugen supported the Czech government position on the postwar Beneš Decrees that allowed the transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia, stating also that demands for their repeal of some Austrians and Germans were not supported by their governments. Around the same time, the Czech Parliament voted unanimously to reject calls by neighboring countries for the repeal of the postwar Beneš Decrees, which led to the expulsion of over 2.5 million ethnic Germans and thousands of Hungarians. June–July: The Social Democratic Party won a plurality of votes in elections but enough only to gain 70 seats in the 200 seat parliament. Špidla formed a coalition with the centrist Christian Democrats and Freedom Union. The Communists placed third, winning 41 seats, their highest in the post-Communist period. August: Prague endured its worst flooding in 200 years; numerous Czech towns were devastated. Damages were estimated at billions of crowns. 12–13 December: The European Council in Copenhagen decided that the Czech Republic had successfully concluded negotiations for its accession to the EU.

2003  13 January: The government backed a U.S. request for Czech military support in a war against Iraq and intended to increase by about 100 soldiers its existing deployment of 250 troops in Kuwait, who would arrive there on 28 January. Havel also gave his support, stating that he wanted the Ministry of Defense to have authorization to deploy the Czech unit in American-led operations. 14 January: A Senate Committee recommended removing Senator Vladimír Železný’s immunity so that he could face fraud charges arising before his election
relating to his ownership of NOVA TV; he received further charges six weeks later for tax evasion. **19 January:** At its party conference the Freedom Union elected Petr Mareš as its new leader and reaffirmed its membership in the governing coalition. **30 January:** Havel’s name appeared with those of seven other European leaders in an article first published in the *Wall Street Journal Europe*, which gained the nickname of the “Letter of Eight.” The piece was taken as important political support for the U.S. position on Iraq. Czech Prime Minister Špidla explained that he had not signed it because the appropriate expression of policy was as a parliamentary resolution rather than a newspaper letter. **2 February:** Due to inconclusive votes in parliament for a presidential successor, Havel left office with no replacement agreed; presidential duties were divided between Prime Minister Vladimír Špidla and chairman of the Lower House Lubomír Zaoralek. **28 February:** A third round of parliamentary voting gave Václav Klaus 142 votes, just two more than required. His rival, Jan Sokol, who was backed by the governing coalition, received 124. The results suggested that Klaus received support from the Communists and from some members of the ruling coalition. Klaus then explained that he would be nonpartisan president but remain a nonactive member of ODS. **11 March:** The coalition government won the confidence vote in the Lower House, allowing it to remain in power. **31 March:** Ahead of the EU summit in Athens, the Czech Cabinet approved the Accession Treaty to the EU, which established the terms by which the country would enter the EU. **9 April:** In a general vote on the accession of 10 new members to the EU in the European Parliament, the Czech Republic was accepted by a vote of 489 to 39. **16 April:** The Accession Treaty to the EU was signed with the Czech Republic at the Athens European Council; full membership was expected at this point (and then achieved) on 1 May 2004. **29 May:** Defense Minister Jaroslav Tvrdík resigned in protest over planned changes to government spending that would reduce defense funding; he said the requisite military reforms would be impossible. **13–14 June:** 52.21 percent of eligible voters participated in a referendum on EU accession, of whom 73.33 percent voted in favor and 22.67 percent against. **18 June:** With the public deficit at an unprecedented 6.2 percent of GDP, the government agreed plans to reduce it to 4 percent by 2006. On 19 June trade unions led a protest march in Prague against the planned reductions in
public spending, to which Finance Minister Bohuslav Sobotka replied that their salary demands could not be met. 16 July: In its last report on the Czech Republic’s progress toward accession before the country was expected to enter the EU, the European Commission noted considerable advances in some required changes but also criticized other aspects of preparation, particularly in subnational public administration. 26 September: The government survived a nonconfidence motion when one dissenting Social Democrat MP, whose vote would have ended the government’s rule, instead abstained. The government also passed increases on gasoline, alcohol, and tobacco that would take effect from 1 January 2004 and, apart from increasing public revenue, would align Czech consumer taxes with the EU. The bill also reduced some social welfare spending and together the measures were intended to reshape government expenditure to meet requirements to adopting the Euro in 2010. Prime Minister Špidla had staked his political career on the passage of these reforms. 8 September: Miroslav Kaloušek defeated Cyril Svoboda to become leader of the KDU-CSL. Kaloušek said he would not seek a cabinet post but would concentrate on improving the party’s performance in the next elections; he was known for having views close to those of the ODS. 3 December: The Lower House passed the government’s budget for 2004, which would have an unprecedented deficit of 115 billion crowns. ODS and Communist MPs voted against the budget. At the end of the month, Prime Minister Špidla gave a speech that invoked successes under Charles IV and claimed that his government’s financial reforms would make the Czech Republic a leader among the new member of the EU.

2004 1 January: In the traditional presidential New Year’s Address, Václav Klaus called the impending entry of the Czech Republic into the EU a new stage in the nation’s history. That day also marked the start of increased taxes across a range of goods and services as part of the government’s fiscal plan to reduce the public deficit. 27 March: Czech special forces began searching in Afghanistan for renegade Taliban and Al-Qaida as part of “Operation Enduring Freedom.” 7 April: A European Commission report declared the Czech economy to be in a critical condition and called for various urgent measures, including reforms of public sector funding. 1 May: The Czech Republic entered the EU.
5 May: At a ceremony at the European Parliament, Pavel Telička became the Czech Republic’s European Commission, with responsibilities for health and consumer protection. 8 May: On the day commemorating the end of World War II, the last conscripts to enter the Czech Army before it would become professional in 2005 pledged allegiance at Hradčany. 12 May: Meeting in Kroměříž in the Czech Republic, the leaders of the Visegrád Group issued a declaration of continued four-way cooperation after their entry into the EU. 12–13 June: The Czech Republic participated for the first time in elections to the European Parliament. The ruling party placed fifth, a performance that forced Prime Minister Špidla and his cabinet to resign on 30 June, although Klaus asked him to remain temporarily. 2 July: Klaus has asked Gross to undertake negotiations to establish a new government. The expectation was that a coalition of the previous three parties would be recreated. 26 July: After weeks of negotiations, Gross was appointed prime minister. In so doing he became the youngest prime minister in Czech history and also the youngest serving prime minister in Europe. His provisional coalition government consisted of his Social Democratic Party and the two smaller center-right parties that had governed previously. As before, they would have a combined parliamentary majority of only one seat, which prompted speculation that it would be short-lived. 25 August: The government survived a nonconfidence motion by one vote; some government MPs were required to leave hospital to participate. 11 October: The Czech Republic’s controversial Temelín nuclear power plans received approval for full operation. Austrian demonstrators again barricaded a border crossing in protest a few days later. 20 October: The European Commission deemed none of the accession states to be prepared for joining the Euro; the Czech Republic was particularly criticized for its public deficit. 6 November: In regional elections the Civic Democratic Party polled best, taking 291 seats. The Communist Party placed second, with 157; the ruling Social Democratic Party won 105. In elections held simultaneously for one-third of the Senate seats, the Civic Democratic Party again won the lead. Social Democratic Prime Minister Stanislav Gross blamed his party’s poor performance on low voter turnout and refused to resign. 13 November: The second round of Senate elections gave 18 of 27 contested seats to the Civic Democratic Party. Despite Social Democratic Party leader Gross’s encouragement
to vote for the Communist Party instead of the ODS in constituencies where his party was not running, the Social Democrats still performed badly. The election was remarkable for a voter turnout of only 18 percent, the lowest in senatorial elections, as well as for returning the Green Party’s first senator. Even with its victory, the ODS lacked enough seats to form a majority in the Senate. **22 November:** Former Czech Prime Minister Vladimír Špidla assumed the post of European Commissioner for Labor and Social Affairs. **9 December:** Controversial immigration checks were conducted by British officials in Prague airports in 2001, ostensibly to stop illegal immigration generally but seen as targeting Roma, were found to be discriminatory by Britain’s highest judicial body, the Law Lords.

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**2005 2 January:** In contrast to President Klaus’s opposition to an EU Constitution, former president Havel spoke supportively of it and said that as EU members, Czechs need not vote for it in a referendum. A poll conducted in February 2005 found that somewhat over half of Czechs wanted a referendum on any EU Constitution. **5 January:** The Czech Statistics Office reported that the Czech Republic achieved in November 2004 its first foreign trade surplus for a decade, due especially to increased sales in the automotive and engineering sectors that were facilitated by Czech entry into the EU the year before. **5 March:** After weeks of criticism, Prime Minister Gross apologized for unsatisfactory explanations for how he had financed his Prague apartment. Gross’s CSSD also gave him a vote of confidence. Gross said he considered the matter, which had provoked a government crisis, settled. His coalition partners, the Christian Democrats, demanded his resignation and the opposition Civic Democrats wanted his government to face a confidence vote. **30 March:** The Christian Democrats decided to withdraw from the governing coalition due to Gross’s finance controversy. **1 April:** Gross’s government survived a vote of nonconfidence when Communist Party MPs saved the government by abstaining. Other non–Social Democrat cabinet ministers in the coalition government resigned in protest at the government’s reliance on Communist support to remain in office. **3 April:** Following the call the day before by President Klaus, the government said that it would hold a confidence vote before appointing new cabinet ministers. **7 April:** Gross gave his first indication that
he could resign but made it conditional on an agreement being struck among the coalition partners to retain them in power. **25 April:** Gross finally resigned as prime minister, replaced by Jiří Paroubek, who stated that he could make a coalition in future with the Communist Party. To that point, since the end of Communist rule the Communists had not received overtures to share in government. In the following days, several of Paroubek’s fellow Social Democrats, including former Foreign Minister Jan Kavan, expressed their doubts about the new government and suggested that they might not support it and considered also creating their own faction within the party. Gross continued as party leader, even though calls for his resignation increased in coming weeks. **13 May:** The government survived the no-confidence vote when all 101 members of the three governing coalition parties voted in favor, giving a majority of one. A day later, the anticipated left-wing faction was created in the Social Democrat Party. It pledged not to undermine the government but also to keep the party true to its ideals. **19 May:** Senator Karel Schwarzenberg was expelled from Cuba for partaking in activities in support of dissidents. **15 June:** Spain’s Telefonica secured 51 percent control of the Czech Republic’s main phone company, Český Telecom. **14 July:** Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel expressed his support for Paroubek’s intention of a reconciliatory gesture toward Sudeten Germans who were not supportive of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia. Several Czech politicians and Slovak Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda, however, opposed the still undefined measure and president Klaus commended the idea a day later. **31 July:** The Czech Republic became the first post-Communist member of NATO to command the KFOR peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, leading a force of 1,500 soldiers from five countries. **Early August:** A deal was finally agreed whereby the Czech Republic’s state-owned Vitkovice Steel was to be sold to Russia’s Evraz Holdings, beating the Indian steel giant Mital. **8 August:** Petra Buzková, one of the country’s most popular female politicians and minister of education, announced that she would leave politics. **22 August:** Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was Polish Defense Minister during the crushing of the Prague Spring of 1968, and went on to be president of Communist Poland, renewed his apology for his country’s participation in the military intervention. **23 December:** Czech language radio broadcasting by the British Broadcasting Cor-
poration (BBC) was confirmed to stop in January 2006. The BBC had already announced a major reduction to broadcasting to the region to fund enhanced Arabic-language programming and a reduced service to the Czech Republic would not meet that government’s requirements for Czech language content.

2006 26 January: Legalization of same-sex marriages was passed in both Houses, following seven years of campaigning; President Klaus vetoed it several weeks later and parliament then reversed his veto in March. 28 February: The World Bank formally announced that the Czech Republic had become an advanced economy, only the second post-Communist state (after Slovenia) to do so. 2–3 June: Elections to the Chamber of Deputies resulted in deadlock when the three center-right parties won 100 seats and the two left-wing parties the remaining 100 seats. 12 August: In the continuing talks between the two leading parties from the June elections, an apparent agreement was reached whereby a Civic Democrat minority government would be formed, headed by Mirek Topolánek as prime minister, with the support of the Social Democrats. The outgoing Social Democrats agreed to resign their government, which they did on August 16, and in return a Social Democrat would temporarily become parliamentary speaker. The small Green Party expressed its intention to resist what it saw as the efforts of these two larger parties to cooperate to disadvantage smaller parties. 24 August: The prospect of a grand coalition of the Civic Democrats and Social Democrats evaporated when Paroubek terminated talks with the former, declaring that common ground could not be found. Paroubek then suggested his party could form a government with the Christian Democrats. 25 August: Having first declared that the KDU-CSL would be in opposition, and then saying that he would consider a coalition with the Social Democrats, Kalousek’s Christian Democrats said they would not support a leftwing coalition if it needed Communist support. Kalousek then resigned his party leadership. 4 September: A Civic Democratic cabinet, headed by Mirek Topolánek as prime minister, was appointed. The 15-member cabinet was composed of nine ODS and six unaffiliated members. By law it was required to seek a parliamentary vote of confidence within 30 days, which it was widely expected to fail, and did lose on 3 October. 10 September: Miroslav Kalousek resigned
as chairman of the Christian Democratic parliamentary committee after
disquiet over his willingness to give parliamentary support to the Social
Democratic Party and the Communist Party. A day later parliamentar-
ians voted Vlasta Parkanová to succeed him. **10 October:** The four
prime ministers of the Visegrád Group used their meeting to object
to any postponement of the entry of their countries into the Schengen
area as both costly to them and a negative signal to new member-states
about the EU. **11 October:** Following the failure to secure a vote of
confidence, Topolánek submitted his and his cabinet’s resignation to
President Klaus. Klaus, however, stated that the government should
continue beyond the local and Senate elections scheduled for 21 Octo-
ber. **21–22 October:** The ODS emerged most successful from Senate
and local elections but the outcome could not influence the stalemate
in the Lower House.

**2007** 9 January: Topolánek was appointed prime minister by presi-
dent Klaus. 19 January: Topolánek’s second government, a coalition
which included the Green Party for the first time in office, survived
a vote of confidence, allowing it to continue to govern. 7 February:
KDU-CSL Senator and Minister for Regional Development Jiří Čunek
had his parliamentary immunity removed to facilitate police enqui-
ries into corruption allegations while he was a mayor. 23 May: The
government announced that mining would continue at Dolní Rožínka,
Europe’s only operational uranium mine. 4–5 June: U.S. President
George W. Bush visited the Czech Republic; discussions included
installation of an American antiballistic missile radar system and visas
for Czechs traveling to the United States. 27 August: Muhammad El-
Baradei, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, declared that
he had no fears of the Czech Republic’s Temelín nuclear power, which
had provoked serious opposition from neighboring Austrians. 7 No-
vember: Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Local Development
Jiří Čunek resigned both portfolios after continuing questions about his
entitlement to public benefits. 13 November: The European Court of
Human Rights ruled that the Czech Republic had been discriminatory
in its treatment of Roma children in state education. 21 December:
The Czech Republic entered the Schengen zone, allowing for visa-free
travel within that European area. 31 December: The ODA, once a
coalition partner in government and a member-party of the four-party coalition, disbanded.

2008 31 January: A report adopted by the European Parliament called for the controversial pig farm to be closed and a memorial erected on the site of a World War II concentration camp in which Czech Roma were interned. 14 February: EU statistics for 2005 showed Prague to be the 12th richest area in the whole EU, and the wealthiest among all the post-Communist entrants. 15 February: After a third round of voting in the Czech Parliament, Klaus was reelected president for a second term. 21 May: The government announced that it would extend recognition to Kosovo, despite continued opposition from government coalition partners and from the main opposition parties. 6 July: The Russian ambassador to the Czech Republic demanded that Russian inspectors be stationed permanently at the planned American radar as part of a missile defense system. 20 September: Czech ambassador to Pakistan, Ivo Ždárek, was among the dozens killed in a bombing of the Marriott hotel in Islamabad. 17–18 and 24–25 October: Senate elections saw the governing parties in the Lower House, the ODS and KDU-CSL, perform badly while the opposition CSSD won the majority of contested seats. 29 October: The Lower House ratified the International Criminal Court, months after the Senate; the Czech Republic was the last EU state to do so. 10 November: On a state visit to Ireland, President Klaus met with campaigners opposed to the EU’s Lisbon Treaty and called himself an “EU dissident.” 26 November: The Czech Constitutional Court ruled unanimously that the proposed Treaty of Lisbon of the EU did not contradict the Czech constitution.

2009 1 January: the Czech Republic assumed for its first time the rotating presidency of the EU. The shutoff of Russian energy supplies through Ukraine and heightened tensions in the Gaza strip, including major military operations by Israeli forces in response to Hamas attacks, meant that the Czech presidency was immediately brought into the center of European and international politics. 5 March: The Catholic Church suffered another defeat in its continuing efforts to reclaim property from the state when the Supreme Court ruled against its claim for St. Vitus Cathedral. 24 March: Topolánek’s center-right coalition
collapsed when four government deputies joined with the opposition to vote against it in a nonconfidence resolution. All EU foreign ministers arrived in the Czech Republic immediately after for a scheduled, but informal meeting. 5 April: U.S. President Barack Obama addressed crowds in Hradčany Square, Prague. Czech President Klaus said the speech was surprisingly “Czech” in content. 6 April: Jan Fischer, head of the Czech Statistical Office and not a major public figure, was announced as the compromise candidate of the former government and the main opposition to serve as a caretaker prime minister from May, until new elections could be held.
The Czech Republic, and before it Czechoslovakia, has deservedly attracted more public and scholarly interest than a country of such size and population might otherwise. The country’s extraordinary modern history—at times horrifically tragic, at others magically transformative—captures attention. Czechoslovakia was the democratic and industrial success of Central Europe in the interwar period, led by the humanist scholar Tomáš G. Masaryk. But it became the victim of appeasement when it was sacrificed to Nazi German ambitions following the Munich Diktat of September 1938, an outcome that gave us the enduring metaphor of “Munich” as both cowardly and desperate international behavior. Post–World War II Czechoslovakia was the most accepting and supportive of Communism among its neighbors; from 1946 a Communist even served as prime minister. Communist forces, however, were not content with shared power and had by February 1948 seized and consolidated their power thereafter with the thorough application of Stalinist practices and abuses.

International sympathy soared for Czechoslovakia when freer-thinking Communists introduced positive changes in the Prague Spring of 1968 and came again, joined with outrage, when those modest reforms were crushed by the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact. Still, in those most difficult of political circumstances, brave dissidents kept hope and morality alive. Czechoslovakia captured the international imagination again in 1989 when entirely peaceful but large-scale protests forced the hard-line Communist regime finally to relinquish power through a process that is now, especially abroad, admiringly called the “Velvet Revolution.” As if by righting history, and inverting the year-numbers of ’68 and ’89, at the very end of 1989, the still-Communist parliament elected as its speaker the deposed leader of the 1968
reforms, Alexander Dubček, and then the dissident Václav Havel as the country’s president. A political fairytale was enacted in real life.

Post-Communist Czechoslovakia then launched some of the most ambitious and innovative changes in the post-Communist world, including pioneering (if also flawed) forms of privatization. While these measures remain debated, they certainly attracted substantial Western interest in the country’s transition process. And as if Czechoslovakia had not already provided ample models of political change in the 20th century, its federation disintegrated in 1992. But at least it did so peacefully, in sharp contrast to the bloodshed in Yugoslavia, and gave us the epithet of the Velvet Divorce.

Such a deeply moving history is not the only reason for interest in the Czechs. The international contributions of Czech culture and culture originating from the Czech lands are considerable, even if these origins are not always recognized abroad. Czech culture has furnished us with the word robot, one of the world’s most famous Christmas carols, and probably the world’s most popular song, the “Beer Barrel Polka,” which U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower said was instrumental in winning World War II. Traditional architecture in the Czech lands, especially but not only in the capital of Prague, is breathtaking and now rightly attracts millions of tourists and numerous foreign film crews, providing the setting (and much production) for some of the world’s most fashionable films. Czech inventions and technology range from the contact lens to the explosive of choice of terrorists, semtex, although it was invented for civilian demolition purposes. Czech crystal and glassware is among the world’s best. The Czech automotive industry, a world leader in the interwar period, has regained international stature, and enjoys excellent sales figures, international production, and top awards. Czechs have become leading advertising personalities and Czech sporting figures and teams have excelled worldwide.

Although the Czech Republic only became an independent state on 1 January 1993, the Czech state belongs among the oldest continuous statehoods in Europe, dating its origins back to the 9th century. It had undergone numerous transformations since then, often under foreign rulers and domination. But it has struggled to be free and to preserve and enhance its national heritage, much of which has also become internationally significant.
LAND AND PEOPLE

Located in Central Europe, the Czech Republic borders on Germany in the west and north, Poland in the north, Slovakia in the east, and Austria in the south. The Czech capital is Prague, with a population of 1.3 million.

The Czech Republic covers an area of 78,864 square kilometers (30,449 square miles), almost twice the size of Switzerland. It consists of Bohemia in the west and Moravia in the east. Northern districts of Moravia used to be a part of historical Silesia; otherwise, the contemporary Czech state exists largely within the same borders as it had a thousand years ago.

Bohemia is a plateau with natural boundaries formed by several mountain chains. In the south and southwest is the Bohemian Forest (in Czech, Šumava); in the northwest, Krušné hory; in the northeast and extending into Moravia, the Sudetes, consisting of (from west to east) Lužické hory, Jizerské hory, Krkonoše, and Orlické hory. The chain extends to northern Moravia with Hrubý Jeseník and Nízký Jeseník. In the east, Bohemia is separated from Moravia by the Bohemian-Moravian Heights (Českomoravská vysočina). Central Bohemia, the area east and north of Prague, is a fertile lowland drained by the Vltava and Labe rivers, internationally better known by their German names Moldau and Elbe. The confluence of Vltava and Labe is north of Prague. From there, called the Labe, the river flows north through Germany into the North Sea.

Moravia is a hilly country open to the north with a historical strategic invasion route called the Moravian Gate (Moravská brána). In the east, it is separated from Slovakia by the Little and White Carpathian Mountains (Malé and Bílé Karpaty). The central and southern parts of the country are a fertile valley drained by the river Morava and its tributary, the Dyje. The Morava River itself is a tributary of the Danube.

In 2008 official Czech statistics counted the population at 10,446,157 people. Of those, some 95 percent are ethno-linguistically Czech, making it an unusually homogenous country. The largest minorities are the Slovaks (3 percent) and the Gypsies, also called Roma (0.7 percent). The urban population amounts to 73 percent. The Czech Statistical Office has estimated that the Czech population could drop to under 10
million by 2030 and to 8.1 million by 2050 due to the low birthrate. This decline may, however, be offset somewhat by an increase in the number of foreigners residing in the country, of whom there are approximately 250,000, 100,000 of whom have permanent residence. The Czech Republic recorded between 1992 and 2002 proportionately the highest worldwide increase in the residence of foreigners.

Life expectancy has been improving and is now 72.5 years for men and 79.0 years for women, although this remains below the average for advanced industrial economies. Literacy is 99 percent.

HISTORY

For several centuries B.C.E., the present Czech lands were inhabited by a Celtic tribe whom the Romans called Boii, from which the Latin name of Bohemia was derived (Boiohaemum). The Celts were displaced by Germanic tribes, particularly the Markomans, who themselves moved to Bavaria around 500 A.D. Slavic tribes, among them the Czechs, started to arrive in Moravia and Bohemia in several waves in the second half of the 6th century. Their arrival coincided with the founding of the Frankish Empire.

These Slavs were soon subjugated by the Asiatic Avars, against whom they successfully rose in 623 or 624 under the leadership of Sámo, a Frankish trader. Sámo founded a Slavic tribal union that, according to a Frankish chronicler, included Moravia, Bohemia, Lusatia, eastern Bavaria, and parts of Slovakia. After Sámo’s death in 658, this first state-like Slavic organization in the area fell apart.

The Middle Ages

In the 9th century, Moravia and parts of Slovakia became the center of a powerful state, known as Greater Moravia. It also included Bohemia, Lusatia, Silesia, southern Poland, and Panonia (later Hungary). Striving to check Frankish penetration, the rulers of Greater Moravia received Christianity from the Byzantine Empire. Around 863, at Moravian Prince Rastislav’s request, Byzantine Emperor Michael III sent missionaries who taught the gospel in a Slavic language spoken
in Macedonia. Two of the missionaries, Cyrillos and Methodios, created an alphabet for this language (Old Slavonic), modeled on Greek minuscule. It was the very first Slavic alphabet in history. The Roman pope conceded to the creation of a Moravian archdiocese, independent of the Frankish episcopates. The first historically recorded Czech ruler, Prince Bořivoj of the Premyslite dynasty, received baptism in Greater Moravia. Greater Moravia collapsed under the onslaught of Asiatic Hungarians in the 10th century.

“The Good King Wenceslaus,” Czech Prince (kníže) Václav I (Saint Wenceslaus), ruled Bohemia probably from 924 to 935. His conciliatory policy toward the Franks and possibly his fervent support for the Christian faith are thought to have led to his murder and succession by his brother Boleslav I. Václav later provided the legacy for the Premyslite dynasty and was canonized and adopted as patron saint of Bohemia.

Toward the end of the 10th century, Premyslite power in Bohemia was centralized and extended to Moravia. The Holy Roman Empire was founded in 962, after which Bohemia became its formal fief. Czech Prince Vratislav II received a royal title in 1085, and in 1158 this title became hereditary under Prince Vladislav II. In 1212, during the reign of Přemysl Otakar I, the king of Bohemia became one of the six electors of the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

Similarly to other European countries, the Czech aristocracy resisted the centralizing efforts of their kings and sought a greater share in power and wealth. This conflict culminated during the reign of Přemysl Otakar II (1253–1278), who was betrayed by some of the powerful Czech magnates and was killed in a battle with Emperor Rudolf I Habsburg.

The Premyslite dynasty died out with King Václav III in 1306. After a short interregnum, it was succeeded by the Luxemburg dynasty in 1310. Four Luxemburg kings ruled Bohemia until 1437; three of them were also emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. The best known of them was Emperor Charles IV Luxemburg (1348–1378). He set new rules for the election of the emperor and enacted seniority of the Czech king among the electors. He also founded Prague University in 1348, the first and oldest university in central Europe. It was later named after him.

During the reign of his successor Václav IV (1378–1419), a powerful movement for the reform of the church emerged in Bohemia (Husite movement), led by the rector of Charles University and a popular
preacher, Jan Hus (John Huss). The movement had strong social under-
tones that reflected the stratification of the Czech feudal society at that
time. Hus was accused of heresy, tried by the Council of Constance, and
burned at the stake in 1415.

His death excited a large rebellion in Bohemia that was supported by
many cities and towns including Prague, and also by a large part of the
Czech aristocracy. The Hussite rebellion lasted from 1419 until 1436,
repulsed three crusades and other campaigns against it, and forced Em-
peror Sigismund I and Pope Eugene IV to accept the Hussite-Utraquist
faith as the national religion in Bohemia. The act legalizing Utraquism
in Bohemia is known as the Compactata.

After the Hussite rebellion, Bohemia was a predominantly Protestant
country for the next 200 years. A Protestant Czech aristocrat, Jiří z
Poděbrad (George of Podebrady), renewed the monarchy as admin-
istrator of the land (1452–1458) after a chaotic interregnum. Elected
king by the Czech diet in 1458, he ruled until his death in 1471. He
was succeeded by Vladislav Jagello, son of the Polish king Casimir IV.
The Czech Jagello line (Jagello Dynasty) became extinct in 1526, when
King Ludvík I perished while fleeing from a lost battle with the Turks
at Moháč in southern Hungary.

During the reign of the weak Jagello kings, the power of the Czech
nobles further increased. They secured for themselves vast privileges
and reduced the peasants to virtual serfdom.

The Habsburgs

After Moháč, the Czech diet elected Ferdinand I Habsburg (Habsburg
Dynasty) king. As Czech king, archduke of Austria and king of Hun-
gary, Ferdinand I lay the groundwork for the multinational Habsburg
empire, which was to last until 1918.

Under the Habsburg kings, the religious situation became quite ex-
plosive. The Habsburgs introduced the Jesuit order in their efforts to
return Bohemia to Catholicism, but the country resisted. Lutheranism
also made inroads in Bohemia, and the Czech Protestants split into
several groups. In 1567, Emperor Maximilian II attempted to abolish the
Compactata of 1436, but his successor, Emperor Rudolf II, was obliged
to reaffirm freedom of religion by a decree, called the Letter of Majesty (Rudolfův majestát), in 1609.

Rudolf died in 1612 and was succeeded by Mathias, both as Czech king and German emperor. When Mathias disregarded his predecessor’s Letter of Majesty, the Czech nobles revolted. In 1618, they threw out of the windows of an assembly hall in Prague Castle two imperial representatives, an act known as “The Prague Defenestration.” History books view it as the beginning of the European Thirty Years War (1618–1648).

Mathias died in 1619 and was succeeded by his cousin Ferdinand II, a fanatical Catholic and an exponent of absolutism. While previously approved by a majority of the Czech diet in 1617 as Czech king, he was deposed by the same body in 1619. In his place, Elector Frederick V of Palatinate (Bedřich Falcký in Czech), a Protestant, was elected king. He is known in history books as “The Winter King of Bohemia” because of his short reign.

The centuries-old resistance of Czech aristocrats against the absolutist tendencies of their kings climaxed in revolt. The Protestant nobles who led the rebellion made no effort to win popular support, and the foreign aid that they expected did not arrive. Imperial forces occupied Moravia without any resistance and, in 1620, they defeated the army of the Czech Estates in the battle of White Mountain (Bílá hora) outside Prague. Frederick fled the country.

The defeat had far-reaching consequences. A decree issued by Ferdinand II in 1627 established a New Political Order (Obnovené zřízení zemské). Bohemia, a constituent Habsburg kingdom, was reduced to an imperial crownland. The Czech diet lost its traditional powers and was demoted to a consultative body. In the course of forcible re-Catholicization, the climate of religious tolerance was destroyed and the previous flowering of Czech culture was arrested. The intellectual elite, which included the great Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius), left the country. The land confiscated from Protestant families was distributed among foreign mercenaries in Habsburg service. The Thirty Years War left the country devastated.

In the second half of the 17th century, serfdom and corvée were fully imposed on the peasantry. The Czech lands were isolated from the cultural
and scientific development in Western Europe. Re-Catholization brought pretentious and exalted baroque architecture and culture.

Under the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780), the administrative modernization of the empire was accompanied by general Germanization, which continued under Emperor Josef II (1765–1790), who abolished serfdom and permitted freedom of worship in 1781.

The French Revolution of 1789 and its democratic ideas and then the Napoleonic wars had a direct impact on the Czech lands. The Holy Roman Empire was terminated in 1806, and the power and prestige of the Habsburgs were severely weakened. One of the great events of this era, The Battle of Austerlitz (Slavkov), took place in south Moravia in 1805.

A slow but marked revival—primarily economic and cultural—had been under way since the last decades of the 18th century. Improved farming methods ended the three-field system; manufactorial production, mainly of textiles and glass, gave way to the first factories as the industrial revolution reached Bohemia. The kingdom quickly regained its status as the most advanced land of the Habsburg Empire.

This time was also marked by a national cultural revival. First, the Czech language, seriously decimated by the long-lasting denigration of Czech statehood and by Germanization, made a comeback. A broad cultural renaissance followed, primarily in literature and theater. A new patriotic generation of national leaders arose from the urban middle class. Its most distinguished representatives were Josef Jungmann and František Palacký.

In 1848, the Czech peasantry was liberated from the remaining corvée obligations, a Slavic congress took place in Prague, and a short-lived rebellion occurred in June. In that same year, the essential national agenda was set, aiming at the renewal of an autonomous position of the Czech Kingdom in the Habsburg Empire and at a constitutional system.

Absolute Habsburg domination was restored in 1849, but the economic and social changes that were taking place were unstoppable. In 1851, Emperor František Josef I (1848–1916) created an embryonic parliament called the Reichsrat, meaning “imperial advisory council” (the term Reichstag, meaning “imperial assembly” and used in the revolutionary year 1848, was cautiously avoided). The Reichsrat was initially made up only of magnates appointed by the sovereign, but the
body was gradually turned into a representative assembly, albeit with limited powers.

The importance of land assemblies, including the Czech diet (Zemský sněm), was upgraded by the February Constitution of 1861. There were 15 land assemblies in the empire, and they received the power to nominate their representatives to the lower house of the Reichsrat, the Chamber of Deputies. The upper house was appointed by the emperor.

Czech political life after 1848 was dominated by the National Party of Palacký and Ladislav Rieger, also known as the “Old Czech Party,” which was liberal and moderate. Its main demand was the recognition of the historical Czech state rights. The party later split into a conservative and a more liberal faction; the latter is known as the “Young Czech Party.”

Weakened by the Austrian defeat in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, the emperor reorganized his domains in 1867, creating a “dual monarchy” as a concession to the Hungarians. This act is known as the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (Ausgleich in German, Vyrovnání in Czech). The empire was divided into two states, each with its own constitutional and legal systems. Referring to the river Leitha, which then separated Austria from Hungary, the Hungarian part was called Transleithania; the western part, called Cisleithania, encompassed other Habsburg crownlands, including the Czech Kingdom.

The compromise was a great setback for the Czechs, who had been striving for a federalized empire. Czech deputies in Vienna decided to boycott the Reichsrat and did not return there until 1879. In the meantime, Vienna made some lesser concessions to the Czechs, mainly by equalizing the Czech language with German in administrative usage. This concession, however, ran into strong opposition from the German minority in Bohemia. Ethnic strife was to mark the political life in the Czech lands for many years to come.

By the 1890s, a new political spectrum emerged in the Czech lands as a byproduct of recent political, social, and economic changes. The Old Czech Party was crushed in the 1891 elections, and the “Young Czechs” assumed political leadership. But new political parties also emerged, namely, the Social Democrats and the Czech Agrarians. When universal suffrage was enacted in Cisleithania in 1907, the strongest Czech political parties in the elections held the same year
were the Social Democrats (39 percent of the vote) and the Agrarians (22 percent).

**World War I and Its Aftermath**

After World War I broke out in 1914, Czech politicians and the public at large found it at first difficult to understand how the conflict could affect national interests and priorities. A large majority on both the left and right was against a complete separation from the Habsburg Empire for economic and national security reasons. Many also thought that it was not a realistic possibility, anyway. Under those circumstances, the personality of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937), a philosopher and professor at Charles University in Prague and a former Czech deputy in the Reichsrat, played a key role.

Masaryk, who had an American wife and knew the world much better than most other Czech politicians, quickly sensed that the war offered a unique chance for the Czechs to regain national sovereignty. At the end of 1914, he left the country and, assisted by a young Czech social scientist, Edvard Beneš (1884–1948), launched an anti-Habsburg campaign in the West that bore its fruit in 1918. Masaryk won French and American support for his goals, and he reached an agreement with Slovak leaders in the United States on a union of Czech lands with autonomous Slovakia. The new state, Czechoslovakia, was declared in October 1918 and formally recognized by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1918. Masaryk was elected the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Czechoslovakia inherited the most industrialized parts of Austria-Hungary (Bohemia and Moravia), and it adopted a liberal and democratic constitution in 1920. Its weak point was the concept of a unitary state, which could not satisfy either the Slovaks or the sizable German and Hungarian minorities. The external security of the state relied on the preservation of the system based on the outcome of the post–World War I treaties which could not, and did not, last very long.

In the 1920s, Czechoslovakia became a generally prosperous, well-administered country and seemed to be moving toward stability. Then came the Great Depression and the rise of Nazism in Germany. Masaryk resigned as president in 1935 and was succeeded by Edvard
Beneš at a time when the tide had already turned against Czechoslovakia. Alliances negotiated by Beneš failed to prevent the events which culminated in Munich in September 1938, where a four-power conference (Munich Diktat) forced Czechoslovakia to surrender large border areas to Hitler. In March 1939, Slovakia broke away and the Nazis occupied the truncated Czech lands.

**World War II**

This occupied area was turned into a German colony, called the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. While the Czech lands were spared greater destruction during the war, they were heavily plundered and many people became victims of Nazi atrocities. Almost all Czech Jews were deported to eastern extermination camps and murdered.

President Beneš set up a provisional Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London in 1939, and Czechs and Slovaks fought on the Allies’ side on all fronts during World War II. Soviet forces liberated most of Czechoslovakia in 1945; American forces liberated western Bohemia. Both withdrew from the country before the end of 1945. On the basis of the decisions of the Potsdam Conference, the German minority was transferred to Germany between 1945 and 1947.

**The Communist Era**

After the war, a new political system was introduced, limiting the number of political parties to four in the Czech lands and four in Slovakia. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), supported by the Soviets, played the main role, and in May 1946 it won 40 percent of the vote in the Czech lands and 30 percent in Slovakia. The radical left controlled the parliament. A far-reaching nationalization of industries, banks, insurance companies, and so on was carried out starting as early as October 1945.

With the onset of the Cold War, Czechoslovakia became a victim of changing external conditions once more. In 1947, it was prevented by the Soviets from taking part in the Marshall Plan, and in February 1948, the KSC seized complete control of the government. A Soviet-style political order was implemented, nationalization of the economy
was completed, political and cultural freedoms were suppressed, and tens of thousands of people were jailed or sent to internment camps. The Soviet-imposed militarization of the economy brought negative consequences for years to come.

Josef Stalin’s death in 1953 and Nikita Khrushchev’s reforms in the Soviet Union launched a slow process of disintegration of the dictatorship in the whole Soviet bloc, including Czechoslovakia. In the 1960s, restrictions on the press and on artistic activities were eased, which brought international successes for Czech theater and film. With a failing economy, reformist tendencies emerged, searching for ways to inject market practices into the system of state planning. Political power, however, remained the exclusive domain of a small group of leaders of the KSC.

A crisis emerged in the KSC in 1967 that culminated, in January 1968, in the removal of the dogmatic leader Antonín Novotný and his replacement by a reform-minded Slovak party official, Alexander Dubček. The period that followed is known as the Prague Spring of 1968, when press censorship was abolished and the KSC came out with a program that seemed to promise a gradual restoration of real democracy (the Action Program—Akční program). A decision was also made to replace the unitary state with a federation of a Czech Republic and a Slovak Republic.

The Soviets disliked the Czechoslovak reforms, and in August 1968 they invaded the country with over half a million soldiers and 4,000 tanks. Dubček and other members of the KSC leadership were kidnapped and taken to Moscow, where they were forced to sign an act of surrender, called the Moscow Protocol 1968 (Moskevský protokol).

In 1969, the old order was restored and a new leader installed by Moscow, Gustáv Husák. The ensuing era is known as “normalization,” with mass purges and persecutions. Freedoms gained in 1968 were completely suppressed and, by the end of 1972, opposition was silenced.

The signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 brought new hopes, and a human rights movement emerged with a declaration called Charter 77. The signatories of the document, whose number never exceeded 2,000, pressured the Husák regime to respect human rights as guaranteed by international covenants. Heavily persecuted, the Charterists were the only voice of internal opposition for the next 10 years.
The regime slowly decayed and reached an open crisis in 1988 and 1989, this time under significantly changed external conditions: Leonid Brezhnev was dead and Mikhail Gorbachev was in power in the USSR; his perestroika and glasnost were completely undermining the regime’s main claims of legitimacy—that the Prague Spring of 1968 had been a counterrevolution and that the Soviet occupation was justified.

The final acts occurred after a brutal suppression of an officially approved student demonstration in Prague on 17 November 1989. Weeks of massive public protests followed, and a central opposition body was formed in Prague, called Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF). A similar body soon emerged in Bratislava, the Slovak capital, called Public against Violence (Verejnosť proti násiliu—VPN). The Soviets remained passive, and the regime reluctantly gave in.

**The Post-Communist Era**

Following what became known even more outside Czechoslovakia than in it as the Velvet Revolution, dozens of old servants of the regime resigned from the parliament and were replaced by new people. The 1960 constitution was cleared of articles legitimizing the KSC’s hold on power. On 28 December 1989, Alexander Dubček was elected chairman of the federal parliament, and a day later he chaired the election of Václav Havel as the new president of the republic. A “government of national unity” took office, headed by Marián Čalfa, a deputy prime minister in the last Communist government.

Within a short time, basic changes took place: press censorship was abolished, political prisoners were released, fundamental civil and political rights were restored, and an agreement was even reached with the Soviets to remove their occupation forces from Czechoslovakia.

The first free general elections were held in June 1990 for all three legislatures—the Federal Assembly and the two national councils. Civic Forum won over 60 percent in the Czech Republic, and Public against Violence won almost 40 percent in Slovakia. The KSC did not get more than 16 percent of the vote in any region of the country, although this was enough for it to remain a force in politics.

The main presumed task of the newly elected bodies—the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak national councils—was the adoption
of new constitutions (federal and national). National constitutions posed no problem; the federal constitution did.

Starting in early 1990, Czech–Slovak relations became the focus of the political transformation. The Slovaks at first required more autonomy within the federation, but soon their demands went beyond that framework when they demanded two separate foreign policies, two separate armies, two banks of issue, two different economic policies, and so forth. Long and fruitless negotiations, conducted mainly by the prime ministers of both national governments, led nowhere.

Despite the impending storm, the Federal Assembly adopted an impressive volume of laws that laid solid ground for the ongoing transformation—political, economic, cultural, and social. The laws included new rules for private enterprise, commerce, and banking; principles of privatization of the economy; and the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms. But final agreement on a new federal constitution proved impossible.

During 1991, political differentiation led to the breakup of both Civic Forum and Public against Violence. In April, the OF split into two main factions, the Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana—ODS) and Civic Movement (Občanské hnutí—OH). As the elections in June 1992 approached, a new field of 42 political parties emerged in both parts of Czechoslovakia.

Leaders of winning parties in these elections, Václav Klaus (ODS) in the Czech Republic and Vladimír Mečiar (Movement for Democratic Slovakia; Hnutí za demokratické Slovensko—HZDS) in Slovakia, soon formed national governments and resumed the talks about the future of the federation. Differences, however, were not resolved, and both sides soon agreed on the dissolution of the state. Czechoslovakia ceased to exist on 31 December 1992.

Shortly before that, the Czech National Council adopted the constitution of the Czech Republic, which embodied the federal Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms. The Czech Republic’s legal system continues to be based on the wide body of relevant Czechoslovak jurisprudence, and the transformation to a new statehood was smooth and successful. Internal political stability reflects the general acceptance of democracy, the electoral system, and rule of law.

Since the elections in June 1992 and until spring 1996, the Czech Republic was governed by a coalition of three centrist parties—the Civic
Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Union–Czecho-
lovak People’s Party (Křesťanská a demokratická unie–Československá
strana lidová—KDU-CSL), and the Civic Democratic Alliance
(Občanská demokratická aliance—ODA), which together held a ma-
jority of 12 seats in the Czech parliament, the Chamber of Deputies.

In the elections held on 31 May and 1 June 1996, this coalition lost
its majority and was short of two votes to form a majority government.
While the ODS remained the strongest party, it lost eight seats in the
Chamber of Deputies; the ODA lost one seat; and the KDU-CSL gained
three compared to the elections of 1992. The Czech Social Democratic
Party (Česká strana sociálně demokratická—CSSD) emerged as the
second-strongest force, with 64 seats in the new legislature, compared
to 16 seats in 1992. The Communist Party lost 15 seats, winning 22
compared to 35 in 1992. The extreme-right Republicans (i.e., Asso-
ciation for the Republic–Republic Party of Czechoslovakia) won four
more seats (18 compared to 14 in 1992). No other parties qualified for
seats in the new parliament.

After long negotiations following the elections, the old coalition
won conditional support of the CSSD for a more moderate program,
restraining the application of market rules to the spheres of social con-
cern. Miloš Zeman, leader of the CSSD, was then elected new chair-
man of the Chamber of Deputies. Václav Klaus formed a new, minority
government after his coalition partners (KDU-CSL and ODA) forced
him to accept the principle of parity in the cabinet. Klaus presented the
program of his 16-member government to the Chamber of Deputies on
23 July 1996. After a debate, the vote was set for 25 July. As a show
of their reservations, all Social Democratic deputies, including Zeman,
were absent. That reduced the quorum so that the coalition block of 98
votes could outvote the Communists and the far-right Republicans (22
and 18 votes), who voted against the program. The Social Democrats’
abstention, on the one hand, was a sign of positive compromise; on
the other, it evidenced the precarious political outlook for the minority
government. Without at least two defections to the coalition from op-
position parties, the new government would depend upon some direct
or indirect support of the Social Democrats.

The elections for the Senate were held according to the majority
system in two rounds (15–16 and 22–23 November), with only 35 and
30 percent, respectively, of the electorate taking part. This manifested a
growing alienation and widespread doubts about the need for an upper house. The coalition won 52 mandates in a total of 81 electoral districts. The ODS, with 32 seats, remained the strongest party; the CSSD held its second place with 25 seats. Former Czech Prime Minister (1990–1992) Petr Pithart, a liberal running on the KDU-CSL list, was elected president of the Senate. This choice, opposed by the ODS, marked an emerging rift in the coalition.

A prolonged crisis in Czech–German relations, born of World War II crimes and injustices, was formally settled by a joint Declaration on Mutual Relations and Their Future Development, signed in Prague by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Czech Prime Minister Klaus on 17 January 1997. The document was soon ratified by both parliaments. The text was criticized mainly on the Czech side for avoiding a direct and clear statement of German responsibility for tens of thousands of Czech victims of Nazi atrocities during the war.

In the first half of 1997, a number of serious economic problems emerged in the Czech Republic. Industrial performance was stagnating, and attempts to reverse the large negative balance of foreign trade in 1996 proved ineffective. Several banks collapsed and massive embezzlement was discovered in other financial institutes. Strikes and threats of strikes in several important sectors revealed rising social tensions. Several members of the government resigned. A fall in the value of the Czech currency in May 1997 occurred in a climate of both economic and political crises.

On 10 June 1997, on Prime Minister Klaus’s proposal, the Chamber of Deputies, by 101 to 99 votes, expressed confidence in the government. The narrow result of the vote confirmed that the political situation remained very unstable and, by November 1997, Klaus could no longer remain prime minister and resigned. Havel, who as president was supposed to remain politically neutral, nevertheless made a speech on 9 December that did not mention Klaus by name but which suggested that the transformation of Czech society had been misguided. (Klaus replied by declaring that Havel did not understand economics). Havel then called on the governor of the central bank, the Czech National Bank, Josef Tošovský, to form an interim government until new elections were held in June 1998.

The Social Democratic Party under Zeman emerged victorious but without enough seats to form a majority. He agreed to an Opposition
Agreement with Klaus, whereby the Civic Democratic Party would not allow a nonconfidence vote to bring down the Social Democratic government. Klaus gained the position of chairman (or speaker) of the Chamber of Deputies. This prominent if ceremonial post ensured that Klaus remained visible in Czech politics but without having to assume any responsibility for policies which, after the economic crisis that forced him to resign, would surely be unpopular. The Opposition Agreement was revised with the “toleration pact” of January 2000, which gave the ODS even more say over fiscal matters, which in turn enabled parliamentary approval of the budget, and allowed the CSSD to see out its term until the elections routinely scheduled for June 2002.

For those elections Zeman decided not to lead his party again, and was replaced as party leader by the economic historian Vladimír Špidla, who had been his first deputy prime minister and minister of labor and social affairs. The elections again produced a divided parliament, and Špidla formed a coalition with the two center-right parties of the Christian Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party and Freedom Union–Democratic Union. Špidla, however, left office on 26 July 2004 after disastrous results for his party in the Czech Republic’s first elections to the European Parliament. He was succeeded by the popular Interior Minister Stanislav Gross, who became not only the youngest prime minister in Czech history but also the youngest serving leader in Europe. His potential dynamism and esteem disintegrated in the face of corruption scandals that also sank the party’s standing in opinion polls, and he was forced to resign. Regional development minister Jiří Paroubek became prime minister on 25 April 2005, and his government narrowly survived a vote of confidence three weeks later. He led the party in the 2006 elections and regained popular support but not enough to win outright. Rather, the parliamentary seats were evenly divided between the center-right and center-left and the country was without a government for months.

Finally, the Civic Democratic Party, under the leadership of Miroslav (who uses the short-form Mirek) Topolánek, formed a coalition government on 16 August with the nine ODS and six independent MPs. The government, however, failed to win a confidence vote although Topolánek remained as an interim prime minister until 9 January 2007 when a second coalition government was introduced, this time involving the KDU-CSL and for the first time, the Green Party. Ten days later the
government survived a confidence motion and, two-thirds of a year since the elections, a government was finally in place. Being a coalition government, like, in one form or another, all post-Communist Czech governments, meant that this one was at the mercy of the balance of power in parliament.

In March 2009—in the same week that the Czech Republic hosted an informal meeting of all of the foreign ministers of the European Union (EU)—members of the ODS defected from the party and allowed a vote of nonconfidence to pass, bringing down the government. On 6 April, just after the remarkable timing of the state visit to Prague by U.S. President Barack Obama and a joint summit under the Czech presidency with all of the heads of state of the EU, the main political parties agreed on an interim outcome. Jan Fischer, head of the Czech Statistical Office—but someone without a public profile—would head a “bureaucratic” caretaker government until new elections could be held.
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC (AKADÉMIE VĚD ČESKÉ REPUBLIKY—AVCR). This organization is the supreme scientific institution of the country. The AVCR is the Czech successor of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Československá akademie věd—ČSAV), created after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1992. The CSAV had been founded in 1952 as a network of centers for scientific research according to a project prepared in 1861–1863 by a leading Czech biologist, Jan Evangelista Purkyně. Earlier predecessors of the academy dated back to the late 18th century, when the Czech Royal Scientific Society (founded in 1784) was the first organization of its kind in the whole Habsburg Empire. The CSAV is a self-governing, independent institution financed mainly from the state budget. The highest body of the academy, renewable every four years, is a 200-member Academic Assembly, which elects the Academic Council, the 17-member executive body of the academy. On 27 March 2001, the academy elected biologist Doc. RNDr. Helena Illnerová as its first female president, and she was succeeded by the current president, geneticist Prof. RNDr. Václav Pačes, who was elected on 24 March 2005. The AVCR system of scientific centers is divided into three general fields: inanimate nature, live nature and chemical sciences, and humanities and social sciences. In 2008 the AVCR consisted of 53 public research institutions and employed about 7,000 staff members.

ADAMEC, LADISLAV (1926–2007). Serving as the last prime minister of Communist Czechoslovakia, Adamec had been an official of
the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) since the 1950s. He served as deputy prime minister from 1969 to 1987, then as prime minister. In November 1989, he negotiated with the opposition for the transfer of power to the Civic Forum during the Velvet Revolution. Adamec resigned his government post in December 1989 but remained a deputy of the Federal Assembly. In June 1990, he was reelected on the KSC list and served as a deputy until June 1992, after which time he held no public office. He died in Prague on 14 April 2007.

AGRICULTURE (ZEMĚDĚLSTVÍ). Farming in the Czech lands has a history that is 15 centuries long. The Slavic tribes that came to Bohemia in the 6th and 7th centuries settled down in the central lowlands first—regions best suited for farming—which presumably was their main form of subsistence in their older habitation. Consistent with early social relations, there was only a small stratum of free men belonging to the ruling elite. The princes owned all land and administered their domain through members of their retinues, who collected taxes, mostly in kind. While subordination to the princes’ authority was substantial, the situation in which the peasant majority lived is not characterized as serfdom; that developed much later and under different social and economic circumstances.

Hereditary titles to land did not exist before the 12th century, when the aristocratic class arose. Hereditary ownership of land by commoners was also introduced in the 12th and 13th centuries, mainly as an incentive for the colonization of heavily forested borderlands. Since the earliest times, the principal crops were cereals (wheat, rye, barley), flax, and fruit. Beekeeping was widespread, and honey was a valued commodity. Starting in the second half of the 15th century and continuing through the 16th century, the aristocracy focused on higher yields from their estates. Farming methods significantly improved during that time, particularly in south and east Bohemia where local landlords built large fishing ponds, breweries, and so on; whole villages were directed to specialize in crafts, especially in making farm tools. At the same time, servitude stiffened, and peasants were not permitted to move outside their lords’ domains. After the defeat of the Czech rebellion in 1620, many foreign mercenaries
in **Habsburg** service were raised to noble status and rewarded with large estates formerly belonging to exiled Protestant Czech families. The situation of the peasantry worsened. Serfdom and corvée were brutally enforced. A requirement to perform manorial duties six days per week was often the rule. At the same time, agricultural yields saw little or no improvement.

Peasant rebellions broke out in different parts of the country. They prompted Emperor Leopold I to issue the first regulation of corvée in 1680, which brought only marginal improvement. Resistance continued to grow, resulting in further imperial rulings on corvée in 1717, 1738, and 1775. The last decree reflected the physiocratic ideas coming from France, and it was a part of the modernizing administrative reforms under Maria Theresa (“Enlightened Absolutism”). The 1775 decree limited manorial labor to a maximum of three days per week, which brought a great relief for the peasantry. This ruling remained in force until 1848, when corvée was abolished entirely. In 1776, a land reform of sorts was carried out that distributed some aristocratic land, as well as land owned by the state and by cities, among the peasants. The feudal system came largely to its end in 1781 when Josef II abolished serfdom.

While corvée was not terminated, the end of serfdom removed obstacles to greater social mobility just on the eve of the industrial revolution. During the following decades, the Czech agricultural **economy** made significant progress. The first schools of farming were opened in the 1790s, and new crops quickly spread throughout the country (such as potatoes, rapeseed, and sugar beet). Fertilizing the land and new ways of cattle breeding were also introduced. The first sugar mills appeared in the 1830s; beer brewing continued to build on its long tradition.

The second half of the 19th century was marked by general growth and improvement. The rise of industry made new farming equipment more readily available. Cooperatives and other mutual-help organizations played an important role in the life of the peasantry. In 1889, a political party, the **Czech Agrarian Party**, representing the rural population, was founded.

The fall of the Habsburg Empire in 1918 brought a significant development for Czech agriculture, namely the land reform of 1919.
Thirty percent of all farmland was distributed among landless or poor peasants after individual (family) arable land holdings were limited to 150 hectares (370 acres) and total land holding to 250 hectares (618 acres). In the interwar period, in spite of the heavy blow of the Great Depression, Czech agriculture was further significantly modernized. During the Nazi occupation (1939–1945), the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was turned into Germany’s involuntary granary. After 1945, another land reform was gradually carried out. It included the distribution of confiscated German land in the borderlands among Czech peasants. In 1948, individual landholding in Czechoslovakia was limited to 50 hectares (123 acres), but in the 1950s, almost all farming was collectivized. In spite of that, agriculture became the most successful economic sector in Communist Czechoslovakia. Starting in the mid-1960s, it usually produced enough farm products to feed the country.

The fall of Communism in 1989 opened the door to privatization, but the process was initially very slow. Restitutions were carried out, but few owners actually took up farming. A turn came in 1991, when a federal law instituted the political independence of cooperatives and state farms and gave them the right to choose a new property-rights status. Most cooperatives then opted to reconstitute themselves into corporate bodies, without ceasing to be cooperatives; some chose a shareholding form. In 1995, cooperatives held 73.4 percent of farmland; individual private farmers held 23.2 percent. Direct state ownership of land was thus reduced to 3 percent by the end of 1995. Present Czech agriculture is relatively efficient, significantly mechanized, and managed by qualified agricultural engineers.

Farming is effectively complemented by a large network of related industries, including production of cereals with traditional crops such as wheat, rye, and barley, as well as livestock husbandry, fishing, and forestry, mainly of softwood (spruce and fir). There is also a significant production of potatoes, sugar beets, flax, grapes and other fruit, vegetables, and hops of world-renowned quality. Of all products of the Czech agricultural-industrial complex, the best known internationally are beers, namely those made in Plzeň (Pilsner Urquell) and in České Budějovice (Budvar, Budweiser).
Despite such successes and potential, Czech agricultural output has been declining. In the first decade after Communism it shrank by 28 percent. Farming representatives have warned, as did the Czech Agrarian Chamber in 2003, that Czech agriculture was in crisis and in need of state subsidies and of minimum prices for some produce. In 2007, agriculture represented 2.7 percent of the Czech gross domestic product (GDP) and employed about 4 percent of the workforce.

One of the most contentious issues for several post-Communist states entering the European Union (EU), and indeed for existing EU states, was how the Common Agriculture Policy would be revised. As part of the accession process to the EU, new members were to receive assistance with rural development. In January 2004, as the country was preparing to enter the Union, the Czech Republic was promised 542 million euros for 2004–2006, which would include direct payments to farmers.

ALBRIGHT, MADELEINE (1937– ). Madeleine Albright was born Marie Jana Korbelová on 15 May 1937, in Prague, daughter of diplomat and historian Josef Korbel, who later wrote two important historical books on Czechoslovakia. The family fled the country at the start of World War II, returning thereafter, and left permanently in 1948 with the rise of Communism.

She completed a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University in 1976, entitled “The Role of the Press in Political Change: Czechoslovakia 1968.” Her career included academic and government posts, including as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (UN) under President Bill Clinton. He joked that when Albright was American ambassador to the UN, the Czech Republic was the only country to have two UN ambassadors. She achieved the highest rank of public office for a woman in the United States in January 1997 when she was sworn in as the secretary of state. Albright was also a moving force behind the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that took the Czech Republic, along with Hungary and Poland, into its membership in 1999.

Toward the end of his presidency, Václav Havel intimated Albright as a possible successor. In 2000, the four-party coalition,
which some opinion polls suggested could win the next elections scheduled for 2002, also considered her as its leader. She pursued neither post.

ARCHITECTURE (ARCHITEKTURA). Historical European architectural styles succeed one another in the Czech lands as they did in other parts of Central Europe, and monuments to all are visible around the country; many are well preserved. In the 9th century, chapels, churches, redoubts, and residences of Czech princes were built of stone in the Romanesque style. The earliest places of worship were built in round, basilica-like or rectangular shapes. In the 11th and especially the 12th century, monasteries and dwellings of wealthy burghers in towns were also built of stone. Early Gothic arrived in the first half of the 13th century and reached its most advanced stage in the second half of the 14th century, namely, in the time of Charles IV Luxemburg. Typical of this era are fortified castles built in places that are difficult to access, mainly on top of steep, rocky, or forested hills. The Gothic style continued to dominate Czech architecture even after the Hussite wars, in the second half of the 15th century. Late Czech Gothic architecture, especially of the Jagello period (see JAGELLO DYNASTY) fully matched West European standards.

In the early 16th century, the Renaissance style arrived, mainly from Italy. Its classical emphasis affected external and internal decoration first, but gradually it started to influence architecture. The new style was distinctly influenced by existing domestic architectural traditions, and art history books refer to the period as the “Czech Renaissance.” It prevailed throughout the 16th, and into the second half of the 17th centuries.

Baroque, which made its full impact in the 18th century, is closely connected with the Counterreformation, which followed the defeat of the Czech Estates by the Habsburgs in 1620. Baroque is richly represented in contemporary Czech cities, towns, and even villages, with hundreds of churches lighted by a glass cupola and decorated with a theatrical pathos. The large, luxurious aristocratic palaces are also typical of the Baroque period.

The 19th century saw a succession of styles such as Classicism and neo-Renaissance, of which the Prague National Theater is a typical
example. All of the successive avant-garde styles of the 20th century, especially functionalism and constructivism, left their mark on the present architectural appearance of Czech cities. During the Communist period, all major cities were surrounded by large complexes of prefabricated housing that contrasted sharply with the elegance and beauty of the old urban centers.

The post-Communist period has seen extensive renovations of buildings, particularly but not only in Prague, as well as the appearance of striking new modern architecture, such as the twirled, conical shaped “Dancing” or “Ginger and Fred” building on the eastern bank of the Vltava River in the capital. See also ART; CHARLES BRIDGE; KARLŠTEJN CASTLE; LETZEL, JAN; SCULPTURE.

ARMED FORCES. The armed forces of post-Communist Czechoslovakia and especially the Czech Republic have undergone substantial transformation, and one which officially continues. When Communist rule ended with the Velvet Revolution in late 1989, Czechoslovakia’s armed forces numbered nearly 200,000 personnel, of which 118,000 were conscripts. Czechoslovakia also claimed some 295,000 reservists. The armed forces were supplied with Soviet-bloc equipment and were integrated into the structures of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Significant change occurred already in post-Communist Czechoslovakia. This included the Ministry of Defense coming under the management not only of a civilian but a former dissident. The country also actively campaigned for the end of the control mechanisms and legal obligations of the Warsaw Pact, which was finalized by summer 1991. Soviet forces, which effectively commanded the Czechoslovak military under Communism, also fully withdrew from the country through separate negotiation, but that was completed at the same time. The Czechoslovak military also began initial consultations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

After the breakup of Czechoslovakia in the Velvet Divorce, most federal military assets were divided on a two–one ratio, reflecting the relative population of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The new Czech armed forces remained a conscript army with Soviet-era weapons and equipment, and the maximum numbers continued to be
regulated by the country’s ratification of an amendment of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe to reflect the division of Czechoslovak military equipment. Militarily, the Czech Republic began with a maximum allowance of: 332 battle tanks; 473 armored combat vehicles; 519 artillery pieces; and 59 combat aircraft. For a national population of 10,000,000, the Czech armed forces remained comparatively large in 1993, with 106,500 personnel, including 29,000 civilian employees in the Ministry of Defense; and it retained a 12-month conscription.

From the outset, the Czech Republic was intent on membership of NATO and sought to reorganize and modernize its armed forces accordingly. Experience in and cooperation with multilateral peacekeeping operations was seen partly as a means for the armed forces to interact with and gain experience from their Western counterparts. The Czech Republic also immediately joined NATO’s Partnership for Peace initiative, launched on 1 January 1994, and which included military assistance and training for post-Communist armed forces. Although Czech defense spending has remained small, and is now only 1.5 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP), below the NATO average, major changes in practice and in weapons acquisition have been introduced. The armed forces became a professional and voluntary army in 2005; English-language education has been expanded to improve interoperability; and 14 Gripen Jas-39 combat aircraft made by the British–Swedish consortium BAE Systems/Saab were leased in 2004 for 10 years at a cost of 20 billion crowns, or US$ 850 million (after which the jets can be purchased or returned to Sweden).

The Czech military also maintains some specialist units that have complemented major international operations, particularly its antichemical and biological warfare, which was deployed to Kuwait in 1990–1991 and again in 2002, although it did not take part in the invasion that began the war in Iraq in March 2003. The Czech contribution of up to 500 soldiers to military operations in Afghanistan, including some specifically for antiterrorist operations against Taliban forces, has also been considered important. Czech forces have participated in several other international actions, including the provision of assistance to Pakistan under NATO’s Humanitarian and Medical Relief operation of 2005–2006.
In December 2008, the opposition in the Czech Chamber of Deputies refused to support a government motion to extend overseas deployments of Czech forces, principally to Iraq and Afghanistan. The move was seen as retaliation for the government’s unwillingness to meet opposition demands on increased funding for health care. The government used its power to reauthorize deployments for a maximum of 60 days; the matter demonstrated that post–Cold War era commitments by the Czech armed forces in the wider world can assume unrelated political dimensions.

After restructuring and the move to voluntary service, the Czech armed forces presently number some 23,000 military and nearly 16,000 civilian personnel. At 8 percent of personnel, the Czech armed forces also possess a relatively high number of women. See also CZECHOSLOVAK LEGIONS; MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM.

ART. Religious themes dominated the initial stages of Czech painting as elsewhere in Europe. The earliest relics date back to the 9th century. Both miniature and mural painting reached high levels in the Romanesque period, especially in the 11th and 12th centuries. Both art forms were innovated and refined after the Gothic style arrived in the early 14th century. Among foreign influences, the Italian school became the traditional model. A great era of graphic art existed during the reign of the Luxemburg kings, especially Charles IV (1346–1378), of which the greatest monument is the interior decoration of the castle Karlštejn. Over the centuries, a number of outstanding Western European artists, invited to Bohemia by Czech kings, contributed to the development of graphic arts in the kingdom. Native Czech painting reached European levels in the 16th century and real greatness in the 17th century. Baroque-era Czech painters Václav Hollar (1607–1677), Karel Škréta (1610–1674), Petr Jan Brandl (1668–1739), and Václav V. Reiner (1682–1743) were already well known in Europe; Hollar, for example, lived and worked in several West European countries, including England. The beginning of the modern era of Czech painting is most significantly represented by Josef Mánes (1820–1871), whose work was a part of the National Revival that followed the Counterreformation.
A special place in the history of Czech graphic art belongs to the 19th-century “generation of the National Theater,” those men who participated in the internal and external decoration of this national cultural shrine (see NATIONAL THEATER). Most distinguished among the realistic painters of this group were Mikuláš Aleš (1852–1913) and Václav Brožík (1851–1901). Younger artists were already influenced by new styles coming mainly from France, from impressionism to abstract forms such as cubism. All these influences led to the rise of specific domestic schools. The internationally best known of these modern Czech painters have been Otakar Kubín (Coubine in French, 1883–1969), František Kupka (1871–1957), and Alfons Mucha (1861–1939). Of still later Czech painters, the best known abroad is probably Zdeněk Burian (1905–1984), a many-sided realistic artist whose depictions of prehistoric humans and animals appear in practically all the great encyclopedias of the world.

Czech art again captured international attention in January 2009 when that country assumed the rotating presidency of the European Union. A new sculpture to mark the occasion was unveiled in Brussels, but was immediately and widely seen as mockery of existing member-states through graphic representations of national stereotypes. The Czech government, which said it had not seen the work in advance, immediately distanced itself from it. See also ARCHITECTURE; NATIONAL GALLERY; SCULPTURE.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE REPUBLIC–REPUBLICAN PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA (SDRUŽENÍ PRO REPUBLIKU–REPUBLICÁNSKA STRANA ČESKOSLOVENSKA—SPRN–RSC). This political party was formed on 24 February 1990 and led by right-wing Czech politician Miroslav Sládek. The party was in opposition to practically all aspects of government policies, and distinguished itself by intolerant attitudes toward minorities, especially the Roma, but also played on lingering fears of Sudeten Germans. It also opposed Czech membership of the European Union and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The party won seats in the 1992 federal elections, and had its best performance in the 1996 elections, capturing 8 percent of the popular vote and 18 seats. None of the other parties or mainstream politicians, however, was willing to work
with the Republicans. In the 1998 elections the party received only 3.9 percent and no seats. Financial irregularities ultimately forced the party to dissolve in 2001, although unsuccessful parties of the same name were subsequently formed and Sládek has continued to seek political office, although only successfully at the municipal level.

AUSTERLITZ (BITVA U SLAVKOVA). This village was the theater of the Battle of Three Emperors in 1805. On 2 December 1805, Napoleon I achieved one of his greatest victories there by defeating the combined forces of Austrian Emperor Francis II and Russian Emperor Alexander I. The battle marked Napoleon’s domination of Europe, and it is masterfully depicted in the first volume of L. N. Tolstoy’s War and Peace. The battle was reenacted in 2005 to mark its 200th anniversary (albeit one day later so as to fall on a weekend), making what is believed to be Europe’s largest military reenactment.

Slavkov is now an industrial town 12 kilometers (eight miles) east of the largest Moravian city, Brno, in the Vyškov district of southern Moravia, with about 5,000 inhabitants.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY (RAKOUSKO-UHERSKÁ MONARCHIE). Also called the Dual Monarchy or Austria-Hungary, it was the basic constitutional frame of the Habsburg Empire between 1867 and its dissolution in 1918. The term itself was formally introduced in 1868. The Dual Monarchy was based on an agreement called The Compromise (Vyrovnání, or Ausgleich in German). The Compromise was negotiated and concluded between the Habsburgs and the Hungarian leadership (Francis Deak and Count Andrassy). The contract divided the empire along the river Leitha (separating Austria proper from Hungary) into two states, Cisleithania (the western part) and Transleithania (the eastern part). In his capacity as Austrian emperor and king of Bohemia, František Josef I continued to rule in the western parts of the empire, which included Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovenia, and Austrian-governed parts of Silesia and Poland. In Transleithania, he ruled as King of Hungary; that territory included Croatia, a part of Dalmatia, and Transylvania.
The Compromise was a contract between two equal independent states, but it was neither a federation nor a confederation because it created no state-like structures of its own. Each part of the empire had its own parliament and was independent in internal affairs. A common imperial cabinet composed of members from both countries administered a joint agenda that was limited to foreign affairs, military affairs, and finances. This cabinet was responsible to the king-emperor and to a body called the “delegations,” consisting of 60 Austrian and 60 Hungarian representatives appointed by both parliaments. The imperial army remained under unified command, with German as the language of command. This was a major Hungarian concession, but each country was free to set recruitment quotas, and military costs were carried mainly by the Cisleithanian lands.

The Compromise de facto institutionalized Austrian-German and Hungarian overlordships in each part of the empire and prevented any comprehensive solution of the national problems in a country where suppressed nationalities represented a majority. Both parts of the empire then developed different political environments, gradually much more liberal in the western part.

This reorganization of the Habsburg Empire was a great setback for the Czech national leadership, which was seeking a larger autonomy for Bohemia and Moravia along the lines of a federalized empire. The Habsburgs’ refusal to recognize the Czech crown as an equal partner in the empire’s affairs became an underlying factor in the Czechs’ striving for full independence. The Austrian-Hungarian state ended formally with the declaration of independence of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland in October 1918 and with the abdication of the last emperor, Charles I, on 11 November 1918.

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BANKING AND MONETARY SYSTEMS. The contemporary Czech banking system has developed as a part of the transformation into a market economy that was launched in 1990, when the Czech Republic was still a part of the Czechoslovak federation. In a wider historical sense, the origin of the modern Czech national banking
system dates back to 1918 and the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the birth of Czechoslovakia. The financial policy of early Czechoslovakia was highly successful. It included the introduction of a new and stable national currency, the koruna (previously koruna československá, kčs; now koruna česká, kč, or Czech crown; sometimes appearing in English as CzK), which is still the name of the present monetary unit. The koruna is divided into 100 units called haléře.

In the absence of a national central bank after 1918, the tasks of such an institution were performed by the Ministry of Finance and its banking office until 1926, when the National Bank of Czechoslovakia (Národní banka Československá—NBC) was founded. In pre–World War II Czechoslovakia, there were over 100 commercial banks and savings institutions. During the German occupation (1939–1945), the prewar banking system continued to function on a limited scale, but the Nazis heavily depleted Czech financial reserves. Czech banks did not fully recover even after 1945 because of the revolutionary changes in the economy, namely, nationalization. In 1950, the National Bank was renamed the State Bank of Czechoslovakia and turned into a monopolistic financial institution performing both the functions of a bank of issue and commercial tasks. This centralized system was partially reorganized in 1965 but remained essentially intact until autumn 1989.

The negative aspects of this system became so obvious in the 1980s that even the old regime decided to change it, and the Federal Assembly voted for a law to that effect only a few days before the start of the Velvet Revolution. This law established legal preconditions for a profound reform of the banking system in harmony with the course toward a market economy launched in 1990. The State Bank continued to function as the central bank, but other institutions took over commercial and other tasks.

At the beginning of 1990, there were only six commercial banks in the whole of Czechoslovakia; by the end of 1991, there were 39; in 1994, 56 commercial banks operated in the Czech Republic alone. Basic legal measures shaping the banking sector for the new economic environment were adopted by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly before the dissolution of the state at the end of 1992,
namely, the Foreign Exchange Act, the Act on Banks, and the Act on Accounting.

On 1 January 1993, the tasks of the central bank in the Czech Republic were taken over by the Czech National Bank (CNB). The CNB stiffened its supervision of banking activities in 1994 when the Chamber of Deputies adopted an amendment to the Act on Banks. The CNB reorganized and strengthened its Banking Supervision Department, separating executive and analytical functions. The amendment empowered the CNB to take a number of remedial measures against banks that were not functioning properly. Another important step toward stabilization of the banking sector was the introduction of a system of deposit insurance. Also in 1994, a new “Provision of the CNB” governing the establishment of new banks was issued, tightening up the licensing policy; in the course of 1994 only two new financial institutions received licenses.

By the end of 1994, the basic capital of Czech commercial financial institutions was over $2 billion, a growth of over 30 percent within one year. Sixteen banks operated with foreign capital participation. The Czech koruna became freely convertible internally as well as externally in October 1995. The rate of exchange was Kč28 for one U.S. dollar at the beginning of 1995 and climbed to Kč33 in June 1997, still very close to the exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna in the 1930s. The crown generally gained value against the Euro and the U.S. dollar during the 2000s; at the end of 2008 one dollar bought about 20.5 crowns and one Euro 27.5 crowns. The Czech Republic is expected to fulfill the Maastricht criteria for the adoption of the Euro, but adoption of that currency in any case is not expected before 2012.

Banking, however, has remained one of the most difficult areas of the Czech economic transformation. A series of bank failures and popular fears of the complete loss of personal savings contributed to the downfall of the government of Václav Klaus in 1997 and to a serious tarnishing of the country’s financial image abroad. In 2000, Czech President Václav Havel warned that unresolved banking scandals could undermine public confidence in Czech democracy; the European Commission, in its annual reports on Czech preparations for accession to the European Union expressed serious concerns
about the banking sector, including the slow pace of privatization. Some improvements were introduced thereafter and the government formed in 1998 by the Czech Social Democratic Party pledged to accelerate the privatization of this sector, especially the three large remaining state-owned banks: ČSOB, Česká Spořitelna, and Komerční Banka. Doing so was impeded, however, by the enormous debts accumulated by the latter two, which the government was obliged to cover before sell-offs could proceed. ČSOB was privatized first, followed by Česká Spořitelna, and then Komerční in 2001, over a year later than planned. Even a bank that had been privatized earlier, however, generated profound problems. The Investiční a Poštovní Banka (IPB), the Czech Republic’s third-largest bank, was placed in government receivership in June 2000, and the bank was physically seized by heavily armed police, after 57 billion crowns were found to have been removed from its accounts in the preceding four months. Despite government reassurances and guarantees for all deposits, the move sparked a huge run on the bank. The government then sold IPB, even though it was partly owned by Japan’s Nomura Bank. Nomura than engaged in a long-running legal battle with the Czech government for compensation; a settlement for which was only agreed in 2006.

The largest bank in the Czech Republic is Česká Spořitelna, which dates its origins to 1825; it currently has 640 branches and claims nearly 5,300,000 customers in the country and is majority-owned by Austria’s Erste Bank.

BARRANDOV STUDIOS. A Prague film studio that began production on 25 January 1933, continued under Communism, and made a successful transition to the post-1989 market economy. The studio was established by Václav and Miloš Havel, the father and brother of post-Communist president Václav Havel, and was built between 1931 and 1933. During the wartime occupation the Germans expanded the facilities to produce Nazi propaganda, building what remains today Barrandov’s largest sound studio. Although all Czech feature films have been made at Barrandov, including the Oscar-winning Closely Watched Trains and Kolya, the facility has been highly successful in winning contracts to film all or substantial
parts of major foreign productions, such as *Mission: Impossible* and *The Bourne Identity*.

Barrandov’s continued success in attracting foreign productions after Communism has occasionally been questioned as the Czech Republic becomes more expensive compared to studios elsewhere in the region. The father of *Harry Potter* actor Daniel Radcliffe called filming of the blockbuster into question when he expressed concerns about child actors working in a city with a substantial sex industry. Regardless, Barrandov remains a leading film center, with over 9,000 square meters of studio. The internationally acclaimed film director Roman Polanski, who filmed *Oliver Twist* at Barrandov, proclaimed it to be the world’s best film studio. *See also* CINEMA.

**BAŤA, TOMÁŠ (1876–1932).** The founder of the Bata shoe empire was a gifted entrepreneur. He built the Bata shoe works in Zlín (*Moravia*); it has been a shareholding company since 1931. His son Tomáš John Baťa (1914–2008) left *Czechoslovakia* in 1939 and founded a second center of his family enterprise in Canada. After the Bata works in Czechoslovakia were nationalized in 1945, the external enterprise continued growing, and in the early 1990s, it combined some 100 factories in 90 countries, making the Bata Shoe Company of Canada the largest producer of shoes in the world.

**BEER BARREL POLKA (ŠKODA LÁSKÝ).** The English name of the world’s most famous Czech song, “Škoda lásky.” Written by Jaromír Vejvoda in 1934, the Czech version makes no reference to beer. The American rights were purchased in 1938 and it became the most popular song among American forces in *World War II*; United States General Dwight D. Eisenhower said that it helped to win the war. It has a version in over two dozen languages and has been performed by some of the world’s leading singers. *See also* MUSIC.

**BÉM, PAVEL (1963– ).** Trained as a medical doctor, this politician was elected as the mayor of a district of *Prague* in 1998, and then was elected mayor of the capital in 2002, being reelected in 2006. He also
became a deputy leader of the Civic Democratic Party in the same year and has been seen as a possible contender for higher office.

BENEŠ, EDVARD (1884–1948). Czechoslovak president from 1935 to 1938 and 1946 to 1948; he studied at the Charles University in Prague and in Paris, then taught sociology and economics. A follower of Tomáš Masaryk, Beneš adopted his political and social philosophy. In 1915 he joined Masaryk in exile and cofounded the Czech National Council. In 1919, Beneš represented the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) at the Paris Peace Conference and served as foreign minister until 1935. During that time, he was very active in the League of Nations. The CSR alliance system of the interwar era (the Little Entente; pacts with France and the USSR) was largely his work.

In 1935, Beneš replaced Masaryk as president. After the Munich Diktat and the German occupation of the borderlands in the fall of 1938, Beneš was forced to resign as president and went into exile again. In 1939, he started to organize a second resistance. In 1940, he headed the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London. Embittered by French and British desertion of Czechoslovakia in Munich, Beneš concluded a new alliance treaty with the Soviets in 1943 as the basic building block of postwar security for the CSR. Beneš also negotiated an agreement with the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) leadership in Moscow on the postwar political system in the CSR.

He was reelected president in 1946, resigned after the Communist coup in February 1948, and died a few months later. Beneš was the author of several internationally recognized works, namely, his memoirs of World War I and World War II. His memory, however, has come under attack, including perceptions that he surrendered Czechoslovakia’s political independence too easily in 1938 and 1948. To counter some of these views, but also to tread neutral ground, the Czech Chamber of Deputies passed a symbolic one-sentence bill in February 2004 that declares: “Edvard Beneš contributed to the state.” Indicative of the controversy, a month later the Senate acknowledged his role in the foundation of the CSR but refused to pass the bill. The Chamber of Deputies then successfully
reinstated it in April 2004 and President Václav Klaus declined to act on it, saying instead that citizens should decide themselves.

**BENEŠOVÁ, LIBUŠE (1948– ).** One of the Czech Republic’s more prominent women politicians, she was elected as one of the first members of the new Senate in 1996 and served as president of the Senate between 1998 and 2000. She has been a member of the Civic Democratic Party, of which she also served as a vice-chairperson.

**BERAN, JOSEF (1888–1969).** Archbishop of Prague (1946) and cardinal (1965), he was the highest Czech Roman Catholic dignitary for almost 20 years. He was professor of theology at the Charles University in Prague from 1928 until November 1939, when the Nazis closed all Czech universities. After being held as a prisoner in the German concentration camp at Dachau from 1942 to 1945, he was named archbishop in 1946. After the Communist takeover in 1948, Beran was isolated, and between 1949 and 1965 he was confined to various places outside the capital. Permitted to travel to Rome after his appointment as cardinal, Beran later was not allowed to return home. In a speech before the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) after his arrival in Rome, Beran defended the reinstatement of Jan Hus, who was burned at the stake as a heretic in 1415. Beran died in Rome.

**BERAN, RUDOLF (1887–1954).** Leader of the Czech Agrarian Party in the 1930s, he served as prime minister of the last Czechoslovak government in the post-Munich period. Beran was an opponent of Edvard Beneš’s foreign policy and preferred an understanding with Nazi Germany. He also opposed resistance to the Munich Diktat. He was prime minister when the German Army occupied the remaining territory of Czechoslovakia on 15 March 1939. He was also prime minister of the first government of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, but he resigned after less than six weeks. In 1941, he was arrested and held in Nazi prisons until 1943. In 1947, he was put on trial and sentenced to 20 years for high treason, a charge which continues to generate controversy. Beran died in jail.
BETHLEHEM CHAPEL IN PRAGUE (BETLÉMSKÁ KAPLE).
One of the most cherished historical Czech church buildings, this Gothic chapel was built in the upper part of the Prague Old Town in 1391 for the purpose of worship in the Czech language. Jan Hus was the administrator and preacher in this chapel from 1402 until 1412, when he was forced to leave Prague. Communion in both kinds (sub utraque specie) was first served in this chapel by Hus’s successor, Jakoubek ze Stříbra, in 1414. During the Counterreformation, the Jesuits turned the chapel into a Catholic church, and in 1786, large parts of the building were torn down by order of the city. A replica of the old chapel was built between 1948 and 1954.

BOČEK, BOHUMIL (1894–1952). Czechoslovak army general and chief of the general staff from 1945 to 1948, Boček was an officer of the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia during World War I and held several command posts in the Czechoslovak Army during the inter-war period. He went into exile after the Munich Diktat and joined Czechoslovak armed forces fighting on the Allied side as early as 1940 in France. He fought the Nazis in France, the Middle East, and the Soviet Union. In Russia, he commanded the First Czechoslovak Independent Brigade from 1944 to 1945. After serving as chief of the general staff for three years after the war, Boček was demoted in 1948. A victim of Communist persecutions in the early years after the coup of 1948, Boček was arrested in 1951, and in 1952 he was sentenced to life imprisonment on falsely constructed accusations. He died in prison. In the 1960s, he was posthumously exonerated and rehabilitated.

BOHEMIA (ČECHY). The western part of the Czech Republic bordering on Austria, Germany, Poland, and Moravia encompasses 52,052 square kilometers (20,368 square miles) and has approximately 6,290,000 inhabitants, of whom 95.8 percent are Czechs; the largest minorities are the Slovaks and the Roma. The name “Bohemia” derives from the Latin Boiohaemum, meaning “the land of the Boii,” a Celtic tribe inhabiting the country into the 4th century A.D. The Czech name Čechy refers to the main western Slavic tribe that settled in central Bohemia in the 6th century (Čechové, or the
Czechs). By the 11th century, the Czechs had united all Slavic tribes in Bohemia and Moravia.

Bohemia’s natural boundaries are formed by several mountain chains: the Bohemian Forest (Český les), which extends along more than 200 kilometers (150 miles) of the borders with Austria and Germany in the southwest and west; Krušné hory, covering some 150 kilometers (100 miles) along the northeast borders with Germany, from the range of the Fichtelgebirge in Bavaria to the Labe (Elbe) River; the Sudets (the term has a more political than a geographical meaning in Czech) is the English summary name for several mountain ranges in north and northeast Bohemia, namely Lužické hory, Jizerské hory, Krkonoše, and Orlické hory, along the borders with Germany and Poland; and the Bohemian-Moravian Heights (Českomoravská vysočina) between Bohemia proper and Moravia.

Since early times, Bohemia has benefited from its fertile lowlands and plateaus, especially along the Vltava and Labe rivers and their tributaries. The principal crops are still sugar beet, grain, flax, and hops (see AGRICULTURE). The mineral wealth of the country was the source of the power of the Czech rulers of the first Premyslite dynasty. Silver, copper, lead, iron ore, and coal were mined in several locations, especially in Krušné hory and Kutná Hora. In modern times, uranium, zinc, tin, wolframite, and sulphur have had additional importance. In the Krušné hory area, large deposits of lignite have provided the main source for the production of electricity. Mineral springs in western Bohemia, namely, in Karlovy Vary and Mariánské lázně, have become internationally known health spas. Since the 19th century, Bohemia has become one of the most industrialized areas of Europe, with Prague and Plzeň being the most important centers. Bohemia was an independent kingdom within the Holy Roman Empire, with Czech kings acting as imperial electors. Until 1526, the country was ruled by kings of the Premyslite, Luxemburg, and Jagello dynasties. From 1526 until 1765, the Czech throne was occupied by kings of the Habsburg dynasty, and then until 1918 by kings of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty.

In 1627, Bohemia lost its status as a constituent Habsburg kingdom and became an imperial crown land. The Czech diet (Zemský sněm) was reduced to a consultative body. The Czech Protestant ar-
istocracy was either suppressed or forced to leave the country during the 17th century. Only one ruling Habsburg had his imperial seat in Prague—Rudolf II (1576–1611). The others administered Bohemia from Vienna through a regent and his office in Prague. Maria Theresa was the last Habsburg ruler crowned as queen of Bohemia. Her successors simply ruled the Czech lands as emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and, after 1806, as emperors of Austria. Nonrecognition of Bohemia’s status as an equal of Austria and Hungary within the empire in 1867 turned the Czechs against Vienna, which proved fateful for the Habsburgs during World War I.

Independence was regained in 1918 in the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1938, Czechoslovakia was forced to cede Czech (and Moravian) border territories to Germany according to the decisions of the Munich Diktat. Between 1939 and 1945, both Czech lands were occupied by the Nazis. Czechoslovakia was restored in 1945, but between 1948 and 1989, it came under effective Soviet control. When Czechoslovakia split on 1 January 1993, Bohemia became a part of the Czech Republic.

**BREZHNEV DOCTRINE** (*BREŽNĚVOVA DOKTRINA*). This foreign policy doctrine was developed during the Prague Spring of 1968 and fully formulated at the time of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. It was attributed to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid I. Brezhnev. When Czechoslovakia launched its reform program in early 1968, described by Alexander Dubček as an attempt to give socialism “a human face,” the country and its leadership were subjected to incessant Soviet pressures to abandon the reform policy. As early as 23 March 1968, at a conference of Soviet bloc leaders in Dresden, German Democratic Republic, the Brezhnev leadership insisted on the thesis that no socialist-bloc country had the right to change the political and economic policies established in the Soviet Union. The main principles that Brezhnev espoused were the maintenance of the Communist Party dictatorship and strict censorship. Brezhnev repeated this thesis in all later bilateral negotiations with Dubček and in telephone conversations with him, and the idea was embodied in a letter that the leaders of the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and
East Germany sent to the Czechoslovak leadership from their meeting in Warsaw in July 1968. Brezhnev articulated his doctrine most clearly in Moscow in August 1968, where the kidnapped Czechoslovak leaders were forced to sign the so-called Moscow Protocol.

According to Brezhnev, the USSR had the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any bloc country in Eastern Europe to prevent its eventual defection. Brezhnev tried to justify his theory by references to Soviet sacrifices in World War II and to the security concerns of the whole “socialist camp.” Soviet policies based on this doctrine prevented all affected countries from carrying out reforms of the socialist system until the 1980s, when the failing Soviet economy forced Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev—too late—to try to implement them directly in the USSR.

BRNO. This chief city in Moravia is the second-largest city in the Czech Republic. The place where Brno is located, at the confluence of the Svitava and Svatka rivers in south central Moravia, was originally a Celtic settlement. One of the two hills between which the present inner city stands was occupied by a Premyslite castle, called Špilberk, in the 11th century. During the reign of Czech kings Přemysl Otakar I, Václav I, and Přemysl Otakar II (1197–1278), Brno received a royal charter and was recognized as a free city with its own government under the king’s protection. Flourishing as a trade center since the 13th century, Brno sided with the Catholic side during the Hussite wars, and in 1645 it was besieged by the Swedes during the last stages of the Thirty Years War. During the Battle of Austerlitz (Bitva u Slavkova) in 1805, Napoleon I had his headquarters in Brno. In 1740, the Špilberk Castle was rebuilt into a fortress and a prison, the most notorious in the Habsburg Empire. Until 1855, hundreds of well-known political opponents of the Habsburgs from all parts of the empire were jailed there, including the Italian poet Silvio Pellico.

During the 19th century, Brno became one of the fastest-growing industrial centers of the Habsburg Empire and its industries continued to grow after 1918, during the Czechoslovak period. The textiles and woolen industries in Brno became famous, as did its machine-tool and light-armament production. It was in Brno where J. G. Mendel
formulated his theory of genetics in 1866, and Leoš Janáček composed his music. The “Bren gun,” a light machine gun widely used in World War II when it was produced in England, had been developed in Brno in the 1930s. Since 1919, Brno has had the second-largest Czech institution of higher education, Masaryk University (closed between 1939–1945 during the German occupation). Between 1926 and 1960, Brno was the capital of the Moravian-Silesian land during the land-administration system in Czechoslovakia.

Presently Brno has 400,000 inhabitants and six college-level learning centers with over 30,000 students. Each year, Brno hosts an important International Trade Fair, focusing mainly on machine-tool production. Since 1993, Brno has been the seat of the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court of the Czech Republic.

BURSÍK, MARTIN (1959– ). Czech environmental engineer and campaigner, as well as politician who served as minister of environment in the interim government of Josef Tošovský in 1998 and who joined the Green Party in 2004 and became its party chairman in 2005. The Green Party had contested all parliamentary elections but never won a seat until, under his leadership, it gained six in 2006. After several months in which no government could be formed, the Green Party was invited to form a coalition with the Civic Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party in January 2007. Bursík was awarded both the environmental portfolio and also became a deputy prime minister. He also secured a further two ministerial posts for the Greens, and successfully backed independent Karel Schwarzenberg for foreign minister, demonstrating the disproportionate influence a small party could have in particular circumstances. The long-term influence of the Greens, or their ability to remain a distinctive party, came in doubt because it was seen to compromise on some of its major political platforms while partaking in the coalition government.

BUZKOVÁ, PETRA (1965– ). One of the Czech Republic’s leading female politicians who was involved in Czech public life since the Velvet Revolution of 1989, the same year in which she earned a doctorate in law. She became known as the “First Lady” of politics and
was touted by Václav Havel as an excellent successor to him as president, although she did not stand for the post. She served as a deputy chair of the Czech Social Democratic Party and became education minister in 2002. She introduced some difficult reforms, which dented her popularity, but decided to leave politics in 2005, still only at the age of 39. Despite some speculation the year after that she would run for mayor of Prague she has remained out of politics.

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ČALFA, MARIÁN (1946–). A Slovak lawyer, an official of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), and a senior official in the office of the prime minister between 1987–1989, Čalfa became deputy prime minister in the last Communist government shortly before the collapse of the regime in November 1989. During the crisis, Čalfa played a positive role in the negotiations between the Communists and the opposition during the Velvet Revolution and was appointed head of the “government of national reconciliation” in December 1989. At that time, he resigned his KSC membership and joined the Slovak counterpart of Civic Forum, called Public against Violence (Verejnost’ proti násiliu—VPN). In June 1990, Čalfa was elected a deputy of the Federal Assembly for VPN and was reappointed federal prime minister by President Václav Havel. He held that office until June 1992. After the breakup of Czechoslovakia in January 1993, Čalfa retired from politics, opted for Czech citizenship, and has since lived in Prague.

ČAPEK, KAREL (1890–1938). The greatest Czech novelist of the 20th century was also a playwright and essayist. He was internationally famous as the author of the satirical plays R.U.R. (Rossum’s Universal Robots) and The Insect Play (Ze života hmyzu). Čapek wrote the latter play with his brother Josef Čapek, a writer and painter (1887–1945). In R.U.R., Čapek introduced the term “robot” and its derivatives into a number of languages, including English. One of the other plays by Čapek, The Makropoulos Secret (Věc Makropoulou), is the basis of Leoš Janáček’s opera of the same name. Čapek also
wrote a number of novels and short stories, as well as three volumes of conversations with Tomáš Masaryk, whose humanism he shared. A principled opponent of war and Nazism, Karel Čapek died—a broken man—shortly after the Munich Conference. His brother perished in the German concentration camp Bergen-Belsen. See also LITERATURE.

**CASE GREEN (FALL GRÜN IN GERMAN).** Code name of the Nazi plan for the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1938, Case Green was first drawn up by German Field Marshal von Blomberg in June 1937 and presented to commanders of the army, navy, and air force in a secret directive on 5 November of that year. Blomberg was then minister of war and commander in chief of the German armed forces (he was fired by Hitler in January 1938). The directive speculated about various scenarios of the future war, and it said that Czechoslovakia “must be eliminated” from the very beginning, “probably as early as 1938.” The scheme gained urgency on Hitler’s agenda after the annexation of Austria in March 1938, and General Wilhelm Keitel prepared a new version of the plan on 20 May 1938. Czechoslovakia was to be smashed by military aggression with or without a pretext, and Bohemia and Moravia occupied as quickly as possible. Hitler signed the directive, practically unchanged, on 30 May, and the execution of the plan was set “by 1 October 1938, at the latest.” By that date, however, conquest of Czechoslovakia by open aggression was unnecessary because of the British and French participation in the Munich Diktat in September 1938. On 15 March 1939, the German Army marched unopposed into rump Czechoslovakia, which had been deprived of its defenses and alliances, and a Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia under direct control of the German Reich was established.

**CATHOLICISM.** In the early 10th century Czechs became the first Slavs to accept Roman Catholicism. The Czechs were also, as A. H. Hermann writes, “the first in Europe to revolt against its centralist, dogmatic and reactionary policies,” a move compelled by the fast development of the economy and the emergence of professional classes in Czech lands in the 14th century. The foundation of Charles
University in 1348 in Prague provided intellectual opposition to the Catholic Church. This early Protestantism was concentrated in Bohemia, rather than Moravia, where Catholicism retained more of a following, and gained strength under the leadership of Jan Hus, and what became known as his followers in the Hussite movement. In 1420 the Hussites issued the Four Articles of Prague (Čtyři artikuly pražské), essentially as opposition to the succession of Sigismund, brother of King Václav IV, to the Czech throne. The Articles challenged fundamentally the spiritual dominance and specific practices of the Catholics. The articles demanded freedom preaching and communion for both priests and lay people; communion in both bread and wine (Utraquism); limitation of the property of the clergy; and civil punishment of mortal sins.

Armed conflict ensued in the Hussite wars between Hus’s followers and Catholic supporters in the Czech lands from then to 1436. The Hussites, outnumbered, nevertheless withstood attacks and launched counterattacks into Germany. Although the Hussite campaigns were ultimately unsuccessful, and all surrounding peoples, including the linguistically similar Slovaks, remained predominantly Catholic, 90 percent of the Czechs came to be Protestant.

The Catholic Church responded to the wider challenges facing it from the spread of Protestantism with measures now called the Counterreformation, which included reform of church practices, especially regarding corruption, but also through force. In 1618, the Czech Estates launched a rebellion against the Habsburgs and their centralizing and Catholicizing policies, but they lost their war against Ferdinand II in 1620 at the White Mountain Battle. Although the Thirty Years War ultimately ended in compromise, Catholicism maintained its hold in many countries and imposed itself on others, including the Czech Kingdom, but also Austria, Hungary, Poland, the southern Netherlands, and parts of Germany.

In the Czech Kingdom, the reimposition of Catholicization was particularly severe, involving various forms of military, administrative, and economic coercive means. The political power of Czech Protestants was destroyed, as the Protestant majority of the Czech National Council was physically removed and replaced by Catholic and foreign magnates. Ferdinand II’s decree of 1627, which brought
the forced Catholicization of the Czech lands, also resulted in the flight of 30,000 non-Catholics, including leading Protestant Czech intellectuals, most notably Jan Ámos Komenský. At the time of the Patent of Toleration in 1781, by which Emperor Josef II allowed limited religious pluralism, only 80,000 Protestants had managed to preserve, in secrecy, their faith.

Prospects for the popularity of Catholicism among Czechs grew somewhat in the mid-19th century as the Christian Social movement, as elsewhere in Europe, began to reach out toward the masses, especially through charitable activities. As Czech national sentiment grew at roughly the same time, however, Catholicism came to be even more closely associated with the Austrians, and thus with imperial rule, as well as with a general process of Germanization that was erasing Czech national identity. As political scientist Seán Hanley wrote, the Catholic Church “came to be viewed as a pro-Austrian body, ambivalent or indifferent to the aspirations of the [Czech] nation for political and cultural self-determination.” In 1861, the Austro-Hungarian Empire itself contributed to the undermining of Catholicism, by making Protestantism fully equal with it. The protestant revival claimed such great men among the Czechs as František Palacký and Tomáš Masaryk, who influenced the reawakened Czech nation to see itself in non-Catholic terms. More anomalous still was the relative influence in Catholic-dominated Slovakia of Protestants, notably Milan Rastislav Štefánik, who, along with Masaryk and Edvard Beneš, established the foundations for Czechoslovakia during World War I. Still, the Catholic Christian People’s Party was successful in the elections held before the end of the Empire and became one of the main political parties after the independent Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) was established in 1918. Its leader, Jan Šrámek, a Catholic priest, participated in the Pětka coalition system of governance that operated throughout much of the interwar period.

Differences between Czechs and Slovaks were evident in the newly founded state. Significant anti-Catholic sentiments and activities were expressed among Czechs upon independence. Common slogans included “away from Rome!” and “in every Czech Catholic there is a drop of Hussite blood.” Over 1 million Czechs left the Catholic Church.
The Catholic Church had assembled considerable wealth, particularly in land. For example, the city of Prague owned only 90 hectares of rural land; by contrast, Prague-based religious orders owned 42,975. The new government of the CSR also undertook significant land reform, distributing among the peasantry land belonging to both the old estates and the Catholic Church.

Catholicism remained powerful in Slovakia and these divergent views on religion in Czechoslovakia caused suspicion and disension. After the formation of Czechoslovakia, as noted émigré Czechoslovak historian Josef Korbel wrote, distrust of Czechoslovakia arose because the postindependence “program of progress was voiced mainly by Slovak Protestants, nurtured in the intellectual climate of Prague, and their ideas sounded alien and disquieting to the ears of conservative Catholics.” The Slovak Catholic priest and politician Jan Šrámek could and did work closely with Masaryk and Beneš during the interwar period; he was also prime minister of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London from 1940 to 1945. But others believed differently of the intentions of Prague. Another Catholic priest and politician, Andrej Hlinka, supported unity between the Czechs and Slovaks to gain independence, but then demanded autonomy for Slovakia in the new CSR. His political party, the Slovak People’s Party, became Slovakia’s largest from 1923, and advocated this position. After Hlinka died in 1938, he was succeeded by a deputy leader (and its official leader from 1939), Jozef Tiso, who was also a Catholic priest. It was Tiso who consented to the demand of German dictator Adolf Hitler to make an independent Slovak state, which lasted from 1939 to 1945.

The influence of the Catholic Church after World War II was limited in Slovakia as so much of its leadership had been removed, but it did already oppose in 1945 measures by the postwar government that would infringe on its interests, such as the nationalization of schools; instead it sought a return to the standards of 1938 when 40 percent of Slovak pupils attended Catholic-run institutions.

The consolidation of absolute Communist power after February 1948, however, changed the standing of all organized religion, and perhaps foremost that of the Catholic Church. Church property was confiscated, church education terminated, and priests met with some
of the worst individual, and arbitrary, punishments delivered by the
regime. Some 15,000 clerics were believed to have been sentenced
to hard labor in appalling conditions. Josef Beran, who became
Archbishop of Prague in 1946, was isolated and excluded from the
capital between 1949 and 1965. When he was permitted to travel
to Rome after his appointment as cardinal in that year, the regime
refused to allow him to return home; he died in exile. Those priests
in Czechoslovakia who wanted to practice had to apply for the right
(which could be refused) and became state employees; all their salary
and funding came also from the state. Nevertheless, in these difficult
conditions, some Catholic clergy opposed the Communist regime.

František Tomášek, who succeeded Beran in 1965, and was named
a cardinal in 1977, became visible as an opponent of the Communist
regime by presiding over larger-scale public religious activities in
the mid- and late-1980s, and also by maintaining contacts with the
Charter 77 movement. Václav Malý, who was ordained as a priest
in 1976, signed Charter 77.

With the fall of Communism during the Velvet Revolution the reestablishment of political freedoms brought opportunities for reli-
gion and for the Catholic Church. New legislation in 1991 removed
Communist-era controls over religion and excluded the state from
influence over the operation of religious order, and affirmed es-
sential rights such as independent publishing as well as the right
to conduct (with parental consent) religious education. The church
has received political support from the Christian Democratic
Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party (Křesťanská a demokratická
unie–Československá strana lidová—KDU-CSL), which has itself
been a junior coalition partner in some governments. The church
otherwise wields little political influence.

Restitution of Catholic Church property seized under Communism
remains contentious, and for the church, largely unsuccessful. The
church has sought the return of 1,500 buildings, 160,000 hectares of
forest and 47,000 hectares of farm land. Most notably it sought res-
titution of the landmark of St. Vitus Cathedral, in Prague Castle,
which Communists nationalized in 1954, saying that it should belong
to all of the people. Although the church receives state funding, in
2005 Roman Catholic Cardinal Miloslav Vlk declared that it had
declined so much that the church had become unable to pay its priests sufficiently. The church also faces difficulties in maintaining allegiance. Although public opinion surveys make the Catholic Church the most popular church in the Czech Republic, albeit among one of Europe’s least religious populations, only 4 percent of the population attend mass regularly. See also HUSSITE MOVEMENT; TÁBOR.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (CEFTA; STŘEDOEVROPSKÁ DOHODA O VOLNÉM OBCHODU). Signed at the December 1992 Prague summit of the Visegrád group with active participation of the Czech Republic, the agreement also included Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia. CEFTA’s goal was the development of harmonious economic cooperation between its members by gradual elimination of obstacles to mutual trade. The complete removal of trade barriers was to be achieved by 2001, leaving only some sectors of agriculture still protected by tariffs and import quotas. Unlike Visegrád cooperation, which never expanded its membership, CEFTA was opened to several other countries, including Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Croatia, and still others, especially Ukraine, expressed strong interest. As an agreement that helped to prepare the Central European states for membership of the European Union (EU), CEFTA nevertheless had to cease upon their entry in 2004. The EU, however, used the framework and name for a major trade liberalization initiative for southeastern Europe, which was launched two years later as CEFTA-2006, and can be taken as a further indication of the importance of a post-Communist Central European–inspired cooperation initiative. See also FOREIGN POLICY.

ČERNÍK, OLDŘICH (1921–1994). Czechoslovak prime minister from 1968 to 1970. Černík has held a number of positions in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) apparatus and in the government since the mid-1950s. Between 1963 and 1968, he was deputy prime minister and during those years, he supported the efforts to implement limited economic reforms. Named prime minister in the middle of the Prague Spring of 1968, he stood at Alexander Dubček’s side and, together with him and other members of the KSC leadership, was kidnapped to Moscow in the first
hours of the Soviet invasion of **Czechoslovakia** in August 1968. He signed the act of surrender called the **Moscow Protocol** of 1968 and continued as prime minister during the gradual dismantling of the achievements of the Prague Spring. In April 1969, he was replaced by **Lubomír Štrougal** as prime minister, but he was allowed to remain a member of the politburo until 1970 in recognition of his willingness to help in the elimination of his previous policies. In 1970, he held the post of minister of technology and investment policy, but a year later he was fired and expelled from the KSC during a later stage of the purges. Until 1989, he remained entirely passive, and after the **Velvet Revolution**, he made only a limited and temporary political comeback as chairman of the Union of Cities and Communities from 1990 to 1991.

ČESKÝ KRUMLOV. This historical town in south **Bohemia** is included in the UNESCO list of universal cultural heritage. The town is located 15 kilometers (10 miles) south of České Budějovice, on the Vltava River. The local castle, founded in the 13th century, was the seat of the most powerful south Bohemian aristocratic family from the 12th to the 17th century, the Rosenbergs (páni z Růže). They were a branch of an earlier Czech feudal clan of Vítkovici. Their emblem was a black rose in a white field. The 19th-century historian **František Palacký** spells the name “Rosenberk”; later Czech usage is Rožmberk. The whole town, including the castle and its old archives, is a protected cultural reservation. The current population is 14,000.

**CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.** This institution is the lower house of the bicameral Czech **parliament**, formally known in Czech as *Poslanecká sněmovna Parlamentu České republiky*, and it is located in Malá Strana in **Prague**. It is the principal body in the Czech political system for introducing and passing legislations, although the upper house or **Senate** can veto such legislation. The Chamber of Deputies has 200 seats whose members are elected for four-year terms, unless, as is frequent practice, a minority or coalition government is in place and fails to muster enough support to win a nonconfidence vote. Members are selected on a party-list basis. **See also** GOVERNMENT.
CHARLES BRIDGE (KARLŮV MOST). One of the most remarkable architectural monuments of the Czech capital, the bridge over the Vltava River was built between 1357 and 1400. Charles IV Luxemburg initiated the project, which was completed during the reign of his son and successor, Václav IV. The bridge connects the Old Town on the right riverbank with the Malá strana district of Prague, below the castle. The Vltava had been bridged by a wooden construction since at least the 10th century, probably more to the south of the present Charles Bridge. This wooden bridge was destroyed by flood in 1157 and was replaced by a stone bridge during the reign of King Vladislav II (1140–1173). It was called Juditin most (Judita’s Bridge) after the king’s wife Queen Judita. In its time, there was only one other stone bridge in Central Europe, in Regensburg.

Two hundreds years later, Judita’s Bridge had to be replaced again. The master builder of the new bridge was Petr Parléř, who also took the place of Matthias of Arras in the construction of the St. Vitus Cathedral. The new bridge was built of sandstone blocks on 16 spans. It is 1,705 feet long and 33 feet wide.

The Old Town side of the bridge is marked by a guard tower—the Old Town Bridge Tower (Staroměstská mostní věž), also built by Parléř, generally believed to be the most beautiful medieval tower of its kind still preserved in Europe. There is a second tower on the left side of the river, built in 1464. The Old Town Bridge Tower was used as a prison. After the execution of 27 leaders of the rebellion against Ferdinand II in 1621, the heads of 11 of them were displayed on this tower for 10 years. The bridge witnessed many crucial events of Czech history. In 1420, the Hussites marched over the bridge during the crusaders’ attempt to conquer Prague, and in 1620, the “Winter King” Frederick escaped across the bridge from Prague after the White Mountain Battle. Prague was defended here against the Swedes in 1648, and the bridge saw fighting during the 1848 Czech rebellion.

Between 1683 and 1714, during the Counterreformation, the bridge was decorated with 30 statues and sculptural groups of various saints along both its sides. To protect the statues from damage caused by pollution, the city has gradually replaced the statues by replicas,
and the originals have been put in museums. The bridge has long been closed to automobile traffic.

**CHARLES IV LUXEMBURG (1316–1378).** King of **Bohemia** (1346[but crowned in 1347]–1378) and Emperor of the **Holy Roman Empire** (1355–1378). He was the son of King John I Luxemburg and Premyslite Princess Eliška, daughter of King Václav II. He is viewed as the greatest of the Czech kings and one of the most remarkable emperors. He was 31 at the time of his succession and was uniquely qualified. Educated in France, he was fluent in five languages and had substantial administrative, diplomatic, and military experience. His imperial legacy is primarily embodied in his Golden Bull of 1356. He was the first Czech king crowned in **Prague** by a Czech archbishop. By founding the Prague New Town, he made the Czech capital the largest city in Central Europe. In 1348, he founded the Prague University. He initiated the construction of a new stone bridge across the Vltava River in Prague and he built **Karlštejn Castle**, a Gothic pearl southeast of Prague. His foreign policy solidified the independence of the **Czech Kingdom** and expanded its domains. During his reign, the country went through a many-sided cultural advancement in **literature**, painting, **sculpturing**, and **architecture**. The king’s attempt to give the country a written civil code (**Maiestas Carolina**) was rejected by the Czech aristocracy. The results of a large-scale public competition that was held in 2005 considered Charles IV to be the greatest Czech in history. *See also CHARLES BRIDGE; CHARLES UNIVERSITY.*

**CHARLES UNIVERSITY** (*UNIVERZITA KARLOVA*—UK). The oldest university in Central Europe, it was founded in 1348 by **Charles IV Luxemburg** on the model of the universities of Bologna and Paris with four departments: theology, philosophy (arts), medicine, and law. The only institution of its kind in the area for years to come, the university gathered many foreign faculty members and students. Four nationalities initially had one vote each in university affairs—Czechs, Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles. King Václav IV ruled in 1409 that the Czechs would have three votes and foreigners one.
Jan Hus was the rector of the university from 1409 until his death in 1415, and the institution was one of the main pillars of the Hussite movement. From 1618 to 1620, the university supported the anti-Habsburg uprising of the Czech Estates. After the Czech defeat in the White Mountain Battle in 1620, the university lost its autonomy and was administered by the Jesuits until 1733. In 1654, it was renamed the Charles-Ferdinand University. In 1849, the university regained its independence, and in 1882, it was divided into German and Czech parts.

The old name, Charles University, was restored in 1920. The Nazis closed all Czech institutions of higher education, including UK, in 1939, when nine students were shot and 1,200 were deported to German concentration camps. UK reopened in 1945, but it lost its academic autonomy again in 1950. In 1968, UK ardently supported the Prague Spring and suffered widespread persecutions after the Soviet occupation. A student demonstration in November 1989 gave impetus to the Velvet Revolution, which brought the revival of academic freedom in 1990.

UK now has some 16 departments, over 31,000 students, and more than 4,000 faculty members. The language of instruction is Czech, but many departments also offer courses in English. In recent years it has ranked in the prestigious Times Higher list of leading world universities.

CHARTER 77 (CHARTA 77). This was the name of the Czech resistance movement during the last 12 years of Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. Following the installment of the subservient Gustav Husák regime by the Soviets in April 1969, nonviolent resistance continued at different levels in the whole country, especially in Bohemia and Moravia. Several underground samizdat bulletins started to circulate in the fall of 1969, six months after the suppression of freedom of the press. Some civic organizations outlawed in summer 1969 also continued to function secretly. Between 1969 and 1971, the regime carried out widespread purges that directly affected over 500,000 people. Particularly harsh was the persecution of the academic and intellectual community; teachers, writers, journalists, and historians were the groups most severely hit. Several dozen ac-
tivists of the **Prague Spring** were sent to prisons between 1969 and 1972. These repressions also stopped the first efforts of underground groups to formulate a common opposition platform. By the end of 1973, resistance was largely silenced.

It was the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in summer 1975 that encouraged the opposition to manifest publicly its continued belief in democracy and freedom. Several leading intellectuals consulted on the form of their protest. They included well-known political personalities of the Prague Spring such as the playwright **Václav Havel**, former minister of foreign affairs Jiří Hájek, the philosopher Ladislav Hejdánek, the poet and playwright Pavel Kohout, a former reformist member of the **Communist Party of Czechoslovakia** (KSC) Zdeněk Mlynář, and student leader Petr Uhl. A draft manifesto called Charter 77 was prepared and secretly signed by 242 members of the opposition. Dated 1 January 1977, the document carefully listed the specific instances when the Communist regime breached its own and international codes of law and trampled civil and **human rights** in the country. The document pointed out that it was the government that bore the primary responsibility for the protection of these rights but that all citizens were also responsible in this respect. This awareness of civic responsibility is what motivated the signatories of Charter 77, the document said.

The charter described itself as a free, informal, and open community of people of different persuasions, faiths, and professions united by their belief in human rights. The document named three signatories as its first speakers: The philosopher **Jan Patočka**, Jiří Hájek, and Václav Havel. These speakers were entrusted to represent the movement before the public and before the authorities.

The regime tried in vain at the last moment to prevent the circulation of the document and its publication abroad. Furious police measures, a campaign of arrests, and a hysterical propaganda campaign against the Charterists were launched. Dozens of them were jailed, and many others were forced to leave the country. The philosopher Patočka, then 70 years old, died as a consequence of a brutal and exhausting interrogation in March 1977. The regime succeeded in isolating the Charterists, using vast surveillance and intimidation, but Charter 77 endured.
In the next 12 years, not more than 1,886 people dared openly to join the movement, but its impact was enormous. The movement prepared and published abroad almost 600 substantive documents about various aspects of life in Czechoslovakia under Soviet occupation, and it created an agency that specialized in monitoring, defending, and supporting the victims of political repression (VONS—Výbor na obranu nespravedlivě stíhaných [Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted]). At times the VONS was in the forefront of the struggle of Charter 77. While the regime held the Charterists in a ghetto-like situation until 1989, the movement established itself as the central resistance body in the country, well respected by millions and enjoying significant recognition and support internationally. During the 12 years of its existence under the old regime, the charter was gradually represented by 38 speakers, who were rotated each year. Some of them, including Václav Havel, spent years in jail. In 1989, the Charterists played a leading role in the Velvet Revolution. They initiated the founding of the Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF) as the central organization of the opposition. It was OF, with Václav Havel as its primary representative, that took over when the Communist regime disintegrated. Charter 77 ended its activities in November 1992.

CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS (LISTINA ZÁKLADNÍCH PRÁV A SVOBOD). Part of the constitution of the Czech Republic, this charter was initially prepared in 1990 and approved by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly on 9 January 1991, as an amendment to the old constitution of 1960. When they approved the constitution of the Czech Republic on December 16, 1992, the Czech National Council decided to make the charter a part of the new fundamental law of the country (Part 1, Article 3).

The authors of the charter took great care in specifying all rights and freedoms guaranteed in constitutions of advanced democratic states and included in internationally binding documents of the United Nations and of the European Union. In its Part 4 (Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights), the charter includes the right of Czech citizens to adequate old-age social security, free health care, and free basic education. See also HUMAN RIGHTS.
CHELČICKÝ, PETR (1390?–1460?). A south Bohemian squire, thinker, and social critic, Chelčický was the immediate spiritual founder of the Unity of Czech Brethren. He was a principled follower of Jan Hus, but he is also believed to have been influenced by the ideas of the Waldensians, a radical reform movement centered in France and north Italy. He wrote three main treatises: 

Síť víry pravé (Net of the True Faith), Postila (Postil, or Collection of Sermons), and O trojím lidu (Three Kinds of People).

Chelčický did not deal with strictly theological problems; rather, he emphasized Christian ethics and life in truth. He believed that the state (government) was based on power and violence, both of which he rejected. He also rejected war and capital punishment. Nonresistance to evil was one of his basic ideas. He saw the Roman pope and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire as two whales tearing the net of true Christian faith. Chelčický also observed the growing exploitation of the peasantry in his time by the aristocrats, and he called for equal rights for all people.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION–CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE’S PARTY (KŘESŤANSKÁ A DEMOKRATICKÁ UNIE–ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ STRANA LIDOVÁ—KDU-CSL). This traditional Czech political party was represented in the parliament of the Czech Republic as a member of the first two government coalitions, and then again since 2007. This Catholic political movement with autonomous organizations in Bohemia and Moravia dates back to the 1890s. Particularly strong in Moravia, “the Clericals” (as the movement was called) won a significant percentage of Czech votes in the elections for the Austrian Reichsrat in 1907 and 1911 (11.9 percent in total; in Moravia in 1911, 36.6 percent). After the breakup of the Habsburg Empire in 1918, Catholic political groups in Moravia and Bohemia united and created, in 1919, the Czechoslovak People’s Party (Československá strana lidová), a party with a predominantly Christian-social orientation.

In the interwar period, the CSL was a stable part of most governing coalitions, receiving around 8 percent of the general vote in each parliamentary election. The party’s chairman, Monsignor Jan Šrámek, was a member of a group of five principal Czechoslovak political
leaders that formed the *Pětka*. Šrámek also held various ministerial positions in almost all governments between 1921 and 1938. After Munich, the party dissolved, but some of its leaders, particularly Šrámek, went into exile and took active part in the struggles for liberation and renewal of Czechoslovakia. Šrámek was prime minister in the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London from 1940 to 1945. The CSL was the only political party without a pronounced socialist program to be admitted into the National Front, the bloc of Leftist parties formed at the end of World War II. The CSL was a member of the National Front coalition government from 1945 to 1948, with Monsignor Šrámek holding the post of deputy prime minister. In February 1948, the CSL opposed the Communists’ takeover, and was forcefully “reorganized” after the coup. Between 1948 and 1989, a weakened CSL, politically subordinated to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), played a formal role of a junior government partner with no meaningful share in power.

The party returned to its historical role shortly after the changes in 1989. A new leadership was elected, and the CSL became the third-strongest political party in Bohemia and Moravia in the elections of 1990. In 1992, the CSL merged with a smaller Catholic group called the Christian and Democratic Union and adopted its current hyphenated name, although it is often referred to in English as “Christian Democratic Union.” The elections in 1992 confirmed that the party maintained its traditional support, especially in Moravia. The CSL won 6.28 percent of the vote and entered the coalition government of Prime Minister Václav Klaus. In the 31 May to 1 June elections in 1996, the KDU-CSL won 8.08 percent of the general vote. In the 1998 elections the KDU-CSL improved its performance with 20 seats and 9 percent of the popular vote, but Klaus’s party decided to make an opposition agreement with the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), which had won a plurality of seats.

Dismayed with that arrangement, the KDU-CSL joined three other small parties in the four-party coalition. It then fought the 2002 elections on a joint program with one of those parties, the Freedom Union, which had been formed by disaffected members of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in 1998. Their coalition won them 31 seats and they formed a coalition government with the CSSD. The
party stood again by itself in the 2006 elections and won 13 seats. It then entered a coalition government led by the ODS. The party was led from December 2006 by Jiří Čunek, who, under the coalition, also became a deputy prime minister and minister for regional development, and party members held a further four ministerial posts. Continuing questions about Čunek’s use of public funds, however, forced him to resign in November 2007. In 2008 the party held the third-highest number of seats on municipal councils.

CINEMA. The first Czech production of moving pictures occurred at the end of the 19th century, and cinemas made the art popular before the outbreak of World War I, but the foundations for the large Czech film industry were built in the 1920s and 1930s, during the first Czechoslovak Republic. From the beginning, films could draw on the talent of great numbers of successful theater actors, directors, and writers for whom movie production opened a new and attractive creative field. In the interwar period, two large film studios were built in Prague (A.B. and Barrandov) and one in Zlín, Moravia. This era gave rise to a whole generation of successful and popular movie makers and actors (e.g., Vlasta Burian, E. F. Burian, Jan Werich, Jiří Voskovec, Martin Frič, and Otakar Vávra). The beginning of animated film also dates back to this time. During World War II, Czech cinematography was constrained by Nazi controls, but it did not lose its dynamic potential.

Shortly after the war, the film industry in Czechoslovakia was nationalized. War themes dominated Czech movie production in the early years after 1945, and the Communist regime’s ideological controls continued to affect filmmaking for years to come. Nevertheless, film makers often found their way around censorship, and some very good movies were produced from the late 1950s. Two Czechoslovak productions of that era won Oscars for best foreign films: The Shop on Main Street (1966) and Closely Watched Trains (1967).

After the Soviet occupation in 1968 and until 1989, Czech film production was again subjected to heavy censorship and it never reached the heights attained in the 1960s. Privatization of the film industry after the fall of the old regime launched a process of complete restructuring of movie production, and Barrandov Studios in
particular has made a very successful transition. Attendance at cinemas in the Czech Republic remains strong, despite ever-increasing admission charges. According to the Union of Film Distributors, nearly 13 million people went to Czech cinemas in 2008. American-made films were popular but the Czech Republic remains unusual for having a strong attendance at nationally produced films: Jan Hřebejk’s Nestyda was viewed by close to 450,000 people that year. See also FORMAN, MILOŠ; SVĚRÁK, ZDENĚK.

CIVIC DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (OBČANSKÁ DEMOKRATICKÁ ALIANCE—ODA). This Czech political party, officially disbanded in December 2007, was represented in the earlier Czech parliaments and in the first two center-right government coalitions that governed until 1997.

The ODA was founded in December 1989 by a group of intellectuals, some of whom had been active in the Charter 77 movement. In 1988, they had been part of a parallel dissident platform called Movement for Civil Freedom (Hnutí za občanskou svobodu—HOS). While most Charter 77 activists were of strictly secular orientation, this grouping emphasized Christian values without making it their main programmatic issue.

In November 1989, members of the HOS took part in the founding of the Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF) but they also registered as a political party (ODA). Seven representatives of ODA were coopted in the old Federal Assembly in December 1989, but in the June 1990 elections, members of the ODA ran for the OF. After the OF split in 1991, the ODA put up its own list of candidates in the elections of June 1992, but did not qualify for a representation in the Federal Assembly with its 4.08 percent of the general vote. Nevertheless, the ODA received enough votes (5.93 percent) to win mandates in the Czech parliament, and between 1992 and 1996, it was a coalition partner of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in the government of the Czech Republic, with three ministers and 16 deputies in the Chamber of Deputies. In the May–June elections of 1996, the ODA won 6.36 percent of the vote and 13 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. In July 1996, the ODA reentered the governing coalition with the ODS and the KDU-CSL. The ODA decided
not to contest new elections held in 1998 to avoid fragmenting the center-right vote. When the CSSD and ODS, however, created the controversial **Opposition Agreement**, the ODA joined the four-party coalition to protest it. The revelation of party finance scandals thereafter severely weakened the party and, save for individual senatorial victories, it was no longer a force in electoral politics. It did, however, support the senatorial candidacy of **Karel Schwarzenberg**, who became foreign minister in 2007.

The ODA described itself as a democratic party of the right. Its program included the ideas of a state of law, electoral democracy, market **economy**, restoration of civic society, protection of national culture, and social responsibility; it demanded a system of social security that would function outside the market. In the sphere of **foreign policy**, the ODA supported the Czech Republic’s association with the **European Union**, close ties with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, and good neighborly relations in Central Europe.

In contemporary European political terms, that platform would place ODA somewhat left of center. The party’s enunciated identification with conservatism is a standard Czech verbal turn in the post-1989 era that had an uncertain meaning in the specific historical context. The ODA appealed mainly to a part of the educated strata of the society. Among chairmen of the party has been Michal Žantovsky, a former Czech ambassador in the United States. The party formally ceased on 31 December 2007.

**CIVIC DEMOCRATIC PARTY (OBČANSKÁ DEMOKRATICKÁ STRANA—ODS).** The Civic Democratic Party is a leading Czech political party that has led several coalition governments. It was founded in 1991 as one of two successor parties of the **Civic Forum** (the **Civic Movement** was the other party). As members and activists of the Civic Forum, future ODS leaders, particularly **Václav Klaus**, had played an important role in the federal and Czech governments since 1989. Even before the breakup of **Czechoslovakia** in December 1992, they were already most directly identified with the successful policy of **privatization** and economic and monetary stabilization. The first programmatic document of the ODS, adopted in April 1991 and called Road to Prosperity, profiled the party as
a consistent proponent of the restoration of a market economy. In political terms, ODS defined itself as a conservative and right-wing party, a usage that reflects the specifics of the Czech situation rather than the customary meaning that “right-wing” has in Western literature. In fact, ODS policies bear no similarity to right-wing movements on the model of Mussolini or Jean-Marie Le Pen. The ODS has rather pursued a course similar to West European center parties, and in its day-to-day practice it has been showing pragmatism and willingness to compromise.

In the June elections of 1992, the ODS became the strongest Czech political party; allied with a tiny group called the Christian Democratic Party, ODS won 33.43 percent of the general vote in the elections for the Federal Assembly and 29.73 percent in the elections for the Czech parliament. At the federal level, the ODS entered an unworkable coalition with the strongest Slovak political party, the Movement for Democratic Slovakia. At the republican level, the ODS formed a Czech coalition government with a traditional Catholic party of the Christian Democratic Union (KDU-CSL) and with the ODA. This government, headed by Prime Minister Václav Klaus, reached an agreement with the Slovak representation on the dissolution of Czechoslovakia by the end of 1992. In January 1993, it became the first government of the independent Czech Republic.

Between 1993 and 1996, this ODS-led government largely accomplished the transformation toward a market economy and privatization, and the country earned several international acclamations for those successes, such as becoming the first post-Communist state to be admitted to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. In retrospect, however, the economic transformation, particularly privatization, has been seriously questioned. Nevertheless, at the time the party had cause to celebrate its approach and its program for the 1996 elections restated the ODS commitment to democracy and freedom of enterprise. The ODS demanded full freedom of international trade and free flow of capital between countries. In the May–June elections in 1996, the ODS won 29.61 percent of the vote and confirmed its standing as the strongest Czech political party, although it had to form a coalition government. Such electoral success, however, was short-lived. In 1997 the government
collapsed and Klaus resigned as prime minister due to intensifying economic crises and internal challenges to Klaus’s management of the party, including mounting questions about the sources and propriety of some party funding. Klaus continued as party leader but several ODS members left the party in protest and, in January 1998, formed the new Freedom Union (US). The US drew enough votes away from the ODS in the June 1998 elections that the rival left-wing Czech Social Democratic Party could form a government, albeit with the support of Klaus’s remaining ODS parliamentarians. In 2002 Klaus stepped down as party chairman and was succeeded by Miroslav Topolánek.

The ODS won only 58 seats in the 2002 elections, its lowest number, and for the first time became a genuinely oppositional force in parliament. In 2006 the ODS won 81 seats, but the parliament was split evenly between center-left and center-right parties, resulting in a government not being formed for several months. Nevertheless, Klaus, by then in the post of Czech president and thus able to call for the formation of governments, asked Topolánek in August 2006 to form one. The ODS government failed to win the necessary vote of confidence. In January 2007, however, the ODS brokered a deal with the Green Party and the KDU-CSL, and the defection of some Social Democratic MPs, which allowed it to lead a new government, which lasted until 2009. See also BÉM, PAVEL; BENEŠOVÁ, LIBUŠE.

CIVIC FORUM (OBČANSKÉ FÓRUM—OF). This revolutionary movement toppled the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia in November and December 1989 in a series of events referred to as the Velvet Revolution. After the Communists carried out the brutal suppression of a peaceful student demonstration in Prague on 17 November 1989, a widely based protest movement led to the formation of a “coordination center” operating from a Prague theater. The most active role in this center was played by long-time dissidents of Charter 77. They were joined by other opposition groups that had emerged in the last two years of Soviet occupation and by supporters from the so-called grey zone, the term used for those who disagreed with the regime but continued to work in its administrative structures. This coordinating center chose the name Civic Forum for the whole
movement, and it was quickly adopted by opposition forces in hundreds of Czech and Moravian communities.

Bolstered by daily mass demonstrations, the OF forced the Communist regime to negotiate the form of its own downfall. The decisive breakthrough was achieved on 29 November 1989, when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) permitted the Federal Assembly to strike from the constitution the article about the party’s dominating position. The OF and its Slovak counterpart, Public against Violence (VPN) assumed control of the new government. Before the end of the year, the opposition also took over the parliament and the presidency. In June and November 1990, the OF decisively won the first free parliamentary and communal elections in the Czech lands.

OF was a coalition of divergent political and ideological forces, and as such was probably unlikely to be able to continue as a broadly based grouping in a new system of contested parliamentary democracy. Nevertheless, several former dissidents were committed to that idea. They were hampered, however, by serious divisions within OF almost from the outset of the post-Communist period, over extremely difficult and divisive issues, such as how to handle de-Communization. In addition, others actively sought to adapt to a competitive political system and began developing political parties and the techniques for contesting parliamentary elections. By 1991 OF had diversified so much that its all-encompassing format and membership from the Velvet Revolution could not be sustained. It was reshaped in February 1991 into two main successor parties, the Civic Democratic Party and the Civic Movement. See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

CIVIC MOVEMENT (OBČANSKÉ HNUTÍ—OH). One of the two main successor parties of the Civic Forum, the OH was founded in 1991. Unlike the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the OH did not succeed in building a political basis and organization before the June 1992 elections, and, without a clear and attractive program, it won no seats in either the Federal Assembly or the Czech National Council. It also suffered from misrepresentation at the hands of the rival leadership of ODS; as Abby Innes wrote, “a party of
crypto-Communist utopians, regardless of the fact that it was led by some of the most prominent anti-Communist dissidents of the 1970s and 1980s.” In October 1992, the OH was renamed Free Democrats (Svobodní demokraté—SD), in an effort to establish a liberal-democratic identity similar to that of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in Germany. In December 1994, they merged with another nonparliamentary party, the Liberal National Social Party (Liberální strana národně sociální—LSNS), assuming the name Free Democrats–Liberal National Social Party (Svobodní demokraté–Liberální strana národně sociální—SD-LSNS). In the general election in 1996, the bloc of these two parties failed again to win seats in the Czech parliament, obtaining less than 2.5 percent of the vote. See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

COMENIUS. See KOMENSKÝ, JAN ÁMOS.

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE UNJUSTLY PERSECUTED (VÝBOR NA OBRANU NESPRAVEDLIVĚ STÍHANÝCH—VONS). The committee, best known by its acronym VONS, was founded in April 1978 by 17 Charter 77 activists as a response to persecution of the representatives of the opposition by the Gustav Husák regime. The VONS replaced an ad hoc committee for the defense of Václav Havel and two other persons who were arrested in January 1978; publicity around the case forced the regime to release them after six weeks. The experience with the working of this ad hoc committee was an important factor in the appearance of the VONS, whose founding members included Václav Havel, Jiří Dienstbier, Ladislav Lis, Petr Uhl, and Václav Benda. The document announcing the founding of the VONS said that its purpose was to monitor the cases of citizens unjustly prosecuted or jailed, and to inform the public and the authorities about them.

Members of the VONS themselves quickly became the targets of vicious persecution. In May 1979, the secret police (StB) attempted to break the VONS by arresting as many as 10 members of the committee at one time. This action, however, failed completely because 16 more people joined the VONS, and its activities intensified. An important development came in November 1979, when the VONS
was admitted into the International Federation for Human Rights (IFHR), a United Nations-affiliated organization. In spite of that, in the next years 14 members of the VONS were put on trial and sent to jail, some for as long as five years and some of them twice or three times before the Communist regime collapsed in 1989. One of the most active and most persecuted members of VONS, Ladislav Lis, was twice elected deputy chairman of the IFHR, a strong international recognition of the VONS.

The committee played an extremely important role in the struggle against the totalitarian system, and in the 1980s it stood many times in the forefront of this struggle. The VONS dissolved itself in 1990, after the fall of the old regime. See also HUMAN RIGHTS.

COMMUNICATIONS. Telegraph lines were built simultaneously with the development of railways in the Czech lands, which began with lines running first from Vienna to Brno in 1836 and then on to Prague in 1840. A modern postal system was launched with the introduction of postage stamps in 1850. Telephones arrived in the Czech lands in the 1880s, but their significance remained limited until 1918. All means of communication underwent rapid further modernization and development during the interwar period and again after World War II. Communist development patterns and political control after the seizure of power in February 1948 meant that the provision of private phones was limited and communications remained under central control. Czechs embraced communications in the post-Communist period, however, and have since also taken full advantage of the possibilities provided by new information technology.

In 1991 the Czech Republic had 16.6 phones per 100 inhabitants, better than some developing countries, but several times below that of Western industrial economies. Modernization of the phone system was undertaken, including with foreign investment, although the European Commission, in its assessments of Czech preparation for entry into the European Union, was pressuring the Czech government for acceleration of the privatization of this sector. An initial plan in 2001 to sell the government’s majority stake in the landline provider Český Telecom to a group led by Deutsche Bank failed over differences in the price and conditions. Worth US$ 1.8 billion, that
sale would have constituted the largest privatization that year in the post-Communist world. Český Telecom was finally sold to Spanish Telefonica in 2005 for the higher price of US$ 3.5 billion.

By 2005, the Czech Republic had 147.5 phones per capita, above the average for industrial economies in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and ahead of France, Japan, and the United States. By December 2000, the number of mobile phones, at 4.5 million, outstripped the number of landlines. By 2007, 85.5 percent of the Czech population aged 16 or older owned a cell phone and the total number of cell phones was estimated at over 13 million.

The Czech Republic has similarly seen a vast increase in the usage of the Internet. In 2007, almost 40 percent of households possessed a personal computer, an enormous expansion from 1993, when only 5 percent had one; 81 percent of home computers were connected to the Internet. Overall use of the Internet has climbed from 9.7 percent of the population in 2000 to 50 percent in 2006. See also TRANSPORTATION.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA (KOMUNISTICKÁ STRANA ČECH A MORAVY—KSCM). This is the largest of the successor political parties of the former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická strana Československa—KSC).

In March 1990, the KSCM adopted a federalized structure. The Czech party was renamed the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy—KSCM), and the Slovak party became the Party of the Democratic Left (Strana demokraticke levice—SDL).

Since the split of Czechoslovakia in January 1993, the KSCM has been an independent party. It claimed, in the 1990s, to have retained a membership of 200,000, which would have made it by far the largest of all Czech political parties.

In the parliamentary elections of June 1990, the KSCM won almost 14 percent of the vote; in June 1992, it won 14.27 percent and 35 seats, making it the second most-successful party after Václav Klaus’s Civic Democratic Party. In 1993, conservative forces in the KSCM defeated the reformists, who left the party and founded
two other smaller groups that became electorally insignificant while the KSCM continued to carry votes. In the communal elections in November 1994 it won 15 percent; and in the general elections in May–June 1996, 10.33 percent, still giving it 22 seats; it had a similar performance in the 1998 elections, with 11 percent and 24 seats. It increased its share in 2002 with 18.5 percent and 41 seats, but slipped in 2006, still obtaining 12.8 percent of the popular vote and 26 seats. It also won six seats in the elections to the European Parliament in 2004.

Even with the KSCM’s continued electoral successes, and the necessity in each parliamentary session for some type of coalition or deal to be made with the opposition to allow a government to be formed, no other Czech parliamentary party has even entered into serious negotiations with the KSCM to include it in national governments. Following the outcome of regional elections in late 2008, however, the main winner, the Czech Social Democratic Party, nevertheless accepted either the outright or tacit support of the Communists in six regions. This unprecedented cooperation prompted questions as to whether the Communists might enjoy such influence at the national level.

Although the KSCM claims a youthful following and targets some of its party material toward younger families, many of its supporters and its members are in their sixties, or older, and its electoral success may therefore decline in the future. Its popularity may very much depend on its ability to present itself as a party of protest.

The chairman of the KSCM from 1993 to 2005 was Miroslav Grebeniček, a tenure that made him the longest-serving leader of any political party in the Czech Republic. He was succeeded by Vojtěch Filip.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA (KOMUNISTICKÁ STRANA ČESKOSLOVENSKA—KSC). The Communist movement in the newly founded Czechoslovakia was constituted after a split between the left and right in the Social Democratic Party at its 13th Congress in 1920, at which time the left won the support of the majority of the delegates. The KSC was founded in 1921, when the party’s first congress accepted the 21 conditions of membership
in the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow. By accepting these conditions, the KSCM effectively lost its independence and subordinated itself to the political line of the Russian Bolshevik party, although this adherence intensified after 1929 with the appointment of Klement Gottwald who was, by some accounts, to “bolshevize” the party.

The KSC’s political practice was frequently in sharp disagreement with the interests of Czechoslovakia, especially before Moscow joined the collective security system of the League of Nations in 1934. In each of the four general elections in prewar Czechoslovakia, the KSC drew between 10 and 13 percent of the general vote, making it between the second and fourth most-popular party. The party was able to operate entirely freely during the interwar period, in sharp contrast to Czechoslovakia’s neighbors, which curtailed its ability to operate or outlawed it completely.

In the period between 1935 and 1938, the KSC supported the defense of the state against the Nazi onslaught, and after Munich it was officially dissolved. The party leadership established its headquarters in Moscow, and Communists continued to work in the underground in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. In the Slovak State, a national Slovak Communist party was formed on instructions of the Comintern in 1939.

In 1943 the KSC, based in Moscow, began negotiations with the non-Communist government-in-exile of President Edvard Beneš for the terms of the postwar order in Czechoslovakia. With the advance of the Red Army into Central Europe in 1944 and early 1945, the influence of the KSC continued to grow. In the liberated eastern part of Slovakia, in April 1945, the Košice Government Program was proclaimed, which included the Communists in a new Czechoslovak government coalition called the National Front. After the party won the most votes in the elections of 1946, the KSCM took key positions in the government. It also had developed a membership of over 1 million people, which made it by far the largest political party. In February 1948, it assumed full power and established an authoritarian system, which it maintained until 1989. In the 1960s, a reform wing in the KSC attempted to liberalize the dictatorship, a policy that became most directly associated with the Prague Spring of 1968.
The Soviets occupied the country in August 1968, removed the reformers from the party, and soon reestablished the old regime. Unable to reform itself once more, the KSC clung to its hard-line practices until 1989, when it was overthrown by the popular protest movement. Most of its membership (over 1.7 million) displayed little loyalty, leaving the party in droves. After the changes in November and December 1989, the KSC removed from its ranks the most discredited old leaders and made another attempt to adjust itself to the new political environment. It did not at that time, and still today has not, however, disavowed the totality of its historical record. In that way the Czechoslovak, and then its successor, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy—KSCM), have been distinctive among Central European successor Communist parties that disassociated themselves from, and often apologized for, the extreme policies conducted while in power. That said, neither the Czechoslovak nor the Czech party advocated returning to their full-blown Communist-era program.

CONSTITUTION (ÚSTAVA). In the context of Czech constitutional history, the old Bohemian Land Law (zemské právo) has an important place. Based on imperial and royal decrees, this Land Law embodied the sovereignty and independence of the kingdom and its position in the Holy Roman Empire, and it regulated the relations between the crown and the privileged classes. A representative assembly of the Czech Estates (Sněm zemský) played a crucial role in shaping the laws of the kingdom until the 17th century. In 1627, the assembly lost its prerogatives by a decree of Emperor Ferdinand II and was demoted to a consultative organ, a status it had until 1918.

The Austrian constitutions of 1848, 1860, and 1867 provided the first taste of national political and parliamentary experience in modern times. The Czechoslovak period of Czech history (1918–1992) knew four fundamental laws. The first was the Provisional Constitution of 13 November 1918, which was followed by the Constitutional Law of the Czechoslovak Republic (Ústavní listina Československé republiky) adopted by the parliament in 1920. This was a modern democratic constitutional document in terms of both the political structure of the state and civil rights. It guaranteed personal freedom,
a democratic electoral process, freedom of enterprise, and minority rights. The constitution governing the political practice of the first Czechoslovak Republic, surrounded by authoritarian regimes on all sides, was a model of political enlightenment and tolerance in Central Europe in the 1930s. The parliament was elected in one-round (direct) general elections on the principle of proportional representation. Called the National Assembly (Národní shromáždění), it was composed of a Chamber of Deputies (Poslanecká sněmovna) and a Senate (Senát). The National Assembly elected the president, whose powers were quite limited. In this respect, the 1920 constitution was closer to the political system of the French Third Republic than to the American system.

The 1920 constitution was also a tool for building a new state; it did not recognize the Czech and the Slovak nations as ethnic entities of their own; instead, it declared the existence of a “Czechoslovak nation,” a fiction motivated by political considerations vis-à-vis the large German and Hungarian minorities. This created the long-term political weakness of prewar Czechoslovakia. The 1920 constitution was formally valid until autumn 1938, when it was significantly changed by amendments about the autonomy of Slovakia and Ruthenia. It was not in force, of course, either during the Nazi occupation in the Czech lands or in the wartime Slovak State. In its original form (which no longer included Ruthenia) and with various revolutionary amendments, it was still the fundamental law of Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1948.

The third Czechoslovak constitution was adopted in May 1948 and it codified the changes in the economy and in the political system that took place after 1945. It departed from the fiction of one Czechoslovak nation; it recognized the existence of two nations in Czechoslovakia, the Czechs and the Slovaks, and it enacted Slovak national autonomous organs (which were given narrow authority). The last constitution was promulgated in 1960. It ratified changes made since the Communist coup in 1948, namely, the centralization of power in the hands of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and the subordination to the Soviet Union. This constitution also changed the name of the state to Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and it further limited the powers of Slovak national organs.
In 1968, with the country under Soviet occupation, this constitution was amended by the law on federation, which created two states within Czechoslovakia. The parliament was reconstructed into a two-chamber Federal Assembly; one chamber was the Assembly of Nationalities in which both nations had equal representation. This last constitution was inherited by the political forces that came to power in November and December 1989.

Between December 1989 and 1991, several constitutional laws were adopted by the new Federal Assembly and they modified the document to such an extent that it sufficiently served its purpose during the transition period. The main task of the Federal Assembly that was elected in June 1990 was to draft a new constitution, but the Czech and Slovak deputies failed to reach an agreement. As a consequence, the federation was dissolved by 31 December 1992.

The Czech parliament adopted the new constitution of the Czech Republic on 16 December 1992, and it became the fundamental law of the newly sovereign state on 1 January 1993. In many ways, this new constitution resembles the old document of 1920, especially in its electoral system based on proportional representation, the structure of the legislature with the bicameral structure of a Chamber of Deputies and Senate, the powers of the presidency, and the independence of the judiciary. Part of the constitution is the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms of 1991.

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT. The Constitutional Court was created through Article 87 of the Czech Constitution to protect citizens from infringements of constitutional rights. The court is located in Brno and is constituted of 15 judges, including one who serves as the chair and another two as the deputy chairs. The chair since 2003 has been Pavel Rychetský, a Communist-era dissident and then a leading figure in post-Communist Czech legal affairs. Candidates for the Court must be of character beyond reproach and be eligible for election to the Senate, which also means that they must be at least 40 years old. Justices are barred from political party membership. The judges are appointed by the president for a 10-year term, and no limitations on renewal have been specified. Although these appointments are one of the few powers granted to the presidency, they must be approved
by the Senate. Efforts by Czech President Václav Klaus to appoint replacements for eight judges who had retired at the same time as when he became president in 2003 were blocked by the Senate.

The Constitutional Court proved particularly important in the late 1990s and early 2000s when it ruled against constitutional changes proposed by the ruling Social Democratic Party (CSSD) and its ally under the Opposition Agreement, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), that would have multiplied the number of electoral districts and introduced first-past-the-post voting, measures that would have substantially reduced the ability of small parties to contest elections. It also upheld objections brought to it in 2001 by President Václav Havel against plans by the CSSD and ODS to attribute public funding to political parties based on their parliamentary representation. The measure would have made contesting elections extremely difficult for smaller parties.

The court also received probably its most substantial international recognition when its judges ruled unanimously on 26 November 2008 that the proposed Treaty of Lisbon of the European Union did not contradict the Czech constitution, thereby eliminating one possibility that the treaty, strongly opposed by Klaus, would be prevented from being accepted in the Czech Republic. See also GOVERNMENT.

COSMAS (1045–1125). Dean of the Prague diocese who wrote the 12th-century chronicle of the arrival to Bohemia of the precursors of the modern Czechs. While Cosmas is considered the first indigenous historian of Bohemia and his chronicle is a foundational tract in the history of the Czechs, the work has no established historical basis.

COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (CMEA OR COMECON; RADA VZÁJEMNÉ HOSPODÁŘSKÉ POMOCI—RVHP). This intergovernmental organization of the Soviet bloc was founded in 1949 for the purpose of coordinating the economies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its client states in Eastern Europe—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Mongolia was also admitted, and in 1963 Cuba also became a full member of CMEA. Other countries were associate members for different
periods of time: Angola, the People’s Republic of China, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, North Korea, Southern Yemen, and Vietnam. Founded a year after the Soviet break with the Yugoslav Communist leader Josip Tito, the CMEA was used for some time as an instrument of economic boycott against that country, but after Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev’s reconciliation with Belgrade in 1957, Yugoslavia rejoined as an associate member. Albania left in 1962 in the course of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

CMEA was quite inactive during its first years of existence, when the Soviets preferred to influence each member state’s policies directly. As a tool of Soviet strategic and military policies in the countries dominated by Moscow, the CMEA became significantly more active after the formation of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in May 1955.

Czechoslovakia was negatively affected by Soviet economic priorities dictated directly and through CMEA. It was forced to militarize its economy and to put unpropitious emphasis in its investment policies on heavy industry. Light and consumer industries were consequently neglected. Trade within the framework of the CMEA was also largely unfavorable for Czechoslovakia, which was not permitted to pursue its traditional economic cooperation with the West. Nevertheless, Czechoslovakia benefitted under CMEA from highly subsidized energy supplies from the Soviet Union and was able to sell products in the socialist world that would not have met the quality requirements of western markets. CMEA effectively ceased to function after the changes in Eastern Europe in 1989 and was formally dismantled in January 1991, and its dissolution had a negative, if only shorter-term, impact on Czechoslovak production.

COUNTERREFORMATION (PROTIREFORMACE). In the wider European context, the Counterreformation was a part of the efforts of the Catholic Church to stop the spread of Protestantism. It included steps to reform the church itself. That was mainly done by the Council of Trent (1545–1547, 1551–1552, and 1562–1563), which purged the corrupt and decadent papal court and terminated simony. After the council, Catholicism took the offensive, spearheaded by the Jesuits, to push back the Protestant forces in Europe. The main event
in this campaign was the Thirty Years War between 1618 and 1648. Although the war ended in compromise, Catholicism maintained its hold in many countries and imposed itself on others, including the Czech Kingdom but also Austria, Hungary, Poland, the southern Netherlands, and parts of Germany.

In the Czech Kingdom, Catholicization was particularly severe, using all kinds of military, administrative, and economic coercive means. A country that had been 90 percent Protestant for some 200 years before the war was thus largely forced to accept the Catholic faith. At the time of the Patent of Toleration in 1781, only 80,000 Protestants managed to preserve, in secret, the faith of their forefathers. In Czech history books, the Counterreformation is called “The Age of Darkness.” See also RELIGION.

CZECH AGRARIAN PARTY (ČESKÁ STRANA AGRÁRNÍ). This old and traditional Czech political party was founded in 1899. After the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the Czech Agrarians merged with a similar political party in Slovakia and changed their name to Republican Party of the Czechoslovak Countryside (Republikánská strana československého venkova). From 1920 until the demise of interwar Czechoslovakia, it was the strongest Czech political party and its leaders frequently held key government posts, as well as being a driving force in the informal system of governance called the Pětka. The Party favored acceptance of the ultimatum imposed on Czechoslovakia by Britain and France to agree to the Munich Diktat of September 1938 or be left alone to contend with Nazi Germany.

In 1943, Czechoslovak President Edvard Beneš agreed with the Czechoslovak Communists in meetings in Moscow that the Agrarians would be excluded from the postwar political system. That may have been partly defensible because of the party’s role during the Munich crisis, but it certainly ensured that the most successful political party of the interwar period would not exist and thereby challenge the Communists after the war. Efforts to revive the party after the revolutionary changes in 1989 were not successful.

CZECH AIRLINES (ČSA). One of the world’s first commercial airlines, the current national carrier of the Czech Republic, was founded
as Czechoslovak State Airlines on 6 October 1923, and its first flight, between Prague and Bratislava, occurred on 29 October 1923. It began international flights in 1930 with a route to Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and expanded in the interwar period to other European cities such as Paris, Rome, and Moscow, and flew various types of aircraft including the three-engine American-made Ford 5AT. It ceased operations during the German occupation of World War II. After the Communist takeover and Czechoslovakia’s alliance with the Soviet Union, it began to be equipped with Soviet-made aircraft such as Ilyushins and Tupolovs and expanded its operations worldwide, particularly to developing countries and those allied to the socialist bloc, such as Cuba, although routes to Western countries were also opened. After the collapse of Communism the airline quickly acquired Western-produced aircraft from Airbus and Boeing, phasing out use of Soviet-era aircraft by 2000, and continued to expand its range of destinations. After the establishment of the Czech Republic in January 1993 the airline amended its name to Czech and retained the acronym CSA. CSA suspended its flights to Serbia in 1999 for one year during the conflict between that country and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, of which the Czech Republic had become a member. In 2008 CSA was flying 51 modern aircraft, of which 30 were Airbuses, 20 were Boeings and, for shorter destinations, 10 ATR turboprop planes were used. The center-right government of Miroslav Topolánek announced in January 2009 that it planned to sell the state’s 91.5 percent share in the airline by the end of that year. See also TRANSPORTATION.

CZECH BRETHREN CHURCH. See EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN.

CZECH KINGDOM (KRÁLOVSTVÍ ČESKÉ). This form of the Czech state, initially an autonomous principality within the Holy Roman Empire, lasted from 1158 to 1918. The first Czech king with a hereditary royal title (since 1158) was Vladislav II of the Premyslite dynasty. Czech rulers then started to take part in the elections of the emperor. Their status was confirmed by Emperor Frederic II in 1212 in his edict, known as the Golden Bull of Sicily, and was specified
again in the **Golden Bull of Charles IV** in 1356. The kingdom was ruled by the Premyslite dynasty until 1306; later dynasties were the Luxemburgs and the Polish-Lithuanian **Jagellos**. From 1526 to 1918, the Czech throne was held by the Austrian **Habsburgs**. **Bohemia** was the core of the kingdom; Moravia had been a crown land of the Czech Kingdom since the 11th century, and both countries came under the Habsburg rule simultaneously in 1526. Large parts of **Silesia** (**Slezsko**), including Glatz (**Kladsko**), belonged to the Czech Kingdom until 1742, when they were ceded to Prussia by Maria Theresa after a lost war. Bohemia enjoyed a significant degree of self-rule, exercised by the Czech diet (**Zemský sněm**) until 1627, when Emperor Ferdinand II drastically reduced the political status of the kingdom within the empire. In the 19th century, the Czechs pressed for rerecognition of their kingdom’s previous autonomy. When their demands were rejected by the Habsburgs, they declared independence in 1918. See also CHARLES IV LUXEMBURG.

**CZECH NATIONAL BANK (ČESKÁ NÁRODNÍ BANKA—CNB).**

The Czech Republic established its own bank of issue immediately after the dissolution of **Czechoslovakia** on 31 December 1992. Because the separation of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic was peaceful and was carried out after mutual agreement, legal steps to ensure the smooth working of basic state functions had been taken earlier. In October 1992, a federal law prepared the foundation for two banks of issue, one in each republic. On 17 December 1992, one day after adopting the new **constitution**, the **Czech National Council** passed a law, creating the Czech National Bank. Thus, the old Czechoslovak State Bank ceased to exist by the end of the year and the CNB took over the task of the central bank of the Czech Republic on 1 January 1993.

According to the law, similar to legal bases of other European central banks, the CNB’s main functions are to issue coins and banknotes, to control the circulation of money, to supervise other financial institutions, and to secure the internal and external stability of the national currency. The CNB is independent of the **government** and reports to the **parliament**. It is also obliged to inform the public about its financial situation. The CNB is managed by a seven-member board and a
governor, appointed by the president of the republic for a six-year term. The first governor of the independent Czech Republic’s central bank was Josef Tošovský, who temporarily left that post in later 1997 to head an interim government but then returned to it for a further two years. He was then succeeded on 1 December 2000 by his deputy, Zdeněk Tůma, who was appointed for a six-year term, which was renewed in February 2005. In December 2008, the CNB had nearly US$ 37 billion in official reserves. See also BANKING.

CZECH NATIONAL COUNCIL (ČESKÁ NÁRODNÍ RADA—CNR). This body was the parliament of the Czech Socialist Republic within the federal Czechoslovak state that existed from 1969 to 1990. It was also the parliament of the Czech Republic between 1990 and 1992.

Between 1918 and 1968, there was no strictly Czech or Bohemian representative assembly alongside the Czechoslovak parliament, with the exception of a short-lived supreme body of anti-Nazi resistance founded on 1 April 1945, and called the Czech National Council (CNR). The CNR launched and led the Prague uprising of 5–9 May 1945. Its name echoed that of the Slovak National Council (Slovenská národná rada—SNR), which was created in 1943 as a representative body of anti-Nazi forces in Slovakia. While the SNR was confirmed by the Czechoslovak Constitution of 1948 as a formal autonomous Slovak legislature, the CNR was dissolved immediately after the liberation in May 1945, to prevent the consolidation of power by resistance forces. The absence of a Czech legislative body created what was termed a “political asymmetry” in the early Communist system in Czechoslovakia.

A Czech legislature under the same name came into existence in 1968 and formally constituted itself after the federalization of Czechoslovakia on 1 January 1969. During the Soviet occupation, it was a powerless and meaningless body used to formalize legally the decisions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC). This situation changed radically after the fall of the Communist regime in November 1989, when the CNR was reconstructed by resignations and cooptations. Its new legitimacy was confirmed in the first democratic elections in June 1990. In the period before the dissolu-
tion of Czechoslovakia on 31 December 1992, the CNR played an increasingly active political and legislative role. In December 1992, the CNR adopted the new constitution of the Czech Republic, and, according to this document, it assumed the role of the Chamber of Deputies of the parliament of the new state on 1 January 1993.

CZECH NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY. See CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY.

CZECH PHILHARMONIC (ČESKÁ FILHARMONIE—CF). This oldest and most prestigious Czech philharmonic orchestra has an excellent international reputation. Bedřich Smetana is credited with the first initiatives in the 1860s, which gradually led to the formation of the Czech Philharmonic Association in 1894. The first concert of the CF in January 1896 was conducted by Antonín Dvořák. Among other well-known Czech composers who conducted the early concerts of the CF were Oskar Nedbal and Zdeněk Fibich. Despite its immediate artistic success both at home and abroad, the young orchestra suffered from financial and organizational problems, which were finally overcome during the era of Dr. Vilém Žemánek, who conducted the CF for 15 years (1903–1918). Czech nationalism was rampant by that time, and Žemánek was fired because of his Jewish family background. One of his great successors, Václav Talich, later wrote that “without Žemánek’s tireless work there would have been no Czech Philharmonic.” Talich conducted the CF from 1919 to 1941 and was succeeded by Rafael Kubelík (1942–1948). A decree of President Edvard Beneš in 1945 established state financial support for the orchestra. The CF was then conducted by Karel Ančerl (1950–1968) and Václav Neumann (1968–1989). In 1992, the orchestra elected, for the first time, a non-Czech conductor, Gerd Albrecht from the former German Democratic Republic. He resigned in March 1996 and Vladimir Ashkenazy, the acclaimed Russian pianist and conductor, succeeded him. See also MUSIC.

CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (ČESKÁ STRANA SOCIÁLNĚ DEMOKRATICKÁ—CSSD). The oldest of the existing Czech political parties, the CSSD was founded in 1878 as a section
of the Austrian Social Democracy under the name of the Czecho-Slavic Social Democratic Workers’ Party (Českoslovanská sociálně-demokratická strana dělnická). In the 1890s, the party already had a significant following, particularly among the industrial working class. In 1893, the CSSD adopted an autonomous status while still belonging to the all-state party in Cisleithania. In the first universal suffrage elections in 1907, the CSSD came up as the strongest Czech political party, with 39.8 percent of the general vote in Bohemia and 30.7 percent in Moravia.

Until 1918, the CSSD leadership oscillated between a national and “international” (i.e., pro-Austrian) orientation, but the majority took an active part in the founding of the independent Czechoslovak state. After 1918, the party changed its name from “Czecho-Slavonic” to “Czechoslovak,” and in the first parliamentary elections in the CSR in 1920, the CSSD won 25.7 percent of the vote, again becoming the strongest party. In the fall of the same year, a leftist majority split from the CSSD and founded the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) in 1921. The CSSD never recovered from this internal conflict, and during the interwar period its electoral support never reached more than 13 percent. The party was nevertheless an important and stable factor in building and defending the new state, and it participated in most government coalitions.

During the German occupation, the CSSD took part both in the internal and external resistance, and in 1945 it became a partner in the National Front. In the 1946 elections, the CSSD won 15.58 percent of the vote, the weakest showing among the four Czech parties. In 1948, the CSSD was absorbed by the KSC. Attempts to renew the party during the Prague Spring of 1968 ran up against hysterical opposition in Moscow. The CSSD was finally revived early in 1990. In the elections of 1992, it won 7.67 percent of the vote for the lower chamber of the Federal Assembly and 6.8 percent of the vote for the Chamber of Nations. At its congress in Hradec Králové in 1993, the party adopted its current name, Czech Social Democratic Party, and elected its current leadership, namely, its chairman, the economist Miloš Zeman.

In the communal elections in November 1994, the CSSD won 9 percent of the vote. In January 1996, the party adopted a new
program, titled “Humanism against Egoism,” which advocated social concerns in the framework of a market economy. This program was the basis of the party’s platform for the elections in May–June 1996, when the CSSD quadrupled its popular vote since the 1992 elections, gaining 26.44 percent, and became the second strongest Czech political party. The party had 13,000 members and over 1,000 local organizations in all districts of the republic. The CSSD was then widely believed to remain, in the long run, one of the two strongest political parties in the Czech Republic alongside the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), a view borne out in subsequent elections.

After the ODS-led government collapsed in November 1997, new elections were held in June 1998, in which the CSSD won 32.2 percent of the general vote and 74 seats, a plurality but not a majority of seats in the 200-member Chamber of Deputies. Through a controversial Opposition Agreement with the ODS, Social Democratic party leader Zeman became prime minister and governed until 2002. He then stepped down and was replaced as party leader by deputy prime minister Vladimír Špidla, who then served as prime minister until 2004. Špidla resigned after the party’s meager performance in the Czech Republic’s first participation in the European Parliamentary elections. He was replaced by fellow cabinet minister Stanislav Gross, who was forced to resign the premiership and party leadership the next year when he was unable to explain satisfactorily the finances for a Prague apartment. The party leader chosen thereafter was regional development minister Jiří Paroubek, who led the CSSD in the elections of 2006. Those elections produced a deadlock, and after several months an ODS-led coalition government was formed and the CSSD, still under Paroubek’s leadership, went into opposition. In 2008 the CSSD also held 13 Senate seats, had two members in the European Parliament and substantial representation at the municipal and regional levels. See also BUZKOVÁ, PETRA.
Republic, the CVUT was founded by a decree of the Czech General Estates in 1717 under the name Institute of Engineering Education. At the onset of the Napoleonic wars, the institute already had more than 200 students. In 1806, it was reorganized on the model of l’École Polytechnique de Paris and renamed Prague Polytechnic. It became a technical university in 1863, with four departments: Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Chemistry, and Architecture. The current name of the institution was adopted in 1920, after the foundation of Czechoslovakia. The CVUT proudly refers to the achievements of its many graduates and professors, such as Josef Zítek, the architect who designed the National Theater in Prague. Like other Czech institutions of higher education, CVUT was forcibly closed during the German occupation throughout World War II. The CVUT has some 24,000 students, over 3,000 faculty members, and seven departments: Engineering, Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Architecture, Transportation Sciences, and the Department of Nuclear Sciences and Physical Engineering.

CZECH UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE (ČESKÁ ZEMĚDĚLSKÁ UNIVERZITA—CZU). A central Czech institution of higher education in agricultural sciences, the CZU is located in Prague-Suchdol. While the university was formally founded as an independent institution in 1952, higher studies in agriculture have had a much longer history. A Chair of Agriculture was founded at the Prague University in 1776; temporarily abolished in 1781, it was renewed as part of the Department of Philosophy in 1788 and attached to the Prague Polytechnic in 1812. In 1863, the Polytechnic became a technical university and the Department of Agriculture remained a part of it. In 1920, this department was raised to the status of School of Agriculture, still within the Czech Technical University. Czech higher studies in agriculture were discontinued in November 1939, when the Nazi administration of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia closed down all Czech universities.

The school gained an independent standing as the University of Agriculture in 1952 with a view to training farming specialists for the program of collectivization of Czechoslovak agriculture at that time. While parts of the academic program of the CZU were nega-
tively affected by the political aims of the regime, scientists working in the institution pursued their academic goals as best as they could. Thousands of professionals were properly trained at the university, and the fact that even collectivized Czechoslovak agriculture was performing much better than other sectors of the national economy speaks for itself. Throughout the years, the CZU expanded and opened new fields of study. In 1961, the CZU moved into its newly built campus in Suchdol, a suburb of Prague. Since 1989, significant changes have been made in the CZU organization and curriculum in keeping with the country’s return to a market economy. Currently, the CZU has four main departments: Agronomy, Agricultural Economics and Management, Forestry, and Agricultural Technology. There are almost 5,000 students and around 1,000 faculty members. Some courses are offered in English, and the CZU cooperates closely with several American universities.

**CZECHOSLOVAK–FRENCH ALLIANCE (ČESKOSLOVENSKO–FRANCOUZSKÉ SPOJENECTVÍ).** Signed in Paris on 25 January 1924, the Czechoslovak–French Alliance Treaty constituted the basic external security guarantee of prewar Czechoslovakia. While the wording of the treaty has been subject to varying interpretations, the French commitment to provide military assistance to Czechoslovakia in case it was attacked by Germany was quite clear. The treaty was concluded primarily at the French initiative; in Locarno a year later, French diplomacy tried to induce Great Britain to give an equivalent guarantee to Czechoslovakia and Poland as it was giving to Belgium and France, but that did not materialize.

Czechoslovakia continued to rely on its French alliance, and diplomatic and military cooperation between both countries remained very close. France maintained a permanent military mission in Czechoslovakia, and the Czechoslovak Army was organized and trained on the French model. When Czechoslovakia concluded an alliance treaty with the Soviet Union in 1935, the activation of this treaty was made contingent on the fulfillment of the assistance obligations by France.

When Nazi pressures against Czechoslovakia mounted in 1938, France looked for ways to avoid a situation in which it would have
to fight on Czechoslovakia’s behalf. Such a solution occurred in Munich in September 1938, when France, together with Britain, Germany, and Italy, forced Czechoslovakia to cede its borderlands to Germany without military resistance. History books view the French behavior in 1938 as a betrayal of Czechoslovakia.

CZECHOSLOVAK LEGIONS (ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ LEGIE). In World War I, this fighting force was composed mainly of Czech and Slovak prisoners of war and deserters from the Austrian-Hungarian Army who volunteered to fight for the liberation of their country. Many Czechs and Slovaks who had lived in the Allied countries before the war also joined the legions. The first units were formed in France and Russia as early as 1914, then also in Italy. The largest legion operated in Russia and numbered over 92,000 men when its status was formalized by the Russian provisional government in 1917. In 1918, the Czechoslovak Legion in France numbered 12,000 men, and in Italy, 24,000. On all three fronts, the legions took part in fighting Germany and Austria-Hungary.

After the Bolsheviks signed a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers in March 1918, the legions in Russia were permitted to evacuate via the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Vladivostok for further transfer to France. During the evacuation, the legion was drawn into the Russian civil war because of its vital interest in controlling the railroad. The legion’s direct part in the Allied intervention, however, was minimal. The evacuation from Russia then lasted until 1920. The officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers of the legions formed the core of the Czechoslovak Army after 1918. See also ARMED FORCES; KREJČÍ, LUDVÍK.

CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL (ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ NÁRODNÍ RADA—CNR). The Czechoslovak National Council was an important vehicle for the struggle for the independence of Czechs and Slovaks from the Austro-Hungarian Empire during World War I. It was originally the Czech Committee Abroad, founded by Tomáš Masaryk in Paris in 1914, but changed its name in February 1916. Czech anthropologist Ladislav Holy explains that the adoption of the hybrid name “Czechoslovak” was “aimed at alleviating the Al-
lies’ fear of balkanization and defusing their possible objections to” a new state that would otherwise seem similar to the multienthnicity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which the Western powers sought to disassemble. Masaryk became chair of the Council, Josef Dürich and Milan Rastislav Štefánik became vice-chairmen. Edvard Beneš, based in France, ran its secretariat. In addition to its sustained campaigning among the allies for independence, the Council also organized into fighting units Czechs and Slovaks who were either living abroad or who had deserted the Austro-Hungarian Army. The success of Czechoslovak Legions in Russia in 1917 led the provisional government of Alexander Kerensky to recognize the Council. With the war ending, in September 1918 Beneš and Masaryk planned for the CNR to be reconstituted into a Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, which formally occurred on 14 October. Masaryk became its chairman, Beneš minister of foreign affairs and the interior, and Štefánik minister of war. France recognized the new government a day later, and other recognitions came soon after.

**CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY (ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ STRANA NÁRODNĚ SOCIALISTICKÁ—CSNS).** One of the old Czech political parties, the CSNS was founded in 1897 as the Czech National Social Party (CNSP) with a program that combined moderate reform socialism and Czech nationalism. While not substantially weakening the working-class support for social democracy, the party found a stable following among lower-middle-class voters. In the elections for the Austrian Reichsrat in 1907, the CNSP won 10.3 percent of the Czech votes, and in 1911, 9.7 percent. In 1918, the party adopted the name Czechoslovak Socialist Party, which was changed again in 1926 to Czechoslovak National Socialist Party. In the four parliamentary elections in the interwar period, the party’s electoral support remained stable at around 9 percent. The CSNS took part in most Czechoslovak government coalitions between 1918 and 1938 and loyally supported the policies of presidents Tomáš Masaryk and Edvard Beneš. The latter was the best-known member of the party until he was elected president in 1935. During World War II, representatives of the CSNS took an active part in both domestic and external resistance.
In 1945, the CSNS was one of the founding parties of the National Front, and in the elections of 1946 it became the second strongest party, with 23.66 percent of the general vote. The CSNS was the major political opponent of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) in the period between 1945 and 1948. The CSNS made the tactical error in early 1948 of resigning its cabinet posts in protest over Communist demands, thereby effectively surrendering government to the KSC. As the Communists consolidated power in the wake of the coup of February 1948, major figures in the CSNS fled Czechoslovakia. After the coup, the party was turned into a conformist component of the “revived National Front,” which the CPCS decided to maintain as a facade. The name of the party was changed back to Czechoslovak Socialist Party. The old CSNS was kept alive in exile.

Since 1989, when the party declared its will to return to its historical role, the CSNS has been striving to find its way back into the political mainstream, but with little success. In 1991, it cofounded (with the Greens and the Farmers’ Party) a bloc called Liberal Social Union (Liberálně-sociální unie—LSU), which won 6.06 percent of the vote in the last Czechoslovak parliamentary elections in 1992. In 1993, the party left the LSU bloc and renamed itself again the Liberal National Social Party (Liberální strana národně-sociální—LSNS). In the communal elections in 1994, the support for the LSNS dwindled to 0.6 percent. Before it merged with the Free Democrats in December 1995, the party had 7,000 members. The new party (Free Democrats–Liberal National Social Party) did not qualify for parliamentary representation in the elections in May–June 1996.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA (ČESKOSLOVENSKO). The Czechoslovak state was proclaimed in October 1918 by the Czech National Committee in Prague and by the Slovak National Council in Turčiansky Svätý Martin. That the new state would be a republic was decided by the provisional National Assembly on 11 November 1918. The name of the new state was Czechoslovak Republic (Československá republika, or CSR, also called “the First Republic”). Tomáš Masaryk was elected president. The new state and its boundaries were recognized by the Paris Conference of the victorious Allies in three

The constitution promulgated in 1920 created a democratic state of “the Czechoslovak nation,” a concept called “unitary” in Czech history books. While all basic political and human rights were guaranteed, the unitary concept denied the Slovaks the autonomy that they had expected, and it did not address the fact that more than 35 percent of the CSR population consisted of minorities. The largest were the Germans (some 3.5 million) and the Hungarians (800,000). National problems were to prove fatal for the first CSR.

In its domestic policy, the CSR carried out a significant land reform, distributing the land of the old estates and the Catholic Church among the peasantry. The working week was shortened to 48 hours. During the first 10 years the CSR enjoyed economic prosperity and political stability. In its foreign policy, the country relied on its alliances with France, Romania, and Yugoslavia (Little Entente). In 1935, an additional alliance tied to the alliance with France, and was also contracted with the USSR. That same year, Tomáš Masaryk resigned (he died in 1937) and Edvard Beneš succeeded him as president.

In the 1930s, as a consequence of the Great Depression and the rise of Hitler in Germany, both the internal and external situation of the CSR deteriorated. Ethnic tensions were mounting, mainly because of the German minority’s drive toward unification with the Third Reich. Hitler openly threatened to invade Czechoslovakia. In September 1938, the Munich Conference of Germany, Italy, Britain, and France ordered the CSR to cede large border areas to Germany. Under Slovak pressure, the name of the state was then changed to Czecho-Slovakia. In March 1939, Nazi Germany occupied the rest of Bohemia and Moravia, declaring a Protectorate (see PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA). Slovakia declared independence and Ruthenia was annexed to Hungary. During World War II, President Beneš led a campaign in exile for the rectification of the Munich agreement, and the Allies recognized prewar Czechoslovakia again in 1941. Czechoslovak Army units were organized and fought on almost all battlefields. Members
of the domestic resistance suffered heavy losses. As elsewhere in Europe, the political mood shifted to the left, fed by the memory of the Great Depression, Munich, and the occupation.

In December 1943, Beneš went to Moscow where he signed a new alliance with the Soviets and negotiated with the leaders of the KSC a framework of the postwar political order in CSR. This agreement was embodied in the government program adopted in Košice (eastern Slovakia) in April 1945. The system of the National Front was instituted, limiting the number of political parties to four in the Czech lands and initially to two, then increased to four, in Slovakia; parties of the right were excluded.

In May 1945, the whole territory of the CSR was liberated and restored except Ruthenia, which was annexed to the USSR. Far-reaching nationalization was carried out in October 1945, followed by a radical land reform. The Allied Potsdam Conference in July–August 1945 authorized the expulsion of a large majority of Germans. In 1946, the KSC won over one-third of the general vote in parliamentary elections and took control of key ministries; in February 1948, the Communists assumed complete control of the government. The KSC leader Klement Gottwald became president after Beneš’s resignation in June 1948.

A new constitution was adopted, and the CSR was turned into a Soviet-type regime, complete with persecution, show trials (1950–1954), and five-year plans. In 1960, under President Antonín Novotný, another constitution changed the name of the state to Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In the 1960s, a declining economy brought on the political crisis that resulted in a period of reforms known as the Prague Spring of 1968—a short reign for Alexander Dubček, the KSC first secretary who had ousted Novotný. The Soviets invaded the country in August 1968 and stopped all reforms with the exception of one: Czechoslovakia became a federation of a Czech and a Slovak socialist republic. In 1969, a servile pro-Soviet government was put in charge, led by Gustáv Husák. The Soviet occupation did not prevent the fall of this regime in November 1989.

A new government led by President Václav Havel renewed democracy and achieved the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The market economy was revived and a process of general privatization of the
CZECHOSLOVAK–SOVIET ALLIANCES (ČESKOSLOVENSKO–SOVĚTSKÁ SPOJENECTVÍ). In its 74-year history, Czechoslovakia contracted three alliance treaties with the Soviet Union: one in 1935, the second in 1943, and the third and last in 1970.

The first of these treaties was part of French and Czechoslovak efforts to solidify the collective security system built on the basis of the Versailles Treaty in 1919 and the League of Nations, also founded on the framework of the Paris Peace Conference the same year. These efforts reflected the rise of Adolf Hitler to power in Germany in 1933, and they were facilitated by the fact that the Nazis discontinued the previous many-sided German–Soviet ties, which included secret military cooperation. In the course of 1934, the Soviet government reluctantly turned to the League of Nations and its security system to protect Russia’s international position vis-à-vis the Japanese threat in the Far East and growing German hostility in the West. After long diplomatic maneuvering, France signed an alliance treaty with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 2 May 1935. In its turn, Czechoslovakia signed a defensive pact with Russia two weeks later, on 16 May 1935. Part of this treaty was a much-disputed supplement that made the activation of the Czechoslovak–Soviet mutual assistance obligation contingent on France acting first in case Czechoslovakia (or the USSR) was the victim of external aggression.

The second Czechoslovak–Soviet alliance was signed during President Edvard Beneš’s visit to Moscow in December 1943. This was a direct and wider treaty, as its full name, Czechoslovak–Soviet
Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Cooperation, suggests. It had a stated duration of 20 years and it was extended again in 1963.

The third treaty was signed in 1970, under the conditions of Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia by a government forcefully installed by the Soviets the year before. After the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1989, negotiations between both countries led to an agreement to replace the old alliance with a simpler good-neighbor treaty in 1991. See also CZECHOSLOVAK–FRENCH ALLIANCE.

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DIENSTBIER, JIŘÍ (1937– ). A journalist and broadcaster for Czechoslovak Broadcasting who had reported from overseas but who was expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and from the Czechoslovak Journalists’ Union in 1969 and was banned from broadcasting altogether in 1970 under the “normalization” process that followed the Prague Spring. He became a dissident and was a founding signatory of Charter 77 and twice served as a spokesperson, and wrote and edited numerous underground publications on politics and international affairs. He was imprisoned in 1979, with his friend and fellow dissident Václav Havel, for his work in the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS). He was one of the founders of Civic Forum that negotiated power from the Communist regime in 1989 and was sworn in as the first post-Communist foreign minister on 10 December 1989, serving in the post until 1992, when it was clear that the Czechoslovak federation would disintegrate. He was leader of the unsuccessful Civic Movement that was formed, along with Václav Klaus’s Civic Democratic Party, from Civic Forum. Out of elected office since 1992, he has nevertheless been involved in and commented on politics and foreign policy issues and has served as United Nations Human Rights Commissioner to the states of the former Yugoslavia, and in that post has been particularly critical of international measures in the Balkans and held openly divergent views on the matter from those of Havel and some other leading
Czech figures. Dienstbier was elected to the Senate in 2008 and is part of the Czech Social Democratic Caucus.

DIVIŠ, IVAN (1924–1999). Born on 18 September 1924, he was briefly interned by the occupying Germans during World War II. In the 1950s and early 1960s his various jobs included editorial work for Communist publications, including Mladá fronta, and in the 1960s his poetry became particularly well known. He fled to West Germany following the Soviet-led military crushing of the Prague Spring. While in exile he worked for Radio Free Europe; he was awarded the State Prize for Literature in 1995, and he moved back to the Czech Republic in 1997 where he died two years later. See also LITERATURE.

DUBČEK, ALEXANDER (1921–1992). First secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) during the Prague Spring of 1968 and its aftermath, 1968–1969. Dubček was born in Uhrovec, Slovakia, shortly after his parents returned from years in exile in the United States. Before he was four, they took him to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics where they lived and worked until 1938. Dubček returned to Slovakia after the Munich Diktat, when he was 17. During World War II, Dubček trained as a turner and worked in the armament complex in Dubnica, Slovakia.

In 1944, he fought in the Slovak uprising and was twice wounded. In 1947, he became a professional KSC worker, and in 1955, he was sent to study in Moscow. In 1962, he became a Politburo member. In the mid-1960s, Dubček adopted reformist views, and in January 1968, he took over as the KSC first secretary. He played a key role in the Prague Spring of 1968. After the Soviet invasion in August 1968, Dubček was kidnapped to Moscow, where he reluctantly signed an act of surrender called the Moscow Protocol of 1968. He was then temporarily reinstalled. In 1970, he was definitively removed from office and demoted. He then held manual jobs and finally retired in 1981. He took no part in the dissident movement.

After the fall of Communism, Dubček made a political comeback and from December 1989 until June 1992, he served as president of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly. He was opposed to the breakup
of Czechoslovakia and tried hard to prevent it. In the 1992 general elections, he ran as the leader of the Slovak Social Democratic Party and was reelected to the Federal Assembly. He died in November of the same year, several weeks after a car accident.

DVOŘÁK, ANTONÍN (1841–1904). This Czech composer’s work includes operas, concertos, symphonic poems, and nine symphonies, of which the best known is Symphony No. 9, “From the New World” (Symfonie z Nového světa), composed in 1893 when Dvořák was director of the New York National Conservatory. This symphony is based on Dvořák’s musical impressions of America. Together with Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884) under whom he played violin in the orchestra of the Temporary Theater in Prague in the late 1860s, Dvořák belongs among the greatest personalities of Czech culture. See also MUSIC.

– E –

ECONOMY. The Czech lands have, since their early history, benefited from large areas of fertile farmland and diverse and rich mineral resources, among which silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and lignite have been of particular importance. Uranium has been mined in different localities since the beginning of the 20th century. In May 2008 the government renewed uranium mining at Dolní Rožínka, Europe’s only operational uranium mine. The government-owned site provides some 2 billion crowns to the state budget annually, and makes the Czech Republic the world’s 12th-largest uranium producer. Limited oil and natural gas deposits have also been exploited, namely, in Moravia. The Czechs also claim to have hosted the world’s first trade fair, in August 1754 in Veltrusy, north of Prague, which was visited by Empress Maria Theresa and numerous foreign traders.

Agriculture was the principal field of economic activity until the first half of the 19th century, when industrialization made headway. By 1880, industrial production became the predominant sector of the Czech economy and the Czech lands provided the core of industrial production in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. With a relatively small
population, the newly created **Czechoslovakia** became in absolute terms one of the largest, and most innovative, economies in the world, with particular achievements in the automotive and armaments sectors. Czechoslovakia was also heavily involved in **trade**, a feature augmented by the traditional markets in the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire having become foreign destinations. The worldwide economic turmoil of the Great Depression affected the Czechoslovakia greatly, leaving one-third of the total population (including dependents) without work by 1933. During German occupation in **World War II**, much of the Czech population and its industry were forced to contribute to the Nazi war effort, augmenting it by about 10 percent. The immediate postwar period saw considerable economic reorganization, including a first wave of **nationalization**, and the Communist takeover in 1948 ensured that the whole economy was put in direct state control.

During Communist rule, heavy metallurgy and heavy machinery and armament production received investment priority and grew out of proportion. At the same time, consumer production suffered from lack of investments. Czechoslovak industrial production included the automotive sector, with an emphasis not on passenger vehicles but on public-service vehicles such as buses and trams, as well as textiles, glassware, and plastics. The country also undertook large energy-producing projects, including nuclear power.

When the Czech Republic became independent in 1993, even more of its economy was derived from industry than Czechoslovakia and manufacturing has employed over one-third of the work force.

Prague, the capital, is a center of heavy and medium industry. **Brno**, the largest city in Moravia, is a center for the production of textiles, mechanical engineering, machine tools, and light armaments. **Plzeň**, the administrative center of western **Bohemia**, is the home of the **Škoda Plzeň** concern, which produces mainly heavy machinery and nuclear power-plant reactors. **Ostrava**, the metropolis of north Moravia, is a coal-mining and metallurgical center. Zlín, in east-central Moravia, is the home of a large shoe industry founded by the internationally renowned **Batův** dynasty. The main factory complex of the Czech automobile industry (**Škoda**; since 1992, Škoda-Volkswagen) is in Mladá Boleslav, northeast of Prague. Cement and
other building materials are produced in large quantities in dozens of plants across the country. Electricity is generated mainly by steam power plants using lignite, a source of heavy pollution, but which is being phased out, in part due to the environmental requirements of the European Union (EU); nuclear power plants supply about 30 percent of electrical energy.

Since 1990, the Czechoslovak and Czech economy was reprivatized, with privatization in the Czech Republic generally having been regarded as successful. In spring 1996, the private sector share of the gross domestic product (GDP) reached 75 percent. In some sectors of the economy, privatization had gone much further by that time—87 percent in retail sales, 90 percent in the construction industry, and 90 percent in agriculture. Western investment ratings of the Czech Republic were also higher than those of any other country of the former Soviet bloc. As one indicator of its overall economic success, the Czech Republic became the first post-Communist state to enter, in 1995, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Privatization was formally completed in 1996, and has gradually changed the structure of the economy and remove the disproportions caused by the implementation of Soviet priorities. While some sectors remained thereafter in state hands—such as some banking, communications and transportation—the Czech Republic was already generating more national income from the private sector than many long-standing capitalist countries, and it was embarking, albeit more slowly, on the privatization of those remaining sectors. The 80 percent of GDP now generated from the private sector exceeds that of many established market economies.

In January 1996, the Czech government formally submitted an application for full membership in the EU. Because the general conditions for admission of the Czech Republic into the EU appeared to have been met in political, financial, and economic terms, the Klaus government and many analysts were confident that the country would be the first post-Communist nation to join the EU. An economic downturn and a series of financial and banking scandals, however, punctured the image and the reality of the Czech economic miracle,
and Václav Klaus, its leading architect, was forced to resign in November 1997.

The road to EU membership proved more complex than initially expected, with the European Commission critical of some Czech practices in its annual opinions of preparation for readiness. The Czech Republic entered the EU on 1 May 2004, along with seven other post-Communist states and Cyprus and Malta. The EU is now by far the Czech Republic’s single most-important trading partner, with industrial exports, especially automotive, being particularly important.

Domestically, a great asset for the Czech economy has been foreign tourism. Soon after the Velvet Revolution, Prague was touted in Western media as the city to visit, and this provided an immediate and important source of hard-currency earnings. Over 100 million foreign visitors arrived in the country in 1994, most of them from the West. In that year alone, tourism represented an input of $2.9 billion for the Czech economy. By 2008 tourism represented over 5.5 percent of GDP and was employing some 110,000 Czechs.

In the early 1990s, at 2.7 percent, the Czech Republic had not only the lowest unemployment among post-Communist transition economies but also in Europe. Indeed, because of new construction and widespread architectural restoration as well as the expansion of the automotive industry, about 5 percent of the Czech Republic’s workforce was composed of foreign nationals.

As the intensity of economic reform continued, however, and larger enterprises were privatized and exposed to market pressures, unemployment rose annually, reaching 10.24 percent in 2004. A new system of unemployment calculation introduced that year reduced the rate to 9.19 percent; both by the new system, and according to the International Labor Organization (ILO) figures, that number has again receded. The official Czech rate in 2007 was 6.62 percent and was continuing to decline in 2008. The ILO estimated long-term unemployment at 2.8 percent of the workforce. Geographically, unemployment is highest in the areas of traditional coal and steel production, namely the northern parts of Bohemia and Moravia.

Before global economic decline began, the Czech Republic reported considerable economic growth; in 2007 this was 5.7 percent
and expectations were for that to continue, although in early 2009 the Czech Statistical Office reported that industrial production was contracting. GDP has also increased steadily every year; in 2007 it was 341,989 crowns per capita, over US$ 24,000. The Czech crown became convertible in 1995 and through the 2000s gained strength against the Euro and the dollar, aided by growing exports. At the end of 2008 one Euro bought 27 crowns and one U.S. dollar traded for 20.5 crowns.

In spite of considerable economic successes, various sources still consider the Czech economic transformation to be incomplete. Further industrial restructuring, better transparency and oversight of banking and capital markets, and reform of pensions and health care are among the activities often noted as requiring attention. Some prominent allegations or cases of corruption have also arisen, although Transparency International’s 2007 Corruption Perception Index places the Czech Republic on par with Italy and ahead of some other post-Communist countries.

The totality of change in the Czech economy since 1990 is simply enormous and also generally very positive. In March 2005 Finance Minister Bohuslav Sobotka put the cost of the post-Communist Czech economic transformation to that time at 600 billion crowns, or US$ 26 billion. In April 2005 the World Bank declared the Czech Republic to have reached the status of an advanced economy, only the second post-Communist state (after Slovenia) to do so. See also FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

EDUCATION. Compulsory state education in the Czech lands is considered to date back to 1774. The current system of compulsory education in the Czech Republic begins when a child is six, although mateřská škola or nursery/day care is widespread and begins from age three. The first stage of state education, called základní škola or basic school, is divided into two parts: the first stage, or primary level, and the second stage, or lower secondary level; the two stages together include pupils to about age 14 or 15 and has nearly universal attendance. The system then branches into more specialized tracks, all of which go to approximately age 18, but are not compulsory. One is the secondary vocational school, another involves
the technical schools, and the third is the gymnázia, which provides more broader-based and academically oriented studies. Over 1.7 million Czechs are currently in such education and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development observed that among its economically advanced member-states, only the United States has more students completing this stage of education than the Czech Republic. All of these tracks then lead to the taking of the maturitní or “leaving” exam. Its successful completion is a requirement for entry into higher education; however, the maturitní is set by individual institutions, rather than being a standard statewide exam, and many universities therefore require prospective students nevertheless to take entrance examinations.

Higher, or university-level, education in the Czech Republic has two broad pathways. The first is the postsecondary technical school, and normally for this path students will have come through the secondary vocational school. The second path involves vysoké školy, or higher schools, but denoting the Western equivalent of universities. The Czech Republic has several very prestigious universities, including the ancient Charles University and the Czech Technical University. Both institutions were listed in Great Britain’s prestigious Times Higher ranking of the top 500 world universities in 2007.

University-level education is similar to British and American, resulting first in a Bachelor’s degree, and then in a Master’s and PhD, and with specialized degree programs such as in medicine. Over one-quarter of the adult Czech population have completed secondary education and a further tenth hold university degrees. Czechs tend to place advanced or specialized university degree designations before their names, such as Mgr. for Master’s, MUDr. for medical doctor, or Ing. for engineer. Enrollment in Czech universities has nearly doubled since the establishment of the Czech Republic. The lack of commensurate increases in funding has pushed some universities into debt and provoked strikes by some university faculty.

Alternative education systems such as Montessori and Waldorf have also recently been introduced at the primary and secondary levels. The state-run special schools, intended for children with learning disabilities and which run parallel to the mainstream system from ages three to 13, have received considerable international
attention and some controversy for the disproportionate representation of Roma children therein, and a November 2007 ruling by the European Court of Human Rights found the Czech Republic discriminatory for the misdiagnosis and placement of 18 Roma children in the special schools. While this is an extremely difficult matter for the educational system, the country continues to produce a high number of very well-qualified school and university graduates. See also CZECH UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE.

ELÍÁŠ, ALOIS (1890–1942). General of the Czechoslovak Army and prime minister of the Protectorate government from 1939 to 1942, Eliáš was an officer of the Czechoslovak Legions in World War I and a career officer during the interwar period. He assumed the office of the prime minister of the government of the Protectorate in 1939 with the knowledge and consent of both internal and external resistance centers, including that of President Edvard Beneš. He maintained secret contacts with both during his tenure. His activities were uncovered by the German authorities; he was arrested in 1941 and executed in 1942.

ENGLIŠ, KAREL (1880–1961). A leading Czech economist, he was a professor at the universities in Brno and Prague and was the last freely elected rector of the Charles University (1947–1948). Engliš was also a deputy of the Czechoslovak parliament in the interwar period, minister of finance, and governor of the Czech National Bank. He published a number of books and studies; his work Economic Systems (Hospodářské systémy) was translated into English. After the Communist coup in 1948, Engliš was blacklisted and all his books were removed from public libraries.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. The European Parliament (EP) has its origins in the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community, which was founded on 10 September 1952. Originally the body was purely consultative and its members were not directly elected, instead being appointed from the national legislatures of member states. The body gained its current name in 1962 and it gained increasing legislative powers from 1970. Members of the EP
have five-year terms and have been directly chosen by their national electorates since 1979, and their powers have expanded so much that some argue that this legislature is among the world’s most powerful. In terms of the size of population represented democratically, the EP is the world’s second largest (after India) and is the largest transnational legislature.

As new members of the **European Union** (EU), the citizens of the Czech Republic became entitled to vote in elections to the EP. The first elections were held on 12 and 13 June 2004, to elect representatives to office until 2009. The Czech Republic has 22 members.

The terms for standing in the election were that a Czech or any other EU citizen was listed in the population register of the Czech Republic for at least 45 days preceding the election, was aged 21 or older as of the second day of the elections, was not deprived of legal capacity (due to serious crimes), or, in the case of non-Czech EU citizens, barred from standing for the EP in their own state. Eligibility to vote is granted to Czech citizens who are aged 18 or older as of the second day of voting and were included in the population register for the preceding 45 days.

Even though 31 parties contested the 2004 elections, the turnout in the Czech Republic was 28.32 percent, more than in four other post-Communist states, but less than any longer-standing EU member state. The **Civic Democratic Party** (ODS) won nine seats; the **Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia**, six; the center-right, heavily pro-European SNK European Democrats, three; the **Christian and Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party**, two; the anti-European Politka 21, one; and the television magnate **Vladimír Železný** won a seat.

The senior partner in the governing coalition in the Czech **Chamber of Deputies**, the **Czech Social Democratic Party** performed exceptionally poorly, gaining less than 9 percent of the popular vote, and placing fifth. The head of the opposition ODS, **Miroslav Topolánek**, wrote to each EU embassy in **Prague**, stating that the vote showed the government lacked legitimacy and encouraged the EU governments not to negotiate with it. Continuing pressure on the ruling party for its poor performance in these elections caused its leader, **Vladimír Špidla**, to resign as prime minister. The leadership
of the smaller Freedom Union–Democratic Union also stepped down after its party’s low vote, indicating the relative influence this new level of electoral participation could have on domestic Czech politics. See also GOVERNMENT.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU). Known previously as the European Economic Community (EEC) and then the European Community (EC), the EU came into existence in 1994 after the ratification by its 12 member states of the Treaty of Maastricht, which lay the groundwork for a European political union. Part of the agreement was monetary union (Britain and Denmark did not join this sphere of the planned political union). The EEC had come into existence in 1967 with the merger of three older bodies of postwar West European cooperation: the Common Market, the European Steel and Coal Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The EU’s administrative structure consists of the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Commission of the European Communities, and the European Court of Justice. Within the EU, there is free movement of capital, goods, and services, including free movement of the labor force. Member states are bound by the principle of mutual solidarity, including aid to what were then the poorer members such as Spain, Greece, Ireland, and Portugal.

Although the center-right government of Václav Klaus, in power between 1992 and 1997, believed that the Czech Republic could be invited to join the EU rather than apply, it made its application for full membership in the EU in January 1996, after other Central Europe states. In 1997 the European Commission indicated in its Agenda 2000 that the Czech Republic, along with Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia, could begin accession negotiations. The process involved very substantial changes at all levels of government administration, affecting society and the economy widely. As an accession candidate, the Czech government was subject to annual evaluations of its progress in meeting accession criteria. The publicly available reports were often critical of aspects of the accession process. The Czech Republic, along with other post-Communist accession candidates, was deemed formally to have met the accession criteria at the EU’s Copenhagen summit on 12–13 December 2002.
On 13–14 June 2003, a referendum was held in the Czech Republic concerning membership of the EU; 73.33 percent of voters said “yes”; 22.67 percent said “no.” Turnout, however, was only 52.21 percent of eligible voters.

Even though the EU was often seen as being unsympathetic to Czech needs in the accession process, the Czech government was unable to spend all EU funds allocated to it and received more than was expected. Although the Czech government was expected to provide funds of its own, in 2003 €50 million from the EU, assigned for Czech regional development and environmental protection, remained unused. In 2006 the Czech Republic was using about one-fifth of the EU’s structural development funds available to it. In early 2005, less than one year into Czech membership in the EU, the Czech government announced that the country had received 7 billion crowns more from the EU than it had contributed, a figure higher than officially predicted. The EU also became by far the Czech Republic’s largest trading partner, accounting for over 60 percent of both imports and exports. In 2009, for the first time, the Czech Republic assumed the EU’s six-month rotating presidency. President Klaus’s famous “Eurorealism,” which has questioned basic principles of EU integration and instead stressed trade and the retention of state sovereignty, raised some questions about the commitment of his presidency to the body. These questions were overshadowed by the collapse of the Czech government during the Czech presidency of the EU in the first half of 2009. A quickly constituted caretaker government under the statistician Jan Fischer, however, prioritized the effective completion of the Czech EU presidency. See also FOREIGN INVESTMENT; TRADE.

**EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN (EVANGELICKÁ CÍRKEV ČESKOBRATRSKÁ).** The oldest and most authentic successor of the Hussite Reformation among churches in the Czech Republic, the Czech Brethren church dates back to the mid-15th century. Hussites (see HUSSITE MOVEMENT) who continued to oppose the compromise with Rome in 1436, gathered in Kunvald in east Bohemia in 1457 and founded a congregation called Unity of Czech Brethren (Jednota bratrská; in Latin, Unitas fratrum). Building on the
teaching of Jan Hus that was further developed by Petr Chelčický, both outstanding thinkers of the European Reformation, the Brethren emphasized conduct rather than doctrine, strict Christian ethics, and a modest life. They differed from the earlier Hussites mainly in their principle of nonresistance to evil. They separated entirely from the then-mainstream Utraquist Hussite Church in 1467 and elected their priests, mostly laymen, and their first senior (bishop), ordained by the Waldenses’ Bishop Stephen.

Their very existence was disagreeable for the official Czech church and completely unacceptable to Rome, and they were persecuted by both ecclesiastical and secular authorities from the beginning. In the 16th century, they formed new congregations in Moravia, where the climate was more tolerant than in Bohemia, and they established excellent schools and printing presses, some of the best in contemporary Europe. In Kralice, Moravia, they printed the famous six-volume Bible Kralická (Bible of Kralice), published between 1579 and 1593, a new translation of the Scriptures from the original languages. From the Brethren’s presses in that period also came remarkable textbooks and religious texts.

During the 16th century, the Unity established close contacts with Martin Luther and his followers in Germany and with the Swiss Reformation, especially with Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin. Lutheranism and Calvinism gradually merged with Hussitism in the Czech lands, embodied in the founding of the new Czech Confession (Česká konfese; in Latin, Confesion Bohemica) in 1575. Embracing all Four Articles of Prague, this doctrine was acceptable for the Brethren, but they retained their independence.

After the failed uprising of the Czech Estates against Ferdinand II between 1618 and 1620, Protestantism was suppressed and over 30,000 non-Catholics went into exile, including many Brethren and their last senior, the most illustrious Czech thinker of his time, Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius). Mass Catholicization followed, transforming a nation that had been 90 percent Protestant in 1620. The underground church continued to exist despite heavy persecution, but at the time of the Patent of Toleration (1781), there were only about 80,000 covert Protestants left.
In 1722, the descendants of the Unity gathered in Saxony, on the estate of Count von Zinzendorf, where they built a town called Herrnhut. There they founded the Renewed Unity of Brethren in 1727, soon renamed to the Renewed Moravian Church. They engaged in considerable missionary work around the world, including America, where they founded congregations in Georgia, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. Their ideas significantly influenced John Wesley. In the 1740s, they founded the towns of Bethlehem, Lititz, and Nazareth in Pennsylvania, as well as the Moravian College for Women (1742) and another for men (1807); both still exist in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Still faithful to the old tenets and practices of the Hussites, the Moravian Church had over 50,000 members around the world in 1990, half of them in the United States.

The Patent of Toleration in 1781 permitted only Helvetic and Lutheran Protestant confessions, and the Unity of Brethren could not be renewed in the Czech lands before 1861, when Protestantism was made fully equal with Catholicism. After its revival in the Czech lands in the 1860s, it soon claimed such great men as František Palacký and Tomáš Masaryk. In 1918, the church reorganized itself into the present Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren. During the Communist era, the church was subject to the same controls by the regime as other religious congregations, and its priests needed a state license. Many were denied that license, namely, those who publicly opposed the Soviet occupation after 1968. The church’s following in the Czech Republic is estimated at 120,000.

FAJTL, FRANTIŠEK (1912–2006). Born on 20 August 1912 in Do- nin, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Fajtl became a war hero for his service during World War II, which included becoming the first Czechoslovak to command a British air squadron, but he then suffered under Communism. Trained in the Czechoslovak military, he escaped the Nazi occupation to France, where he briefly served in the French air force before coming to Great Britain. In September 1940
he began flying Royal Air Force (RAF) hurricane fighters and shot down German pilots attacking Britain. In 1942 he received command of a British squadron. Soon after, he was shot down over France. He managed to escape, eventually traveling down to Gibraltar and then to Britain, where he continued service in the RAF and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. In 1944 he and other free Czech airmen went to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to establish a Czechoslovak unit on the eastern front. After the Communist takeover in 1948, however, he was stripped of his rank, expelled from the armed forces, and placed in forced labor. Only after the Velvet Revolution of 1989 was he able to be fully rehabilitated and became a symbol for the many servicemen who were similarly mistreated and was given the Czech Republic’s highest award, the Order of the White Lion. He died on 4 October 2006.

**FEBRUARY 1948.** The series of events leading up to and including the Communist seizure of power are referred to by the Czech name for February: “únor.” Such terms as the “February coup” or the “coup of Prague” are also used by non-Communists, while official Communist records and propaganda used such terminology as “Victorious February” (*Vítězný únor*). Whatever the choice of term, the events culminated in a decisive turn for both the history of Czechoslovakia and the onset of the Cold War.

February 1948 raises extremely difficult questions about the degree to which the Czechoslovak population as a whole, at least passively, permitted, or even encouraged, the conditions that allowed Communists to take power. The coup also presents issues about the degree to which democratic forces, no matter how well intentioned, miscalculated and thereby contributed to the Communist success. A further question remains as to how much Czechoslovak Communists acted on their own and how much they were aided and even obliged to seize power by the Soviet Union. The answers provide different degrees of culpability for an event that launched, for much of the Czechoslovak population, four decades of economic regression, political repression, and rigid allegiance to the Soviet Union.

The background to 1948 almost certainly lies in circumstances specific to Czechoslovakia. Because of both the Great Depression
and especially the Munich Diktat, which saw Britain and France sacrifice Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany, “Western” political and economic values were questioned by significant parts of the country. In addition, the Košice Government Program of 1945 supported far-reaching nationalization and created a form of coalition government called the National Front that empowered the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC). As émigré historian Karel Kaplan wrote, even nonsocialist political parties supported “social reforms that were not contrary to socialism and even resembled it. The majority of persons prominent in public life and in the cultural sphere also felt that the future of the country lay in socialism.” Popular sentiments for the Soviet Union were also considerable; that country was seen as a genuine liberator, and, unlike in Poland, which was also an allied country but in which Soviet military forces remained, Soviet troops withdrew from Czechoslovakia by November 1945.

In addition, apart from openness to socialism in Czechoslovakia generally, the KSC specifically enjoyed the most support and legitimacy of any Communist party in the region. It was the most popular party in the country (although the most successful party of the First Republic, the Czech Agrarian, was banned under the Košice Government Program). The KSC won 40 percent of the popular vote in the Czech lands in the free elections of 1946, and 38 percent for the country as a whole, making it the most successful political party. Its membership grew by 1947 to 1.2 million, also rendering it the largest political party both at the time and in the history of Czechoslovakia.

The KSC’s electoral success won it the prime ministership and several leading cabinet posts. The KSC continued to advocate a populist, and impractical, program that included such measures as universal health insurance. Extensive land and property redistribution was also credited to KSC, and its electoral following was notably stronger in areas where land reform had occurred or where Czechoslovaks benefited from property appropriated from Germans expelled from the country (see TRANSFER OF GERMANS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA). In short, the Communists enjoyed genuine popularity.

Postwar Czechoslovakia was also unusual in the emerging Soviet sphere of influence. President Edvard Beneš’s wartime, and
Western-leaning, government-in-exile could return to Czechoslovakia (Tito’s Communists in Yugoslavia, for example, had taken full control and prevented the Royalists from returning; Soviet occupation in Poland prevented the return of the British-based government-in-exile). As an architect of the Košice program, Beneš wanted to work with the Czechoslovak Communists and probably believed that, by including them in government, they would be loyal to the Czechoslovak state. Certainly Beneš made comments before the coup, such as to British diplomat Robert Bruce Lockhart, that KSC leader Klement Gottwald believed in parliamentary democracy. Émigré diplomat and historian Josef Korbel recounts from his conversations with Beneš that Beneš believed that the KSC forewent a coup already in 1947 because its leadership understood that he “had a certain authority in the nation” and that he was determined and able to resist them: “I shall not move from my place and I shall defend our democracy till my last breath. They [the Communists] know it, and therefore there will be no coup.”

Furthermore, through compromise with the Communists, Beneš likely felt that he was preventing deep tensions, even open conflict, from arising within Czechoslovakia and, internationally, that he was continuing Western cooperation with the Soviet Union and retaining a favorable view of the latter toward his country. His foreign policy position was to make Czechoslovakia a “bridge” between East and West. That this may have been a serious misunderstanding of Czechoslovak Communist and of Soviet intentions remains to be debated; at the same time, Beneš’s freedom of political movement, both domestically and internationally, was limited.

Between 1946 and early 1948 it could be said that a working relationship between Czechoslovak Communists and non-Communists existed. Detractors of the Communists, however, have considerable evidence on which to draw to assert that the KSC was preparing to seize power. A less sinister aspect was the development of Communist influence in local authorities and in trade unions; regardless of one’s views, this gave the Communists an expanded, if perhaps also natural, power base. A more sinister one, however, was the KSC’s use of its cabinet positions, particularly the Interior Ministry which controlled the police, to insert and promote Communists to more, and
greater, posts of authority. Other measures included various public accusations against democratic politicians of being Western spies and even cases, as determined by the non-Communist minister of justice, of KSC activists sending postal bombs to leading non-Communist politicians.

In early 1948, when democratic politicians publicly challenged Communist subordination of the police, they believed that the KSC would respond through the established, constitutional means. The Communists, however, continued to resort to tactics that their counterparts would never countenance and the consequences of which they were unprepared. The number of KSC members of parliament meant that that body was politically polarized and not a means to resolution. Far worse, the KSC distributed weapons, particularly to their supporters among the police and militia. The KSC continued to brand its opponents as a danger to the country and used their extensive influence in trade unions to mobilize large numbers of people for public demonstrations to support their position.

In the face of political deadlock, 12 non-Communist members of the Cabinet resigned their posts on 20 February, still believing that such a constitutionally defined measure would result—as the constitution required—in new elections. Beneš’s thinking and his choice of movement thereafter is subject to considerable debate. He was certainly under substantial pressure from the Czechoslovak Communists and also from the Soviet Union. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valerian Zorin (and a former ambassador to Czechoslovakia) arrived unannounced in Czechoslovak and denounced the idea of a coalition government. The Soviets also moved soldiers between Hungary and Poland, across Czechoslovak territory, a signal that Soviet military might could be used against non-Communist forces. Many scholars read the situation faced by Beneš in the third week of February 1948 as one that genuinely risked either a Czechoslovak civil war or a Soviet military intervention.

KSC leader Gottwald pressed Beneš to accept the resignations and to create a new government. The Communists had already intimated other political parties, particularly the Social Democratic (see CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY), which was threatened with “liquidation” if it did not tow the Communist line. Communist
supporters were also demonstrating on the streets and squares of major cities to demonstrate the mass following that the KSC carried. Of particular significance was the assembly of between 100,000 and 250,000 KSC supporters in the Old Town Square of Prague on 21 February. The police, firmly in Communist hands, outlawed demonstrations by non-Communists. The Minister of Defense General Ludvík Svoboda also came out in support of the KSC.

Beneš was therefore increasingly isolated. He accepted the Cabinet resignations but did not, despite the democratic expectation, call for new elections. He stalled, however, for four days, against Gottwald’s insistence for a new, Communist-dominated government with him as prime minister. Beneš probably hoped that the non-Communists would act decisively in that time but on 25 February he relented. The only person in the new Cabinet outside Communist control was Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk.

At 4 p.m. Gottwald announced the victory of the working people, ending the Third Republic. On 10 March, Masaryk was found dead below his apartment in the Foreign Ministry. Two months later, on 9 May, a new constitution was approved by the reorganized National Assembly, which proclaimed Czechoslovakia a “people’s democracy.” President Beneš refused to sign it. New elections held on 30 May resulted in the National Front gaining all the seats in parliament. Three days later, Beneš resigned the presidency, and Gottwald was then elected by the Communist-run National Assembly. Beneš died in September, often described as having become a “broken man.”

As Kaplan summarizes: “The peculiarity of the Czechoslovak experience was that in February 1948 the Communists achieved their intentions with the consent and support of a large part of the population. They did so by means of promises and political declarations which they never fulfilled and had never meant to fulfil.”

The impact of February 1948 in Czechoslovakia went far beyond the country; it demonstrated to the West that even extensive but shared political power was insufficient for Communists, who instead sought absolute control at all cost. Historian John Lewis Gaddis called the coup “the most appalling event yet in the emerging Cold War” and U.S. President Harry Truman said that the takeover “sent a shock through the civilized world.”
FEDERAL ASSEMBLY (FEDERÁLNÍ SHROMÁŽDĚNÍ—FS). The Federal Assembly served, at least in principle, as the highest legislative body of Czechoslovakia, and existed from 1 January 1969 until the end of 1992 and the so-called Velvet Divorce. The FS was the only lasting measure to emerge from the many reforms introduced under the Prague Spring of 1968, although the recentralization of Communist power thereafter emptied the assembly of its intended content and purpose. Indeed, Alexander Dubček, leader of the Prague Spring reforms, voted for the federalization after the Soviet-led military intervention, certainly knowing that it could no longer achieve its intended purposes. He was also made president of the FS for a few months in 1969, as part of the Soviet-enforced pretense of the restoration of order, before he was removed from public life and made persona non grata by the new regime. In a reversal of such dismal history, however, Dubček was reelected president of the FS at the end of December, one of the final achievements of the Velvet Revolution that swept away Communist rule in December 1989.

The FS represented the federalization of Czechoslovakia, and as such, had two chambers, the Chamber of the People (or Upper House) and the Chamber of the Nations (or Lower House), each with equal powers. The former operated on the basis of proportional representation of the populations of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, which were roughly on a ratio of 2:1, and thus the former had 134 deputies and the latter 66.

According to the Czechoslovak socialist constitution, the Federal Assembly was the supreme organ of state power with authority over such fundamental matters as economic planning, the content of foreign policy, and oversight of the cabinet. Under Communist rule, however, decision making was concentrated at the highest levels of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and the FS simply served to rubber stamp legislation placed before it. In the Communist era, therefore, this structure for the representation of both major nations in Czechoslovakia was functionally irrelevant.

After the repluralization of Czechoslovak political life following the Velvet Revolution of 1989, however, decisions of the FS gained fundamental influence and the distribution of seats between the two constituent republics became decisive: major legislative changes,
such as revising the constitution, required a 60 percent majority in the Chamber of the People, a 60 percent majority in the Chamber of the Nations and, further still, a 60 percent majority from each of the two national representations. This gave an effective veto to just 31 deputies from either the Czechs or the Slovaks, a factor which impeded constitutional compromises before the Velvet Divorce split Czechoslovakia at the end of 1992. It was, in keeping with its constitutional powers, the FS that voted on 25 November 1992 to end the Czechoslovak Federation. See also GOVERNMENT; PARLIAMENT.

FIERLINGER, ZDENĚK (1891–1976). A Czech politician, diplomat, and prime minister from 1945 to 1946, Fierlinger was an officer of the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia during World War I and entered the diplomatic service of Czechoslovakia immediately after the war. In the interwar period, he served as ambassador in several countries, including the United States (1925–1928) and the USSR (1937–1939). After the Stalin–Hitler pact in 1939, the Soviet government closed the Czechoslovak embassy and Fierlinger had to leave, going first to France and then to England. After the German invasion of Russia in June 1941, Soviet leader Josef Stalin recognized the London-based government of Edvard Beneš, and Fierlinger was reappointed ambassador to Moscow. A Social Democrat, Fierlinger became prime minister in 1945 and served until the elections in 1946. In 1948, he merged the Social Democratic Party with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and was kept as a member of the KSC Politburo until 1966. Fierlinger also served as chairman of the National Assembly (1953–1964).

FIRST REPUBLIC. This is the name given to Czechoslovakia in the interwar period, specifically between its creation in October 1918 and its partial dismemberment following the Munich Diktat of September 1938. Thereafter a Second Republic was declared, but this lasted only until the creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939. Those lands were directly controlled by the Nazi German Reich while Slovakia became a separate state, tightly
allied to Germany. A Third Republic was proclaimed in April 1945 and lasted until the Communist takeover in February 1948.

**FISCHER, JAN (1951– ).** This economic statistician shot to public attention in April 2009 when he was chosen as a compromise interim prime minister until new elections could be held to succeed the Civic Democratic Party-led government coalition of Miroslav Topolánek that was defeated in a nonconfidence motion. The urgency to finding a prime minister was heightened by the timing of the governmental collapse: not simply during the Czech Republic’s presidency of the European Union (EU), but also just before the arrival in Prague of the heads of the EU and American President Barack Obama for a joint U.S.–EU summit under Czech chairmanship.

Fischer was president of the Czech Statistical Office since 2003. He was vice-president of that body since 1993, and worked previously in its federal Czechoslovak predecessor. The choice of what has been called a “bureaucratic,” rather than a politically partisan, appointee as interim prime ministership made certain parallels back to 1997–1998 and the collapse of the government of Václav Klaus. Then, another nonpolitical but senior governmental appointee, Josef Tošovský, head of the Central Bank, also became a temporary prime minister.

**FLAG.** The current Czech flag was not the original one. When independent Czechoslovakia was created in 1918, the initial national flag had only an equal horizontal red and white stripe, which depicted the two colors of the coat of arms of Bohemia. Recognition of Slovak membership in the new state, and the fact that that configuration was the same as Poland’s and similar to Austria’s, led to the flag being redesigned to incorporate a blue triangle extending from the flagpole-side inward in a 2:3 proportion, and was formally adopted on 30 March 1920. The designer is believed to have been Jaroslav Kursa.

Under the German occupation, the Czechoslovak flag was banned in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and replaced by three horizontal stripes of, from top to bottom, white, red, and blue. The Czechoslovak flag, however, was used by the government-in-exile
and was restored as the national flag upon liberation in 1945. After Communism but still under the Czechoslovak federation, both the **Czech National Council** and the Slovak National Council voted for flags for their republics, the former adopting again the existing Czechoslovak flag. As part of the legislation preparing the breakup of Czechoslovakia, the **Federal Assembly** voted in 1992 that neither successor state would use Czechoslovak national symbols. When the Czech Republic became independent on 1 January 1993, however, the “Czechoslovak” flag was nevertheless adopted by the new Czech state, an act that prompted objections by some Slovaks.

**FLOODING.** Major Czech cities tend to be built along rivers and have been vulnerable to floods throughout history. In its short life, the Czech Republic has endured a substantial amount of serious flooding. Dozens of people were killed, up to 200,000 people were made homeless, and tens of billions of Czech crowns in damages resulted from record floods in 1997 and 1998. Smaller floods in 2000 fortunately took fewer lives but still caused over 2 billion crowns’ damage. The governmental response to the 1997 floods, called the Integrated Rescue System, was considered to have coped well with subsequent floods, especially the smaller but still challenging ones of 2002. Municipal authorities in **Prague**, which was badly affected by some of the flooding, also responded by ordering the development of mobile antiflooding defenses and claimed that exercises subsequently run using them were the most comprehensive undertaken in Europe.

**FOREIGN INVESTMENT** (*ZAHRANIČNÍ INVESTICE*). Since 1990, the Czech Republic has been increasingly successful in attracting foreign investment to boost its **economy**. The political and economic stability of the country in the first years after the changes, as well as a smooth **privatization** process are noted as the main reasons why the Czech Republic has received, since 1994, the highest ratings in surveys conducted by specialized Western agencies such as Moody’s and Standard & Poor. Other factors include legal protection of foreign investments and a generally favorable business climate. Also important was the convertibility of the Czech currency since October 1995, a relatively stable exchange rate, and guaranteed
transfer of profits and capital abroad. The prospect of membership
of the European Union, made more real following the European
Commission’s Agenda 2000, which started accession negotiations,
contributed as well. Another highly important factor is the country’s
old industrial tradition; the Czech workforce is well educated, skilled,
and cost-effective, and is ranked the best in Eastern Europe.

In the period from 1990 to 1996, the height of the Czech economic
transformation, foreign direct investment (FDI) into the Czech Re-
public totalled $7.1 billion, providing important capital in a transition
economy that lacked substantial domestic sources. At that time, 27.5
percent of foreign direct investment came from Germany, 14.5 per-
cent from the Netherlands, 14.5 percent from the United States, 12.7
percent from Switzerland, and 8.2 percent from France. Although
the Czech government considered the economic transformation to
be nearing completion in the mid-1990s, several sectors remained
to be privatized and almost certainly would require foreign inves-
tors. Although the automotive sector received considerable foreign
investment in the 1990s, a joint investment by French carmaker PSA
Peugeot Citroen and Japanese Toyota for the production of small
passenger cars in the northern city of Kolín was finalized in January
2002. At €1.5 billion, this became the largest single foreign invest-
ment in the country to that time.

Among the major foreign investments in sectors neglected by
privatization was the purchase of the Czech communications pro-
vider Český Telecom in 2005 by Spain’s Telefonica for US$ 3.5
billion. The total stock of foreign direct investment in the Czech
Republic in 2008 was estimated at $107.6 billion.

Czech laws set no upper limit on foreign investment, and no for-
mal approval for investing is required from the Czech government. A
company must be registered in the Commercial Register, and appli-
cants must obtain a certificate of license from the Business Licensing
Office—practices similar to those in other Western countries. Ac-
cording to the Czech Commercial Code, there are several options for
doing business in the country, namely the limited liability company,
the joint stock company, cooperatives, and partnerships. A foreign
company can also operate a branch office in the Czech Republic.
By law, foreigners conduct business under the same conditions
(including tax obligations) as Czech enterprises. Since 1998 the Czech government has operated its “investment incentive program” and emphasizes that investment conditions in the country are excellent. The World Bank records that the stock of FDI in the Czech Republic now accounts for approximately 50 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP). Foreign investment and ownership became essential to the resurrection of the Czech economic transformation after major challenges in the late 1990s. As economist Martin Myant concluded “an increasing emphasis on foreign ownership was almost inevitable in view of the failures under Czech ownership, of the catastrophic financial situation in a number of banks and enterprises . . . and the state’s need to cover, among other things, the costs associated with the failures of privatization into Czech hands.”

FOREIGN POLICY. Czechoslovak foreign policy could be said to have started during World War I, when Tomáš Masaryk, Edvard Beneš, and Milan Štefanič joined forces outside the Austro-Hungarian Empire to lobby the Allied powers for the creation of what became known as Czechoslovakia. The attainment of statehood, however, did not mean that the fledgling Czechoslovak state was secure. Foreign policy became an important tool to try to safeguard this new democracy. The new state had large minorities and some of its territory was coveted by neighboring revisionist powers that sought to undo the postwar settlement. Throughout the interwar period, Czechoslovakia sought to be a good international citizen, supporting international legal norms and particularly the collective security system embodied in the League of Nations. This included the principles that states would seek to resolve differences, including perceived issues over minorities and borders, through dialogue and, where appropriate, legal measures. Military measures were to be a last resort and then only conducted according to international norms.

But the rise of fascism and Nazism, and the general increases in nationalism, made Czechoslovakia increasingly vulnerable. The downturn in the world economy following the Great Depression of 1929 also disproportionately affected the Czechoslovak economy, a manufacturing state that derived considerable prosperity from foreign trade.
But Czechoslovakia did not rely solely on international law to offset these challenges. Already early in its life, the vulnerable state had concluded in 1920 and 1921 a three-way alliance of the Little Entente with Yugoslavia and Romania to provide mutual assistance in case of attack, particularly from Hungary, which made revisionist claims on their territory. Tensions worsened in the mid-1930s, with German Chancellor Adolf Hitler rearming Germany beyond the limitation of the Treaty of Versailles and making belligerent claims against neighbors. Czechoslovakia was a particular target: Hitler cunningly described the country’s geography as a dagger pointing at Germany’s heart, and it was home to some 3 million ethnic Germans, who constituted about one-quarter of Czechoslovakia’s population.

The Czechoslovak state signed two separate treaties of mutual assistance with France and the Soviet Union in 1935, then the two biggest military forces in Europe. As much as possible, Czechoslovakia had secured itself diplomatically against Germany. In addition, Czechoslovakia possessed a substantial and sophisticated arms industry and had built extensive, if largely fixed, defenses along its German border. Czechoslovak military production and preparedness suggests that the country could have given considerable resistance to German attack.

This scenario was never tested, however. Without consultation or representation of Czechoslovakia, the Sudetenland, a territory running the entire length of the northern, western, and southern frontiers of the Czech lands, was given to Germany at the Munich Conference of September 1938. Instantly, Czechoslovakia lost its primary defenses and was left prostrate. Within six months, and with no international diplomatic opposition, Germany militarily occupied Bohemia and Moravia and incorporated them into the Reich, making full use of the advanced industrial base and skilled work force for its expanding war production. It also supported a puppet fascist regime in a newly independent Slovakia. Hungary and Poland also took advantage of the situation to seize parts of Czechoslovakia.

Without a state, the conduct of foreign policy fell to the newly constituted government-in-exile, headed by Edvard Beneš, based in London, which conducted relations with the wartime allies. Toward the end of the war, in an effort to improve relations with the Soviet
Union generally, and with a likely understanding of Moscow’s preponderant influence over postwar Eastern Europe, the Czechoslovak government ceded Ruthenia, the eastern part of the country, to the Soviet Union.

Unlike in neighboring Poland and Hungary, after the cessation of fighting Soviet combat troops withdrew from Czechoslovakia, but key government ministries came increasingly under Czechoslovak Communist influence. By 1948 Czechoslovakia fell under the complete control of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC). Czechoslovak foreign policy quickly followed Soviet practice. As a notable indication, Prague (and Warsaw) reversed their initial intentions to partake in the American Marshall Plan. Instead, Czechoslovakia became a founding member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in 1949, which was ostensibly to coordinate the economies of newly socialist East European states with that of the Soviet Union but provided for additional Soviet control over its satellites. Perhaps the only significant development in Czechoslovak foreign policy in this period was that the country provided what is considered to have been the first supply of Soviet-bloc weapons to a Third World country, Egypt, in 1955, but this must surely have been at Moscow’s behest.

The main rupture of Czechoslovak–Soviet relations occurred with the Prague Spring. Whereas the Hungarian reformist Communists of 1956 expressly sought to remove their country from the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the Czechoslovak movement did not intend to have such a divergent foreign policy. Nevertheless, Moscow was too apprehensive of the impact on bloc unity and orchestrated a military intervention. Thereafter Czechoslovak foreign policy closely followed Soviet. In that time Czechoslovakia adhered to Moscow’s position on all aspects of world politics. It lent particular support for the Palestine Liberation Organization, including the supply of weapons and military training of members. Its leader, Yasser Arafat, visited Czechoslovakia 10 times. Czechoslovak foreign policy did not change significantly even after Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev began introducing “New Thinking.” Monumental political change came, however, to all of the satellite states in 1989 and with some 75,000 Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia, when Gorbachev
retained the instruments of coercion to thwart the Velvet Revolution, but did not.

The introduction of dissidents to office in December 1989—including Jiří Dienstbier as foreign minister and Václav Havel as president, and with them, the promotion to advisory and ambassadorial positions of other dissidents—meant that radically different thinking was introduced into foreign policy. Some of their proposals were similar to other post-Communist states, and reflected the necessity of removing instruments of Soviet control. Foremost was the start of negotiations, concluded in February 1990, for the staged withdrawal of the Soviet combat forces that were stationed in Czechoslovakia following the crushing of the Prague Spring. This withdrawal was completed a few days before the deadline of 30 June 1991, although disputes continued over, for example, environmental damage and hazardous waste left at Soviet bases.

In other areas, however, early post-Communist Czechoslovak foreign policy was more experimental. Initially, Havel and Dienstbier argued not for the immediate disbandment of the Warsaw Treaty but for both it and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to transform into political organizations, and then to be collapsed into a revamped “Helsinki II.” No major power took the proposal seriously and when the Soviet polity did not show itself to be completely benign, such as by using lethal force against unarmed protestors in Latvia and Lithuania, Czechoslovakia joined with other post-Communist states to push for the absolute end to the Warsaw Treaty. Czechoslovakia also joined with post-Communist states to press successfully for the disbandment of COMECON, which got rid of Soviet-imposed trading arrangements and which aided Czechoslovakia to reorient further its production and foreign trade to Western standards. Entry into the then-European Community (EC), later to become the European Union (EU) and NATO were primary foreign policy goals. By December 1991 Czechoslovakia was one of the first three post-Communist countries (along with Poland and Hungary) to sign an extensive trade Association Agreement with the EC.

Havel also distinguished himself in his attitude toward Germany and German unification. While some European leaders, particularly in Great Britain and France, were concerned about the strategic implications
of German unification, Havel stressed not the country’s size but quality of government, namely democracy. His government resisted concerns that Czechoslovakia was being colonized economically by Germany, because German funds accounted for over 90 percent of all foreign investment coming into the country in its first three years, including the purchase of the Škoda autoworks, the biggest single investment made in the post-Communist world at the time. While Germany remains the Czech Republic’s key partner in trade, the government was right not to perceive economic influence as tantamount to political domination. Havel also expressed regret for the way by which Sudeten Germans were expelled from Czechoslovakia after the war, although no Czechoslovak or Czech government has since countenanced rescinding the Beneš Decrees that authorized the transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia.

Havel also began some cooperation initiatives with neighbors, including that which grew into Visegrád and the Central European Free Trade Agreement, and brought Czechoslovakia into others, such as what became the Central European Initiative, a regional cooperation effort led by Italy among central and southeast European countries. Czechoslovak foreign policy under Havel also demonstrated concern, if often idealistically, about broader issues; he offered to mediate in the Arab–Israeli dispute while Czechoslovakia contributed a small but important chemical-biological-radiological military unit for the American-led war against Iraq in 1991.

The dissolution of the Czechoslovak Federation meant that the Czech Republic was physically more removed from the former Soviet space, with most of its new borders being shared with unified Germany and Austria. The breakup also meant that Prague shed some issues that had caused problems with Hungary, including the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros dam and the rights of the substantial Hungarian minority in southern Slovakia. While most federal assets, such as military hardware, were divided contentiously on a 2:1 ratio, reflecting the population of the two entities, some issues strained relations with Slovakia. A common customs union, for example, was to be maintained between them to facilitate trade but the Czech side rescinded it within weeks of the breakup. Similarly, the newly established border was to be easily accessible to citizens of both countries.
but Czech officials established formal border crossings and began demanding documentation. The Slovak government accused Prague of not sharing all federal property, most notably tons of gold. The breakup also had a negative impact on Visegrád cooperation, which only resumed substantially after the defeat of Klaus and Slovak leader Vladimír Mečiar in 1997 and 1998 respectively.

In the mid-1990s, the Czech Republic seemed the frontrunner among post-Communist states, with a buoyant economy and much government rhetoric about its economic success. This view was strengthened by the Czech Republic being the first post-Communist state to be admitted to the elite group of capitalist industrial economies in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The Czech Republic joined NATO’s outreach program Partnership for Peace on 1 January 1994 but did not accept it as a substitute for full membership of NATO, which it continued to seek. It was among the first post-Communist states to be issued an invitation to enter NATO, at NATO’s Madrid Summit in July 1997. In the same month the European Commission’s Agenda 2000 report named the Czech Republic as one of five post-Communist states that could begin accession negotiations for entry into the EU. The fall of the center-right coalition led by the Civic Democratic Party in November 1997 led to governments that did not engage in anti-EU rhetoric and that worked to fulfill accession criteria, including adaptation of the acquis communautaire to Czech laws and administrative practice. As with other candidate countries, the European Commission issued annual reviews of Czech progress and made some criticisms of the country, which was admitted to the EU on 1 May 2004, after a referendum was held the previous June. Thereafter the Czech Social Democratic government of Stanislav Gross, albeit short-lived, pledged to pursue Czech entry into the European Monetary Union and acceptance, by referendum, of the proposed European Constitution, although that was subsequently called into question by negative outcomes in French and Dutch referendums.

On the security side of foreign policy, the Czech Republic formally entered NATO in March 1999, but days later found itself at war because of NATO’s bombing campaign against Yugoslavia over the poor treatment of the Albanian population in Kosovo. The move
caused serious political divisions in Prague. Throughout the 1990s and beyond, the Czech Republic contributed to peacekeeping and observer missions under United Nations (UN) and NATO mandates, including in Bosnia and Kosovo, and then in Afghanistan after the defeat of the Taliban in 2001, as well as in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Czechs developed a combined peacekeeping unit with Slovakia and such military cooperation was the most sustained form of cooperation between the two states following their separation. As tensions grew in 2002 and 2003 about Iraq’s alleged possession of weapons in contradiction of UN Security Council resolutions, the Czech Republic dispatched a specialized chemical unit to Kuwait. Controversy grew about the country’s participation in the impending war; on the one hand, President Havel signed the so-called “Letter of Eight” with seven other European leaders supporting the British–American position calling for the use of force if Saddam Hussein’s regime did not comply fully; on the other hand, the Czech parliament voted that Czech forces could be deployed against Iraq only if explicit Security Council authorization was given. It was not and while Poland contributed forces to the U.S.-led war, Czech forces remained outside.

While the key aims of Czech foreign policy—NATO and EU membership—have been achieved and the country enjoys good international standing, other issues have and will continue to cause some dilemmas for Czech foreign policy decision making. Among them was the question of participation in an American missile defense system by which Poland would house launchers and the Czech Republic the radar system. A milestone in Czech foreign policy was the presidency of the EU in 2009, the slogan for which was “Europe without Barriers.” The presidency included several EU foreign policy dimensions, foremost strengthening cooperation with the United States, as well as giving attention to the Western Balkans and intensifying the European Neighborhood Policy, especially EU relations with Ukraine and the Russian Federation. Even so, the Euroscepticism of Klaus and his supporters also continued to be a theme in Czech politics. Klaus even used the occasion in October 2008 of his commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia, to renew his warnings that the EU threatened Czech...
sovereignty and that the capacities of the EU should be reduced to a free trade area. See also CZECHOSLOVAK–FRENCH ALLIANCE; CZECHOSLOVAK–SOVIET ALLIANCES; IRAQ WAR OF 2003–; LOCARNO TREATY.

FORMAN, MILOŠ (1932– ). This Czech film director has lived in the United States since 1968. Forman graduated from the Prague Film Academy in 1956 and in the more relaxed cultural climate of the 1960s, he produced four films that made him internationally acclaimed: Competition (1963), Black Peter (1963), Loves of a Blond (1965), and Firemen’s Ball (1968). The movie Loves of a Blonde received an Oscar for the best foreign film in 1966. His two other films were also awarded Oscars: One Flew over the Cuckoo’s Nest (1975) and Amadeus (1984). See also CINEMA.

FOUR ARTICLES OF PRAGUE (ČTYŘI ARTIKAŁY PRAŽSKÉ). A manifesto drawn up by the Hussites at the beginning of their revolt in 1420 against the succession of Sigismund, brother of King Václav IV, to the Czech throne. The articles demanded freedom preaching and communion for both priests and lay people; communion in both bread and wine (Utraquism); limitation of the property of the clergy; and civil punishment of mortal sins. See also EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN.

FOUR-PARTY COALITION. Sometimes referred to also as the “Quad Coalition” and abbreviated in Czech to “4K” this was a formal arrangement signed on 28 September 1999 by four smaller political parties: the Christian-Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party (KDU-CSL), the Freedom Union (US), the Civic Democratic Alliance, and the Democratic Union Party (DEU). They pledged to combine their efforts to challenge the political control over government created by the Opposition Agreement between the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), which allowed the former to constitute a minority government. The four parties charged that the CSSD and ODS were “not capable of leading our country out of its present crisis along the road of law and economic growth.” Their joint statement also expressed
concern about the prospects for the Czech Republic’s entry into the European Union. In a system of political parties that ensured that coalitions were necessary to form, or maintain, governments, they also pledged not to enter into a coalition with any other party.

Although the four-party coalition introduced a new dynamic into Czech politics, and also came on a wave of popular disquiet at the rate of social transformation as the Czech Republic approached the tenth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution of November 1989, the coalition was unable to make major political change. The US absorbed the DEU, creating the US-DEU. The ODA was also found to owe some 70 million crowns to an insurance company. The KDU-CSL threatened to eject the ODA for the coalition if the matter was not sorted; but ODA could not produce even a plan to resolve the matter. KDU-CSL and US then announced that only their members would contest the 2002 elections, which they did as a two-way coalition. The coalition formally ended at the end of January 2002, with the party leaders publicly accusing each other of betrayal.

FREE DEMOCRATS–LIBERAL NATIONAL SOCIAL PARTY (SVOBODNÍ DEMOKRATÉ–LIBERÁLNÍ STRANA NÁRODNĚ SOCIÁLNÍ—SD-LSNS). The party was formed by the merger of the Free Democrats with the LSNS in December 1995. The Free Democrats were the successor party of one of the two main political groups that were founded at the time of the breakup of Civic Forum in 1991. Their first name was Civic Movement (Občanské hnutí—OH). In the elections of 1992, the OH did not qualify for parliamentary representation at either the federal or national levels, and in the communal elections in 1994, it won only 2 percent of the vote. It was widely believed that the party’s political defeat was caused mainly by the absence of a clear program and the failure to build a political organization similar to that of the ODS, the more successful political party of Prime Minister Václav Klaus. The electoral flop of the OH was also explained by widespread dislike of the former dissidents who led the party (believed to have been discreetly supported by President Václav Havel). Since its defeat in the communal elections in 1994, the OH was looking for a financially strong ally to
improve its chances of a political comeback, and it finally negotiated the merger with the LSNS.

This latter party is a successor of a traditional Czech left-of-center movement founded in 1897, the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party. It had functioned between 1948 and 1989 under the name Czechoslovak Socialist Party (Československá strana socialistická—CSS) as a member of the National Front. In the elections of 1992 and 1994, this party also fared poorly, winning no seats in the parliament in 1992 and only 0.4 percent of the votes in the communal elections in 1994. In the May–June elections of 1996, the SD-LSNS failed again to win any seats in the Czech parliament, drawing only 1.96 percent of the general vote.

According to SD sources, the party had 1,200 members in November 1995, shortly before the merger with the LSNS. The LSNS claimed 7,000 members. The new party had two chairmen: former minister of foreign affairs (1989–1992) and former leading dissident Jiří Dienstbier, who was the leader of Free Democrats; and Vavřinec Bodenlos, the last leader of the LSNS. The SD-LSNS had four main points in its program: local autonomy instead of state centralism, a lean government, and a market economy with ecological and social concerns. It won only 2.05 percent of the popular vote in the 1996 elections and in 1997 the Free Democrats abandoned the hybrid party, the remainder of which resumed the name of the Czech National Social Party. It has not been a significant political force since.

FREEDOM UNION AND FREEDOM UNION–DEMOCRATIC UNION (UNIESVOBODY—US; UNIESVOBODY–DEMOKRATICKÁ UNIE—US-DEU). This small but significant political party was founded as the Freedom Union (Unie svobody—US) on 17 January 1998 by 30 parliamentary members of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) who disagreed with the running of the party. Former Interior Minister Jan Ruml, who had challenged Prime Minister Václav Klaus’s management of the ODS, was elected chairman of US on 2 February 1998. Those remaining in the ODS attacked the US as untrustworthy, observing that its members were fleeing responsibility for decisions made while serving in the ruling party. Ruml was also
criticized as an ineffectual politician but the Freedom Union drew votes away from the ODS in the June 1998 elections, winning nearly 9 percent of the popular vote and 19 seats, and prevented it from being able to form the next government. Ruml resigned the leadership in December 1999. Diplomat Karel Kühnl was then chosen as party leader for a two-year term in February 2000. He was succeeded by Hana Marvanová.

Freedom Union then joined with three other small parties in September 1999 to create the four-party coalition and at the end of 2001 it subsumed one of those, the very small Democratic Union, becoming the Freedom Union–Democratic Union. The party continued to criticize the Opposition Agreement between the ruling Czech Social Democratic Party and the ODS. After the 2002 elections, however, and in spite of its center-right ideology, the party entered a coalition government with the Social Democratic Party (as well as the Christian Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party). The US was reduced to only one Senate seat in the 2002 elections, and performed poorly in both the regional and the elections to the European Parliament in 2004; in 2006 it gained no seats in the Chamber of Deputies, causing its party leader Pavel Nemč to resign. He was replaced by Jan Černý in June 2007. The party continues to have representation at the regional and municipal levels.

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GABČÍK, JOZEF (1912–1942). Gabčík was one of the Czechoslovak Army paratroopers sent in 1942 from England to the German-occupied Czech Bohemia with the order to kill the highest Nazi official in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, SS-General Reinhard Heydrich. The successful attack, which Gabčík, a Slovak, executed together with Jan Kubiš, a Czech, took place in Prague on 27 May 1942. Both perished three weeks later fighting German army troops who besieged them and other paratroopers in their hiding place, a Russian Orthodox church in Prague. A monument to Kubiš and Gabčík was erected in Prague in May 2008, on the 66th anniversary of the assassination.
GERMAN INVASION PLANS FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA. See CASE GREEN.

GOLDEN BULL OF CHARLES IV (ZLATÁ BULA KARLA IV). The most important imperial decree of Charles IV Luxemburg, the bull consists of two documents, one of which was issued in Nuremberg, the other in Mainz in 1356. The purpose of the bull was to prevent future disputes about the legitimacy of elected “Roman kings.” It devised detailed procedural rules for the elections of future emperors as well as regulations to govern the relationships between the emperor and the kings, princes, and dukes of the empire. A conspicuous feature of the bull is the complete omission of the role of the papacy, whose right to intervene in imperial affairs was thus virtually nullified. The emperors were to be elected by a majority vote of seven rulers-electors, among whom the Czech king was given right of seniority; the Bohemian crown remained elective while in other countries supreme power was passed by male primogeniture. The bull also proclaimed the complete political sovereignty and independence of the Czech Kingdom.

GOLEM. See LOEW, RABBIA JEHUDA BEN BECALEL MAHALAL.

GOTT, KAREL (1939– ). This is Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic’s most loved modern musician. He had the nickname of the “Sinatra of the East,” and in Communist times repeatedly won Czechoslovakia’s leading music awards, as well as several international ones. His recordings also sold abroad, and Gott subsequently claimed that he thereby earned more for Czechoslovakia than a factory.

As dissent grew in Communist Czechoslovakia, culminating in the document Charter 77, Communist authorities retaliated by obliging public figures to sign what became known as a counter-charter. This was to discredit dissidents and to reaffirm the legitimacy of the regime. As an indication of the contradictions imposed on individuals by such Communist tactics, Gott signed that paper, but later claimed that he did not know its contents or that it was an attendance list. Regardless of history, he remains the country’s most popular cultural figure.
GOTTWALD, KLEMENT (1896–1953). This leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) was president of Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1953. A trained toolmaker, Gottwald served in the Austrian-Hungarian Army in World War I and joined the Communist Party in 1921. In 1925, he was elected to the KSC Central Committee. He played a key role in bringing the KSC under the full control of Moscow in 1929, when he was installed as the party’s general secretary. Between 1929 and 1938, he was a deputy in the Czechoslovak parliament, and from 1935, he was also a member of the Executive of the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow until its dissolution in 1943.

Following the Soviet line, Gottwald opposed the policy of collective security until 1935, when Soviet leader Josef Stalin changed course. In 1938, Gottwald opposed the Munich Diktat and departed for Moscow shortly afterward. During the era of Nazi–Soviet cooperation following the Stalin–Hitler pact in August 1939 and until the German invasion of Russia in June 1941, Gottwald supported Stalin’s pro-German policies. He reversed himself again when the USSR was drawn into the war.

Gottwald’s political stature rose after Stalingrad, when Germany started to lose the war. In December 1943 and in March 1945, he negotiated with President Edvard Beneš a system of limited democracy for postwar Czechoslovakia (see NATIONAL FRONT; KOŠICE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM). After the KSC joined the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in April 1945, Gottwald became a deputy prime minister. After the KSC victory in parliamentary elections in May 1946, he became prime minister. In June 1948, four months after the Communist coup in February 1948, he succeeded Beneš as president. For many, Gottwald was considered a loyal Stalinist throughout his political career, and many of his major policy positions from 1929 until his death closely followed those adopted in the Soviet Union. Gottwald is also often attributed particular responsibility for the reign of terror that followed the KSC seizure of power, which included the execution of 11 of his long-time close friends in the party leadership. Gottwald died in March 1953, shortly after attending Stalin’s funeral in Moscow.
GOVERNMENT. The Czech Republic is a parliamentary democracy. The head of state of the Czech Republic is the president, although those powers are limited and largely symbolic. That office has in practice, however, been influential since the creation of the Czech Republic because of the personality and stature of its two holders, former dissident writer Václav Havel and the economist Václav Klaus. Executive authority for governmental policy rests with the cabinet, often called the government, which is headed by the prime minister and has a number of deputy prime ministers and a varying number of ministers. The major seat of power, particularly for introducing legislation, is the Chamber of Deputies, or lower house of parliament. The Senate, or upper house, possesses powers to veto or return legislation to the Chamber, although even these can be overturned. The judiciary forms a third branch, with the supreme court providing the highest authority for appeals, and the Constitutional Court safeguards rights. Further layers of governance exist for municipalities and regions. Since joining the European Union in 2004, Czechs also elected 22 members of the European Parliament.

GREBENIČEK, MIROSLAV (1947–). The leader of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia from 1993 to 2005, he is the longest-standing political party leader in the history of the Czech Republic. Grebeníček maintained the party’s far-left policies throughout his tenure, which also meant that no party seriously considered entering into a coalition with it, and continued to attract predominantly older voters dismayed with the post-Communist transformation. He resigned citing differences over policies within the party, suggesting to some that the Communists might attempt to modernize their platform and widen their electoral appeal.

GREEN PARTY (STRANA ZELENÝCH—SZ). The Green Party emerged from the repluralization of Czech political life during and after the Velvet Revolution of 1989, and has been considered by some to have been the first political party formed in the post-Communist period. Even so, it was deeply divided and unclear about its own political program. The Green Party contested the first
free elections in 1990 for the Czech National Council, the assembly for the Czech lands under federal Czechoslovakia. The party secured 3.1 percent of the popular vote, which was insufficient for parliamentary seats. It joined with the Liberal Social Union to win jointly 5.84 percent in 1992, and seven seats. It continued to fight elections for the Chamber of Deputies of the new Czech Republic and for the Senate, when it was created in 1998. Party infighting and lack of, or unfavorable, media coverage were blamed for these continuing electoral weaknesses, and it was only in the 2004 Senate elections that the party secured its first seat. It also polled 3.4 percent in the Czech Republic’s first elections for the European Parliament in the same year, although that was too low to secure representation. The party’s congress in September 2005 elected long-time activist Martin Bursík as its leader, who has been credited with giving the party renewed leadership and a greater public profile, which soon paid off. In the 2006 elections to the Chamber of Deputies, the party gained 6.3 percent and six seats. The party was then asked to join the coalition government of Prime Minister Miroslav Topolánek on 9 January 2007. Bursík became deputy prime minister and minister of the environment.

GROSS, STANISLAV (1969–). Born in Prague on 30 October 1969, Stanislav Gross was a trainee engine driver for Czechoslovak railways and went on to become both the Czech Republic and Europe’s youngest prime minister. Like many others who became leading figures in the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) in the post-Communist era, Gross joined it when it was relaunched in 1990, and was elected chairman of the party’s youth wing. He was elected to parliament in 1992. He continued his party work, rising through the decade to chairman of the group of deputies (the equivalent of party whip) and a vice-speaker. By the late 1990s, the charismatic Gross became the country’s most popular politician. Because of that, Prime Minister Miloš Zeman appointed him to his cabinet on 5 April 2000 to the influential post of interior minister, and Gross was the only minister to be kept on in the cabinet formed after the elections of 2002. His tenure in this post aroused some controversy, including inaction over apparent cases of police corruption and accusations that
he appointed friends to state-run companies and misused the ministry for personal gain. His media savvy and personal flair, however, were credited with sustaining his popularity.

The CSSD performed badly in the Czech Republic’s first elections to the European Parliament, which were held on 11–12 June 2004. The results were taken as further confirmation of the low popularity of the party as a whole. Prime Minister Vladimír Špidla resigned on 26 July, and Gross succeeded him on 4 August. Hopes that his personal popularity would salvage the party went unfulfilled; it did poorly in elections to regional assemblies and to the Senate.

Gross’s premiership, and probably his long-term political career, however, were ended by mounting suspicion over the impropriety of his purchase of family property in 1999. Costing the equivalent of several million dollars, which far exceeded his declared income, Gross was at first unable to account for the funds and then made matters worse by offering various conflicting explanations. His wife’s property ventures and working association with a businesswoman eventually convicted of fraud added to public disquiet about Gross’s propriety generally, and with sustained media scrutiny Gross was obliged to resign on 25 April 2005. He was succeeded in the post by Jiří Paroubek. A prosecutor cleared Gross in December 2005 of any crime, although public suspicions lingered. In April 2006 Gross became chairman of the CSSD’s committee on security but has not sought public office.

GRUŠA, JIŘÍ (1938– ). Czech writer and publisher who, under Czechoslovak Communist rule and even before the liberalization of censorship under the Prague Spring, established the first non-Communist literary magazine in Czechoslovakia, Tvář (Face).

Under “normalization” he was expelled from his profession and instead forced to work in construction. He nevertheless supported dissident activities for several years but, while allowed to travel outside Czechoslovakia at the behest of German writer Heinrich Böll in 1980, he was stripped by the Czechoslovak authorities of his citizenship and thus unable to return. He settled in Germany and returned to Czechoslovakia after the Velvet Revolution, where he served with several other dissidents at the Czechoslovak foreign ministry.
Like several other former dissidents he received an ambassadorial appointment, his being to Germany. He then returned and served as minister of education, youth, and sport in the latter stage of the government of Václav Klaus, and then from 1998 as Czech ambassador to Austria. He has been a president of International PEN, a leading group for the support of freedom of expression, since 2004, and also the director of the distinguished Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. See also LITERATURE.

GYPSIES. See ROMA IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC.

– H –

HABSBURG DYNASTY. Also spelled Hapsburg, this name derives from the original seat of the counts of Habsburg, the castle Habichtsburg in Switzerland. This family produced the longest-ruling line of Czech kings.

The first Habsburg king of Bohemia was Rudolf I (1306–1307), who received the Czech Kingdom as a fief from his father, Albrecht I, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1298–1308), after the death of the last Premyslite king in 1306. Rudolf himself died less than a year later when he tried to subdue the rebellious Czech aristocracy. In 1364, Charles IV of the Luxemburg line concluded a pact with the Austrian Duke Rudolf IV Habsburg, according to which one dynasty would inherit the dominions of the other if it died out without a male heir. The Habsburgs later based their claims to the Czech throne on this pact, but as long as the Czech Estates maintained enough power, the selection of Czech kings remained under their control. In 1437, at the end of the Hussite wars, a minority of the Czech diet (Zemský sněm), consisting mainly of powerful Catholic magnates, elected a second Habsburg king, Albrecht I, but he was not accepted by the other Estates, and his reign was also very short. He died in 1439 as he was returning from a campaign against the Turks in Hungary, of which he was also king.

Ferdinand I (1526–1564) was rightfully elected king by the Czech diet, confirmed by the Estates of other lands of the kingdom, and
started a long line of 17 Habsburgs on the Czech throne. In 1618, the Czech Estates launched a rebellion against the Habsburgs and their centralizing and Catholicizing policies, but they lost their war against Ferdinand II in 1620. The power of the Estates was broken, and Bohemia was reduced to a subordinate status and was forcefully re-Catholicized (see THIRTY YEARS WAR and NEW POLITICAL ORDER OF THE LAND, 1627). The last Habsburg king of Bohemia was Austrian Emperor Charles I (as Czech king, Karel I, 1916–1918). See also AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY.

HÁCHA, EMIL (1872–1945). President of Czechoslovakia from 1938 to 1939, he then served as state president of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia from 1939 to 1945. A known Anglophone, highly respected legal expert, professor of comparative law at Charles University, and president of the Supreme Court, Hácha was selected to succeed President Edvard Beneš as president of truncated Czechoslovakia after the Munich catastrophe in 1938. On 15 March 1939, he was brutally forced by Adolf Hitler in Berlin to sign his “consent” to the German occupation of the territory of Czech lands that remained after Munich. When the Nazis declared the creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia a day later, Hácha became its “state president.” During the next several years, he tried to save as much as possible and even maintained secret contact with Beneš in London. Then, almost 70 years old and in poor health, he became entirely passive and was used by the Nazis only as a figurehead. The postwar Czechoslovak government, however, deemed him guilty of collaboration and arrested him after the liberation. The senior American diplomat George Kennan, who had been posted to Prague before the war, defended Hácha, and said that any judicial punishment would be political revenge rather than justice. Hácha died on 26 June 1945 in the central Prague prison, before any trial could be held.

HAŠEK, JAROSLAV (1883–1923). He was the author of the four-volume satirical novel The Good Soldier Schweik (Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války), which won him international fame. Hašek’s hero made war a complete absurdity, and the book remains popular reading in the Czech Republic. Hašek also
published hundreds of humoristic and satirical short stories. See also LITERATURE.

HAVEL, VÁCLAV (1936– ). Czechoslovak president from 1989 to 1992, he was elected first president of the Czech Republic in 1993 for a five-year term, and reelected for a second in 1998. A playwright and essayist, Havel became internationally known in the 1960s as the author of two successful plays, Garden Party (Zahradní slavnost) and Notification (Vyrozumění). In June 1967, he joined a group of writers who openly criticized the regime of President Antonín Novotný at the Fourth Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers.

An active supporter of the Prague Spring of 1968, he was blacklisted in 1969 after signing the opposition manifesto known as Ten Points. Afterward he lived in seclusion until 1975, when he sent an open letter to President Gustáv Husák containing a critical analysis of the state of affairs in the country.

In 1976, Havel took an active part in the preparation of the Charter 77 and became one of the movement’s first three spokesmen. In 1978, Havel participated in founding the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (Výbor pro obranu nespravedlivě stíhaných—VONS). He was jailed from 1979 to 1983 and again from January to May 1989.

In November 1989, Havel played a leading role in establishing Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF), the coordinating center of the movement demanding the end of the Communist regime. He negotiated the surrender of the regime without bloodshed and succeeded Husák as head of state on 29 December 1989. Reelected in 1990, Havel resigned in July 1992 in disagreement over the breakup of Czechoslovakia. In January 1993, he was elected first president of the Czech Republic.

Havel generally stayed out of party politics in Czechoslovakia and then the Czech Republic, following his election as president in 1993, but it is believed that after the breakdown of the Civic Forum in 1991, he sympathized with the Civic Movement (Občanské hnutí—OH), a liberal, left-of-center group represented mainly by his old dissident friends. Havel also occasionally disagreed with then-Prime Minister Václav Klaus’s policies and showed his
concern about the effects of full implementation of market rules to the social sphere. He made a particularly critical attack on how government policies had damaged social values, although not naming Klaus specifically, in a speech on 9 December 1997, days after Klaus was forced to resign as prime minister.

While Havel enjoyed considerable popularity for the first several years of his presidency, having approval ratings above 80 percent and routinely being named the most popular political figure, but by 1999 this slipped to under 50 percent and, by some polls, a majority wanted him to step down. He was only reelected president by one vote in parliament in 1998.

Havel also suffered ill-health, including serious bouts of pneumonia and in December 1996 an operation to remove a malignant tumor from his right lung, and to repair intestinal perforations. Some of his hospitalizations limited his capacity to undertake all state functions but he continued some official work and made recoveries each time, and completed his second presidential term, which ended on 2 February 2003. He indicated that after holding office he would continue to have interests in political affairs and the Czech Foreign Ministry awarded him a special diplomatic status. The City of Prague also made him an honorary citizen. By April 2003 he had established an office in Prague, which he began financing himself as the terms for the financial support and pensions for past Czech presidents would only be advanced by the cabinet later that month and had not been approved by Parliament.

Both during and after his presidential tenure, Havel advocated a distinctive view of political life, one also that clashed openly with other major political figures, foremost that of the economist Václav Klaus, Czech prime minister between 1993 and 1997 and the president after Havel. Unlike Klaus, Havel advocated restraints on marketization and warned of its pernicious social consequences; he also continued to support the idea of civil society, although what that meant in practice could have been elaborated. In foreign policy he also reconciled morality with the use of force, and thus supported the North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s bombing of Serbia in 1999 and signed a letter backing the British–American position on going to war against Iraq in 2003. Both of these measures saw Havel at odds
with other Czech political personalities, including some of his long-
time dissident friends. His strong views and moralism lost him some
popular following, as did his marriage in 1997, shortly after the death
of his first wife, Olga, to the actress Dagmar Veškrnová.

Havel is recognized worldwide as a man of outstanding integrity
and courage, and of tremendous intellectual creativity. He has been
nominated for such awards as the Nobel Peace Prize and has been
granted numerous honorary doctorates and international artistic and
humanitarian awards, such as the International Gandhi Peace Prize,
which he received in 2003. In July of the same year he became the
first Czech, and one of only a handful of non-Americans, to be con-
ferred with the United States’s highest decoration, the Presidential
Medal of Freedom. In August 2003 he was named to the Order of
Canada, that country’s highest decoration and the only foreigner
included that year. He has continued to advocate human rights and
democracy generally, and has supported dissidents persecuted else-
where, such as in Belarus, Myanmar (Burma), and Cuba. Through his
writings, political stands, and the force and morality of his personal-
ity, he elevated the status of post-Communist Czechoslovakia and
the Czech Republic far beyond which the country might otherwise
have enjoyed.

Havlíček Borovský, Karel (1821–1856). This poet and
journalist was the editor of the first Czech daily newspaper, Národní
noviny, published from 1848 to 1850. The newspaper, liberal, patri-
otic, and progressive, was suppressed by the Habsburg author-
hies after the defeat of the 1848 revolutionary movements in the whole
empire. Havlíček himself was put on trial and ordered to live in exile
in the Austrian town of Brixen. Released in 1855, he died a year later
of tuberculosis when he was only 35 years old. Havlíček’s brilliant
articles in Národní noviny represent the beginning, and also a high
point, of modern Czech journalism. He also wrote satirical poems,
widely read to this day. One of his poems, “Baptism of St. Vladimir”
(“Křest sv. Vladimíra”), is a satire on Tsarist Russia, which was then
uncritically admired by some Czech nationalists. See also PRESS.
HEALTH CARE. Communist rule in principle offered universal health care, and trained and employed considerable numbers of medical workers. In practice, however, the system functioned far below the standards of Western countries or of what the Czech Republic might have been expected to have provided, in view of its advanced economic and social development in the interwar period. In addition, some, like Martin Potůček, attribute the proven decline in life expectancy throughout Communist rule in Czechoslovakia to that ideology’s “dehumanizing influence.”

Regardless of the specific impact of Communism, the Czech Republic now has a proportionately high number of doctors, with 3.6 per 1,000 of the population, and 5.4 acute hospital beds per head, both figures being well above the average for the advanced industrial economies in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). These statistics are also impressive in view of concerns about the departure of Czech doctors to wealthier European countries, estimated in 2005 at a rate of 200 to 300 per month. That said, the ratio of doctors to population has been improving: in 1993 the newly founded Czech Republic recorded 279 inhabitants per physician; in 2005 this was 230. Czechs were also found to visit their general practitioner (GP) twice as often as neighboring Germans and Austrians.

A major aim of the Czech social transformation after Communism has remained the modernization of the health-care system; and even with positive statistics on medical provisions, the country spent 6.8 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) in 2006 on health care, significantly below the OECD average, and also dedicates less per capita than most other OECD member states. Of that spending, 23.4 percent went on the purchase of pharmaceuticals.

Apart from costly and continuing improvements in public health facilities and the introduction of private health insurance, the major innovation in post-Communist Czech health care has been the implementation of health insurance. All employed people, or their employers on their behalf, must pay into health insurance, which then allows patients to seek care without direct charge. Certain categories of individuals have their health insurance paid by the state,
such as children, students under the age of 26, and those of state-pensionable age. Although this system is meant to provide universal health coverage, it has also been accused of serious problems, including late payments to doctors by the insurance companies, some of which have become heavily indebted. Warnings mounted in 2003 and 2004 about a complete collapse of the system, and professional medical bodies demanded the resignation of the health minister for neglecting the apparent crisis, prompting the government to inject more funds into the insurance system. GPs continue nevertheless to find the payments insufficient, and have launched strikes in protest, such as the nationwide one held in September 2007. Both Czech press and major corruption watchdogs, such as Transparency International, have also warned that the system creates grounds for corruption, with patients paying to advance themselves on waitlists for major medical procedures. In 2005 a Czech government found “losses” in health care amounted to US$1.3 billion, or 9.5 percent of health spending. The center-right government led by the Civic Democratic Party introduced a controversial measure that came into effect on 1 January 2008, whereby patients would pay 30 crowns for each visit to a doctor and 60 crowns per day in hospital. Regional governments since controlled by the Czech Social Democratic Party have, however, sought to cancel the charges.

In the Czech Republic, patients, unlike in many other industrial economies, can now also secure appointments with medical specialists themselves. Referrals from a GP are not required. Even with considerable changes initiated since the end of Communism, the Czech government acknowledges that far more remains to be done. At the same time, the state officially claims several medical innovations, including unique transplant surgery of three major organs from one patient to another, and robot-assisted surgery, and that many Czech health centers provide advanced care that rival the best offered in Western countries.

“HEYDRICHIADE.” This term is used for mass Nazi reprisals in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia after the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, acting German governor of Bohemia and Moravia (Reichsprotektor), in Prague in May 1942. Over 3,000
people were executed. Two whole villages, Lidice and Ležáky, were entirely destroyed; all the men were shot, the women were sent to concentration camps, and the children were taken to Germany for “reeducation.” See also GABČÍK, JOZEF; KUBIŠ, JAN.

HEYROVSKÝ, JAROSLAV (1890–1967). Born in Prague on 20 December 1890, Heyrovský became Czechoslovakia’s leading chemist, receiving the State Prize, First Grade, in 1951 and four years later the Order of the Czechoslovak Republic. He was one of only two Czechs to be awarded the Nobel Prize (the other being Jaroslav Seifert, for Literature), which he received for Chemistry in 1959 for the discovery and development of polarographic methods of analysis. He died on 27 March 1967 and is buried in Slavín Cemetery in Vyšehrad in Prague.

HODŽA, MILAN (1878–1944). Czechoslovak prime minister in the critical period between 1935 and 1938, he was a leading Slovak statesman of the 20th century. Hodža, a journalist and historian, was a deputy in the Hungarian diet from 1905 to 1910. During the whole interwar period, he led the Slovak Agrarian Party and was a deputy in the National Assembly. He also held a number of ministerial positions. After Munich, Hodža left the country and lived first in France, then in the United States. He disagreed with Edvard Beneš on the issue of Czecho–Slovak relations and refused to take part in the government-in-exile in London.

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (SVATÁ ŘÍŠE ŘÍMSKÁ). This name denoted the political organization of certain European states between 962 and 1806. While the term itself was not used until more than two centuries later, the origin of the entity that it designates dates to the coronation as emperor of the German king Otto I of the Saxon dynasty (936–973) in 962. The Holy Roman Empire was conceived as a successor of the empire of Charlemagne (c. 742–814), who had claimed the title of Roman emperor. The Saxon dynasty succeeded the Carolingians after the death of Arnulf (c. 850–899), emperor and king of the East Franks. Claimants to the title of emperor had first to be elected by an assembly of rulers of the Frankish lands, then crowned by the pope in Rome (until 1530).
The Holy Roman emperors initially laid claim to a large part of western and central Europe, including all the German states, Spain, France, Italy, present-day Belgium and the Netherlands, England, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. Their control of some of these countries was nonexistent from the beginning (Spain, England, and Sweden) or entirely nominal (Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia). The Czech state became a formal fief of the empire in 962, but in spite of frequent attempts of the emperors or local German princes (Bavarian and Saxon) to intervene in Czech domestic affairs, the native aristocracy managed to maintain sovereignty.

The relationship between the Holy Roman Empire and the Czech Kingdom was first regulated in 1212 by the Golden Bull of Sicily of Emperor Frederick II. The bull appointed the Czech king an elector of the emperor, which meant a direct association. At the same time, the Czech crown was recognized as hereditary and the rule was confirmed that the emperor could grant the kingdom as a fief only to rulers accepted by the Czech diet.

The Czech Kingdom’s independence within the empire was further strengthened by the Golden Bull of Charles IV in 1356. Thirteen emperors of the Holy Roman Empire also held the title of kings of Bohemia. In 1627, Ferdinand II made the Czech Kingdom a crown land of the Holy Roman Empire, but that was at a time of sharp decline of the political weight of the kingdom (see NEW POLITICAL ORDER OF THE LAND, 1627). The empire was dissolved by Napoleon I in 1806.

HORÁKOVÁ, MILADA (1901–1950). The only female executed during the terror years after 1948, Horáková had been an activist and official of the Czech National Socialist Party since the prewar period. For her role in anti-German resistance, she spent five years in Nazi prisons and camps during World War II. Between 1945 and 1948, she was a deputy of the National Assembly. Falsely accused of high treason and spying, she was arrested in 1949, put on trial in 1950, sentenced to death, and hanged. The Soviet occupation in 1968 prevented her full rehabilitation, which was completed in 1990.
HUMAN RIGHTS (LIDSKÁ PRÁVA). The Czech Republic has been highly acclaimed for its record in the field of human and civil rights since the fall of Communism at the end of 1989. Within weeks, in the whole of Czechoslovakia—of which the Czech Republic was then still a part—ideological control and the power monopoly of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) were abrogated. Freedom of the press was renewed, and the nomenklatura system and the dreaded secret police, the Státní bezpečnost (StB), were terminated. Political prisoners were released and freedom of movement was restored.

Six months after the fall of the old regime, the first free elections were held. On 9 January 1991, the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly adopted the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, which was praised by all major international organizations monitoring the state of human rights worldwide, in particular the Prague mission of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the International Labour Organization, and the Helsinki Commission. This charter became part of the constitution of the Czech Republic adopted in December 1992, shortly before the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. The peaceful nature of that dissolution was also widely acclaimed.

Nevertheless, there are several issues that have been repeatedly brought up by the above-mentioned organizations as inconsistent with valid international covenants on human rights. Among these problems has been the so-called Lustration Law of October 1991, characterized as “an overzealous attempt to remedy past wrongs” without “adequately protecting the rights of those accused” (CSCE Report 1994). Also frequently criticized has been the Defamation Law, which made defamation of the Czech president punishable by two years in prison. It was abolished in 1997. The Czech Citizenship Law, and in that context the treatment of the Roma (Gypsy) minority, has also been strongly criticized. On the whole, this criticism should not overshadow the fact that since the demise of the Communist regime and since the appearance of the Czech Republic as a sovereign state, enormous progress has been made in implementing the standards of Western democracies in the daily life of the country. See also CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND
FREEDOMS; THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE UNJUSTLY PERSECUTED.

HUS, JAN (JOHN HUSS; 1371–1415). Hus was a Czech theologian, linguist, educator, reformist preacher, professor, and dean and (as of 1409) rector of the Charles University in Prague. Between 1402 and 1412, Hus preached in the Bethlehem Chapel (Betlémská kaple) in Prague, winning a mass following. His thinking was influenced by English reformer John Wycliffe (1328–1384). Hus launched a principled struggle against the decadence of the late medieval church, particularly against simony and the sale of indulgences.

After the church pronounced an anathema against Prague in 1412 because of his preaching, Hus left the city and continued his struggle in south Bohemia. In 1414, he went to Constance to defend his ideas before a church council but was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake on 6 June 1415. His teaching, which preceded that of Martin Luther in Germany and John Calvin in Switzerland by a hundred years, launched the first stage of the European Reformation. His death was followed by the Hussite revolution, which lasted until 1437 and left Bohemia predominantly Protestant until the 17th century.

Hus is credited with the replacement of old diagraphs in the Czech writing system with diacritics, a system later adopted by other western Slavic nations using the Latin alphabet (Croats, Slovenians, and Slovaks). Hus’s legacy and stature in Czech history is enormous, not least as someone willing to sacrifice his life at the stake for his moral principles.

Hus’s slogan that “Truth prevails” was adopted by Czechoslovakia’s first president, Tomáš G. Masaryk as the national standard, and was reinstituted after the collapse of Communism. See also HUSSITE MOVEMENT; HUSSITE WARS.

Slovak Communist Party in 1943 after all senior leaders of the party were put in jail. He took part in a pact (“the Christmas Agreement”) with other anti-Nazi forces in Slovakia in 1943, became a member of the underground Slovak National Council, and took part in the Slovak National Uprising in 1944. He held high government and party posts until 1950, when he was accused of nationalism and demoted. Arrested in 1951, he was given a life sentence in 1954. Released in 1960, he was readmitted to the KSC in 1963. During the Prague Spring of 1968, Husák became deputy prime minister of the central government and supported Alexander Dubček’s reforms. Immediately after the Soviet invasion, he joined the pro-Soviet group in the KSC, and in 1969, he was rewarded with the post of the KSC first secretary after Dubček was removed. Husák played the main role in the restoration of the dictatorship, and in 1975 he also assumed the office of the president of Czechoslovakia. In 1987, he was forced to resign as the KSC general secretary, and after the fall of Communism in December 1989, he was also removed from the presidency.

HUSSITE MOVEMENT (**HUSITSKÉ HNUTÍ**). After the burning of Jan Hus as a heretic at the Church Council of Constance in 1415, the reform movement that his teaching initiated continued to grow. The Hussites exercised freedom of preaching and they practiced Communion in both kinds (wine and bread both for laity and priests). They also demanded limitations on church property and civil punishment of mortal sins, among which they included simony.

King Václav IV died in August 1419. His dynastic successor was his younger brother Sigismund, who had since 1410 been emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. After Sigismund refused to approve communion in both kinds in the kingdom, he was rejected by the Czech Estates. After that, in July 1420, moderate and radical currents in the Hussite movement agreed on Four Articles of Prague: free preaching; communion in both kinds; termination of the secular authority of the clergy; and application of civil punishment of mortal sins to priests.

These four articles were temporarily the basic minimum program of the whole movement, but that was never entirely united.
The aristocracy and wealthy Prague burghers were more moderate, and this current was called “Utraquist,” referring to Latin *sub utraque specie* (in both kinds), which was their essential demand. Radical Hussites were called Taborites after Tábor, a town in south Bohemia rebuilt into an impregnable stronghold. Mostly a movement of the poor peasantry, the Taborites went further in religious and social terms. They abolished holy images, limited rites to only baptism and communion, and demanded a classless society without private property.

Both currents rejected the succession of Emperor Sigismund to the Czech throne in 1420 and jointly repulsed all his attempts to conquer Bohemia. Disagreement developed between the moderates and the radicals again after 1430, especially after the Council of Basel in 1433, which accepted the chief demand of the Czechs, communion in both kinds (Compactata, or “Agreements”). The moderates were willing to accept this compromise (and Sigismund as king), while the Taborites held to all four original articles. Both sides battled on 30 May 1434, at Lipany in central Bohemia, and the Taborites were defeated. The Utraquists then accepted Sigismund and the Compactata of Basel.

The Hussite ideas, tracts, and manifestos had in the meantime spread throughout Europe. Martin Luther later called Hus his direct forerunner. The main legacy of the movement was that until the forced Catholicization in the 17th century, 90 percent of Czechs were Protestants. See also HUSSITE WARS; LIPANY; RELIGION.

**HUSSITE WARS (HUSITSKÉ VÁLKY).** These wars were waged between Emperor Sigismund, the Catholic Church and their allies against the Hussites in Bohemia and Moravia between 1420 and 1436. Under the command of Jan Žižka and Prokop Holý (Prokopius the Great), the Hussites, always outnumbered by the enemy but using superior military organization and tactics, routed five crusades. Twice (1425–1426 and 1429–1430) they invaded Germany in punitive expeditions. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the Hussite wars became fundamental to Czech national values, perhaps foremost as a symbol of the ability of the Czechs to resist against far greater numbers. See also HUSSITE MOVEMENT.
The foundations of industrialization of the Czech lands were laid during the beginning of urbanization in the 13th century by the diversification of the artisans’ trades and the rise of guilds in the 14th century. Urban centers, especially towns and cities endowed with royal protection and privileges, provided the best environment for craftsmanship. Guilds, initially founded to provide mutual support to their members, gradually extended their authority to supervise the quality and prices of the artisans’ products. Guilds, organized by trade, became closed societies that acquired great influence in city administrations. They reached the peak of their wealth and power in the 16th century. Their closed system, however, became an obstacle to economic growth in the 18th century when the ideas of mercantilism made their way to Bohemia.

A “Commercial Collegium” was founded in Prague in 1705 for the purpose of supporting the emerging manufactories, initially financed and managed mostly by enterprising aristocrats. The earliest manufactories were glassworks and textile works, which were both using rudimentary machinery run with water power. In 1787, the first sugar refinery was founded in Zbraslav, close to Prague, producing sugar from imported sugar cane. This development broke the power of the guilds, because free competition was needed for further economic growth. While the guilds formally existed until 1859, the state was increasingly taking over the supervision of all production.

The steam engine arrived in the early 19th century, a decisive factor in the rise of modern Czech industry. This development prompted the construction of a network of firm-surface roads and, later, railroads. The emerging industry needed engineers, and in 1806, a polytechnical institute was founded in Prague. Industrialization was spurred by the mineral wealth of the country. In the mid-19th century, there were 48 ironworks in the Czech lands, mainly in central Bohemia; the first ironworks in north Moravia were founded in 1829. Railroads brought a great boom for ironworks, just as the steam engine spurred the coal mining industry. Machineworks grew mainly in the second half of the 19th century, with Prague and Písek leading the way. The main infrastructure of Czech industry was complete by the end of
the 19th century when Bohemia became the industrial powerhouse of the **Austrian-Hungarian Empire**. The basic industrialization of Moravia occurred in the early 20th century.

When Czechoslovakia was founded in 1918, the disparity in industrialization between the Czech lands and Slovakia was substantial; 40 percent of the workforce in the former worked in industry and 17 percent in the east. Some reckonings put Slovakia’s industrial development at 70 years behind its Czech counterpart. Between 1918 and 1938, Czech industry played an essential role in the modernization of Slovakia. During the Communist era, the industrialization of Slovakia was largely completed, but the investment priorities dictated by the Soviets, by Communist ideology, and by the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (COMECON) caused significant structural deformations in **Czechoslovakia**, quite apart from extensive environmental damage in many parts of the country.

The return to the free market **economy** since 1990 showed the necessity of gradual restructuring, with an inevitable downsizing of traditional heavy industry and mining.

While Slovakia had developed major industries, it was relatively more agricultural than the Czech lands. Thus, when the Czech Republic became independent in 1993, even more of its economy was derived from industry than Czechoslovakia, and this sector employed 38 percent of the total labor force.

Particular achievements in the post-Communist period have been evident in the automotive and engineering sectors. These areas have also seen considerable **foreign investment** and contributed to the Czech Republic’s achievement of a favorable **trade** balance in 2005. Production of Škoda vehicles was 550,000 per annum in 2006, and was even planned to reach 1 million by 2010; the joint factory of Toyota and PSA Peugeot Citroen opened in 2005 outside Kolín and was expected to be the world’s most efficient. *See also* ŠKODA PLZEŇ; TATRA WORKS.

**IRAQ WAR OF 2003–**. The British–American decision to lead a military attack against Iraq that began in March 2003 presented substantial political challenges for Czech **foreign policy**, with different parts of the governmental system adopting divergent positions. The
issue was complicated by whether a specific United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution was required that specifically authorized the use of forces against Iraq in response to charges of its non-cooperation with international nuclear weapons inspections.

The matter was particularly divisive because some believed that the Czech Republic should support the United States on principle, because of its struggle against Communism and as a liberator of other oppressed peoples. Others expressed concern that support for the British–American position could jeopardize Czech entry into the European Union (EU), which was very likely but not then complete, although divisions among major EU states also indicated that such concern may not have been so tangible. On 30 January, president Václav Havel’s name appeared with those of seven other European leaders in an article first published in the Wall Street Journal Europe, which gained the nickname of the “Letter of Eight,” and became an important expression of political support for the U.S. position on Iraq. Although an anti-chemical-weapons unit of 250 troops were deployed to Kuwait, it did not partake in the invasion of Iraq, as the Czech parliament voted that a specific UNSC resolution authorizing the use of force was necessary.

Nevertheless, various media commentators and government officials, including former dissident and senior diplomat and foreign policy adviser Alexandr Vondra, also saw the issue as one in which the aspiring members of the EU had a right to speak out and to express divergent views from what was perceived as the antiwar Franco–German position. In turn, French President Jacques Chirac’s comments that the would-be new EU members had missed an opportunity to keep quiet provoked fierce reactions.

Czech soldiers have participated in the postwar reconstruction efforts that were sanctioned by the UN and Czech forces and have supplied such civilian-supporting activities as a field hospital and participation in the training of Iraqi police; Czech instructors have trained Iraqis in the maintenance of tanks and armor; and Czech soldiers have protected the multinational forces deployed around the southern Iraqi city of Basra. Czech forces in Iraq, however, were limited by the Czech government to a maximum deployment of 100 personnel.
JAGELLO DYNASTY (JAGELLONSKÁ DYNASTIE). This Polish–Lithuanian dynasty ruled Bohemia from 1471 to 1526. The first Jagello king, Vladislav II, was elected by the Czech Assembly of the Land in 1471, after the death of King Jiří z Poděbrad (1458–1471). He was succeeded by his son Ludvík I in 1516. When Ludvík perished in 1526 in the Battle of Mohácz against the Ottoman Sultan Sulayman I, the Jagello line of Czech kings became extinct.

JAKEŠ, MILOŠ (1922– ). An official of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), he was the last first secretary of the party (1987–1989) before the demise of Communism in Czechoslovakia. During the Prague Spring of 1968, Jakeš belonged to the pro-Soviet group of KSC high officials who resisted reforms. After the Soviet invasion, he played an active role in the mass purges between 1969 and 1971; in 2003 he was tried but acquitted of charges of treason for his role during this period. A known mediocrity, he was still chosen to replace Gustáv Husák as first secretary of the party in 1987. His appointment added an anecdotal dimension to the final crisis of the anachronistic system undermined by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev’s reforms in the USSR. Since his resignation in November 1989, Jakeš has largely been living in seclusion in Prague, although he has participated in some events held by the successor to the KSC, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

JANÁČEK, LEOŠ (1854–1928). This Czech composer, musical theorist, and conductor was also a collector of Moravian popular songs and dances. After studying in Prague, Leipzig, and Vienna, Janáček founded a musical conservatory in Brno, the capital of Moravia, in 1881. Author of a number of critical and theoretical works, Janáček created his own musical and dramatic image and concept. He composed 10 operas, of which the best known are Jenufa (Jeji pastorkyňa), Kátka Kabanová, The Makropoulos Affair (Věc Makropulos), and From the House of the Dead (Z mrtvého domu), based on Feodor Dostoyevsky’s novel. Janáček’s voluminous work includes
four symphonies, chamber music, song cycles, a rhapsody, and a ballet. See also MUSIC.

JESENSKÁ, MILENA (1896–1944). Born on 10 August 1896, in Prague, this Czech journalist, editor, and writer is perhaps best remembered, if somewhat unfairly, for her intimate relationship with writer Franz Kafka, some of whose work she translated into Czech. She is also remembered for the insights into Kafka gained from the letters she received from him, although he did not retain those she wrote to him. Jesenská was, however, an important interwar cultural figure in her own right. She reported from Vienna in the early 1920s for the Czech daily Tribuna and thereafter worked in Prague for major newspapers and magazines and became editor in 1938 of the important magazine Přítomnost. In the late 1930s she courageously wrote critically of both Nazi and Soviet foreign policy and then worked for the anti-Nazi resistance following the German occupation of the Czech lands, being arrested in 1939 and interned in Ravensbrück concentration camp where she died on 17 May 1944. See also LITERATURE; WOMEN.

JEWS IN THE CZECH LANDS. Jewish communities are documented since the 10th century; indirect evidence attests to a Jewish presence since as early as the 2nd century A.D. In the 10th and 11th centuries, Western (Sephardic) and Eastern (Ashkenazim) Jews lived in separate parts of the Prague Old Town. Narrowly restricted in their livelihood to trading, pawnbroking, and money lending, they were still economically successful, and kings, nobles, and townships contended for the power to tax them.

King Přemysl Otakar II issued a Jewish Charter in 1254 that introduced some guarantees and protection, but various forms of persecution existed for centuries, including occasional pogroms. In 1726, Charles VI attempted to reduce the Jewish population by his Family Laws (familiantské zákony), permitting only the eldest sons of Jewish families to marry. The indirect result was a dispersion of many Jews over the countryside. The Patent of Toleration (Toleranční patent) of Josef II in 1781–1782 guaranteed freedom of worship, but his
other modernizing policies had adverse effects for the Jews. Their communities lost internal autonomy and they became subject to enforced Germanization. Ownership of land by Jews was not permitted until 1841. The last pogrom occurred in Prague in 1849. Lesser limitations continued until 1867.

Czech was spoken by Bohemian Jews since very early times. In spite of the state-directed Germanization of the Jews, 50 percent of them still declared Czech as their language in the census of 1900. Many Jews took part in the Czech National Revival in the 19th century. Tomáš Masaryk, a proven opponent of anti-Semitism, enjoyed sincere Jewish sympathies and support.

In 1918, Czech Jews welcomed the creation of Czechoslovakia, which fully guaranteed their human rights and civil rights in the whole interwar period. The Munich Diktat (1938) and Nazi occupation (1939–1945) brought catastrophic consequences. Of 92,199 people in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia classed as Jews under Nazi law in 1939, 78,154—or 84.8 percent—perished in the Holocaust, among them some 15,000 children. In mid-1990, after the collapse of Communist rule, the number of Jews in the Czech Republic was estimated at only 5,000, after another significant exodus that followed the Soviet occupation in 1968. Jewish education resumed in the Czech Republic in 1997 with the opening of two schools in Prague, but, in a country with a once-flourishing Jewish community, its numbers are likely to remain very low. See also LOEW, RABBI JEHUDA BEN BECALEL MAHARA; OLD JEWISH CEMETERY; OLD-NEW SYNAGOGUE; SLÁNSKÝ, RUDOLF.

**JIRÁSEK, ALOIS (1851–1930).** Writer, poet, playwright, and leader of the Czech cultural community in World War I, he created the Czech realistic historical novel. A historian by academic training, Jirásek covered almost all periods of Czech history in his extensive work. Read by hundreds of thousands during his life as well as in later years, his historical novels are said to have done more than schools to acquaint the Czechs with their past and to evoke national self-esteem and patriotism. Like Tomáš Masaryk, Jirásek accepted the philosophy of history advanced by František Palacký, which viewed Jan Hus, the Czech Reformation, Jan Ámos Komenský, and the nation’s Protestant past until 1620 as the apex of national
At the same time, like Palacký’s, Jirásek’s views of the **Counterreformation**, Catholicization, and **Habsburg** domination in general were negative. His work undeniably had a great political impact on his contemporaries as well as future generations. During **World War I**, Jirásek used his authority to give weight to the idea of national sovereignty, especially in his coauthorship of the Czech writers’ patriotic manifesto of May 1917 and of The Oath of Allegiance to the Czech Nation of April 1918. In December 1918, Jirásek, in the name of Czech writers, welcomed Tomáš Masaryk after his return to **Prague**.

Among Jirásek’s many historical novels, the best known are *Against All* (*Proti všem*) and *The Hussite King* (*Husitský král*), dealing with the **Hussite movement** and the reign of King Jiří z Poděbrad (1458–1471). The novels *Darkness* (*Temno*) and *The Treasure* (*Poklad*) depict the Counterreformation in **Bohemia**. F. L. Věk is a story of national revival in the first half of the 19th century.

**JUNGMANN, JOSEF** (1773–1847). A linguist, translator, and literary scientist, he is credited with the revival of the literary and poetic Czech **language** in the early times of the **National Revival**. Jungmann’s main contribution was his five-volume Czech-German vocabulary, published between 1835 and 1839. Jungmann alone produced a work that elsewhere needed whole teams of scientists. He revived words of the old Czech literary language used before the **Counterreformation**, he created some new words and, when necessary, he borrowed words from other Slavic languages, namely, Polish and Russian, to overcome the weakening of the Czech lexical fund during the past two centuries. His other great achievement was the translation into Czech of works of Francois-René Chateaubriand, John Milton, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. These translations laid the foundation of modern Czech poetics.

**– K –**

**KAFKA, FRANZ** (1883–1924). This world-famous novelist and short-story writer was born in **Prague**, where he went to school and studied law. Kafka wrote most of his works, including his diaries, while he
was an employee of the Workmen’s Compensation Insurance Company in Prague from 1910 to 1922. Kafka was fluent in Czech, but he chose to write in German, as did some other Czech Jewish writers of his time, such as Max Brod and Franz Werfel, as is consequently often referred to by literary scholars as a Bohemian German writer. Kafka is nevertheless considered an inseparable part of the modern literature of Bohemia. Most of Kafka’s work was published posthumously. His best-known novels are *The Trial, The Castle, The Penal Colony*, and *America*. While his style is remarkably clear and his expression precise, Kafka depicts a world that stands between reality and dream and in which the lonely hero vainly tries to overcome the burden of a bureaucratized environment.

**KARLOVY VARY (KARLSBAD IN GERMAN).** One of the best-known health and spa resorts in Europe, it is located in western Bohemia. According to a popular legend, local medicinal hot springs were discovered by Emperor Charles IV Luxemburg during a deer-hunting trip. While archeological findings trace human presence in the area back to the middle Bronze Age, the first permanent settlement dates back earlier than the mid-14th century. Charles IV chartered the town in 1370, granting it the status of a royal city.

Local spa waters, used to cure digestive diseases, have for centuries attracted European royalty, statesmen, and artists. One of the resort’s most distinguished and frequent guests was the great German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In 1819, an important international conference convened and dominated by Prince Metternich, the Austrian state chancellor, was held in Karlovy Vary; it imposed uniform control of the press on all German states. Since the 1960s, the town has been holding yearly prestigious international film festivals. Altogether there are 20 spas in Karlovy Vary, and local facilities have the capacity to receive over 80,000 guests each year. Located very close to the German border, Karlovy Vary has proven particularly popular with both Russian tourists and investors, the latter having become the city’s principle source of foreign investment. The city currently has some 53,000 inhabitants.

**KARLŠTEJN CASTLE.** A masterpiece of late French Gothic style, Karlštejn was built for Emperor Charles IV Luxemburg above
the Berounka River, about 15 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Prague, between 1348 and 1357. Its main architect was Matthias of Arras, who also directed the construction of the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague until his death in 1352. The castle combined the best contemporary fortification techniques with internal spaciousness, comfort, and rich artistic decoration comparable to French castles built in the same century. The castle’s main purpose was to keep the imperial and Czech coronation jewels. During the emperor’s life, many leading European rulers were the castle’s guests. See also ARCHITECTURE.

KAVAN, JAN (1946– ). This Czech politician and former foreign minister was born in London on 17 October 1946 to a Czechoslovak diplomat father and English mother who met during World War II. His father was recalled from the Czechoslovak embassy in London in 1950 and Kavan grew up in Communist Czechoslovakia. His father, a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), was shortly thereafter tried in the Stalinist show trials, and sentenced to 25 years in prison, along with leading Communist figures such as Rudolf Slánský. Despite that family experience, Kavan believed the best way to confront Communist rule was to engage reform from within and he therefore joined the party. Kavan fled Czechoslovakia to Great Britain in 1969 after the Prague Spring, which he supported, was crushed. From abroad he backed dissident efforts in Czechoslovakia, including through the publication of East European Reporter and of Palach Press, which became essential means for maintaining communications between Czechoslovakia’s beleaguered anti-Communist dissidents and the outside world. Kavan returned to Czechoslovakia in the wake of the Velvet Revolution in 1989 and was elected a member of the Federal Assembly in the first free post-Communist elections held in June 1990, and in which he served until 1992. Kavan was accused, as others were, in 1991 of collaborating with the Czechoslovak secret police during the Communist era but was fully cleared by court cases in 1994 and 1996.

Kavan was elected to the Senate in its first elections in 1996, and served there until 2000, thereafter sitting in the Chamber of Deputies until 2006. His most important public role was as foreign minister in the Czech Social Democratic Party government of

KLADSKO (KLODZKO IN POLISH; GLATZ IN GERMAN). This historical territory about 56 kilometers (35 miles) south of Wroclaw belonged to the Czech Kingdom from the 10th to the 18th century. Kladsko was lost to Prussia in the Wars of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) between Frederick II and Austrian Empress Maria Theresa. Since 1945, it has been a part of Poland.


In November 1989, he took part in the founding of Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF) and was appointed minister of finance and, later, deputy prime minister of the federal Government of National Reconciliation (1989–1992). In the elections in June 1990, Klaus was elected to the Federal Assembly for Civic Forum, of which he was a chairman from 1990 to 1991. In April 1991, Klaus cofounded the right-of-center Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana—ODS). His party won the 1992 elections in the Czech lands, and Klaus became Czech prime minister. With his Slovak counterpart Vladimír Mečiar, Klaus negotiated the peaceful dissolution of Czechoslovakia. After the Czech Republic became a sovereign state in January 1993, Klaus continued as head of the Czech government. He was reelected chairman of the ODS at each of the party’s congresses, including the 6th congress in November 1995. Klaus led his party to a second electoral victory in the May–June elections in
1996, and he was approved prime minister again by the Chamber of Deputies on 25 July 1996.

Klaus was a leading force behind the Czech privatization, and he is a known proponent of minimum state intervention in the economic process. He has said that he preferred the American model to the West European model with its wider social concerns. He famously attacked the “third way” as leading not to economic success but to the Third World. Klaus also rejected the idea of “dirty money” in the privatization process, suggesting that its province was irrelevant so long as it stimulated the economy. Klaus has been criticized for lacking the patience necessary for teamwork, and his popularity has varied greatly. His occasional and high-profile disagreements with President Václav Havel were well known, not least on the relationship between the market and society. Unlike Havel, Klaus contended that the market alone, rather than in conjunction with any aspects of civil society, could provide for societal needs and harmony.

Nevertheless, Klaus proved to be a hard-working politician and a skilled manager, and he has shown his ability to accept some compromise when it was necessary. His second term in the office of prime minister was generally expected to be much more demanding than the first one because the Czech economy was bound to be increasingly affected by the difficulties burdening the West European economy. At the same time, his coalition did not have the parliamentary majority it enjoyed in the 1992–1996 period. In the first half of 1997, Klaus’ economic policies ran into serious problems that required severe emergency measures and led to a political crisis. His popularity fell sharply, and the opposition called for his resignation, which he tendered in November 1997.

Klaus, however, remained as ODS party chairman and when the Czech Social Democratic Party won more seats in the 1998 election, Klaus engineered the controversial Opposition Agreement, which allowed the Social Democrats to remain in power. Klaus became speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, a high-profile position but with no responsibility for policies, which, in view of the economic crisis, would be unpopular. This arrangement continued until 2002 and thereafter Klaus stepped down as chairman of the ODS, receiving his party’s nomination for the presidency in 2003. Although
Klaus did not win the parliamentary vote on the first ballot, he was ultimately successful and was also reelected in 2008.

Apart from being recognized internationally in the early 1990s for overseeing the Czech Republic’s economic transformation, including voucher privatization, Klaus is now perhaps best known in Europe for his “Eurospectical” views on the integration of the European Union (EU). He and his supporters reject that term, preferring “Europoreanist,” which represents the preservation of state sovereignty and the reduction of the EU to an economic and trade arrangement. In advance of the Czech presidency of the EU in 2009, Klaus provoked outrage by meeting with forces opposed to EU integration while on an official state visit to Ireland, a country that had voted in a referendum to reject the Lisbon Treaty. Klaus has refused to fly the EU flag on the presidential palace, defending the decision against EU enquiries by stating that only the Czech national flag is appropriate. (Other Czech governmental buildings, however, fly the EU flag). Klaus has also made statements challenging the notion of global warming, and offers such comments as the “earth is blue, not green.” Although the content of Klaus’s legacy will almost certainly evoke strenuous debate, it is unquestionable that he has had an immense impact on post-Communist Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic.

KLÍMA, IVAN (1931– ). One of the Czech Republic’s best and most prolific authors of fiction, though many of his themes reflect personal and societal experiences during and after Communism. He was editor of the journal of the Czech Writers’ Union during the cultural flowering of the Prague Spring and although he had a visiting professorship at the University of Michigan in 1969 and could have taken the opportunity to remain abroad, he returned to Czechoslovakia in 1970. Under “normalization” his writings were banned in the country but were published abroad, earning literary prizes, and were published in Czechoslovakia after the end of Communism. Most of his major work has been translated into English, and include such titles as The Spirit of Prague, My Golden Trades, The Ultimate Intimacy, Love and Garbage, Waiting for the Dark, Waiting for the Light, and No Saints or Angels. See also LITERATURE.
KOHOUT, PAVEL (1928– ). This poet, journalist, playwright, novelist, and theater director initially supported the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), but later became one of the first Czech writers to assume a critical stand against the regime, both in his artistic work and in his public actions. He was an ardent supporter of the Prague Spring of 1968 and defended it until the end. In 1976, he was one of the leading organizers of the Charter 77 movement. In 1977, he was permitted to travel to Austria to direct one of his plays, but he was not allowed to return. Since then, Kohout has been living in Vienna. Of his many plays, the best known is Poor Murderer (Ubohý vrah), also produced on Broadway. Since 1989, most of his work, which was blacklisted for over 20 years, has been published or performed in Prague. See also LITERATURE.

KOLLÁR, JÁN (1793–1852). Born on 29 July 1793, in Mosovce, in the Slovak part of the Austrian Empire, Kollár went on to be a leading proponent of Slavic unity and produced his major works in the Czech language. While studying at the German-speaking University of Jena, Kollár increasingly understood the impact of Germanic culture on Slavonic peoples and sought, as the Germans did for themselves, to advance Slavic unity and became a leading advocate of pan-Slavism. Much of his literary work reflects these aims, such as his major poem “Slávy dcera” (“The Daughter of Sláva”). He spent his final years as a professor of Slavonic archaeology in Vienna, where he died on 24 January 1852. See also LITERATURE.

KOMENSKÝ, JAN ÁMOS (COMENIUS IN LATIN; 1592–1670). Last senior (bishop) of the historical Unity of Czech Brethren Church (see EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN), he was an internationally renowned scholar, theologian, pedagogue, and philosopher. One of the greatest personalities of Czech cultural history, Komenský left Bohemia a year after Ferdinand II issued his decree, the New Political Order of the Land, 1627, which instituted a forced Catholicization of the Czech lands (see CATHOLIC CHURCH). The church of which he was the head, then called Unity of Brethren, had been formed by those followers of the initial Hussite movement who
did not agree with the compromise with Rome in 1433. Komenský wrote most of his works in Latin in exile. The best known is *Didactica magna* (*Great Teaching*) which laid down the principles of universal **education** open to everybody, including **women**. Another famous pedagogical work was his *Orbis sensualium pictus* (*The Visible World*), an early illustrated textbook for children. His *Labyrinthus světa a ráj srdce* (*Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart*) was the most significant work of 17th-century Czech prose. After the **Thirty Years War**, Komenský lost all hope that he could return to his fatherland in his lifetime. In his testament, *Kšaft umírající matky Jednoty bratrské* (*The Legacy of the Dying Mother Unity of Brothers*), Komenský expressed his belief that the time would come when the Czech nation would again become the master of its destiny. Komenský died, and is buried, in Naarden, the Netherlands. His memory is highly cherished in the Czech lands.

**KOŠICE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM** (*KOŠICKÝ VLÁDNÍ PROGRAM*). Called the Program of a National and Democratic Revolution, this agreement fundamentally set the terms of the nature, membership, and priorities of the Czechoslovak government after **World War II**. It bears the name of the eastern city in **Slovakia** where it was launched on 5 April 1945 by the new **National Front** government. The contents of the program, however, were determined already through meetings held between the leader of the Western-leaning government-in-exile, **Edvard Beneš**, and the **Czechoslovak Communist Party** (KSC) in Moscow in March 1945.

The program specifically banned certain **political parties**. One was the Slovak People’s Party, which had led independent Slovakia during World War II, when it was a close ally of Nazi Germany. The other was the **Czech Agrarian Party**, which Beneš had already agreed with the Communists in 1943 to outlaw, due to its responsibility for capitulation to Nazi Germany. Regardless of views of that party’s culpability in Czechoslovakia’s demise before the Second World War, its prohibition thereafter removed from Czechoslovak politics a formidable force, and one that would have presented the greatest challenge to the KSC’s ambitions.
The program made all other political parties part of the National Front government, although arguably the Communists were over-represented and also given powerful ministries, such as interior and information, which in turn contributed to their ability to affect their seizure of power in February 1948.

Gottwald called the program a “magna carta” for granting a new status to Slovakia within a reunited country. The program also promised retribution toward the German and Hungarian minorities (see TRANSFER OF GERMANS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA), extensive land reform and nationalization of industry and financial services, as well as a significant degree of state intervention in the economy generally. These policies are often considered as having assisted the legitimacy and popularity of the KSC, which went on to win a plurality of votes in the election of 1946.

KOŽENÝ, VIKTOR (1963–). As Czech and foreign newspapers observed, this entrepreneur became the “symbol” and “the best-known character from voucher privatization.” Through his clever advertising and overt promises of wealth, Kožený ironically did far more to popularize voucher privatization than did the Czechoslovak government. As Hillary Appel has argued, he also “changed the course of voucher privatization.”

A Czechoslovak émigré who attended Harvard University, Kožený returned to the country and opened Harvard Capital & Consulting. Using language reminiscent of Czech fairytales, the company’s advertisements offered 10-fold returns in one year and a day. Czechoslovak citizens, who under voucher privatization had been given by the government booklets of “shares” in collections of state-owned companies, were free to use them as they wished. The enticement of the Harvard fund proved very strong; it quickly became the largest nonbank fund (the major banks were still state-owned, so, ironically, voucher privatization was returning assets to indirect state control). Kožený was believed to have started his venture with US$ 15,000 and to have amassed between US$ 300,000,000 and US$ 500,000,000 from small shareholders. The promised payouts to them, however, did not materialize. Instead, the fund purchased shares in numerous
companies, and was accused of asset stripping and transferring the money made overseas.

Kožený was consequently nicknamed by the leading American financial magazine *Forbes* as the “Pirate of Prague” (although the “bouncing Czech” also became popular). He left the Czech Republic, gaining residence in the Bahamas. He also, as the Irish press wrote, “purchased” an Irish passport in 1995. Kožený was also accused of a large-scale privatization scam in Azerbaijan that involved several high-profile Americans, which in turn led to charges being brought against him by the Manhattan District Attorney.

**KRAMÁŘ, KAREL (1860–1937).** This lawyer, politician, and industrialist was the first prime minister of the Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1919) and chief Czechoslovak delegate at the Paris Peace Conference. Kramář was initially an ally of Tomáš Masaryk and co-founder of the realist movement; then he gradually moved to a more nationalistic, pan-Slavic position. After World War I broke out, Kramář was active in the resistance movement. He was detained in 1915, sentenced to death in 1916, and then pardoned in 1917. In October 1918 Kramář was chairman of the National Committee, which declared the independence of Czechoslovakia. His National Democratic Party placed fourth in the elections held in 1919, but remained in the Pěťka coalition that formulated governmental policy during the interwar period; nevertheless, Kramář personally turned increasingly against Masaryk and Edvard Beneš in matters of both domestic and foreign policy. In his last years he pursued a right-wing course.

**KREJČÍ, LUDVÍK (1890–1972).** He was a Czechoslovak military officer, general of the army, and chief of the general staff. A reserve officer of the Austro-Hungarian Army, Krejčí had seen action in the Balkans, on the Italian front, and on the Russian front, where he was taken prisoner in 1917. He joined the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia the same year and distinguished himself in the legion’s ranks during the Russian offensive against the Germans in March 1918. Commander of the second division of the legion (1919), Krejčí led his troops during the withdrawal from Russia along the Trans-Siberian Railroad. He returned home in 1920, and in 1925, he graduated
from l’École supérieure de guerre in Paris. After holding various command posts in the Czechoslovak Army, he was appointed chief of its general staff in 1933, with the rank of general of the army. Krejčí, a proponent of mobile warfare, played an important role in defensive preparations in the 1930s. In September 1938, President Edvard Beneš named him supreme commander of Czechoslovak armed forces. Krejčí disagreed with the submission to the Munich Diktat and retired soon afterward.

KRIEGER, FRANTIŠEK (1908–1979). A Czech physician, he was a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) leadership during the Prague Spring of 1968. During the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), Kriegel worked in Spain as a physician with the Republican Army. During World War II, he served in China as a military physician. After the war, Kriegel returned to Czechoslovakia and held various lower positions in the KSC, but most of the time he worked as a physician. When the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Kriegel was kidnapped to Moscow with Alexander Dubček and other leaders of KSC. He alone refused to sign the act of submission called the Moscow Protocol of 1968. In October 1968, he was one of a handful of deputies of the National Assembly who voted against a “treaty” meant to legalize the occupation. Forced to live in seclusion after that, Kriegel still became one of the leading personalities in the Charter 77 movement and remained active in the dissident movement until his death.

KUBELÍK, RAFAEL (1914–1996). A world-famous Czech conductor and composer, Kubelík was the conductor of the Czech Philharmonic (1942–1948). After 1948, he lived and worked in the West, most of the time in England and Germany. In the United States, Kubelík conducted the Chicago Symphony (1949–1953) and the orchestra of the Metropolitan Opera in New York (1971–1974). Kubelík was buried in the Slavín Cemetery in Prague. See also MUSIC.

KUBIŠ, JAN (1913–1942). A Czechoslovak Army paratrooper, Kubiš was sent in December 1941 to occupied Bohemia with the order to assassinate the head of the Nazi administration of the Protectorate
of Bohemia and Moravia, Reinhard Heydrich. Five months after he was parachuted from a Royal Air Force airplane, he accomplished his assignment in a Prague suburb together with another paratrooper, Jozef Gabčík. Both died three weeks later while fighting German Army units that surrounded their hideout in a Prague Russian Orthodox church. A monument to Kubiš and Gabčík was erected in Prague in May 2008, on the 66th anniversary of the assassination.

KUBIŠOVÁ, MARTA (1942– ). This Czech singer was established before the start of the reforms of the Prague Spring of 1968 but became better known then for her ballad “Modlitba pro Martu” (“A Prayer for Marta”). When the reforms were crushed by Soviet-led forces, she gave public support to Alexander Dubček. She was unable consequently to perform or record music thereafter. She was a signatory of the dissident document Charter 77. In 1989 she joined leaders of the Velvet Revolution in Wenceslaus Square and sang to the multitudes of demonstrators. See also MUSIC.

KÜHNL, KAREL (1954– ). Prague-born, Karel Kühnl became a senior diplomat and politician in the Czech Republic. He fled Communist Czechoslovakia for political reasons in 1980 and then began working for Radio Free Europe in Munich. He returned to Czechoslovakia in 1990 and earned a doctorate in law and worked in various capacities, including for Czech Radio. From 1993 to 1997 he was appointed Czech Ambassador to Great Britain. Shortly after returning to the Czech Republic, he joined the newly formed Freedom Union party and in 2000 became its leader for two years. He was appointed minister of defence in 2004, which he held until 2006, and oversaw the introduction of a professional armed forces. The following year, he was appointed Ambassador to Croatia, a country of importance in part to the Czech Republic because of the high number of Czechs vacationing there.

KUNDERA, MILAN (1929– ). A Czech novelist, playwright, and translator, he has been living in France since 1975 and where he became a professor of literature at the École des hautes études et sciences sociales in Paris. Several of his novels have been trans-
lated into many languages, including *Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (*Kniha smíchu a zapomnění*), *The Joke* (*Žert*), and *Unbearable Lightness of Being* (*Nesnesitelná lehkost žití*). The last one was the basis for a widely acclaimed film of the same name. The book was only published in the Czech language in 2006, and received considerable acclaim in his native country. He has since written some of his works in French, such as the 1998 *L’Identité* (*Identity*). Kundera did not return home to accept the Czech Republic’s highest literary distinction, the State Prize for Literature, when it was awarded to him in 2007.

**KUPKA, FRANTIŠEK (1871–1957).** A great Czech abstract and futurist painter, etcher, and illustrator, he was one of the first painters who explored geometric abstraction. Kupka lived and created in France for most of his adult life. He illustrated an edition of Aristophanes’s *Lysistrata* as well as works by Leconte and Reclus. Kupka also wrote a book explaining his work, *Creation and the Arts* (*Tvoření v umění výtvarném*). See also ART.

**KUTNÁ HORA.** This historical silver-mining center lies in east central Bohemia. The name of the town means “mining mountain.” Located 50 kilometers (30 miles) east of Prague, close to the Labe River, Kutná Hora was the richest source of silver in Europe between the 13th and 16th centuries. Czech coins, especially the *grossus Pragensis* (*Pražský groš*), were minted there, creating the wealth and power of Czech kings of that era. It was in Kutná Hora where the Luxemburg King Václav IV issued his decree in 1409 that regulated the voting system at the Prague University in favor of the Czech faculty. In the 1420s, the Hussites and Emperor Sigismund waged fierce struggles for the town and its mines. In 1485, Czech Utraquists and Catholics concluded a treaty there (*Kutnohorská smlouva*) that equalized both faiths. The silver deposits were exhausted in the 17th century and the town lost its importance. Several splendid monuments of the old times still stand, notably the Cathedral of St. Barbara and Cathedral of St. James, examples of Bohemian Gothic architecture. The old mint, a palace called Italian Court (it served as an occasional residence of Czech kings), has also been preserved.
Kutná Hora currently numbers some 25,000 inhabitants. Local industry includes machine building, food processing, and tobacco products. Kutná Hora is the center of a district of the same name. The town is on the UNESCO list of universal cultural heritage.

LANGUAGE. The Czech language is one of the three main western Slavonic languages, with Polish and Slovak. Although Czech is Slavonic and shares fundamental grammatical similarities with sibling languages, it remains sufficiently different from the eastern and southern branches of that group to prevent mutual intelligibility. Even Slovak, the relative affinity to Czech being an essential basis for the pre–World War I cooperation to establish a common state, has become less immediately comprehensible to Czechs born toward the end of and after the common Czechoslovak state. Then pupils from both groups studied each other’s literature in school and the population at large was routinely exposed in radio and television broadcasts to the other language.

As a language, Czech shares with Slavonic languages the practice of inflections for its nouns and adjectives, so that these words change their endings depending on context. This is determined in part by which of Czech’s seven cases are used: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, instrumental, and vocative. Endings also depend on whether the entity is singular or plural, or is an infrequent “dual,” and on the gender: male, female, or neuter. Czech has four moods: infinitive, indicative, conditional, and imperative.

The Czech language has had a strong historical pedigree, being one of the first European languages into which the Bible was translated. Literary Czech appeared in the second half of the 13th century and the foundation of Charles University in 1348 also advanced its use. Until the late 13th century, Czech used the medieval Latin alphabet, but what are now referred to as diacritic marks began to be employed to represent in writing those Czech sounds that had no counterpart in Latin. Jan Hus systematized the different sounds of
Czech consonants and vowels by application of diacritic marks above the Latin character. Consequently, the modern Czech alphabet uses the same letters as the English, but has 14 additional letters on account of diacritics.

Jan Hus and his Hussite movement also popularized use of the Czech language by changing their language of worship from Latin to Czech. In 1495 Czech became the only permissible language for entries in the land and city registers. The White Mountain Battle of 1620 and the ensuing Counterreformation, however, saw the ascendancy of Germanic-Catholicism over the Czechs, which ensured a decline of Czech, the language. That and the combination of large numbers of ethnic Germans inhabiting the Czech lands reduced Czech to a vernacular language. The presence of numerous German words in contemporary Czech vocabulary is a legacy of that period. As elsewhere in Central Europe, however, the rise or renaissance of languages and cultural identities occurred among Czechs, when several literary and cultural figures, such as František Palacký, reinvigorated and popularized the use of Czech from the mid-19th century as part of the National Revival. Although German was widely used in Prague still at the turn of the 20th century, with the establishment of an independent state in 1918, Czech and Slovak became official languages. The occupation during World War II included deliberate plans to destroy the Czech nation, including any practical knowledge and use of the Czech language.

Today, despite the forces of globalization and the popularity of English, no threat exists to the continued use of the Czech language. Ironically, however, Czech diacritics cannot currently be included in .cz Internet domain names, although they can in .com domain names.

The number of native speakers of Czech worldwide are numbered at no more than 12 million, the majority of over 10 million residing in the Czech Republic, some in Slovakia, and others abroad. Languages spoken by minorities in the Czech Republic include, in small numbers, Slovak and German. The most popular foreign language in schools is English, followed by German. See also LITERATURE.

LEGISLATURE. See PARLIAMENT.
LENÁRT, JOZEF (1923– ). A Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) official and prime minister of Czechoslovakia, he was trained as a chemist in the Baťa Company works in Slovakia during World War II (see BAT’A, TOMÁŠ). In 1944 he took part in the Slovak National Uprising. After the war, he joined the Slovak Communist Party (SCP), a collective part of the KSC. Lenart made his way up through the party bureaucracy, and in 1963, he was appointed prime minister. At that time, Lenárt supported moderate reforms in the system of the management of the economy and was viewed as a pragmatist. In the political crisis in the KSC in the fall of 1967, however, Lenárt remained loyal to President Antonín Novotný and did not join the reformers who removed the latter from the position of KSC first secretary in January 1968. Lenárt lost his post during the Prague Spring of 1968, and in August the same year, he joined other fallen bigwigs in supporting the Soviet invasion. For that he was rewarded with the post of first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia (Komunistická strana Slovenska—KSS) which he held until 1989, when he was forced to resign.

LETZEL, JAN (1880–1925). A Czech architect who worked mainly outside Czechoslovakia and was relatively unknown there. One of his designs, however, has recognition worldwide: Hiroshima’s Industrial Promotion Hall. This Art Deco–designed building was located at the center of the detonation of the atomic bomb over the Japanese city of Hiroshima on 6 August 1945. The structure survived the blast and has since become a symbol of the event.

LEŽÁKY. This small village in eastern Bohemia, south of Pardubice, in the Chrudim district, like Lidice, was entirely destroyed by the Germans in June 1942, during the reprisals that followed the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich. The Nazi secret police, the Gestapo, killed all 43 adult inhabitants of the village and deported the children to Chelmno, a Nazi death camp in occupied Poland. Only two of the 14 deported children survived the war. See also “HEYDRICHIADE.”

LIBRARIES. The Czech Republic has a large network of public libraries. A complete list of academic libraries can be found in the
Catalog of Libraries of Institutions of Higher Education (*Adresář vysokoškolských knihoven*), which was published by the National Technical Library (*Národní technická knihovna*). The largest system of scientific libraries has been built around the Charles University, the Czech Technical University, the Czech University of Agriculture, and the Higher School of Economics, all in Prague. The central library is the National Library in Prague, which also serves as the main library of the Charles University. The National Library’s collection contains over 6 million volumes and some 80,000 new titles are acquired annually, and approximately 1 million users are recorded yearly. The National Library also houses Central Europe’s largest collection on Slavonic studies. In 2007 an architectural plan was unveiled for a new building for the National Library, to be built on Letna near Prague Castle. The plan provoked considerable controversy, including nicknames of “octopus” or “blob,” and opponents included Prague mayor Pavel Bém and President Václav Klaus, who said that he would oppose the construction to his death. The plan was eventually abandoned.

All Czech institutions of higher education have their own libraries. The largest of them is the library of the Masaryk University (*Masarykova univerzita*) in Brno. There are large public libraries in all regional and district centers and in all smaller towns. The main libraries are: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Prague, Czech Technical University Libraries, in Prague; the Institute of Macromolecular Chemistry, in Prague; Moravian Library, in Brno; The Municipal Library of Prague; Palacký University Library, in Olomouc; Research Library in Hradec Králové; Research Library in Liberec; the State Research Library of České Budějovice; the State Research Library of Olomouc; the State Research Library of Ústí nad Labem; the State Technical Library, in Prague; the Strahov Monastery, in Prague; and the Technical University of Ostrava.

**LIDICE.** This central Bohemian village, along with Ležáky, was also the victim of Nazi retaliation after the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich by Czechoslovak paratroopers. Presently, it is a national memorial. In June 1942, all 192 male inhabitants of Lidice were shot and 196 women were deported to the Nazi concentration camp.
Ravensbrueck, in north Germany. Of the 105 children, 88 were gassed in the extermination camp Chelmno in Poland. Some of the children were sent for “reeducation” to Germany. The village was burned down and bulldozed by the SS and German Army units. The fate of Lidice evoked indignation around the world. In the United States and other countries, several communities adopted the name of the destroyed village. After the war, a rose garden was created where Lidice had been, and a new village was built nearby with the help of collections in allied countries conducted by a movement called “Lidice Shall Live Again,” launched by British miners.

British Cabinet documents from 1942 released in 2006 showed that Prime Minister Winston Churchill favored the bombing of German villages in retaliation, in a 3:1 ratio for the killings done at Lidice. While discussions included the number of aircraft required for such an operation, other senior members of the Cabinet were concerned at the costs for the British and that the move might provoke further German retaliations. The retaliatory attack was consequently never undertaken. See also “HEYDRICHIADE.”

LIPANY. This village in Central Bohemia, in the Kolín district, is near the place where two main factions of the Hussite movement waged a fratricidal battle in 1434. The more conservative camp led by aristocrats and wealthy Prague burghers favored a compromise with Rome that sacrificed all of the Hussite tenets except communion of both kinds. The Taborites opposed the compromise and defended all Four Articles of Prague of 1420. The Taborites were defeated and their leader, Jan Žižka’s successor Prokop Holý, perished in the battle. In Czech literature, “Lipany” is often used as a warning reference to national disunity. A large panoramic painting of the battle by L. Marold in a pavilion in a park called Hvězda in Prague has drawn thousands of visitors each year since 1898.

LITERATURE (LITERATURA). The earliest Czech literature was written in Church Slavonic, a Slavic language spoken in 9th-century Macedonia and adapted for their purposes by the Greek missionaries Cyrillos and Methodios, sent from Byzantium to Christianize greater Moravia. While Church Slavonic was used in some monasteries
until the 13th century, Latin had started replacing it in the 11th century. The oldest Czech historical chronicle, written by the dean of the Prague diocese Cosmas (1045–1125), was written in Latin. Transliterated into Latin letters, Czech was already being used sporadically, namely in religious hymns. Wider use of literary Czech appeared in the second half of the 13th century and was already well developed in the Luxemburg dynasty era in the 14th and early 15th centuries. In addition to religious texts, secular themes appeared both in prose and poetry. The founding of the Prague University in 1348 had a significant effect on the development of Czech literature. Jan Hus, a professor at the university, is credited with the writing reform that replaced diagraphics and triagraphics with diacritics.

Written communication played an important role in the pre-Husite and Hussite periods. Starting in 1495, Czech was the only permissible language for entries in land and city registers. The arrival of printing in the second half of the 15th century, combined with the climate of relative religious tolerance, led to the apex of older Czech literary history in the 16th century and up to the 1620s. Literature of this period achieved remarkable diversity, including travel books, textbooks, and philosophical studies. The most advanced literary production of this time is connected with the Czech Brethren Church (see EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN). Their most important achievement was the six-volume Bible of Kralice (Bible Kralická), published between 1579 and 1594. This direct translation of the Scriptures had a long-lasting effect on the Czech literary language.

The Counterreformation after 1620 interrupted this advancement of Czech national literature, and only in exile did high-quality works continue to appear for some time, written mainly by Jan Ámos Komenský, Pavel Stránský, and Pavel Skála. Although a Czech Jesuit, Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688) wrote (in Latin) a strong defense of the Czech language in his lifetime, there was no noteworthy literary development until the late 18th century. Germanization was extensive during the Counterreformation, and especially in the 18th century.

When the National Revival arrived at the end of the 18th century, literary Czech was weak and its verbal fund depleted. Because it had been used only marginally for over 150 years, it first required
the reconstruction of its vocabulary. That was largely achieved by Josef Jungmann and his large Czech–German vocabulary, as well as by his masterly translations of John Milton, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and François-René de Chateaubriand. Gradually, on a wide front, Czech literature recovered from the blow that it had suffered during the Counterreformation and regained its full weight in national life. Poetry was particularly important. Since the mid-19th century, political journalism was also assuming its role in public life in spite of heavy censorship, and literary criticism reached European standards before the end of the century. Writers, playwrights, poets, and journalists received great acclaim and prestige for their active role in the National Revival and in the struggles for the renewal of historical rights of the Czech Kingdom.

During World War I, the Czech community of writers displayed much more consistent patriotism than did the Czech political representation in Vienna. A great era of Czech literature arrived with the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918. During the interwar period, translations of the works of Czech authors (Karel Čapek and Jaroslav Hašek) won wide recognition abroad. Literature suffered greatly during the Nazi occupation, with several great writers being killed by the Germans (including Josef Čapek and Vladislav Vančura).

The freedom of creation that returned in 1945 was curbed again after 1948, when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) demanded strict application of its political and ideological precepts. Nevertheless, writers again played a leading role in the opposition to the regime, especially in the 1960s. Presently, Czech literature is a mature and valuable part of world literature in all respects. A Czech poet, Jaroslav Seifert, won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1984. The president of the Czech Republic between 1993 and 2003, Václav Havel, and the former chairman of the parliament from 1992 to 1996, Milan Uhde, are both playwrights.

LITTLE ENTENTE (MALÁ DOHODA). The loose alliance between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania was based on three bilateral treaties of mutual assistance concluded between 1921 and 1922. The system, complemented by alliances with France and by the French–Polish alliance, was seen by French diplomacy as a substitute
for the loss of the pre–World War I Russian connection. The main purpose of the Little Entente was to contain Hungarian revisionism and prevent the possible return of the Habsburgs to the Hungarian throne. The treaty also opened the way to rather close economic cooperation between all three countries. In both these respects, the alliance was successful. Efforts of Czechoslovak diplomacy in the 1930s to turn the combination into a full-fledged allied bloc failed as French influence in Europe was declining and that of Germany was rising. The Little Entente was made irrelevant by the consequences of the Munich Diktat. See also FOREIGN POLICY.

LOCARNO TREATY (LOCARNSKÁ DOHODA). This treaty was signed between Belgium, France, and Germany on 1 December 1925; it guaranteed the Franco–German and Belgo–German borders. The treaty, also called “The Rhine Pact,” provided partial guarantees for the territorial status quo based on the Versailles Treaty with Germany in 1919. Great Britain and Italy pledged to launch punitive actions against any power violating existing borders between France, Germany, and Belgium. The treaty referred only to these borders, not the German–Dutch, German–Austrian, or German–Danish borders, all of which were violated in 1940. The glaring omission in the Locarno pact was, however, the case of the eastern borders of Germany which were based on, in the case of Czechoslovakia, the Treaty of St. Germain. At the insistence of Polish and Czechoslovak diplomacy, Germany simultaneously signed arbitration treaties with these countries that implicitly admitted possible border changes, albeit after “international discussion, agreement, and arbitration.” While Adolf Hitler himself later broke the pact in 1936 and more brutally in 1940, Locarno was a fiasco in Czechoslovak diplomacy and a blow to the country’s security. See also FOREIGN POLICY.

LOEW, RABBI JEHUDA BEN BECALEL MAHARAL (1525–1609). A famous religious leader of the Prague Jewish community, Loew is best known as the creator of the legendary Golem, a robot-like servant made of clay who was given life when a charm (shem in Hebrew) was put in a gap in his forehead. Loew is said to have had to destroy the Golem after it started to act on its own. While
the Golem is a legend, Loew did exist: he wrote several important books that dealt with the role of education, with the place of the Jews among other nations and with the problems of diaspora. Loew lived for some time in Moravia (Mikulov), where he befriended Czech Protestants, particularly the Czech Brethren. Loew’s books show a knowledge and influence of Protestantism. His renaissance tomb can be found at the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague. See also JEWS IN THE CZECH LANDS.

LUSTIG, ARNOŠT (1926– ). A Czech novelist, short story writer, and professor of literature and film at the American University in Washington, D.C., Lustig published a number of novels based on his own experience during World War II, when he was a prisoner in German concentration camps at Theresienstadt, Buchenwald, and Auschwitz. Most of his works have been translated into English and other languages. His best-known novels are Night and Hope (Noc a naděje), Diamonds of the Night (Démanty noci), A Prayer for Kateřina Horowitzova (Modlitba pro Kateřinu Horowitzovou), and Dita Saxová. See also LITERATURE.

LUXEMBURG DYNASTY (LUCEMBURSKÁ DYNASTIE). The Luxemburgs ascended to the Bohemian throne in 1310 when the Czech Estates selected the young son of the duke of Luxemburg, who was then also emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Henry VII, as the Czech king. John I Luxemburg was the first of the Luxemburg line on the Czech throne. He married the last Premyslite Princess Eliška, a union that symbolized the continuity of the old Czech statehood. Their first-born son, Karel, succeeded his father in 1346, being crowned Czech King Karel I. He was also elected emperor as Charles IV (Karel IV), which is the name by which he is known in history books. The third Luxemburg king of Bohemia was his son, Václav IV (1378–1419), also emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1378–1400). After Václav’s death, the Hussite movement did not permit Václav’s brother Sigismund to become Czech king until 1436, when he (and the church) recognized Utraquism as a legitimate faith in the Czech Kingdom. Sigismund died a year later, in 1437. With him the Luxemburg dynasty in Bohemia became extinct. The
Luxemburgs’ rule in Bohemia was mutually beneficial for the Czech Kingdom and for Luxemburg: As emperor, Charles IV raised the status of Luxemburg to Grand Duchy in 1354.

– M –

MÁCHA, KAREL HYNEK (1810–1836). A leading, if controversial, early figure of Czech Romantic poetry, his main work of poetry was entitled Máj (May) and supported societal outsiders. He was forced to pay for its publication personally, and it was received suspiciously and even as un-Czech and sacrilegious but gained critical acclaim posthumously. Maj is generally viewed as the finest lyrical work in the Czech language. Mácha died the day he was to be married, on 6 November 1836, aged 25, from disputed causes that range from cholera to appendicitis to a severe chill caught from extinguishing a fire. His literary importance is recognized in part by his burial with other cultural figures in Slavín Cemetery in Vyšehrad in Prague. See also LITERATURE.

MAFFIE. Also called Česká maffie (Czech Maffia), it was a conspiratorial organization of Czech politicians during World War I, the name of which probably originated after the war. Founded several weeks after Tomáš Masaryk left Austria in December 1914, the group met and agreed on their opposition to further Habsburg domination of the Czech lands and on their support for Masaryk’s external activities. At the beginning, the initiative came from Edvard Beneš, who himself left the country in September 1915. After Beneš’ departure, the group’s main organizer was Přemysl Šámal. Two prominent members of the group, deputies of the Vienna Reichsrat, were arrested in 1915 and sentenced to death for high treason (Karel Kramář and Alois Rašín) in 1916. After the death of Emperor Franz Josef II in November 1916, their sentences were commuted to prison terms, and in 1917, they were both pardoned. The Maffie played a leading role in the formation of the National Committee in October 1918 and in the declaration of a sovereign Czechoslovakia.
MAISEL, MORDECHAI (1528–1601). Leader of the Prague Jewish community at the time of Emperor Rudolf II (1576–1611), he was a wise and politically gifted man. Maisel is believed to have gained free access to and influence at the court of the emperor. He used it to obtain significant concessions for the Jewish community. The emperor limited the monopoly of Christian guilds and allowed Jews to enter new fields of economic activity, namely the artisans’ trades. The main street of the old Jewish Town in Prague is named after Maisel, who is credited with initiatives for constructing a number of historical buildings in the quarter. Maisel’s tomb is situated by the wall of the courtyard of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague.

MALYPETR, JAN (1873–1947). Czechoslovak politician and prime minister, Malypetr, himself a farmer, was a life-long functionary of the Czech Agrarian Party, which he joined in the early 1890s. In 1906, he was elected to the party’s Executive Committee and during the interwar period (1918–1938), he belonged among its several top leaders. A deputy in the Czechoslovak parliament, Malypetr held several ministerial posts and was prime minister during the Great Depression years of 1932–1935 and chairman of the Chamber of Deputies from 1935 until the termination of pre–World War II Czechoslovakia in March 1939.

MARVANOVÁ, HANA (1962–). One of the relatively few prominent women politicians in the Czech Republic and the first to become leader of a political party. She was jailed for several months under Communism for her political activism and in 1989 joined Civic Forum as it challenged the regime during the Velvet Revolution. Marvanová became a member of parliament for the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and then joined the Freedom Union (US) grouping that broke from it. She replaced Karel Kühnl as leader of the Freedom Union in June 2001, beating opponent Vladimír Mlynář. As party leader she oversaw the US’s merger with the Democratic Union. She also served for a few months in 2002 as deputy speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. Marvanová stepped down as party leader in July 2002 to protest the negotiations between her party with the Czech Social Democratic Party and with the Christian Democratic Party.
on the formation of a coalition government. Her resignation caused commotion but ultimately had no effect on the creation of the coalition. She continued as a Freedom Union MP, and criticized aspects of government fiscal policy. Having previously maintained that politics and family life were compatible, in September 2003 she announced that, after the birth of her third child, she was leaving politics to spend more time with her family. Some expected her nevertheless to return to political life again, and she contested a Senate seat already in 2004, albeit unsuccessfully.

MASARYK, JAN (1886–1948). A Czech diplomat and minister of foreign affairs, he was a son of President Tomáš Masaryk and his American wife, Charlotte Garrigue. Jan Masaryk was Czechoslovak ambassador to Great Britain from 1925 until the early post-Munich time in 1938. As a principled opponent of the Western policy of appeasing Hitler, he took an active part in external resistance against the consequences of the Munich Diktat, the break up of Czechoslovakia, and the occupation of the Czech lands by the Germans. He joined President Edvard Beneš in his efforts to regain diplomatic recognition of Czechoslovakia after the formation of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in 1940 and served as its foreign minister from 1940 to 1945. As soon as the Soviet Union changed its friendly policy toward Germany in summer 1941, Masaryk—like Beneš—worked toward a close cooperation with Russia alongside the cooperation with Western allies. He also held the position of deputy prime minister of the London government between 1942 and 1945.

In April 1945, he became minister of foreign affairs in the first Czechoslovak government formed on the liberated territory in Košice, based on the principle of the National Front and a program of far-reaching political, social, and economic changes in postwar Czechoslovakia. He held his post until February 1948 and he also accepted the same position in the government formed by the Communist leader Klement Gottwald after the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, there is no doubt that he disagreed with the installment of the dictatorship of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), and his main reason to stay on in government seems to have been his loyalty to President Beneš. The
night before the new government was to be publicly introduced on 10 March, Masaryk died under unclear circumstances, and ones that were not properly investigated at the time. According to the official announcement, he either threw himself, or fell, from a window of his apartment in the foreign office. Whether his death was voluntary remains contested, and has been reinvestigated since the end of Communism, but without agreement. Without new material evidence, which seems extremely unlikely to be found, it is doubtful that the cause of his death can now be determined.

MASARYK, TOMÁŠ GARRIGUE (THOMAS IN ENGLISH; 1850–1937). Often referred to by Czechs simply by his initials TGM, Masaryk was the chief founder and first president of Czechoslovakia, serving from 1919 to 1935. Born to a poor rural family in Moravia, Masaryk had to overcome great difficulties before his talents and hard work earned him a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Vienna in 1876. He married an American, Charlotte Garrigue, and in 1882 became a professor at the Charles University in Prague.

His academic and literary activities reflected his many-sided interests in philosophy, anthropology, history, sociology, and politics. He edited two significant journals, first Aetheneum and later Čas (Time), and he wrote several studies in which he defined his philosophy of Czech history, which was close to that of František Palacký in emphasizing the Czech Reformation of the 15th century as the apex of the national past. Masaryk highly valued Czech Protestantism and the role of its most prominent representatives, Jan Hus, Petr Chelčický, and Jan Ámos Komenský.

Masaryk exhibited great courage in launching an almost lonely struggle against forgeries of presumably ancient Czech poetry and against clericalism and anti-Semitism. In 1891, he was elected to the Czech diet and to the Vienna Reichsrat for the Young Czech Party. In 1911, Masaryk published his most renowned work, Russia and Europe (called The Spirit of Russia in English), to this day a basic reading for students of Russia worldwide. In 1900 he founded his own party, known as the Realist Party, for which he was reelected to the parliament in 1907.
While he was not a deist in the strict meaning of the word, Masaryk was not an atheist, and he saw faith as an important ethical issue. Politically, he was close to Social Democracy, the party of which his wife was a member. Masaryk favored social reforms and a concern for the workers; as president, especially in the early years of Czechoslovakia, he strove to implement the ideas of social justice. At the same time, Masaryk was critical of some aspects of Marxism, especially the concept of revolutionary class struggle.

Before World War I broke out, Masaryk became a recognized leader of Czech liberal and progressive forces. In 1914, he left the country, and with Edvard Beneš, he founded the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris. Masaryk traveled widely during the war and won support for his cause in Czech and Slovak communities abroad. He also won support of Allied statesmen, particularly Georges Clemenceau and Woodrow Wilson. He organized fighting units known as the Czechoslovak Legions, composed mostly of former Czech and Slovak prisoners of war. After the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in 1918, Masaryk was elected to three consecutive terms as president of Czechoslovakia. He resigned in 1935 at the age of 85 and died two years later. To this day he remains a revered historical personality among Czechs.

MASARYK UNIVERSITY (MASARYKOVA UNIVERZITA—MU). The second-largest university in the Czech Republic, it is located in Brno. Efforts to found a second Czech university in Brno started in the second half of the 19th century but ran into political opposition from the Austrian authorities. The breakup of Austria-Hungary in 1918 and the foundation of Czechoslovakia in October 1918 finally made the project possible. A law establishing the university in Brno was passed by the Czechoslovak National Assembly in January 1919; the new institution was named after Tomáš Masaryk. During the interwar period, the MU was growing steadily, building around the four initial departments created in 1921: Law, Medicine, Arts, and Sciences. The university was closed during the Nazi occupation years from 1939 to 1945 like all other Czech institutions of higher education, and was reopened soon after liberation in 1945.
During the Communist period, between 1948 and 1989, the MU was subject to many-sided ideological and political pressures and twice suffered heavily from purges among the faculty—after 1948 and after 1968. In 1960, the regime even ordered a change in the name of the university because Masaryk was viewed as a “bourgeois” politician unsympathetic to the Soviet system. Between 1960 and 1989, the university bore the name of J. E. Purkyně, a respected 19th-century Czech physiologist. Its original name was restored early in 1990. In spite of the unfavorable political climate during the Communist regime, the MU’s academic achievements were outstanding, especially in medicine, biology, and pediatrics. Presently, the MU has nearly 39,000 students enrolled, a staff of over 2,000 faculty members, and has nine faculties of Law, Medicine, Science, Arts, Education, Economics, Informatics, Social Studies, and Sports Studies.

MEDIA. See PRESS; RADIO AND TELEVISION.

MINORITIES. The transformation in the 20th century of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic in terms of ethnic heterogeneity is remarkable. When Czechoslovakia was created in 1918 it possessed a highly diverse population. Germans numbered some 3 million, outnumbering the Slovaks, and were primarily concentrated in the Czech lands (forming only 4.7 percent of Slovakia’s population). Hundreds of thousands of Jews and Hungarians also lived in the country, as did smaller numbers of Poles, Ruthenians, and Roma. World War II, however, saw a near-total obliteration of the Jews. The postwar Beneš Decrees provided a legal basis for the transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia, so that the number of inhabitants of the Czech Republic now claiming German identity is 39,106, slightly over 1 percent of their pre–World War II population. Many thousands of Hungarians were also expelled from Slovakia. After the war, therefore, Bohemia and Moravia, save for an influx of Roma from Slovakia to be housed in empty German dwellings, had become almost uniformly Czech. (In the 2001 census, 380,474 people declared themselves to be Moravian, rather than Czech).
When the Czech Republic became a separate state on 1 January 1993, Czechs constituted about 95 percent of the population. Slovaks numbered 193,190 or about 2 to 3 percent, although many of them were settled in the Czech lands on account of employment with federal bodies, and no significant Slovak minority issues have arisen in the Czech Republic. The other main minority is the Roma. Although self-identification as Roma on the census puts their numbers at only 11,746, their numbers are estimated at between 250,000 and 300,000.

Still smaller numbers of minorities include Poles, who, by the last census are 51,968 and are concentrated in the northeast, adjacent to Poland; and Ukrainians, at 22,112 people. The Czech Republic’s main non-European minority is Vietnamese, at 17,462, some of whom remain from when their country and Czechoslovakia were socialist allies and the latter trained some of its students. Many Vietnamese are now involved in shopkeeping and trading, which Czech media report favorably as providing an important service to the Czech public.

The Czech Republic has the world’s highest proportionate number of resident foreigners, many coming from North America and Western Europe.

MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM. Arguably one of the most controversial aspects of the Czech Republic’s security and foreign policy has been fulfilling the request of the United States, dating from 2006, to install a radar system on Czech territory. The radar would be part of a larger system in which antiballistic missiles would be placed in neighboring Poland. The U.S. government argued that the system was essential to deter rogue regimes with potential or actual nuclear weapons, widely understood to be Iran and North Korea. Considerable Czech opposition emerged to the plan, in part because its implications, including any environmental ones, were said not to have been sufficiently explained to the public. Domestic opposition is also partly rooted in historically based fears of Czech foreign policy being tied into that of a larger country or of having foreign troops stationed on Czech soil. In November 2008, however, former president Václav
Havel said that he could not understand Czech opposition to the proposal and that the United States had selflessly helped Czechs in the past. Opposition also came from the Russian government, which repeatedly asserted that the system was targeted against Russia, which all governments involved, as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, have denied. The agreement included a provision, welcomed as a partial victory by some Czech opponents, that limited the presence of American military personnel in the Czech Republic strictly to the radar facility.

The protocols to permit the installation of the radar system in the Czech Republic were signed by U.S. Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, and Czech Foreign Minister, Karel Schwarzenberg, in Prague on 8 July 2008, although the agreement still required the approval of parliament. At the time of signing, the technical aspects of the system also remained to be fully developed. Nevertheless, in November 2008 the Russian government took the concrete measure of stationing short-range, mobile Iskander missiles in Kaliningrad oblast between Poland and Lithuania. Lithuania’s president denounced that move as “beyond comprehension,” and Schwarzenberg called it “unfortunate.” Czech agreement to the missile system was seen by some as a means to encourage the U.S. government finally to consent to the standing Czech demand that a visa-waiver policy be granted to Czech citizens traveling to the United States, a measure also granted in 2008.

MORAVIA (MORAVA). A historical Czech land, it forms the eastern part of the Czech Republic, covering 26,800 square kilometers (10,338 square miles), with 4,010,143 inhabitants as of 1991. Moravia is bordered in the west by Bohemia, in the north by Poland (Polish Silesia), in the east by Slovakia, and in the south by Austria. The northern districts of Moravia are the remainder of formerly Czech Silesia (until 1742). Central and southern Moravia is a fertile valley drained by the Morava River and its tributaries.

Modern Moravia is highly industrialized and has diversified mineral resources that include coal, lignite, iron, etc. The largest city in Moravia is Brno (400,000 inhabitants), a center of the machine-
building and textile industries. Ostrava, in the north, is the Czech Republic’s largest center of the iron and steel industry. The central Moravian city Olomouc is the seat of the Moravian archbishopric. Zlín, in southeastern Moravia, is the center of the Czech shoe industry, founded by the Tomáš Baťa family in 1894.

Moravia, like Bohemia, is inhabited by the Czechs. Dialectical differences are insignificant, but culturally the land has its specificities, particularly in music.

Moravia and parts of Slovakia were the center of the Sámo Empire in the 7th century, and of the Great Moravian Empire in the ninth and early 10th centuries. Bohemia was also part of this state that was shattered by the Hungarian invasion in the 10th century. In the early 11th century, Moravia became a border region of the Holy Roman Empire and a hereditary Premyslite duchy that was divided into three domains (Brno, Olomouc, and Znojmo). Raised to an archduchy in 1182, Moravia became a Bohemian crown land with its own diet. Separated from Bohemia several times, namely, during the 15th century, it became part of the Habsburg domain in 1526 when Ferdinand I was elected king of Bohemia. Generally less opposed to the Habsburgs’ centralizing policies than Bohemia was in the developments leading to the Czech Estates’ revolt between 1618 and 1620, Moravia also enjoyed more religious tolerance in those times, even seeing growth of Protestantism. In 1627, seven years after the defeat of the anti-Habsburg rebellion of the Czech Estates, the Moravian diet, like the Czech one, lost all effective power. Moravia was subject to even heavier Germanization than Bohemia was over the centuries, especially in large cities like Brno. The Habsburgs made an attempt to cut off Moravia from the Czech crown by making it their separate crown land in 1849, following the defeat of the revolutions of 1848. Politically, Moravia benefited less than Bohemia from the reforms in Cisleithania after 1867.

In 1918, Moravia was incorporated into Czechoslovakia, and in 1928, as the Moravian-Silesian Land (Země Moravskoslezská), it became one of three main constituting provinces of the republic (Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, and Slovakia). Territorially truncated after the Munich Diktat, the country became part of the Protectorate of
Bohemia and Moravia until 1945. Moravia’s status as an administrative unit was canceled in 1949 when the Communist government abolished the prewar administrative system to strengthen centralization. Attempts to revive the political distinctiveness of Moravia failed in 1968 when Czechoslovakia was federalized. Instead, it became a part of the Czech (Socialist) Republic by 1 January 1969. After the fall of Communism in 1989, new efforts were launched in Moravia to return to its historical status, but the movement won only marginal support. When Czechoslovakia broke up in 1992, Moravia remained a part of the Czech Republic. The number of people who declared themselves to be “Moravian” in the 2001 census was 380,474. See also MINORITIES.

MOSCOW PROTOCOL 1968 (MOSKEVSKÝ PROTOKOL 1968). Officially called a protocol, this set of demands were imposed on the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) in Moscow after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. During the night of the invasion (20–21 August), Soviet paratroopers seized the building of the KSC Central Committee in downtown Prague and arrested five leading proreform members of the KSC Politburo, namely, Alexander Dubček, Josef Smrkovský, František Kriegel, Bohumil Šimon, and Josef Špaček. A sixth person, Prime Minister Oldřich Černík, was arrested in his government office. All six were taken to the Prague airport under heavy guard and later flown to remote military airports in southern Poland and Sub-Carpathian Ukraine.

The original Soviet plan apparently was to put them on trial before a “revolutionary tribunal” and shoot them, similar to what had happened to Hungarian leaders in 1956, but the Soviets failed to form a new government in Prague, ran into general passive resistance, and had to change plans. On 23 August, all six kidnapped men were flown to Moscow and brought into the Kremlin for “negotiations.” Leonid Brezhnev and his Politburo decided to force them to reinstall a loyal regime themselves, under constant pressure from the forces of occupation. Other KSC leaders were also brought to Moscow to take part in this negotiation, notably President Ludvík Svoboda. This group included traitors who had cooperated with the Soviets in
preparing the coup: Antonín Kapek, Vasil Bílak, Miloš Jakeš, Alois Indra, Oldřich Švestka, and Drahomír Kolder. The whole Soviet Politburo was taking part in long, intimidating talks.

Two members of the Czechoslovak leadership refused to participate—Dubček and Kriegel. Dubček gave in only in the last hours, while Kriegel remained adamant in his refusal to take part in the affair. The Soviets presented a draft document, which the Czechoslovak leadership was commanded to accept and sign. It was a list of commitments that equaled complete departure from all reforms accomplished in Czechoslovakia during the Prague Spring of 1968. It also demanded that the presence of occupation forces be “legalized” by an additional treaty; that traitors would not be punished, but kept in their official positions; that proreform officials, particularly in the media, the army, and the security forces, would be removed; and that censorship would be reestablished. One clause demanded that the KSC leadership confirm the Soviet thesis that the reforms in Czechoslovakia were of a counterrevolutionary nature, which, in Soviet thinking, justified the invasion.

Most of the Czechoslovak representatives were prepared to sign some document as a way of avoiding mass bloodshed at home, and some of them, namely, Josef Smrkovský, made great efforts to have the document changed in their favor in some respects at least. They succeeded only partially, namely, in their rejection of legitimizing the invasion by admitting the existence of counterrevolution. They also managed to have the language of the document altered to make it vaguer and, presumably, less binding. This meant very little in the long run, and the final text was still a disaster.

The Protocol that the Czechoslovak leaders (except Kriegel) signed on 27 August had 17 points, one of which declared the document itself to be secret. The text was written in the perverse Orwellian style typical of Soviet political practice and it largely committed the KSC leadership to gradually suppressing all the reforms achieved between January and August 1968. Nevertheless, it still took another eight months before the Soviets managed to completely strangle the reforms and to install a new team of collaborators, headed by Gustáv Husák, fully willing to govern the
country according to Soviet demands. The Moscow Protocol was not published in Czechoslovakia until 1989.

**MUCHA, ALFONS (1860–1939).** This great Czech painter and illustrator is best known for his Sarah Bernhardt posters created in Paris, although he also engaged in a very wide range of artistic forms and designs, including for jewelry, carpets, and theater sets. The first stamps of the Czechoslovak Republic after 1918 bore Mucha’s drawings. *See also* ART.

**MUNICH DIKTAT (MNICHOVSKÝ DIKTÁT).** This document was the outcome of the Munich Conference in September 1938, according to which Czechoslovakia (CSR) had to either surrender large territories to Germany or face a Nazi military onslaught without any help from its ally France, or from Britain, France’s ally.

Even before Germany annexed Austria in March 1938, a plan to destroy Czechoslovakia had been prepared by the German High Command as early as June 1937; code named Case Green (*Fall Grün* in German), the plan was formalized in directives issued to the chiefs of the German army, navy, and air force in November 1937. After the Anschluss with Austria, which met no opposition from Paris and London, Adolf Hitler’s campaign against the CSR accelerated. A crucial role was played by the Sudeten-German Party (SdP), the largest German party in Czechoslovakia, whose leader, Konrad Henlein, had been on the payroll of the German embassy in Prague since 1935. On 28 March 1938, Henlein was summoned to Berlin, where he received instructions to make “demands unacceptable to the Czech government.”

On 30 May 1938, Hitler approved the final version of Case Green, which set the date for the invasion of the CSR—1 October. In agreement with this plan, Berlin started to openly support the demands of the SdP, as well as their subversive activities inside Czechoslovakia. The SdP rejected all concessions offered by the Czechoslovak government, including autonomy within the state. It now demanded full secession, embodied in its slogan Heim ins Reich, meaning “Home in the (German) Empire.”
In late summer 1938, the crisis reached its climax. The British, and less willingly, the French, decided to carry on their appeasement course, and British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain went twice to see Hitler in Germany to negotiate a peaceful solution. That decision implied the abandonment of Czechoslovakia and obliging it to give Hitler, without a fight, what he threatened to get by force. The CSR resisted; it mobilized and was ready to defend itself. A few days before Germany was to launch its invasion, Benito Mussolini’s initiative led to a conference in Munich between Italy, Germany, France, and Britain on 29–30 September 1938. No other countries were invited—not even Czechoslovakia. The conference accepted Hitler’s demands, and the CSR was ordered to start withdrawing immediately from the territories that Germany demanded.

Deserted by its main ally, France, and doubtful about Soviet intentions, the CSR government reluctantly accepted the diktat. Within two weeks, the Germans had occupied more than one-third of the territory of Bohemia and Moravia, from which they expelled some 800,000 Czechs. Munich was followed by other Czechoslovak territorial losses—namely to Poland and Hungary; altogether, the CSR lost over 25,000 square kilometers (almost 16,000 square miles) of territory and 4.9 million inhabitants. The rest of the republic was destroyed less than six months later, despite the guarantees it had received in Munich from France and Great Britain.

The outcome of this conference was the ultimate act of appeasement vis-à-vis the aggressive acts of Axis powers in the 1930s. For the Czechs, Munich was the most traumatic national experience in modern times, comparable only to the Soviet occupation of the country in 1968.

**MUSIC (HUDBA).** Until the 13th century, Christian religious singing was the main musical form to succeed earlier pre-Christian popular forms. French–German lyricists (minnesinger) performed at the Premyslite court in the 13th century. During the Luxemburg period, French forms were more common, and the first independent Czech composers also emerged. Popular hymns of the Hussite period were genuinely domestic. The Czech Brethren further developed this
tradition. One of their bishops, Jan Blahoslav (1523–1571), translator of the New Testament, was also a composer and the first Czech musical theoretician.

Parallel to that development, instrumental music was played for the aristocracy. In some castles, permanent musical bands were founded. The Renaissance brought new musical composition, especially vocal polyphony, where multiple voices in different tones sang in an organically harmonized chorus. Baroque music, developed by teachers and a growing number of native composers, prevailed from the 17th to mid-18th century. Each generation of musicians trained the next. Czech composers started to take part in the development of European music in the classicist last decades of the 18th century: Jan Mysliveček (1737–1781), believed to be the forerunner of Mozart, was known in Italy as the *divino Boemo*, “divine Bohemia.”

National specificity in Czech music prevailed entirely during the first half of the 19th century. The greatest representatives of Czech composers of the time were Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884), Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904), and Zdeněk Fibich (1850–1900). All later Czech music has continued to build on this tradition. Oskar Nedbal (1874–1930), J. B. Foerster (1859–1951), and Leoš Janáček (1854–1928) were some of the great Czech composers of this later generation. What is also often considered the world’s most popular song, and which U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower said helped to win World War II, is the “Beer Barrel Polka”—of Czech origin.

In Communist times, the playing of rock music, both indigenous and Western, either was, or became, a form of protest when the regime refused to allow any such expressions of diversity in public. One of the leading cases of persecution conducted by the Communist regime was against the group “Plastic People of the Universe,” whose members received jail sentences in the mid-1970s, and whose Canadian supporter Paul Wilson, resident in Czechoslovakia, was deported. These judicial punishments helped to encourage the formation of the foundational dissident document Charter 77. Foreign rock musicians, such as Frank Zappa, became friends and supporters of the persecuted dissidents, and were welcomed as guests when Václav Havel became Czechoslovak president after the Velvet Revolution. One of the most moving moments during that revolution was
when Marta Kubišová, banned from public performances since the crushing of the Prague Spring of 1968, sang to the demonstrating crowds. The Czech rock singer Michael Kocáb became a parliamentarian and oversaw the negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia following the military intervention that ended the Prague Spring of 1968.

After the fall of Communism the availability of music diversified fully. Even with this full range of global choice and freedom, public opinion polls find Czech singer Karel Gott to be the country’s most popular singer. See also CZECH PHILHARMONIC; NATIONAL ANTHEM.

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NATIONAL ANTHEM. The Czech national anthem is “Kde domov můj” (“Where Is My Home”), the text of which was written by Josef Kajetán Tyl and the music composed by František Škroup. It was first played publicly on 21 December 1834 as part of a performance of Tyl’s best-known play, Fidlovačka, in the Estates Theater in Prague. When Czechoslovakia came into existence in 1918 the Slovak song “Nad Tatrou sa blýska” (“Storm over the Tatras”) was added; an official German version was also introduced during the interwar period. The Slovak section was dropped from the anthem when Czechoslovakia ceased to exist on 1 January 1993, with the original version of “Kde domov můj” becoming the anthem of the independent Czech state. In September 2008 Prime Minister Miroslav Topolánek said that the anthem needed modernizing, and four revised versions were introduced to the public. The extremely popular “Ma vlast” (“My Country”) by Bedřich Smetana has often been considered the unofficial Czech national anthem.

NATIONAL FRONT (NÁRODNÍ FRONTA—NF). The full name of this organization was National Front of Czechs and Slovaks (Národní fronta Čechů a Slováků). It was a closed political block of parties of the left, with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) playing the dominant role, between 1945 and 1948. The origin of
the concept of the National Front can be traced to the discussions of President Edvard Beneš with the leadership of the KSC in Moscow in December 1943. The main idea behind the project appears to have been the exclusion from the postwar political field of the largest of the prewar parties, the Agrarians. In March 1945, during further discussion on the subject of the political system in Czechoslovakia after liberation, an agreement was reached between the KSC, Social Democracy (see CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY), the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, People’s Party, and delegates of the Slovak National Council that only eight political parties would be permitted in postwar Czechoslovakia. Of these parties, four would function in the Czech lands and originally two, and then from 1946, four in Slovakia. These forces decided to found a bloc, the NF, that would carry out a mutually agreed-on program, later known as the Košice Government Program (so named because it was promulgated in the city of Košice, in eastern Slovakia, in April 1945).

In organizational terms, there was one Czech and one Slovak National Front, which formed a joint leadership. The Communists were effectively represented in the bloc by two parties, the KSC and the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS), which was “a collective member” of the KSC. The parties of the National Front entered an otherwise largely free political competition that was manifested in the elections of 1946. Differentiation developed soon after these elections, from which the KSC emerged as the strongest political party.

The NF ceased to exist de facto after February 1948, when the KSC assumed complete control of the government. On the ruins of the old bloc, the KSC created a formal successor organization called Revived National Front (Obrozená Národní fronta) in which the other political parties were represented by leaders appointed by the KSC. This “front” delimited the outer framework within which the KSC leadership made all decisions, and this situation was maintained until the Velvet Revolution in 1989.

NATIONAL GALLERY (NÁRODNÍ GALERIE). The largest art collection in the Czech Republic, it has been put together gradually ever since its modest beginnings in the first half of the 19th century. The initial concept of the gallery was a permanent exhibition of the
most important works of Czech painters, with the main focus on national history. The city of Prague played an important role in the initiatives toward the realization of the project, which resulted in the foundation of several institutions—forerunners of the gallery itself. The most important of them was The Art Gallery of the Society of Patriotic Friends of Arts (Obrazárna Společnosti vlasteneckých přátel umění) which was acquired by the state in 1937 under a new name, State Collection of Old Art (Státní sbírka starého umění).

The Modern Gallery of the Kingdom of Bohemia, founded in 1902, became the central art museum of the new Czechoslovak state in 1918. However, the efforts to unify these public collections into one body in the prewar period failed, and it was only during the Nazi occupation, in 1942, that the authorities of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia combined them into the Czech-Moravian Provincial Gallery; that, de facto, was the beginning of the National Gallery. Officially, it was established during the early stage of the Communist era, in 1949, by the Law on National Gallery.

The gallery has never had one place where it could gather and display its collections. After several unsuccessful attempts to win the state’s support for the idea of the gallery’s own central building, the concept of a decentralized structure was the inevitable alternative. The main holdings, however, are located in the Veletržní Palác.

**NATIONAL MUSEUM (NÁRODNÍ MUSEUM).** This structure is the dominant neo-Renaissance building at the upper end of the Wenceslaus Square (Václavské náměstí) in Prague. The National Museum was built between 1885 and 1890 where the 14th-century Horse Gate (Koněská brána) used to stand. The establishment of a national museum was a goal that had been pursued by Czech patriots since 1820, when they founded the National Museum Society. While various collections were gathered for many years and kept in several places, František Palacký, a Czech national leader and secretary of the Society, proposed in 1841 that the idea behind the museum should be a scientific representation of the Czech lands. That has been the main mission of the museum since 1890, when its construction was completed at the cost of 2 million Austrian guldens, gathered entirely by public collections. In 1968, during the Soviet
invasion, the front of the building was badly damaged by machine gun fire from Soviet tanks.

**NATIONAL REVIVAL (NÁRODNÍ OBROZENÍ).** Initially called “national rebirth,” it was a period of Czech history covering the last decades of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th. A byproduct of the disintegration of the feudal society in the era of the Enlightenment, a process was launched to overcome the consequences of almost 200 years of national humiliation during the Counterreformation. The historicism of early patriotic teachers, priests, and scientists emphasized the glorious centuries of Czech history before the “age of darkness” that followed the defeat of the Czech Estates in 1620. The revival of the Czech literary language was the next task. This language had bloomed in the 16th century, but since then it was significantly weakened and decayed by long-lasting censorship and the burning of thousands of old books written mostly in the Protestant spirit. The literature of the Counterreformation era was written almost exclusively in Latin, and, later, in German. The Germanization of the 18th century was particularly damaging.

The task of rescuing the Czech literary language was undertaken by a whole generation of scientists whose main representative was *Josef Jungmann*. His primary work was his five-volume Czech–German Dictionary, published between 1835 and 1839. With his dictionary, Jungmann put the Czech language on an equal footing with German. He systematically renewed the surviving verbal fund of the language and introduced hundreds of new terms, borrowed from Polish, Russian, and Slovak, to replace words that had died out during a long time of neglect. This achievement laid the foundations for the revival of national literature, including scientific literature, as well as journalism, theater, and political communication. The National Revival was many sided, leading to the rise of a modern “political nation” by the time of the European revolutions of 1848.

Both the suppression of the Czech language and culture during the Counterreformation and the 19th-century self-identification of the Czechs on the basis of their language undermined the older concept of Bohemia, where loyalty to the land had stood above ethnicity. An inevitable process that was taking place in the whole
of Europe, the Czech National Revival had both positive and negative historical aspects.

**NATIONAL THEATER (NÁRODNÍ DÍVADLO).** Believed to be the most beautiful work of Czech architecture of the 19th century, this theater was built in the style of the north Italian late Renaissance on the right bank of the Vltava River in downtown Prague between 1868 and 1881. It was devised by Josef Zítek of the Czech Technical University. Financed entirely from gifts and public collections, the National Theater became a symbol of national cultural revival and maturity. After it was temporarily opened in 1881, the interior of the building was destroyed by fire and had to be restored. The interior decoration was the work of the best Czech painters and sculptors of their time. A gala opening was held in 1883 with a performance of the opera *Libuše*, composed by Bedřich Smetana.

**NATIONALIZATION (ZNÁRODNĚNÍ).** This term specifies the transfer of private property to public ownership. After World War II, nationalization was carried out in two main waves, first by the decree of President Edvard Beneš, issued on 24 October 1945, and second by laws of the National Assembly on 28 April 1948. The decision to nationalize principal sectors of the economy after the liberation from German occupation was adopted during negotiations between President Beneš, representatives of the London government-in-exile, and representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) in March 1945. It was embodied in the first program of the National Front, which was then promulgated by the new government in Košice, Slovakia, in April 1945.

Going further than the nationalizations in France, Italy, and Great Britain that were also taking place at that time, the Czechoslovak nationalization included key industries and mines, private banks and insurance institutions, and the food industry—basically all enterprises with more than 500 employees. Two-thirds of the Czechoslovak economy was nationalized, altogether more than 3,000 enterprises and institutions. The second nationalization was carried out after the Communist coup in February 1948. The nationalization laws adopted by the National Assembly in April 1948 covered
wholesale trade, foreign trade, and the construction industry: generally all enterprises with more than 50 employees.

In the 1950s, practically all private enterprises, including private farming, were replaced with different forms of ownership and management—state controlled, communal, and cooperative. The whole economy was directed by Soviet-modeled five-year plans. Although some popular support existed initially for experimenting with socialist nationalization and planning, the system proved inflexible and ineffective; by some accounts, it was a failure from the beginning. Ideological rigidity throughout Communist rule meant that any serious revision was impossible; the end of nationalization could only come with the reprivatization and remarketization policies launched as central features of the post-Communist transformation.

Legally, nationalized property was never state property but rather public property of which the state (the government) was only a custodian. Since establishing its dictatorship in 1948, the KSC acted as the owner of the nationalized property de facto until 1989, but it took no steps to change this legal status. This situation caused a legislative problem after 1989, and to make privatization legal, the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly had to declare nationalized property to be state property by a law adopted in April 1990.

**NĚMCOVÁ, BOŽENA (1820–1862).** Iconic Czech author, considered the greatest Czech female writer and the mother of Czech prose. The date of her birth is taken to be 4 February 1820, although it may have been as early as 1817. Despite poor health and a long but arduous marriage, she wrote extensively in her lifetime and is considered to have captured Czech folkloric values in her works. As Karen Johnson Freeze has noted, Němcová was also considered to be the first Czech woman to have overtly referred to herself as a “feminist.” Němcová’s most famous work is Babička (The Grandmother); written in 1855, it was based on her underprivileged childhood in the 1820s, being raised by her grandmother in a village in the northeastern Czech lands. That work became well-known among Czechs even in her life and became part of the 19th-century Czech cultural renaissance. It remains a national classic today and is taught in the national cur-
riculum. While it has been translated into some 30 languages, much of her other work remains unknown abroad. A museum of her life and work was opened in Česká Skalice; she is buried in Slavín Cemetery and her statute stands in Karlovo Naměstí (Charles Square) in Prague. See also LITERATURE.

NERUDA, JAN (1834–1891). Leading Czech writer and poet who was born on 9 July 1834 in Prague and whose childhood experience informed his famous Povídky malostranské (Tales from the Lesser Quarter), first published in 1877. His work forms a central part of “Czech realism” and he was a member of the “May School,” and contributed to the Czech national renaissance. Following his death on 22 August 1891, he was buried in the national cemetery at Slavín Cemetery. Chilean poet Neftalí Ricardo Reyes Basoalto, who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1971, took the name Pablo Neruda in Neruda’s memory. A street in Prague’s Malá Strana leading up to the Hradčany bears his name. See also LITERATURE.

NEW POLITICAL ORDER OF THE LAND, 1627 (OBNOVENÉ ZŘÍZENÍ ZEMSKÉ, 1627). This decree was imposed upon Bohemia by Emperor Ferdinand II in the aftermath of the defeat of the rebellion of the Czech Estates in 1620. Before the imposition of this edict, Bohemia was a constituent Habsburg kingdom. The power of the Czech diet vis-à-vis the ruler was much greater than in the hereditary Habsburg lands, and was clearly separated from the imperial administration. The rights of the Czech Estates were embodied in a number of documents, of which the most weighty was the Golden Bull of Charles IV of 1356.

Like Ferdinand I in 1526, his successors had to submit themselves to the electoral procedure of the Czech Estates before they could be crowned in St. Vitus Cathedral in the Prague Castle complex. The king had to recognize a number of rights and privileges of the Estates, including their right to elect (approve) the ruler’s successor. The selection of the king’s appointees to offices in the kingdom was restricted to natives, which included the office of the regent in case of the ruler’s absence from Bohemia.
The New Political Order of 1627 changed all that. Bohemia was demoted to an imperial crown land. The Czech Estates lost their basic political rights and privileges, and the status of the Czech diet was reduced to that of an insignificant consultative body; only its approval of tax collection in the kingdom was retained. The main administration of the kingdom was moved to Vienna, and the regent was not responsible to the Czech diet anymore, but only to the king/empperor. In essential respects, these oppressive measures remained in effect—regarding the status of the Czech Kingdom within the Habsburg Empire—until 1918. Czech history books view the system imposed in 1627 as a national tragedy.

NOMENKLATURA SYSTEM (NOMENKLATURNÍ SYSTÉM). This method of political control developed in Soviet Russia in the 1920s and 1930s and was imposed on the countries of the Soviet bloc after World War II. In Czechoslovakia, the system was put in place in the 1950s and was maintained until November 1989; it was only temporarily weakened during the period of the Prague Spring of 1968. The system, which has been described in great detail in a number of academic works, consists first of a list of official positions that may be occupied only by a selected group of trustworthy members of the Communist Party. Like other ruling Communist parties, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) maintained several registers of these positions and the persons eligible to hold them, divided into several levels (central, regional, district, and local). Most important was the register of the “central nomenklatura” (ústřední nomenklatura) covering top offices in the country, especially at the highest levels of the party, security services, and army. Some positions in this category were also part of the Moscow nomenklatura (moskevská nomenklatura), meaning that they could be filled only with the consent of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. While the system proved very effective in maintaining political and ideological control, it also became one of the reasons that Communism decayed so irreversibly; Nomenklatura rules prevented the rise of intelligent and capable people in all fields of public life. The system was dismantled immediately after the fall of Communism in the Velvet Revolution of 1989.
“NORMALIZATION” (NORMALIZACE). This was the Soviet term for the period after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. After the return of Alexander Dubček and other KSC leaders from Moscow on 27 August 1968, the Soviets insisted that the conditions that they had imposed on them in the Moscow Protocol be carried out. During the first weeks, when all larger cities and towns were still physically occupied by Soviet armed forces, they removed proreform officials from the radio and television, Czechoslovak Army, security services, and diplomatic personnel. They also forced the government to establish a new censorship office, while some print media were completely closed down. In October, under the threat of armed terror against the population, they forced the Czechoslovak parliament to accept a treaty that formally legitimized the occupation (see OCCUPATION TREATY OF 1968).

The Soviets’ chief method of gradual suppression of all reforms of the Prague Spring was the gradual removal of reformers from all key positions in the administration and their replacement by traitors. They managed to recruit thousands of people for these jobs. The Soviets also made full use of the existing disagreements between the Slovaks and the Czechs, permitting the realization of Slovak autonomy as the only significant achievement of the Prague Spring not to be inhibited by the occupation. This autonomy, of course, was meaningless under the conditions of occupation of the whole country. Along these lines, the Soviets managed to undermine, step by step, the positions of reformers in the upper KSC and government structures, a process that took eight months. Finally, in April 1968, they disposed of Dubček and his closest allies and put in charge of the occupied country Gustáv Husák, a Slovak Communist politician willing to serve them unconditionally.

The term “normalization” was a typical newspeak word of the Communist world, the real meaning of which was quite the opposite. In 1969, the Husák regime made an attempt to introduce a new term, “consolidation,” but in popular usage the whole era of Soviet occupation continued to be termed “normalization,” with all its ironic undertones. The practical impact of normalization on both the party and on wider society was substantial. Hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file party members, people who could not have had any
influential role in initiating the Prague Spring, were nevertheless expelled from, or voluntary left, the party. With loss of party membership came the forfeit of social and economic privilege, such as access for one’s children to higher education. Although normalization cowed the population into submission, the regime never trusted the reconstituted party or wider society. In addition, the expulsion of some leading figures from the party and their marginalization in society inadvertently provided another important dimension to the dissident movement that would coalesce in the 1970s. Normalization ultimately proved a profound failure.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). This American-led military alliance was established in 1949 to provide collective defense to its members, at that time all bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, against the Soviet Union which had succeeded in securing full control over Eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia. Following the collapse of Communism in 1989, NATO began debating modifications to its role. Its first institutional change toward post-Communist countries, including the then-Czechoslovakia, was the establishment in 1991 of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which created formal links between governments. The post-Communist Czechoslovak government, while having several ideas for European security in its foreign policy, quickly realized that only full membership of NATO would offer it the full security guarantee that it began to seek, not least as insecurities continued to emanate from the Soviet Union in 1991. Nevertheless, neither NATO nor the European Community made any immediate overtures regarding accession possibilities. Still, NATO recognized the personal standing of Czechoslovak President Václav Havel and invited him to be the first head of state of a post-Communist country to address the North Atlantic Council, which he did on 21 March 1991. Havel became a leading advocate of ensuring that Western institutions did not make former socialist states “second-class” countries in Europe. The Czech leadership used Visegrád cooperation to advocate full NATO membership for its members, and Havel and other Central European leaders seized the opportunity of meeting individually with United States President Bill Clinton for the opening of the
Holocaust Memorial in Washington in April 1993 to impress on him their desire to join NATO.

NATO as a whole responded to changes in European security by launching Partnership for Peace (PfP) in January 1994, which was offered to almost all post-Communist countries, including the Russian Federation. PfP offered various forms of military cooperation but which did not imply any guarantees of future membership. Indeed, the Central European governments responded that PfP dangerously risked being a substitute for membership. While NATO as a whole may still have been hesitant about enlargement, the Clinton administration embraced the principle: Clinton himself declared in Prague on 12 January 1994, standing with Havel and the presidents of Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, that membership was not a question of “whether but when.” Even so, the terms and timetable for membership remained undetermined, and opposition to enlargement in U.S. political circles and within NATO, as well as from Russia, remained.

The Czech Republic, along with its neighbors, was nevertheless intent on demonstrating its capacity as an ally. The Czech armed forces made a point of contributing to United Nations peacekeeping as well as partaking substantially in the NATO-led peacekeeping operations in Bosnia to demonstrate its willingness and ability to interact with NATO command structures. At NATO’s Madrid Summit of 1997 the Czech Republic, along with Hungary and Poland, was invited to join NATO. Czech Foreign Minister Jan Kavan signed the protocols of accession on 12 March 1999, along with his Hungarian and Polish counterparts, at the Truman Library in Independence, Missouri. The Czechoslovak-born U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, an important American advocate of NATO enlargement, oversaw the ceremony.

But just as the Czech Republic entered NATO, NATO embarked on a war against Serbia over Kosovo. The campaign was deeply controversial in Czech society, with several leading Czech figures opposing it. The Czech Republic nevertheless contributed to and facilitated some of NATO’s operations and then assigned soldiers to Kosovo Force (KFOR), the NATO-run postconflict peace-implementation force. Czech troops also participate in the NATO-run International
Stabilization Force in Afghanistan. Despite hesitations among some European members of NATO, NATO supported American plans to install a radar system in the Czech Republic as part of a missile defense system. While the Czech Republic spends less on defense than the NATO average, the Czech Ministry of Defense officially reports that the country meets its commitments to NATO. Czech forces contribute to NATO’s Response Force, and in the 2006–2008 framework of NATO defense planning, Prague assigned to NATO the use of a mechanized battalion, a chemical protection company, a special forces company, a mobile unit that includes the sophisticated and Czech-invented VERA Passive Surveillance System of radar, a field hospital, and two JAS-39 Gripen supersonic fighter aircraft and four Mi-17/171 helicopters.

NOVOTNÝ, ANTONÍN (1904–1975). He served as first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) from 1953 to 1968 and as Czechoslovak president from 1957 to 1968. Born in a worker’s family in an industrial suburb of Prague, Novotný received only basic education and was trained as a turner. He joined the KSC at the age of 17 and became a paid party worker in 1929 after the KSC was bolshevizied under the pressure of the Comintern. When the KSC was declared illegal after the Munich Diktat in 1938, Novotný held the rank of regional party secretary. Between 1941 and 1945, he was a prisoner in the Nazi concentration camp at Mauthausen.

A member of the KSC Central Committee from 1946, Novotný benefited from the purge of the party old guard that lasted from 1951 to 1954. He became first secretary in 1953 following the death of Klement Gottwald. In 1957, he also took over the office of the state president. Novotný was removed from his position as first secretary in January 1968, and his fall made way for the Prague Spring of 1968. He was forced to resign as president in April the same year. In the last years of his life he remained politically inactive. Novotný’s rise in the early 1950s resulted from the abnormal political circumstances of that time, when his lack of education and mediocre personality became political assets. He was a conservative Stalinist and he opposed reforms until his fall, which he confirms in his unpublished
memoirs. For years, however, he also resisted Soviet demands to allow Soviet troops to be stationed permanently in Czechoslovakia.

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OCCUPATION TREATY OF 1968 (OKUPAČNÍ SMLOUVA 1968). This treaty was imposed on Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union in October 1968 in an effort to legitimize the presence of Soviet armed forces on the Czechoslovak territory. Several weeks after the invasion of Czechoslovakia and after the signing of the Moscow Protocol, the Soviets were dissatisfied with the speed with which the leadership of Alexander Dubček was carrying out its presumed commitments. One of the points that was highly embarrassing for the Soviets before the international community was the fact that Czechoslovakia had not, in any way, expressed any consent to the presence of Soviet troops on its territory. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) declaration of 21 August 1968, had—on the contrary—defined the invasion as illegal. Under these circumstances, Moscow needed to legitimize its aggression somehow, since it was already embodied in the Moscow Protocol. In mid-October 1968, this issue received priority from the Soviet Politburo, and Prime Minister Aleksei Kosygin and Minister of Defense Andrei Grechko were dispatched to Prague with strict instructions to extort a formal treaty to that effect and to use heavy-handed intimidation to suppress any Czechoslovak resistance.

First they bent President Ludvík Svoboda, whose will to resist had obviously ended with the signing of the Moscow Protocol. Dubček and his allies followed, later arguing that they took seriously the Soviet threats of widespread terror; Dubček then coined his phrase “immense consequences”—the possible outcome of refusing to give in. The treaty was drafted and signed within 24 hours, on 16 October 1968. It was put before the National Assembly for ratification, and only four deputies dared to vote against it, among them Dr. František Kriegel and Dr. Truda Sekaninová, both later prominent members of the Charter 77 movement.
The treaty termed the occupation as temporary, but no time limit was specified. The Soviets obtained the right to move their personnel and equipment freely in and out of the country. There was no preventive clause for the placement of weapons of mass destruction on Czechoslovak territory, which actually happened. Czechoslovakia was obliged to provide barracks, airfields, and training areas for Soviet Army troops, who numbered about 100,000 for most of the time until 1989. The treaty was abrogated by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly in 1990, and the last Soviet troops left Czechoslovakia in 1991. They left behind vast ecological damage at some 150 military sites used during the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Czech Environment Minister Bedřich Moldan said in 1990 of the Soviets in this regard: “They observe no rules. They spill oil and chemicals everywhere, without any care. They can’t be educated. They have a very big country, and the military do what they want.”

OLD JEWISH CEMETERY IN PRAGUE. Located in the heart of the former Jewish Town, it is one of the most remarkable Jewish cemeteries in the world. It replaced an earlier cemetery on the left bank of the Vltava River and served as a burial place from 1439 to 1787. In this small space, there are almost 20,000 tombs. Along the southern wall of the cemetery is the second oldest synagogue in Prague, built in 1479 and called the Pinkas Synagogue. See also JEWS IN THE CZECH LANDS.

OLD-NEW SYNAGOGUE IN PRAGUE. Built around 1270, this is the oldest preserved Jewish house of worship in the Czech lands and it belongs among the most important old European synagogues. It is also one of the oldest Gothic structures in Prague. With the Old Jewish Cemetery, this synagogue is the main landmark of the Prague Old Town. See also JEWS IN THE CZECH LANDS.

OLOMOUC. A historical city in north-central Moravia, its town center is an urban conservation area. In historical importance, it is second only to Prague among Czech cities. Olomouc has been the religious center of Moravia since the 11th century; the diocese there was founded in 1063, the second in the Czech lands. Between the
11th and 12th centuries, Olomouc was the capital of one of three Moravian fiefs administered by brothers of the ruling Premyslites prince. The Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus had himself crowned king of Bohemia in Olomouc in 1469, but he was rejected by the Czech diet. A university was founded in Olomouc in 1573.

During the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), a Swedish army held the city for eight years. During that time, Olomouc suffered great damage. In the 18th century, during the reign of Maria Theresa, Olomouc was one of the Czech cities to be strongly fortified to check Prussian expansion. In 1758, a Prussian army tried in vain to conquer the city. In 1777, the Olomouc diocese was raised to an archdiocese. A conference between Prussia and Austria was held in Olomouc in 1850, at which Prussia was forced to retreat from its drive to assume the leading role in Germany. Instead, it had to agree to the restoration of the Austrian-led German Confederation. This “humiliation of Olomouc,” as it is known in German history books, lasted until 1866. The fortress of Olomouc ceased to be used as a military installation at the end of the 19th century.

Presently, Olomouc is an industrial city with a population in 2005 of 100,752 inhabitants. The Palacký University is its most important institution. Olomouc is a beautiful city, rich in Gothic architecture, of which the main landmark is the 12th-century Cathedral of St. Wenceslaus.

**OPPOSITION AGREEMENT.** Often also called the “Opposition Pact,” especially by its many critics, the formally named “Agreement on Creating a Stable Political Environment in the Czech Republic” was an extraordinary arrangement in Czech politics. Signed on 8 July 1998, it followed the elections of 1998 in which no party won a majority of seats. Instead, Miloš Zeman, head of the Czech Social Democratic Party which placed first, and Václav Klaus, leader of the second-placed Civic Democratic Party, made a 10-point deal that allowed the former to form a minority government. In return, the latter became speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and Klaus’s party also gained control of the chairmanship of the Senate. It also pledged not to bring down the minority government, either by itself or, as might be very likely, in cooperation with any
other party. The implications of the Opposition Agreement went far beyond the initial surprise of its fact: the long-standing dislike that Zeman and Klaus had of one another was well known. Instead, the agreement appeared as a means for these two main political parties to eliminate the others, not simply in the short-term running of government but also by declaring that changes to the constitution were part of the agreement. The agreement provoked considerable anger and accusations that Czech democracy was imperiled. It resulted in the formation of the four-party coalition which expressly, though ultimately unsuccessfully, sought to end the Agreement. Despite expectations that Klaus would defect from the Agreement, it was renewed in January 2000 with the Patent of Toleration (Tolerační patent), which outlined further agreement for legislative changes, and the deal held until the next scheduled elections, in 2002. The Opposition Agreement allowed the social democratic minority government to stand but the constitutional changes sought by the ODS were not implemented.

ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (OECD). The OECD, founded in 1961, replaced the older Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which since 1948 had overseen the realization of the Marshall Plan. In its member states, the OECD promotes the growth of national economies and employment, free international trade, and environmental protection. The OECD is an international but not a supranational organization. Its headquarters are in Paris.

The significance for the Czech Republic was that it became the first post-Communist country to join the organization in 1995. This achievement also gave outside credence to the claims of the government of Václav Klaus that his country had achieved the fastest and most advanced economic transformation in the post-Communist world. As a member of the OECD the Czech Republic is subject to various regular cross-national socioeconomic studies. In 2005, the OECD ranked the Czech Republic as having the lowest percentage of population (at 4%) living in poverty, and found that Czech education produced more secondary-school graduates, proportionate to its
population, than all other member-states, save for the United States. In 2007, however, the OECD criticized the Czech Republic’s low provision of day care.

OSTRAVA. This city in northeastern Moravia is the third largest in the Czech Republic (326,200 inhabitants). Formerly called Moravská Ostrava, the town used to have strategic importance for its location in the Moravian Gate, a natural way through the neighboring mountains into the Moravian lowlands. In the second half of the 19th century, Ostrava gradually acquired a new importance at the time of industrialization. Similar to adjacent territories in Poland (then Prussian Silesia), the area is rich in bituminous coal and anthracite. After it was connected to the network of railroads in Moravia and Bohemia, iron and steel mills were built there and Ostrava grew into the most industrialized region of Austria-Hungary and, later, of Czechoslovakia.

In March 1939, the Ostrava region was the first territory of post-Munich Czecho-Slovakia to be occupied by the German Army, two days before the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was formally declared by Adolf Hitler. Further growth of the city and expansion of local industries, which include the chemical industry and large power stations, occurred after World War II, and especially after 1948 when heavy industry grew in importance during the time of the militarization of the economies of the Soviet bloc. Since 1989, the concentration of old-style smokestack industries in this area has become a burden as the country has been moving ahead toward a market economy and larger diversification of manufacturing. Mining within the city limits ceased in 1994. Unemployment has been significantly higher there than in most other parts of the Czech Republic, and the economic transformation of the Ostrava industrial complex has been a long and difficult task, and as much as it has been addressed, it has been through inward investment. Several institutions of higher education are located in Ostrava, including the University of Ostrava, the Business University, and the leading specialized Higher School of Mining and Metallurgy (Vysoká škola báňská—VŠB).
PALACH, JAN. Twenty years old in August 1968 when he witnessed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Palach was a sophomore, or second-year student, in the Department of Philosophy of the Charles University in Prague. On 16 January 1969, he burned himself in protest against the Soviet occupation and against the gradual surrender of the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) to Soviet demands to dismantle the accomplishments of the Prague Spring. Palach suffered critical injuries and died three days later, on 19 January. His extraordinary sacrifice evoked a wave of sympathy and protest both at home and abroad, and, temporarily at least, it strengthened domestic resistance and postponed the final Soviet encroachment on reform forces until April 1969. Pro-Soviet leadership tried to belittle Palach’s deed, and the quisling regime of Gustáv Husák took revenge upon Palach even after his death. In 1973, his remains were secretly exhumed from his grave at the Prague central cemetery of Olšany, cremated, and placed in a grave in his native town, Všetaty, 23 kilometers (15 miles) outside Prague. Both graves remained places where thousands of anonymous people showed their quiet reverence, bringing flowers all year long in spite of round-the-clock police surveillance. On the day of the 20th anniversary of Palach’s death in 1989 and for a whole week after that, mass demonstrations signaled the coming end of the regime of Soviet occupation. See also ZAJÍČ, JAN.

PALACKÝ, FRANTIŠEK (1798–1876). A Czech political leader in the 19th century, he was the founder of modern Czech historiography. From the 1820s to 1840s, Palacký was a leading spirit of the Czech National Revival. He contributed significantly to the efforts to build the National Museum, and he wrote a five-volume History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia. He viewed the whole of Czech history as a constant struggle against the Germans and saw its apex in the Hussite movement and Hussite wars. In 1848, Palacký presided over the Pan-Slav Congress in Prague and he demanded autonomy for the Czech Kingdom. At the same time, Palacký long believed that the Austrian Empire best protected the Czechs against
both Germany and Russia. From this period come Palacky’s words, “If Austria did not exist, it would have to be created”—a paraphrase of Voltaire. In 1861, Palacky was elected to the Vienna Reichsrat, but he was deeply disappointed by the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 and came over to the idea of full independence. From this period, another of Palacky’s sayings is remembered: “We existed before Austria, and we will exist after it.”

Palacky’s influence on later Czech politicians, especially Tomáš Masaryk, cannot be overstated. Until his death, he was the recognized national leader. In Czech history books, Palacky is referred to as the “father of the nation.”

**PALACKÝ UNIVERSITY IN OLOMOUC.** The second-oldest institution of higher education in the Czech Republic, the contemporary Palacky University was initially founded as a Jesuit seminary in 1566; it received its university status from Pope Gregory XIII and Emperor Maximilian II in 1573. When the Jesuit order was abolished in 1773, the institution was reduced to a preparatory school until 1827, when Emperor Francis I decided to establish a university in Olomouc again. In 1848, the faculty and students of this university joined the revolutionary democratic movement, and after the Habsburgs defeated the revolution, the institution—with the exception of its Department of Theology—was closed by the new Emperor Franz Josef I by way of punishment. After the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the institution was renamed the School of Divinity of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in 1919.

A full revival of the old university had to wait until 1946, when the parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic decided to return to Olomouc its old institution of higher education. It was called Palacky University after František Palacký, a prominent 19th-century Czech historian and political leader. Presently, the university has 21,000 students and 1,000 faculty members, and it offers studies in eight faculties: St. Cyril and Methodius Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Medicine, the Philosophical Faculty, the Pedagogical Faculty, the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Physical Culture, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Health Sciences. See also EDUCATION.
PALOUŠ, RADIM (1924– ). A Czech pedagogue and philosopher, he was the first freely elected rector of the Charles University in Prague after the collapse of Communism, a position he held until 1994. Palouš had played an important role in the Charter 77 movement and edited samizdat journals. He has published several books, of which the latest and best known is On the Philosophy of Education (O filosofii výchovy).

PARKANOVÁ, VLASTA (1951– ). One of the Czech Republic’s leading and most popular female politicians, Vlasta Parkanová was born on 21 November 1951 in Prague. She received a doctorate in law in 1988. In 1989 she helped established Civic Forum and was coopted to the Federal Assembly as a parliamentarian in January 1990 and then was elected to it in the first free elections in June 1990. Among her positions included membership of the commission responsible for overseeing the withdrawal from Czechoslovakia of Soviet troops. She was a member of the Civic Democratic Alliance in 1991 until 1998. After the Federal Assembly was dissolved in 1992 she served in Czech ministries and then was appointed minister of justice in 1997, serving a short term, and then in 2001 joined the Christian Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party. Throughout her parliamentary career Parkanová has served as a deputy chair of leading parliamentary committees and Chair of the Czech delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentary Assembly. A 2006 public opinion poll deemed her the most popular Czech politician. She was named minister of defense on 9 January 2007 in the cabinet of Miroslav Topolánek. Parkanová provided supporting vocals for a new recording to welcome U.S. President George W. Bush to the Czech Republic in June 2007 and supported the American request to build a radar system in the country as part of a missile defense system.

PARLIAMENT. Bohemia and Moravia have been represented in various forms of parliamentary systems, although they went through the majority of the 20th century without a dedicated parliamentary body of their own.
The earliest Czech representative body was called the Assembly of the Land (Sněm zemský). Its membership was initially restricted to the king, the aristocracy, and high clergy. In the 15th century, towns under royal jurisdiction were also granted representation. This body, also called the Estates (stavy zemské), traditionally resisted the centralizing tendencies of the ruling monarchs. Its legitimacy was based on customary law, the basic historical laws of the land, and Bohemia’s legitimate place in the Holy Roman Empire. Bohemian state rights (české státní právo) were specified in the Golden Bull of Sicily (1212) and the Golden Bull of Charles IV (1356). Until the 17th century, the diet had the explicit power to choose and approve the king and to consent to taxation and recruitment quotas. Much of the Estates’ power was lost after their uprising against Ferdinand II Habsburg between 1618 and 1620. The Protestant majority of the diet was physically removed and replaced by Catholic and foreign magnates. After 1627, the diet had no direct political power, but retained certain economic rights that were only temporarily eliminated under Maria Theresa in the 18th century. In 1861, the Austrian “February Constitution” upgraded to a certain degree all provincial diets of the empire, including the Czech Assembly of the Land.

In 1871 the Czech Assembly of the Land adopted the Fundamental Articles (Fundamentální články), which specified Czech demands for recognition of the Czech Kingdom’s constitutional place in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The emperor, however, rejected those demands. Modern parliamentary representation for the Czech lands began in the late 19th century with the Reichsrat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for which Czech political parties competed for seats. Nevertheless, all power remained in Vienna and in the hands of the vice regent in Prague.

The Czechoslovak Republic that emerged from the Empire in 1918 was a unitary state, without a separate parliamentary body for the Czech lands. The Czechoslovak Republic’s Parliament was called the National Assembly (Národní shromáždění), and was composed of a Chamber of Deputies (Poslanecká sněmovna) and a Senate (Senát). The National Assembly elected the president, whose powers were limited. For brief periods during the First Republic local assemblies
existed but these were only for the implementation of national legislation. Czechoslovak-wide representation in parliament ended with the demise of the Second Republic in March 1939, when the Czech lands became the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, under direct German control, and Slovakia became an independent state.

A Czech National Council (Česká národní rada—CNR) had briefly existed in 1945 for less than two weeks at the end of World War II, acting as the supreme organ of Czech domestic resistance. The name CNR was again applied to the legislative body of the Czech Socialist Republic, a constituent part of Czechoslovakia, after its federalization on 1 January 1969. Before the collapse of the Communist regime in November 1989, the CNR was a powerless body designed to formalize and nominally legitimize those decisions of the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická strana Československa—KSC) that had some direct relevance for the Czech lands. It was composed of 200 deputies, mostly officials of the KSC, who were ratified in unopposed one-mandate elections every four years.

During the process of the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1991 and 1992, the importance of national parliaments and national governments increased in relation to that of the Czechoslovak federal bodies, and the timetable and ways of dividing the state were in fact negotiated by the national organs. The last, most important act of the CNR was adopting the Constitution of the Czech Republic. According to this document, the name of the Czech legislature is specifically Parliament (Parlament). As in the interwar period, it is composed of two chambers, again called the Chamber of Deputies (Poslanecká sněmovna) and the Senate (Senát). The Chamber of Deputies has 200 members, chosen for four years on the basis of general, secret, equal, and direct elections on the principle of proportional representation. The deputies must be 21 years of age or older. The Senate has 81 members, elected for six years according to the majority system. The senators must be 40 years old or older.

While the CNR reconstituted itself into the lower chamber of the new Czech parliament in January 1993, there were months-long discussions about the practicability of having a Senate at all. Finally, it was decided to uphold the constitution, and the first Senate was
elected in November 1996. The legislative power of the Senate is secondary to the power of the Chamber of Deputies, as is the power of the presidency. The parliament elects the president by a simple majority of both chambers. For a government to be approved, it needs only a simple majority of the lower house. A qualified majority is not defined in the constitution; only the presence of three-fifths of all deputies and senators is required for the passage of constitutional laws and international accords on human rights and fundamental freedoms. See also GOVERNMENT.

PAROUBEK, JIŘÍ (1952– ). Born on 21 August 1952, in Olomouc, Jiří Paroubek’s adult life has been dedicated to politics. At the age of 18, as a student of the Prague School of Economics, he joined the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, a junior party in the National Front. He was approached by the Státní bezpečnost, the internal secret police, as a potential collaborator and was given the codename “Roko” (after his pet parrot) but in April 2005, as his political career soared toward high office, he produced documentation to prove that he never worked with the secret police. In the 1980s he worked as an economist in several state companies and appeared to have a capitalistic outlook.

Following the Velvet Revolution Paroubek enlisted in the reconstituted Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (which became the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD]). In 1990, he established an economic consultancy and was also elected both to the central secretariat of the party and to Prague’s Municipal Assembly, a post which he held for the next decade-and-a-half. In the early 1990s, within the CSSD he advocated moderation toward and cooperation with the more successful center-right parties. He stood in 1993 unsuccessfully for the CSSD leadership against Miloš Zeman, who would go on to become prime minister. Paroubek remained thereafter in municipal politics, and was elected deputy mayor of Prague in 1998, and reelected in 2002, each time with responsibility for financial policy. He considers one of his significant achievements in that post was overseeing the financial work that allowed for the reconstruction of Prague following the devastating floods of August 2002. He continued his work in the Social Democratic Party as vice-chairman, and also became minister for regional development in the cabinet.
Finally, on 25 April 2005, he succeeded Stanislav Gross as prime minister. Paroubek led a government that was largely unchanged and which narrowly survived a nonconfidence vote on 13 May 2005. He then led his party in the elections of June 2006, in which he came second to the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) but after which no party could form a majority government. Eventually Miroslav Topolánek formed a minority government, which the Social Democrats and others voted out in a nonconfidence motion in October 2006. Paroubek continued to advocate that he be allowed to form a new government, although an ODS-led coalition was finally created in January 2007 and Paroubek remained a leader of the CSSD in opposition.

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (PfP). An outreach program to most post-Communist countries launched by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in January 1994. The Czech Republic was among the first participants. PfP offered a range of military and military-related consultations and programs between the Alliance and the former Communist bloc, including the development of effective civilian and democratic oversights of the armed forces. PfP was also important in developing practical cooperation in peacekeeping. Many governments, however, were concerned that PfP might become a substitute for full membership in the Alliance, and senior Czech officials, including President Václav Havel, argued proactively and effectively to prevent that from occurring.

PATENT OF TOLERATION, 1781 (TOLERANČNÍ PATENT, 1781; ALSO CALLED LETTER OF TOLERATION). This edict of Emperor Josef II instituted limited freedom of religion. Issued in October 1781, only a year after Josef II became emperor, the edict legalized Lutheranism and Calvinism, but other Protestant confessions were not permitted (until 1861). The Eastern Orthodox religion was also legalized. In civic matters, Protestants gained the same status as Catholics. Specifically, they were entitled to own property, to engage in crafts and trade, to earn academic ranks, and to hold public offices. At the same time, the edict retained some privileges of the Catholic Church, namely, its status as the official religion of the state, including its influence in the school system.
In the Czech lands, which had been 90 percent Protestant before 1620, the Patent of Toleration had a special historical meaning. See also EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN; COUNTERREFORMATION.

PATOČKA, JAN (1907–1977). One of the greatest Czech thinkers of the 20th century, Patočka further developed the humanist philosophical school of Jan Ámos Komenský and Tomáš Masaryk. Phenomenology was a central part of his thought. Patočka was teaching philosophy at the Charles University from 1945–1948, when he was purged and was not allowed to return to teaching until 1968. In 1972, under the Soviet occupation, he was purged again. In 1977, he was one of the leaders of the Charter 77 movement, and he died after a brutal interrogation by the State Security. Of his many works, the best known are Kacířské eseje o filosofii dějin (Heretic Essays on the Philosophy of History) and Tři studie o Masarykovi (Three Studies on Masaryk). Most of his works could be published only after 1989.

PEACEKEEPING. Post-Communist Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic have a substantial history of contributing to international peacekeeping. The first contribution was to operations sanctioned by United Nations for deployment in Croatia in 1992. After the breakup of Czechoslovakia, joint peacekeeping operations by Czech and Slovak soldiers were undertaken and continue, providing one of the most tangible and sustained forms of interstate cooperation between the two countries.

Czech forces began partaking in peacekeeping in the early 1990s officially to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. But even before the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched its Partnership for Peace (PfP) initiative that institutionalized cooperation between it and many post-Communist militaries for peacekeeping, the Czech government wanted to demonstrate both its willingness to work with and learn from Western militaries and that it could be a promoter of international security.

The biggest Czech peacekeeping operations were in Bosnia, where a total of over 6,000 Czech personnel saw duty. The joint Czech–Slovak unit as part of Kosovo Force (KFOR) reached 2,400 personnel, and the
Czechs also took command of KFOR operations in 2005, the first post-Communist armed forces to do so. Apart from military operations in Afghanistan, particularly in counterterrorism, Czech peacekeeping efforts include a field hospital and ordnance disposal. Provision of a field hospital, military police, and police training have also formed part of the Czech presence in Iraq.

Small numbers of Czech military officers serve worldwide in various missions, such as for the European Union’s “EUFOR” Operation in Chad and the Central African Republic; for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; and as military observers to United Nations missions in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Georgia, and Liberia. Even before the Czech Republic ended conscription in 2005, individual participation in peacekeeping operations was on a voluntary basis.

PEKAŘ, JOSEF (1870–1937). A leading Czech historian of his time and rector of the Charles University. Pekař became full professor of history at the Charles University in Prague in 1905, and its rector from 1931 to 1932. A long-time editor of the prestigious Czech Historical Journal, Pekař was a student of ancient and old Czech history. He critically reexamined the historical work of František Palacký and offered more varied analyses, particularly of the Hussite movement and of the era following the White Mountain Battle of 1620. In his view, the radicalism of the Hussites produced negative historical consequences, and drawing parallels between Hussite times and contemporary Czech history was not substantiated. On the other hand, Pekař saw some positive sides of the Catholicization in the 17th and 18th centuries. He disagreed with Tomáš Masaryk’s wider humanist concept of Czech history, which he saw as guided by the national idea.

PEROUTKA, FERDINAND (1895–1978). Considered to be the greatest Czech journalist of the 20th century, Peroutka began in the 1920s to edit Lidové noviny, a traditional liberal daily newspaper read mainly in better educated circles. He was also the editor of Přítomnost, a political-cultural weekly review. Peroutka was a member of a close circle of friends of Tomáš Masaryk. He is the
author of a four-volume historical work *Budování státu* (*Building of the State*) that recorded the rise of a new Czech statehood after 1918. During World War II, Peroutka was a prisoner in the Nazi concentration camps at Dachau and Buchenwald. He returned to his journalistic work after 1945, but the Communist takeover in 1948 forced him to leave the country. In 1950, he was one of the founders of the Czechoslovak division of Radio Free Europe, of which he was chief editor for several years. He then lived and worked in the United States until his death.

**PĚTKA.** Derived from the Czech word pět for the number five, this was the name given to the informal, yet extremely influential, arrangement among political parties throughout the existence of the First Republic, except between 1926 and 1929. Although no such constitutional arrangement provided for it, the Pětka became the chief forum for the creation of governmental policies and, through party discipline, managed to guide legislation through parliament.

The participants were the leaders of the National Democratic Party, the Czech Agrarian Party, the Social Democrats (see Czech Social Democratic Party), the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, and the People’s Party (see Christian Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party). Occasionally the grouping was more than five, at which times reference to it changed according to the number of parties involved.

This unusual political system has provoked historiographical differences. Sharon L. Wolchik, for example, observes that the ability of the five to agree demonstrated “respect for democratic procedures and awareness of the necessity of compromise in a democracy.” Josef Korbel, however, suggests that the Pětka “invited no admiration.” Émigré historian Edward Taborsky acknowledges both the validity of criticisms leveled at the Pětka, but also observed its inevitability: “a ‘Government’ which was outside the constitutional Cabinet proper . . . a conclave of five men, meeting in camera and beyond public control, who discussing state matters of the highest importance. . . . in view of the number of Czechoslovak political parties and the results necessity for coalition governments, it was difficult to dispense with such an institution.”
PILSNER URQUELL (PLZEŇSKÝ PRAZDROJ). The best known of the famous Czech beers sold worldwide, it is now also the name of a conglomerate of west Bohemian breweries (Plzeň, Karlovy Vary, and Domažlice). Its center is in Plzeň, where beer has been brewed since the 12th century. In 1295, 260 Plzeň burghers received a special license to brew beer from King Václav II. In 1842, Plzeň brewers pulled together to found the predecessor of the current plant, called Burghers’ Brewery. A second large plant was founded in 1892, but both merged in 1925. In 1945, the enterprise was nationalized, and it was privatized between 1991 and 1993, and with no foreign capital participation in the enterprise, which was viewed as “family silver.” In 1999, however, Plzeňský Prazdroj became part of South African Breweries plc, and now SABMiller, the world’s second largest conglomerate of breweries. In 2007, Plzeňský Prazdroj produced 10.9 million hectoliters of beer. The brewery also claims the world’s oldest brewery museum and has some 180,000 visitors per year.

Beer brewing in Plzeň benefits from an excellent source of very soft carbonated water with low salt content, as well as some of the best hops in the world, which are grown in the area.

PITHART, PETR (1941– ). Lawyer and political scientist. Born in Kladno, he was Czech prime minister from 1990 until 1992 and also served as president of the Senate. After graduating from the Law School of the Charles University in 1962, Pithart taught law and theory of the state in the same institution until 1970, when he was purged for his support of the Prague Spring of 1968. During the Soviet occupation, he made his living as a manual worker until 1989. He was one of the first signatories of Charter 77 and took an active part in the group’s actions. In November 1989, Pithart was a cofounder of the Civic Forum. In January 1990, he was coopted into the Federal Assembly. After the victory of Civic Forum in the 1990 elections, Pithart was appointed prime minister of the Czech Republic, a post he held until 1992. During his tenure, he earnestly tried to find a solution to the Czecho–Slovak disagreements and to preserve Czechoslovakia, but his countless negotiations with his Slovak counterparts failed. In 1992, Pithart joined the Civic Movement (Občanské hnutí—OH), one of the successor parties of Civic
Forum, but the OH did not qualify for parliamentary representation. He then returned to teaching. In the elections for the Senate in November 1996, Pithart won a seat on the Christian Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party ticket and was elected president of the Senate in December 1996, a post he held until December 1998, and then again between December 2000 and December 2004. Pithart is the author of several books, including a penetrating analysis of the Prague Spring called Osmašedesátý (The Sixty-Eighth).

Pittsburgh Agreement. This programmatic contract was signed on 30 May 1918 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, by representatives of Czech and Slovak organizations in the United States in the presence of Tomáš Masaryk, who also signed it. The document declared the will of Czechs and Slovaks to form a common state after the defeat of the Central Powers in World War I; the status of Slovakia in the new state was specified, with the promise that the Slovaks would have their own autonomous administration, parliament, and judiciary. The Slovak language was to become the official language in Slovakia. Although the agreement was to be translated into constitutional terms by democratically elected representatives of both nations after the war, the Czechoslovak Constitution of 1920 did not meet the Slovak expectations following from the Pittsburgh document. Slovakia was deprived of the autonomy that it hoped for, and its disappointment became a long-lasting sore point in Czech–Slovak relations.

Plzeň. One of the oldest Czech cities, it is currently the fourth-largest city of the Czech Republic and the second largest city in Bohemia. Plzeň, located in western Bohemia, was founded by a decree of King Václav II in 1295 in a place where a castle of that name, a monastery, and a smaller settlement had existed since the mid-10th century. An intersection of three important trade routes leading to Bavaria and Saxony, the city’s fast growth as a trade center was also fostered by the fact that it was surrounded by very rich farmland. Coalfields in the proximity of the city added to the rise of its economic importance. During the Hussite wars and the reign of King Jiří z Poděbrad in the 15th century, Plzeň was a Catholic
stronghold. Imperial Generalissimo Albrecht of Wallenstein (Albrecht z Valdštejna) had his temporary headquarters from 1633 to 1644 in Plzeň during the Thirty Years War.

In the 19th century, Plzeň became one of fastest-growing industrial centers of the Habsburg Empire, developing around a machine-building factory that was bought in 1869 by Czech engineer and entrepreneur Emil Škoda. Under the name Škodovy Závody, the enterprise became a giant center of heavy machine building and armament production. Plzeň is probably even better known around the world for its beer, which has been brewed there since the 12th century. The world famous Pilsner Urquell is made in the city brewery.

Presently, the city has over 170,000 inhabitants and it remains an important crossroad in the Central European railroad and highway network. Since 1991, Plzeň has had its own university called Západočeská universita (West Bohemian University), created from various higher education institutions already existing in the city. Charles University in Prague maintains a specialized department of its medical school in Plzeň (stomatology, nursing, and general medicine).

There are a number of remarkable architectural monuments in Plzeň, the most significant of which is the 13th-century St. Bartholomew Church (Kostel sv. Bartoloměje).

POLITICAL PARTIES. Czech political parties date back to the early 1860s, when the Czech lands were still under the Austrian Empire (see AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE). The first party to emerge was the Nationalist Party, which represented business and landowning interests. Its founders included the politician František Rieger and the leading Czech historian František Palacký. Although this group quickly fragmented into the “Old Czechs” and the “Young Czechs,” their followers tended to join the Czechoslovak National Democratic Party after the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) was established in 1918.

In 1878, a section of the Austrian Social Democracy was founded under the name of the Czecho-Slavic Social Democratic Workers’ Party (Československá sociálně-demokratická strana dělnická). After 1918, the party changed its name from “Czecho-Slavonic” to “Czechoslovak,” and in the first parliamentary elections in the CSR
in 1920, became the strongest party. The additional historical importance of this party is as the precursor to the Czech Social Democratic Party (Česká strana sociálně demokratická—CSSD), making the CSSD the oldest continuous Czech political party.

A Catholic political movement dating back to the 1890s was known as the “Clerics.” In 1919 Catholic political groups united to form the Czechoslovak People’s Party (Československá strana lidová—CSL), a party with a predominantly Christian-social orientation. Another preindependence political party, founded in 1897, was the Czech National Social Party with a program that combined moderate reform socialism and Czech nationalism. In 1918, the party adopted the name Czechoslovak Socialist Party, which was changed again in 1926 to Czechoslovak National Socialist Party (Československá strana národně socialistická—CSNS). A further party was the Czech Agrarian Party (Česká strana agrární—SCA), founded in 1899. After the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the Czech Agrarians merged with a similar political party in Slovakia.

Tomáš Masaryk, the leading Czech intellectual and advocate of Czechoslovak independence, had his own party, the Realist, but this never won more than three seats.

Once Czechoslovakia was established, five major parties—the Czech Agrarian, the National Democratic, the Social Democrats, the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, and the People’s Party—joined together in an informal, but highly influential, coalition called the Pětka, which guided governmental policies throughout much of the interwar period.

The diversity of Czechoslovakia’s political party system extended further, however. In 1921 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická strana Československa—KSC) was formed after a leftist split from the CSSD. The KSC not only operated legally throughout the First Republic, unlike elsewhere in the region, but also enjoyed considerable support. Major minorities also had parties, such as the Hungarians. Although having choice among several ethnic-German parties, the most important party for Czechoslovakia’s numerous German minority became the Sudeten-German Party (SdP). After the rise of German dictator Adolf Hitler, the SDP’s leader Konrad Henlein successfully mobilized claims of discrimination and the
right of national self-determination to undermine Czechoslovakia’s domestic stability and international standing.

A competitive, diverse political party system ceased to exist during the division and occupation of Czechoslovakia in World War II. Already in 1943, in preparations for the postwar order, the British-based government-in-exile, led by Edvard Beneš, agreed with the Soviets and the Czechoslovak Communists to exclude from power certain interwar parties. Foremost was the Agrarian Party, which was blamed for the disastrous outcome of the Munich Diktat of 1938; regardless of its role, this measure eliminated a major bulwark against Communist ambitions for power.

From the end of World War II Czechoslovakia was governed by the National Front. The CSL was the only political party without a pronounced socialist program to be admitted into the National Front. While Hugh Agnew suggests that this mechanism “somewhat resembled” the Pěťka it was “even less in harmony with parliamentary democracy,” with major decisions made by presidential decree. In any case, by February 1948, the KSC had seized full power. The CSL opposed the Communists’ takeover, and consequently was forcefully “reorganized” after the coup. Between 1948 and 1989, a weakened CSL, politically subordinated to the KSC, played the role of a junior government partner but had no meaningful share in power. Rather, throughout this period the KSC had unchallenged power.

After the Velvet Revolution of 1989 ended Communist rule, Czech political life repluralized quickly and free elections were held in June 1990. A fully formed political party system, however, had not yet been formed. On the one hand, dozens of small or single-issues parties, or even comical ones, emerged, but were electorally unviable; on the other, Civic Forum (OF), the umbrella organization that led the anti-Communist protests, continued as the main political force. Such a widely based entity was unlikely to remain viable in a system of contested elections, but disintegrated even more when, in 1991, Finance Minister Václav Klaus advanced a new organization with the clear form and mandate of a conventional political party: the Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana—ODS). He also categorically derided the utility of nonpolitical parties, such as OF, in parliamentary democracy.
The ODS, with its center-right ideology, became, and has remained the main political force in post-Communist Czech history, leading governments in 1992, 1996, and again in 2006 and 2007, as well as allowing another government to be formed between 1998 and 2002 under the **Opposition Agreement**.

As the Czech political-party spectrum took shape, however, the ODS was not alone on the center-right. The **Christian Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party** (KDU-ČSL) and the **Civic Democratic Alliance** (ODA), though electorally less successful than the ODS, still contributed to coalition rule in the first years of the Czech Republic. The ODA has since disbanded but the center-right also gained an additional party in 1998, when the **Freedom Union** (US) was formed by members of the ODS who were dissatisfied with Klaus’s leadership and about the lack of explanations for party finances. On the far-right of the Czech spectrum has been the **Republican Party**, which won seats in 1992 and 8 percent of the popular vote in 1996, but continued to lose popular support thereafter.

The left of the Czech political spectrum has also seen change and continuity. The biggest development has been the electoral achievements of the center-left **Czech Social Democratic Party** (Česká strana sociálně demokratická—CSSD), which managed to increase its share of the popular vote fourfold between 1992 and 1996 to form the government in 1998 and in 2002. On the far-left is the **Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia** (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy—KSCM), the main successor to the KSC), and which remains largely committed to its ideological past. Even so, it has gained between 10 and 18.5 percent of the popular votes and held seats in every election to the **Chamber of Deputies** but has not been invited to form a coalition government.

Although the Czech Republic can be said to have a clear political party spectrum, changes still occur. Just as some parties have disappeared, so too others gain electoral strength. The **Green Party** (Strana zelených—SZ) contested elections without winning seats until 2006 and then became part of the governments in 2007, although by 2009 their fortunes had become questionable, not least because the party had forfeited some of its basic aims to remain in the coalition. In early 2009, media magnate and Senator **Vladimír Železný**
formed the new political party libertas.cz, a branch of the euro-spectical libertas.eu.

Even though every Czech government has required either the partnership or official tolerance of at least one other party to function, the number of political parties that can enter the Chamber of Deputies is restricted by a requirement of securing a certain percentage of the popular vote. In the 1992 elections, 21 percent of all of the votes cast received no parliamentary representation. By 2006, even though 20 parties ran, 95 percent of the votes cast were then represented in parliament.

To date only four political parties—ODS, KSC, CSSD, and KDU-CSL—have succeeded in being represented in the Chamber of Deputies after each election. The diversity of the Czech political party system probably means that governments will continue to consist of coalitions.

Political parties are enshrined in the Czech Constitution, Article 5 of which states: “The political system is founded on the free and voluntary formation of and free competition among those political parties which respect the fundamental democratic principles and which renounce force as a means of promoting their interests.”

POTSDAM CONFERENCE (POSTUPIMSKÁ KONFERENCE). The Potsdam Conference was the last of the World War II meetings of leading Allied statesmen and was held from 17 July to 2 August 1945, outside Berlin. It was attended by President Harry Truman, Soviet leader Josef Stalin, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (who was replaced midway by Clement Attlee after the elections in Great Britain brought the Labour Party to power).

While the conference dealt with a number of problems resulting from the defeat of Nazi Germany, one issue had a particular importance for Czechoslovakia, and that was the decision to transfer German populations from central and east European territories back to Germany. The countries most affected by this decision were Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania. Soviet Russia also expelled a large number of Germans from the Baltic states and the entire population from the northern half of former East Prussia, which it had annexed (the southern half was assigned to Poland). Altogether, over
15 million Germans were moved from these territories to Germany. This decision of the Potsdam Conference was based on the irrefutable historical fact that a large majority of Germans in those countries had actively and fervidly supported Nazi aggression and Nazi atrocities in occupied countries. Controversies, however, persist concerning both the basis for the transfer itself, and for the way in which the transfer was conducted. See also TRANSFER OF GERMANS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1945–1947.

PRAGUE (Praha). The capital and the largest city of the Czech Republic, Prague grew from early (6th century) Slavic settlements which since the 9th century had centered on redoubts built on the hills on the left (Hradčany) and right (Vyšehrad) banks of the Vltava River. As early as the 10th century, Prague was an important trading center in the area and the seat of the ruling Premyslite dynasty (Přemyslovská dynastie).

The building of city walls and the granting of various privileges by the ruling princes and kings turned settlements into townships. Malá strana, below the castle, and the Old Town (Staré město) on the right bank of the river were founded in the 13th century. During the reign of Emperor Charles IV Luxemburg (1346–1378) the New Town (Nové město) was founded in 1348. In the same year, the Prague University was founded, the first institution of its kind in Central Europe.

Prague was the imperial seat during the reign of some Czech kings who were also emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. During the Hussite wars in the 15th century, Prague and its university were the center of the rebellion, and the city opposed the centralizing policies of Habsburgs until 1620, when the Czech Estates were defeated by Emperor Ferdinand II. Since then and until 1918, Prague was a provincial city in the Habsburg Empire. In 1648 part of the city was conquered by the Swedes. In 1742 Prague was occupied by the French, and in 1744 by the Prussians. In 1848, an uprising in Prague was crushed by Austrian General Alfred von Windischgrätz. From the last decades of the 18th century, and especially in the second half of the 19th century, the city became one of the most important industrial centers of Austria-Hungary. Prague was also the center of the
Czech National Revival and of the efforts to regain the old historical status of the Czech Kingdom.

In 1918, Prague became the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic. Until 1938, the liberal political and cultural atmosphere made possible a creative coexistence of Czech, German, and Jewish cultures well represented by the names of Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák, Karel Čapek, Franz Kafka, and Rainer Maria Rilke. Between 1939 and 1945, Prague was the administrative center of the Nazi-created Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. In 1945, the city again became the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic, until its dissolution on 31 December 1992.

Since 1 January 1993, Prague has been the capital of the Czech Republic. It is the seat of the president, the parliament, and the rest of the institutions of the government, and also of the highest religious offices of several churches. Prague has four leading institutions of higher education: the Charles University, the Czech Technical University, the Czech University of Agriculture, and the Higher School of Economics.

Currently the city has 1,210,000 inhabitants. The industrial, commercial, banking, and cultural center of the state, Prague is also a major transportation point where rail, highway, air, and river routes converge. A modern system of city transportation was built in Prague between 1967 and 1994, centered on three subway lines connecting various parts of the city. The subway system (called Metro; see PRAGUE METRO), over 40 kilometers long (27 miles), connects the inner city with the suburbs, with stops at all four main railroad stations. Electric streetcars and buses complement the subway system.

Prague’s industries have been diverse, producing everything from machine tools to airplanes, although now the city has moved much more to the service sector and also generated considerable income and employment from tourism. Prague is rated among the most beautiful historical cities of the world, with well-preserved examples of all architectural styles from Romanesque to Secession. While it is impossible to make any substantive list of cultural monuments of the city here, the Hradčany Castle (see PRAGUE CASTLE) with its 10th-century St. Vitus Cathedral, the 14th-century Charles Bridge, and the many palaces of Malá strana are the main attractions. Some
90 percent of the millions of foreign tourists who began visiting Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic annually after the end of Communism came to see Prague. Although interest in other parts of the country for tourism have increased since, the capital still receives over 60 percent of foreign visitors. The European Union’s statistical body Eurostat found that by 2005 Prague had become the 12th-richest region in the (then) 25-member body, and also the wealthiest area in all post-Communist members.

**PRAGUE CASTLE (PRAŽSKÝ HRAD; ALSO REFERRED TO AS HRADČANY AND HRADCHIN).** The dominant architectural feature of Prague, the Prague Castle was the historical seat of Czech princes and kings from the 9th century until the kingdom’s loss of its political constituency to the Habsburg Empire in the 17th century. From 1918 until 1992 (except during the years of Nazi occupation), the castle was the seat of the Czechoslovak president. Since 1993, it is the seat of the president of the Czech Republic.

Prague Castle is the historical focus of Czech statehood. Its main church, the *St. Vitus Cathedral*, is the burial place of many Czech princes and kings. The place where the castle stands, on the hills along the left bank of the Vltava River, had initially been a redoubt guarding the eastern limits of the Premyslite princes, built probably as early as the 6th century. Historical sources follow the development of the castle since the 9th century, when the Premyslite princes’ mansion was surrounded by a clay-and-wood wall. Within the wall, three churches were gradually built by princes Bořivoj, Vratislav, and Václav. One of these churches was dedicated to St. Vitus. In the 11th and 12th century, the old wall was replaced with one built of stone. During the reign of Prince Soběslav I (1125–1140), the old mansion was rebuilt into a stone castle, and two guard towers were constructed in the walls, of which one, Černá věž (Black Tower), still stands. A new Gothic wall was built by King Přemysl Otakar II (1253–1278) on the western side. In 1303, the old castle burned down and was reconstructed by Charles IV Luxembourg in the contemporary French Gothic style. When Prague diocese was elevated to archbishopric during this king’s reign, the reconstruction of the old St. Vitus church into a Gothic cathedral was also started.
Another important stage in the development of the castle occurred during the reign of King Vladislav II (1471–1526) when the most monumental hall was built, the Vladislav Hall (Vladislavský sál). It has served many times as the coronation hall, and the elections of the first Czechoslovak presidents were also held there. The Habsburg kings Ferdinand I (1526–1564) and Rudolf II (1576–1611) further expanded the castle by building the Královský letohrádek (Royal Summer House) outside the castle itself in the surrounding gardens.

The centuries-long construction of the castle was basically completed under Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780). The St. Vitus Cathedral, which is an important component of the castle’s complex, was completed in the second half of the 19th century.

**PRAGUE COUP.** See FEBRUARY 1948.

**PRAGUE METRO.** The Prague Metro system is one of the Communist-era’s major engineering works, and like that of metros built in the capitals of other socialist-bloc countries or Soviet republics, used the same design and rolling stock as that of Moscow. Despite now being called line C, Prague metro’s first line was opened in 1974, running north-south. It was expanded further south from Kačerov station to Háje in 1980 and north to Holešovice four years later. Its most recent northern extension, to Ládví, was completed in 2004. The line now has a shape that approximates its name, and a further extension is planned along its northeastern trajectory. The A line, which runs diagonally from northwest to southeast, commenced operation in 1978. The B line that runs diagonally between east and west began operation in 1985 and was subsequently lengthened in both directions in the late 1980s and early 1990s. A D line, long discussed, is now expected to be built starting around 2010 to serve the southern parts of the capital, and extension of the metro to reach Prague’s international airport is a long-term plan. The Metro is estimated to carry 1.5 millions passengers daily and over 400 million passengers annually along its 53.8 kilometers. Due to this passenger volume, the Metro represents a major form of transportation for the Czech Republic as a whole, and continues to receive significant government subsidies.
The distinguished émigré Czechoslovak scholar and diplomat Josef Korbel, hardly a Communist supporter, wrote that the Prague Spring “represented a whole new concept of Communism, a new direction in economics, in human relations, and in politics—a dynamic Communism, identified with humanistic Marxism and unquestionably attractive to the people of all other Communist countries.”

Although the Prague Spring signified enormous change in the otherwise stultified politics of the Soviet bloc, the Action Program itself was, in fact, a list of very moderate reforms that could only gradually lead to political plurality and liberalization of economic policy. Nevertheless, cautious as it was, this program clearly spurned Soviet practices, and risked encouraging more change in a Soviet-led
socialist community already challenged by Yugoslav and Chinese alternative models. Certainly the Prague Spring enraged the Soviet leadership of Leonid Brezhnev. The Soviets resorted to direct and indirect pressures, trying to force Dubček and other Czechoslovak leaders to abandon the reforms. Starting in April, they also actively prepared a military intervention.

When Dubček resisted Brezhnev’s intimidation, a large-scale invasion of Czechoslovakia was launched on 21 August 1968, involving over 500,000 soldiers from five countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and 5,000 tanks and armored vehicles. Dubček and other Czechoslovak leaders were captured and forcefully brought to Moscow. With the help of traitors and after prolonged “negotiations,” the Soviets coerced the kidnapped Czechoslovak leaders (all but one, František Kriegel) into signing an act of surrender, called the Moscow Protocol. During these talks, Brezhnev formulated his doctrine about the limited sovereignty of countries of the Soviet bloc.

After the protocol was signed, the Czechoslovak leadership was released and sent home. The occupation was “legitimized” in October by a vote of the Czechoslovak National Assembly after the Soviets unscrupulously threatened to put down any resistance by bloody retaliation (see OCCUPATION TREATY 1968). It still took another eight months before the Soviets really accomplished the task of fully bringing the country under their control. Only then were the previous reforms abolished and the old order reestablished under the quisling regime of Gustáv Husák.

The Prague Spring, even more than the Hungarian uprising in 1956 and the Polish crisis the same year, signaled the progressive breakdown of the Soviet system, although the full significance could not be realized until the collapse of the system in 1989.

PRAŽÁK, ALBERT (1880–1956). A historian of literature, he was a professor of the Komenský University in Bratislava and of the Charles University in Prague. In May 1945, Pražák was chairman of the revolutionary Czech National Council, which led the uprising against the Nazis in Prague.

PREMYSLITE DYNASTY (PŘEMYSLOVSKÁ DYNASTIE). This earliest Czech dynasty ruled from the 9th century to 1306. Its mythi-
cal founder was the peasant Přemysl whom the daughter of a central Bohemian duke, Princess Libuše, chose as her husband. Their first historically recorded successor—ninth according to legend—was Prince Bořivoj, who ruled in the second half of the 9th century. The Premyslites united the Slavic tribes in Bohemia and completed their Christianization. The dynasty had 33 historically recorded princes and six kings and became extinct with the death of Václav III in 1306. The Premyslites were succeeded by the Luxemburg dynasty. See also SAINT WENCESLAUS.

PRESIDENT. The Czech president is elected by simple majority in each of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and serves a maximum of two terms of five years each. Proposals have been made, particularly by smaller political parties but eventually supported also by the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), that the president be elected by a direct popular vote.

The president is more a figurehead and is meant to be apolitical. The formal powers are limited and the main ones include choice of the prime minister after elections and the appointment of judges to the Constitutional Court. Even these powers, however, require confirmation by parliament.

Both of the officeholders to date, dissident writer Václav Havel and economist Václav Klaus, have been outstanding personalities with strong views who have expressed them during their tenure.

PRESS. Similar to other countries in Central Europe, the era of mass communication started in the Czech lands with the emergence of periodical newspapers in the first half of the 19th century. The first Czech daily newspaper was Národní noviny, published by Karel Havlíček Borovský from 1848 to 1850, when it was closed by the Austrian authorities.

With the rapid growth of literacy and gradual relaxation of official censorship, the Czech press saw continuous expansion in the second half of the 19th century. Before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, hundreds of Czech periodicals were already being published, and the tradition was established that daily newspapers were in most cases tied to a political party.
Between 1918 and 1938, freedom of the press brought Czech journalism to its highest point. During the Nazi occupation from 1939 to 1945, press freedom was suppressed, many journalists were persecuted, and the media were forced to serve the Nazi propaganda machine. During a brief period after World War II and until 1948, the extent of freedom of the press was quite significant within the restricted political system. After the Communist coup in 1948, all publishing came under the control of the Department of Propaganda of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), while the traditional press structure was generally retained. Censorship was removed for several months during the Prague Spring of 1968, but was gradually reimposed after the Soviet occupation.

Media controls collapsed completely in November 1989, and full freedom of the press was reestablished by a law passed by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly in 1990. This law has remained a part of the legal system of the Czech Republic. The introduction of the market economy and the privatization that started in 1990 have led to the inevitable commercialization of the press; the traditional system of conjunction between a political party (or a special-interest group) and a newspaper has been almost entirely abandoned.

The repluralization of print media after Communism was marked: by 1995, there were almost 2,000 newspapers and magazines published in the country, with a total daily circulation of over 2.5 million. There were 51 dailies, 235 weeklies, and 961 bimonthlies and monthlies. Circulation and the number of publications reached their peak, however, in 1992. Mounting costs of print, production, and labor caused a steep rise in prices of all publications, which resulted in a gradual decline of circulations. Several traditional publications have been forced out of the market and other daily newspapers faced threats of closures for financial reasons. Czech media experts and journalists have pointed out the declining quality of journalism and the spread of “gutter practices” by publishers to ensure commercial success, as well as a fear of editorial influence from the growing foreign financial ownership of Czech print media, of which 80 percent is now controlled by German and Swiss corporations. Such foreign ownership was not opposed by the Czech government prior to the country’s entry to the European Union for fear that doing so
would be construed as challenging the fundamental requirement of permitting the free flow of capital.

Nevertheless, the print media continue to be vibrant and the fear of foreign influence over content has receded. Among the major dailies are: *Mladá fronta Dnes* (or *MF Dnes*), a successor to the Communist-era youth newspaper, but it underwent wholesale editorial change and boasts the largest circulation, which in 2008 was approximately 290,000 papers per day. *Lidové noviny*, which had Communist-era dissident origins, has a much smaller circulation of 73,000. Both *Mladá fronta Dnes* and *Lidové noviny* are published by the German company Rheinisch-Bergische Druckerei und Verlagsgesellschaft mbH. *Právo* is the successor to the Communist Party’s newspaper *Rudé právo* but became completely independent and its content bears no relation to its past. Its circulation of 165,000 makes it the third largest; it is also the only major daily to be Czech-owned, through a company that is majority-controlled by its editor. The primarily business paper is *Hospodářské noviny* and its circulation is relatively low, at about 60,000.

The two main weekly news magazines are *Týden* and *Respekt*; the latter is published by R-Press, a company that is majority-owned by Karel Schwarzenberg, foreign minister between 2007 and 2009. Two tabloids comparable to the American *National Enquirer*, *Blesk* and *Express*, have very considerable circulations, with *Blesk* in fact usually claiming the highest circulation in the country, with 430,000 daily copies being published, although its influence on politics is considered to be disproportionately smaller. *Blesk* is owned by Germany’s Ringier. The country’s fourth most-popular daily is *Sport*, with 140,000 issues; it is also published by Ringier.

Regional newspapers in Plzeň, Brno, Hradec Králové, Ústí nad Labem, České Budějovice, and Ostrava have had average circulations of between 50,000 to 80,000. German ownership is particularly notable among these regional presses, which also tend to publish similar general content with smaller inserts of municipal or regional reporting. All major Czech media sources have embraced the Internet, providing vast amounts of current material through that medium. See also GRUŠA, JIŘÍ; HAVLÍČEK BOROVSKÝ, KAREL; PEROUTKA, FERDINAND; RADIO AND TELEVISION.
PRIVATIZATION (*PRIVATIZACE*). After the fall of the Communist regime in November 1989, democratization was closely followed by efforts to reestablish a market economy in Czechoslovakia. The legal framework was set at both the federal and republican levels. The Federal Assembly adopted one law on free enterprise and another that transformed national property to state property in April 1990. The latter law was essential, because the nationalization decrees of 1945 and 1948 had created public property, not state property, and the state (government) consequently had no legal right to change its status. The Law on State Enterprise, adopted on 18 April 1990, created the necessary legal precondition for privatization.

A law covering small privatization (encompassing smaller economic units) was adopted in October 1990, and one on large privatization (affecting most large enterprises) was passed in January 1991. Specific tasks in the field of privatization were then carried out by national legislatures and governments. In the Czech Republic, this process was more conceptual and faster than in Slovakia and by mid-1992, several months before the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, was causing obvious disproportions.

A Czech Ministry of Privatization and a Ministry for the Administration of National Property and its Privatization were created after the elections in June 1992. A Fund of National Property (*Fond národního majetku*—FNM) was entrusted with the execution of approved privatization projects. An overall concept of privatization was prepared, consisting of restitution, reestablishment of municipal property, small privatization, transformation of existing cooperatives into corporate economic entities, large privatization, voucher privatization (*kupónová privatizace*), and foreign capital participation. Restitution covered properties nationalized between 1948 and 1959, and it was largely accomplished by the end of 1991. Municipalities were granted independent status with responsibility for local government; previously state-owned properties within their jurisdiction were transferred to them.

The goals of small privatization were attained by the end of 1993, with over 22,000 units sold to individuals in public auctions. Large privatization was carried out in two stages, the first of which started in October 1991 and was finished at the end of 1993. The second
stage started in 1993 and was largely completed in the first half of 1996. Bodies created for the purpose of administering the privatization process (except the FNM) were abolished after the June 1996 elections.

The most specific and innovative feature of the Czech privatization has been the use of vouchers (kupónové knížky). All citizens 18 years old or older were eligible to buy—for a nominal price of about $35—a set of investment coupons for the purchase of shares. About 80 percent of qualified citizens took part in the first round, and almost 90 percent in the second. Assets worth some $15 billion were distributed among Czech citizens. Most of them entrusted their vouchers to various investment funds that had been established for that purpose. Unrealizable offers were inevitably made, however, of which the most well known was conducted by an investment fund founded by Viktor Koženy, who was wanted on charges in the Czech Republic. Foreign investors, most significantly from Germany and the United States, bought participation in a number of Czech enterprises. The total value of foreign investment in the Czech economy at the end of 1996 was $6.7 billion.

Some assets were excluded from privatization, namely, property of state organs and institutions including courts, schools, postal services, railroads, oil and gas pipelines, public television channels, and most health-care facilities. Nor did privatization apply to the Czech News Agency and such treasures of national culture as the National Theater and National Museum. The most sensitive part of the privatization has been that of the largest enterprises, including mines, which employed large numbers of people. When much of the privatization process was considered complete, most of them still remained, directly or indirectly, owned by the state. Still other major areas of the economy remained to be privatized, such as banks and communications, an issue the European Commission noted in its assessments of Czech preparations for accession to the European Union. The Czech government only sold its majority share in Český Telecom in 2005 to Spain’s Telefonica; the giant Vitkovice steelworks, employing 1,600 people, were sold in the same year to a Russian company. Although privatization of the national carrier Czech Airlines was raised frequently, the government only announced in
January 2009 the planned sale of the 91.5 percent public share in the company, which was expected to be completed later that year.

While obviously successful in its fundamental purpose—introduction of a full-scale market economy—the Czech privatization process has also been criticized as a wasteful give-away of large parts of national property. The difficulties into which the Czech economy ran in the first half of 1997, and which resulted in the resignation of the government, were largely blamed on the shortcomings of the privatization process. Debates on this subject among experts are far from over. It may be that the greatest achievement of privatization has been the entry of foreign companies into the Czech economy.

**PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA (PROTEKTORÁT ČECHY A MORAVA).** This term denotes the colonial status of parts of the Czech lands that was imposed upon them by Nazi Germany in March 1939. After large territories of Bohemia and Moravia were annexed by Germany in the fall of 1938, Adolf Hitler’s next step was complete elimination of the rest of Czechoslovakia. With German encouragement, Slovakia seceded from the republic on 14 March 1939, and German armed forces started to move into the Czech lands in the late afternoon of the same day.

President Emil Hácha, the reluctant successor of Edvard Beneš, went to meet Hitler in Berlin the same day. Helplessly, he signed a declaration that claimed that the president had asked for German protection and Hitler had agreed to provide it. The occupation took place on 15 March 1939, and Hitler signed a decree on the establishment of the protectorate during his brief visit to Prague the next day. In the occupied Czech lands, the Germans captured a vast amount of armament and ammunition from the Czechoslovak Army, all of which was soon put to use during the invasions of Poland and France.

German termination of Czechoslovakia was not recognized by France, Great Britain, or the United States. The Soviets’ attitude was more ambivalent, namely in the period of the Soviet–German Pact (1939–1941). The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for example, recognized the Slovak State.

The protectorate had 7.4 million inhabitants and a large industrial base that was gradually integrated into the German industrial war
machine. The head of the German administration of the protectorate was called the imperial protector and was assisted by a state secretary. The Czechs were permitted to maintain a form of self-govern ment that at all levels was subordinate to German authorities. Hundreds of Germans were placed directly into the autonomous Czech administration.

The Czechs were secretly screened for their racial potential to be Germanized and assimilated; those unfit were to be exterminated. Suppression of the educated elite was at the top of the Nazi agenda, and a part of that plan included the closure of all Czech universities in November 1939. Persecution was launched against the Jews, Communists, Social Democrats, former Czechoslovak Army officers, and known supporters of prewar Czechoslovakia. Anti-Jewish laws, based on the model of the German Nuremberg Laws of 1935, resulted in the deportation of some 75,000 Jews, of whom only a fragment survived the war. Resistance against the Nazi rule was brutally suppressed; tens of thousands of Czechs were executed or sent to prisons and concentration camps.

The legacy of the Munich Diktat and the occupation was a political shift to the left in the postwar period, which facilitated the Communist takeover in February 1948. See also “HEYDRICHIADE.”

PUBLIC AGAINST VIOLENCE (VEREJNOST’ PROTI NÁSILIU—VPN). This Slovak opposition movement was formed in Bratislava on 20 November 1989. The VPN united several previously existing Slovak dissident groups with newly emerged forces demanding the end of the Communist party dictatorship and a return to democracy. The VPN paralleled the constitution of the Czech Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF) following the crackdown of a student demonstration in Prague on November 17 the same year. The VPN became the main partner of the OF in the democratic coalition that assumed power in Czechoslovakia before the end of 1989. The OF-VPN coalition won the elections in June 1990 and held leading positions in the federal and national governments until 1992. Both movements split before the elections in June 1992, and their strongest successor parties—the Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana—ODS) in the Czech Republic, and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Hnutí za
demokratické Slovensko—HZDS) in the Slovak Republic—played the main role in the negotiations leading to the dissolution of Czechoslovakia on 31 December 1992. See also ČALFA, MARIÁN.

PURKYNĚ, JAN EVANGELISTA (1787–1869). A leading Czech scientist of the 19th century, Purkyně graduated from Charles University and, between 1823 and 1849, he was a professor of physiology at the University of Vratislav (now Wroclaw), which was then part of Prussian Silesia. From 1850 until his death, Purkyně was a professor at the Charles University. He achieved several significant discoveries in the field of embryology and cell theory that won him international recognition. Purkyně also played an important role in the Czech National Revival. He is credited with the idea of a coordinated national system of scientific research, which he outlined between 1861 and 1863. On the basis of this idea, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences was founded in 1952. The second largest Czech university, in Brno, was named after Purkyně between 1960 and 1990, after which it readopted its original name, Masaryk University.

– Q –

QUAD COALITION. See FOUR-PARTY COALITION.

– R –

RADIO AND TELEVISION. Radio broadcasting was introduced in Czechoslovakia in the early 1920s and became a popular means of mass communication by the mid-1930s. At its inception, radio broadcasting was conceived as a public service with an educational mission, similar to the British BBC. Listeners supported public broadcasting with monthly fees. No private broadcasting existed in Czechoslovakia before 1990. Television arrived in Czechoslovakia in 1953, and regular broadcasting began on 25 February 1954, but the Communist government ensured control over all programming until 1989, with only a short interruption in 1968 during the Prague Spring.
It was only after the collapse of Communism in 1989 that broadcasting was opened to private interests. Public radio and television both continued to function as Český rozhlas, which operates several stations and broadcasts internationally in foreign languages, and Česká televize, the latter broadcasting on four channels.

The first privatized television in post-Communist Central Europe was NOVA TV, which became a significant success, reaching 60 percent of the total Czech television audience when it began in 1994 and thereafter nationwide. Despite the subsequent challenge of a second private channel, Prima TV, NOVA TV remains the most popular television station, aided in part because of the attention it received for featuring naked women (and eventually one man) presenting the weather. The importance to the population of proper editorial control of state television was indicated in January 2001. Thousands protested on the streets of Prague to support a strike by journalists against the appointment of Jiří Hodáč as director-general of state television. His appointment was seen as political and amounting to a threat to editorial independence.

Foreign capital’s share in Czech private radio and TV broadcasting has been estimated at over 50 percent. See also PRESS.

RAŠÍN, ALOIS (1867–1923). A leading Czech politician, lawyer, and economist in the last 25 years of Austria-Hungary and the first five years of Czechoslovakia, Rašín became well known in 1894 in connection with a highly publicized political trial of the activists of a secret radical Czech youth organization called Omladina. The group was modeled on, and named after, a conspiratorial Serbian group in Vojvodina, a Serb province controlled by Austria-Hungary before 1918. Rašín, a young lawyer at that time, was sentenced to two years in jail. He entered Czech political life after his release from prison. In 1907, he joined the Young Czech Party (Mladočeská strana) and was appointed editor of its popular daily newspaper, Národní listy. In 1911, he was elected to the Vienna Reichsrat.

After the outbreak of World War I, Rašín took an active part in the underground anti-Habsburg resistance group later known as Maffie. Together with another Czech political leader, Karel Kramář, Rašín was arrested in 1915 and in June 1916, sentenced to death.
Pardoned in 1917, he renewed his work in the domestic resistance movement, and in October 1918 he was a leading organizer of the Czechoslovak National Committee in Prague, which declared the independence of Czechoslovakia. He joined Kramář in founding a new, conservative political party, the National Democratic Party (Národně demokratická strana), for which he was elected a deputy in the new parliament.

As minister of finance from 1918 to 1919 and from 1922 until his death, Rašín has been credited with the creation of a new and stable Czechoslovak monetary system. While his deflationary concept was successful in practical financial terms, it was very unpopular among state employees, industrial workers, and other sectors of the population. Rašín was shot in front of his house in downtown Prague by an anarchist on 5 January 1923, and died of his injuries several weeks later.

REGIONS. Under the Czechoslovak federation, the Czech Republic had a system of regions that formed a level of governance between Prague and the local levels (villages and towns). These were removed in a reorganization in 1990 but the constitution for the new Czech Republic proposed the reintroduction of a similar level of administration. The Czech Republic’s accession process to the European Union also required reform of regional structures, giving added impetus for change that was formally introduced on 1 January 2000. The system now consists of fourteen kraje or Regions, with Prague having the status both as the capital city and a Region in its own right. The others are: the Central Bohemian; the South Bohemian; Plzeň; Karlovy Vary; Ústí nad Labem; Liberec; Hradec Králové; Pradubice; Olomouc; Moravian-Silesian; South Moravian; Zlín; and Vysočina. Each region also has a representational council, the elections for which are contested by the major political parties but can produce results very different from those at the national level.

RELIGION. While freedom of faith is guaranteed and protected in the Czech Republic, there is no constitutional connection between the state and any of the existing churches. According to the 1991 census, 39.9 percent of the adult population of the Czech Republic claimed
to profess no religion, and 16.2 percent did not respond to the question. Among the functioning churches, the strongest was the Roman Catholic Church, with 39 percent. Of 10 registered Protestant churches, the largest was the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren (2 percent). The 2001 census demonstrated even less religious affiliation, with 59 percent declaring themselves to be unaffiliated, while 26.8 percent were Roman Catholic, 2.1 percent Protestant, and 8.8 percent were unspecified. Although comprehensive data on attendance of services and other indicators of actual religiosity are not available, Czech religious observance is also relatively low in comparative terms. An Austrian survey in 2000 found only 18 percent of Czechs deemed religion important, half the percentage of Hungarians and a quarter of Poles. Similarly, a Reader’s Digest survey of religiosity in 14 European states published in 2005 found Czechs, at 37 percent, to be the least observant. Even with the highest popular following among churches, the Roman Catholic Church faces difficulties in maintaining allegiance as well its physical operation. Only 4 percent of the population attend mass regularly, and in 2005 Roman Catholic Cardinal Miloslav Vlk declared that state funding for the church had declined and that consequently it was unable to pay its priests properly. That said, the Catholic Church still retains some influence in political life through the Christian Democratic Party–Czechoslovak People’s Party.

While attendance at traditional churches may be limited among Czechs, some religious observance is noted among minorities. The Czech Republic’s largest non-European minority, the Vietnamese, opened one Buddhist temple in north Bohemia in 2008 and planned another in Prague. The Czech Republic’s first mosque was opened in Brno in 1998 and claims a combined Czech and foreign attendance of 800. See also COUNTERREFORMATION; HUS, JAN; HUSSITE MOVEMENT; JEWS IN THE CZECH LANDS; PATENT OF TOLERATION.

REPUBLICAN PARTY. See ASSOCIATION FOR THE REPUBLIC–REPUBLICAN PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

RHINE PACT. See LOCARNO TREATY.
RIEGER, LADISLAV (1818–1903). A lawyer and economist, Rieger was a leading Czech politician from the 1860s to the 1880s. He became engaged in Czech political life early as a student. In spring 1848, he was one of the founding members of the St. Wenceslas Committee, soon renamed the National Committee, which organized a petition movement demanding a constitution. With his eventual father-in-law, the historian František Palacký, Rieger belonged to the leadership of the Czech liberal movement in 1848–1849 and was a deputy of the Constitutional Assembly of the Habsburg Empire. This assembly, then meeting in the Moravian town of Kroměříž, was dissolved in March 1849 after the Austrian government suppressed the revolution in Vienna.

Rieger left the country soon afterward and, until 1851, he studied economics in France and England. After his return, he focused on the compilation of the first Czech encyclopedia called Rieger’s Encyclopedic Dictionary, published between 1860 and 1874. In 1861, he also founded Národní listy, a Czech daily newspaper that became the voice first of the Old Czech Party and later of the Young Czech Party.

A deputy in the Czech diet and the Vienna Reichsrat from the 1860s until the 1890s, Rieger consistently sought the recognition of the historical status of the Czech Kingdom within the empire. For more than 10 years after the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise in 1867, Rieger pursued a policy of passive resistance, but changed tactics by 1879 and strove for small gradual concessions for the Czech cause in exchange for general cooperation with Vienna. At the height of his political career in 1890, he negotiated an agreement with the Bohemian Germans to divide the Czech lands into two administrative regions—a Czech one and a German one. This agreement aroused a general Czech exasperation because it would have been a step toward breakup of the country. Rieger’s Old Czech Party lost most of its support as a consequence, and Rieger himself lost his political leadership.

ŘÍP MOUNTAIN (HORA ŘÍP). This kilometer-high (1,500-foot) elevation lies about 30 kilometers (20 miles) north of Prague, in the Vltava and Labe confluence basin. According to an old Czech leg-
end, the first Czech tribe that arrived in Bohemia, probably in the 6th century, was led by its leader, “Forefather Czech” (Praotec Čech) to this mountain. Looking around from its top, the forefather allegedly said that the land around abounded with milk and honey and was suitable for settlement.

ROMA IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC (RÓMOVÉ V ČESKÉ REPUBLICE). More commonly called Gypsies (cikáni), after the fall of Communism their status became an issue internally as well as internationally. The number of Roma (plural form of Rom; their language is called Romany) who live in the Czech Republic is not quite clear. In 1989, Czechoslovak authorities registered 145,711 Roma living in the Czech lands and 253,943 in Slovakia. However, before the breakup of Czechoslovakia in 1992, only 32,903 Roma claimed their nationality in the 1991 census and 11,746 did so in the 2001 census. This number almost certainly does not reflect their numbers, however; many Roma leaders point out that Roma do not necessarily associate with the choices of nationality provided on the census.

Roma have lived in all parts of the country, but a large majority of them resided in Slovakia (77,269 people in Slovakia identified themselves as Romany in 1992; in Bohemia, only 24,294). Reports of employment offices and social welfare departments in the Czech Republic in 1995 showed that in fact about 200,000 Roma lived there. At the same time, the Roma organizations in the Czech Republic claimed that they numbered 300,000. The largest Roma concentration in the Czech Republic was in north Bohemia.

The Roma are believed to have originated in northwest India, from where they moved to Persia in the first millennium A.D. From Persia, they moved gradually to different parts of Europe, and in the late 1800s even to America (the current world Roma population is estimated at 5 million).

Partially because they adhere to their traditional ways and partially because of rejection and persecution in host countries, the Roma have not sufficiently assimilated anywhere. Their presence in Bohemia and Moravia was noted as early as the 13th century, but they founded few settlements and instead their little groups moved in and out of the country. This pattern did not change much
until this century, and it is uncertain how many of them lived in pre–World War II Czechoslovakia. It is known that large numbers of Roma lived in Ruthenia and Slovakia, but they were quite rare in Moravia and Bohemia.

The German “racial cleansing” policy applied to the Roma as much as it applied to the Jews, and some 500,000 of them, from all German-occupied countries, were exterminated in Auschwitz and other Nazi concentration camps. Between 1940 and 1943, the Nazis maintained two Roma deportation camps in the protectorate, in Lety in Bohemia and in Hodonín in Moravia. How many Gypsies went through these camps, and how many of them were from the Czech lands, has been investigated in recently found German archives. It is estimated that up to 7,000 Czech Roma perished in Auschwitz alone, and only 1,000 survived the war, but many more survived in Slovakia.

The Communist regime in Czechoslovakia made a great effort to force the Roma to abandon what remained of their nomadic lifestyle and to settle down and subordinate themselves to administrative and sanitary controls. They were moved into state-subsidized housing and encouraged to join the work force, mainly in iron and steel works in north Moravia and in coal mining and construction. Thousands of Roma moved from Slovakia to the Czech lands in those years. Whether that was a temporary or permanent relocation is not clear, but studies showed that the largest subethnic Roma group in the Czech Republic (up to 90 percent) was constituted of those who had moved from Slovakia and Hungary.

After the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in January 1993, the Czech parliament adopted a citizenship law that was criticized in the West as discriminating against the Roma and denying thousands of them Czech citizenship. Some international organizations have claimed that as many as 100,000 Roma in the Czech Republic were consequently excluded from Czech citizenship. The Czech government rejected several times the accusations that the existing citizenship law discriminated against anybody, including the Roma, although several changes were then introduced to the law which made acquisition of citizenship easier for them.
In the later 1990s Czech Roma began applying for asylum in various Western countries, starting with Canada in 1997. While many were accepted to Canada, the continuing flow of applications prompted the Canadian government to impose visa requirements on all Czechs. In 1999 over 2,000 Czech Roma applied for asylum to Great Britain. Although most applications were refused and the applicants required to return to the Czech Republic (with Amnesty International in turn criticizing the British government for not recognizing the validity of the claims), the attempted flight increased international interest in the Romani question in the country. Actions taken by Roma and their representatives inside the Czech Republic also increased international attention. This included the filing of a case to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) by 18 Roma families in Ostrava. The suit claimed that the city’s educational system was discriminating against the children by declaring them to be mentally handicapped on account of being Roma. In November 2007 the ECHR ruled in favor of the Roma families. Roma advocates have brought forward other legal claims, such as regarding charges of forced sterilization during the Communist period.

Still other controversies have included the fate of a pig farm at Lety which had been the site of a World War II concentration camp in which some 1,200 Czech Romanies were interned and from which most were sent to their death in Auschwitz. Despite the pressure of local and foreign activists to close or relocate the farm and to commemorate the site properly, authorities resisted. In 2005 the matter reached the European Parliament, which called for the farm’s closure. Prime Minister Jiří Paroubek said that he favored removing the farm. President Václav Klaus, however, criticized the European Parliament for being too uninformed to pass judgment on what he also deemed to be a strictly Czech matter.

While the Czech government at all levels, and numerous nongovernmental groups, have undertaken various measures to assist the Roma, international intergovernmental and nongovernmental bodies have continued to criticize both the Czech government and society for neglect and mistreatment of the Roma population. Relations between the bulk of the Roma minority and the Czech mainstream
will almost certainly continue to be a difficult matter, although some people in Czech society and government also seek to ameliorate this difficult and complex situation, one that is also not unique to the Czech Republic.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. See CATHOLIC CHURCH.

RUML, JAN (1953– ). This Czech activist and politician was born in Prague on 5 April 1953. He was an earlier signatory of Charter 77 and a member of the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted. He was also involved in dissident publications and helped revitalize newspaper publishing after Communist rule, particularly with the influential weekly Respekt, of which he was the first editor. He also served as deputy interior minister in post-Communist federal Czechoslovakia. Between 1992 and 1997 he was Czech minister of the interior in the government of Václav Klaus, as well as a member of his Civic Democratic Party (ODS). Ruml broke with the ODS in late 1997 and formed the new center-right Freedom Union to protest Klaus’s leadership. Ruml resigned his own party leadership later in 1999, when popular protests, largely directed against the instigators of the Opposition Agreement, called for changes of political leadership. He was elected in 1998 as a senator for Prague, which he held until 2004.

RUTHENIA (PODKARPATSKÁ RUS, OR SUB-CARPARIAN RUSSIA). Ruthenia was the easternmost province of interwar Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1939. With an area under 8,000 square kilometers (4,900 square miles) and with a pre–World War II population of less than 1 million, Ruthenia is located on the southwestern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. Its capital is Uzhhorod.

Until 1918, Ruthenia was a province of Transleithania, the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire. In the 12th century, Ruthenia was a part of the Duchy of Galicia, after which for centuries it belonged to the St. Stephen crown, that is, it was a Hungarian province. The name Ruthenia is a Latinized form of Russia; in the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the inhabitants of the whole western Ukraine were called Ruthenians, which also included the Ukrainian inhabitants of Galicia and Bukovina.
While there are minimal linguistic differences between eastern and western Ukraine, there are cultural differences, particularly in religion. Since the 16th century, the Ruthenians have not belonged to the Orthodox Church but have instead had their own Uniate Church in union with the Catholic Church.

Opposed to Hungarian rule, which was marked by severe Magyarization in the 19th century, Ruthenian organizations abroad and at home strove for years to achieve autonomy. In 1918, when their first real opportunity arrived to overthrow Hungarian domination, they opted for a union with Czechoslovakia and negotiated to that effect with Tomáš Masaryk in the United States, and with Edvard Beneš in Paris. The treaties of St. Germain and Trianon then agreed that Ruthenia would become a part of Czechoslovakia.

The administration of the province proved to be a difficult task because of its underdevelopment and a complicated ethnic situation. Ruthenia had large Hungarian (17 percent) and Jewish (13 percent) minorities and practically no native educated class. Administered by a governor, in 1928 Ruthenia became one of the four lands of which prewar Czechoslovakia was composed, with an autonomous constitution.

In November 1938, Hungary annexed the southern parts of Ruthenia (see VIENNA ARBITRATION) and, in March 1939, the rest of the country. In 1944, Ruthenia was liberated by the Soviet Army, and a year later ceded by Czechoslovakia, not quite voluntarily, to the USSR, after which it became a region within the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. After the breakup of the USSR at the end of 1991 Ruthenia remained in the newly independent state of Ukraine. Of Czechoslovak political parties at that time, only the extreme “Republican Party” raised the issue of seeking Ruthenia’s return.

− S −

SADOVÁ. Formerly a village close to the northeastern Bohemian city of Hradec Králové, Sadová was the site of the decisive battle in the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866. The Austrian Army suffered a crushing defeat. In this battle, the Prussian infantry used,
for the first time, the needle gun, which delivered five rounds per minute. This battle is also known as the Battle of Königgrätz, which was the German name of Hradec Králové during Austrian rule. In the peace settlement that followed the battle, Austria was excluded from the organization of German states—the German Union—that Bismarck replaced with the North German Confederation. Prussia assumed hegemony in Germany. Austria also lost Venice to the Kingdom of Italy.

SAINT WENCESLAUS (*svatý Václav*). One of the first historical princes of the Premyslite dynasty, probably ruling from 924 to 935, Wenceslaus is noted in contemporary Latin sources, and his life and death are recorded by Cosmas, dean of the Prague parish, in his 11th-century chronicle, *Chronica Boemorum*. Nevertheless, a historically reliable reconstruction of his times remains difficult. Wenceslaus was probably the older son of Prince Vratislav I and Drahomíra, daughter of an Elbe Slavic tribe then inhabiting the Havel River basin in the present-day German province of Brandenburg. Because his father died while Wenceslaus was still a child, Drahomíra probably acted as regent before he grew up. She may have provided some support for the Wends (Lusatian Serbs) against the Saxons, which incurred their king’s (Henry I) enmity. Also, she was probably not sympathetic toward Christianity. Wenceslaus, whom she most probably did not raise, is believed to have been noted for his Christian piety, and during his short reign, he appears to have submitted to the Franks without resistance (around 929). Both his fervent support of the Christian faith and his conciliatory policy toward the Franks were apparently opposed by powerful Czech nobles and by his own younger brother, Boleslav. With the latter’s complicity or at his orders, Wenceslaus was murdered. Boleslav then succeeded his brother and ruled as Boleslav I. Wenceslaus was later canonized and recognized as the patron saint of Bohemia.

SCHWARZENBERG, KAREL (1937– ). A leading figure in post-Communist Czechoslovak and Czech public life, he was born on 10 December 1937 in Prague to an aristocratic family and with the full name of Karl Johannes Nepomuk Josef Norbert Friedrich
Antonius Wratislaw Mena von Schwarzenberg. As pressures against non-Czechs and Slovaks grew in the aftermath of World War II, he and his family fled Czechoslovakia to Austria in December 1948. He later studied law and became active in human rights promotion, particularly supporting the Czechoslovak dissident movement. He also served as chairman of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights from 1984 to 1991, for which he received the Human Rights Award of the Council of Europe (along with Lech Wałęsa) in 1989. He returned to live in Czechoslovakia in 1989 as Communist rule was collapsing. Following the Velvet Revolution and the installation of Václav Havel as president of Czechoslovakia, Schwarzenberg was named to the Collegium of Counsellors, a select group of advisers that included several émigrés who were appointed to assist Havel in the immediate transition from Communist rule.

On 10 July 1990, Schwarzenberg was named chancellor of the president, formalizing his influential advisory position around the president, a post in which he continued until July 1992, when the future of the Czechoslovak federation became doubtful after the June 1992 elections that polarized relations between Czechs and Slovaks. For several years thereafter Schwarzenberg tended largely to family matters, and in December 2004 he became a senator and was particularly active in foreign policy, including as a member of the Senate EU committee and in December 2006 he became chairman of the foreign affairs, defense, and security committee. He was also a member of the Czech parliamentary delegation to both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization parliamentary assembly and the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. He continued to advocate human rights issues, including those of Cuban dissidents, and was expelled from Cuba in 2005 for attending an opposition meeting. Schwarzenberg is also majority-owner of shares in R-Press, which publishes the quality weekly newspaper Respekt.

On 19 January 2007, Schwarzenberg became foreign minister in the coalition government of Miroslav Topolánek. Czech President Václav Klaus expressed concern about Schwarzenberg’s suitability as Czech foreign minister on the basis that his connections to Austria were allegedly too considerable for him to defend Czech national interests. Although he is a Czech citizen, Schwarzenberg also holds
Swiss, but not Austrian, citizenship. Among his more significant acts as foreign minister was signing the protocols with United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in July 2008 to permit the stationing on Czech territory of the radar components of an American missile defense system.

**SCULPTURE (SOCHAŘSTVÍ).** Initially closely tied to architecture and mainly ornamental in its nature, Czech sculpture started becoming an art of its own only in the mid-13th century. As elsewhere in Europe, religious themes and figurative sculpture were dominant. Xylography and wood-carving have been distinguished native forms since the early 14th century. In the 15th century, Bohemia became a leading center of European sculpture, which was generously supported by Charles IV Luxemburg and connected with the construction of the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.

Decorative elements complemented the previous strict realism toward the end of the 14th century and dominated Czech sculpture until the 17th century. Widely known late Baroque sculptors were Matyáš Bernard Braun (1684–1738), the creator of three monumental statues on the Charles Bridge in Prague, and Ferdinand M. Brokof (1688–1731) whose work also decorates the Charles Bridge.

The temporary decline of Czech sculpture in the second half of the 18th century and first half of the 19th was overcome in the next decades, particularly by the works of the greatest Czech sculptor of all time, Josef Václav Myslbek (1848–1922). Motivated by the ideas of the National Revival and by the patriotism of that era, Myslbek’s monumentalism partially paralleled the achievements of the artistic “generation of the National Theater.” His mounted statue of Saint Wenceslaus still dominates the largest and main square in the center of Prague (see WENCESLAUS SQUARE). Myslbek’s traditional and distinctly French influences can be seen in the work of all later generations of Czech sculptors up to the present time.

**SECOND REPUBLIC.** This refers to Czechoslovakia in the period from 1 October 1938, the time at which the country ceded territory according to the Munich Diktat, until March 1939, when the country was completely dismembered and ceased to exist. At that point the
Czech Lands came under direct Nazi German control as the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and Slovakia, under German pressure, became an independent state. See also FIRST REPUBLIC.

SEIFERT, JAROSLAV (1901–1986). A great Czech poet and the recipient of the 1984 Nobel Prize for Literature, Seifert belonged to a generation of writers, poets, and editors who, in their young years, sought solutions to social problems plaguing capitalism, socialism, and Communism. Like most of them, he was deeply disappointed. His poetry reflected his life experience and gradually turned from optimism and lyricism to nostalgia, and from rhymed verses to free expression. In the hard times for the Czech literary community after the Soviet invasion in 1968, Seifert assumed the difficult role of chairman of the Union of Czech Writers. After the union was disbanded in 1970, Seifert was not permitted to publish except in samizdat. He continued to support dissident activities, especially Charter 77.

SEMTEX. A Czech invention of plastic explosive created in 1966, it was intended originally for clearing landmines and for demolition in construction work, but the Soviet Union also ordered its adaptation for use by Vietnamese forces against the United States. Its unique properties made it popular with terrorist groups: it provides concentrated explosive power; is entirely stable, only being ignitable intentionally by a detonator; it is invisible in X-ray machines and its lack of smell renders it undetectable. Following the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the invention was physically taken from the country for use in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. After the end of Communist rule, the new Czechoslovak president Václav Havel made public that the Communist regime had sold 2,000 tons of Semtex to such countries as Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Syria.

Semtex was used by such terrorist organizations as the Irish Republican Army and became known as the terrorist’s explosive of choice. Less than a pound of Semtex was believed responsible for the in-flight destruction of a Pan-Am Boeing over Lockerbie, Scotland, in December 1988; the bombing killed 270 people. The Libyan government eventually accepted some culpability for the atrocity. Semtex was also used in the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya
and Tanzania in August 1998 that killed over 200 and wounded more than 1,000 people.

After the East Africa attacks the Czech producers added metal and scent to Semtex to make it detectable, but as many as 40,000 tons of old Semtex may remain in circulation. Originally manufactured near Pardubice, in the town of Semtín, from which Semtex derived its name, its notoriety has transferred the name to other products in the Czech Republic, from a rock group to an energy drink.

**SENATE.** This is the upper house of the Czech **Parliament**, referred to in Czech formally as **Senát Parlamentu České republiky** and more commonly as simply **Senát**, of the Czech Republic’s bicameral parliament. The Senate occupies several buildings but its principal building is the Wallenstein Palace, below the Hradčany in **Prague**. The Senate was created in 1992 as part of the constitutional preparations for the independent Czech state, and was envisioned as a means of providing a counterbalance to the powers of the **Chamber of Deputies** and possibly also to limit the influence of the electoral success of any single party on the political process. The Senate has 81 seats, one-third of which are elected every two years for six-year terms. Although existing on paper when the Czech Republic became an independent state on 1 January 1993, the Senate did not come into operation until 1996. The first elections saw a voter turnout of 35 percent and subsequent turnouts have been even lower. The Senate was arguably created to give positions to existing Federal members of parliament from Czech constituencies elected in 1992 who would, upon the formal disintegration of **Czechoslovakia**, lose their offices. Some explanations for the delay in establishing the Senate, however, included that the Czech Republic’s new lower house did not want any challenges to its authority.

Regardless, the Senate’s powers are relatively limited, and principally include the ability to delay draft legislation passed by the Chamber of Deputies. In such a situation, however, the Chamber of Deputies can overturn the Senate with a simple majority or 101 votes out of 200 in a subsequent vote. The Senate can introduce new legislation but does not approve the state budget. It also gives consent to presidential appointments to the **Constitutional Court**, which
especially in 2003 it refused to provide for a number of candidates. The body is also important in the election of the president and for permitting constitutional amendments.

The president of the Senate is technically second only to the president in authority in the Czech governmental system, although that stature is recognized as only ceremonial in practice. Senators may serve in the Cabinet, as do Karel Schwarzenberg and Alexandr Vondra, both of whom have served as foreign ministers. See also GOVERNMENT.

SERFDOM (PODDANSTVÍ). This state of servitude, usually hereditary, had its origins in feudalism. Serfdom, which developed in Western Europe in the 10th and 11th centuries, was gradually imposed on the Czech peasantry, starting with the 14th century. While it differed in its specific forms from one estate to another, its main characteristics were subjugation of the peasants by the local lord, servitude, and attachment to the land that was the equivalent of semi-bondage. Corvée (forced labor; in Czech, robota) was part of the system, but at no point of its existence in the Czech lands did it reach the extremes of Russian serfdom, which did not differ much from slavery.

The Czech peasants’ land holdings remained hereditary, in most cases, throughout the centuries. The aristocrats, however, exercised a great deal of control over their subjects’ lives as long as the manor was also the center of local political and judicial power. The situation of the Czech peasantry became particularly difficult after the Czech Estates’ defeat by the Habsburgs in 1620. Parallel with oppressive re-Catholicization, restrictions under serfdom were stiffened. The aristocracy, in many cases of foreign origin, imposed a heavy burden on their subjects, in terms of both labor service and fixed payments.

Peasant uprisings in the 17th and 18th centuries forced the emperors to gradually regulate the system, in particular to set certain limits on the exploitation of the peasantry. The centralization of the state administration that was launched in the mid-18th century, as well as the introduction of better methods of farming, made serfdom obsolete. At the same time, the ideas of the Enlightenment undermined the practice’s anachronistic justification. Emperor Josef II nevertheless had to overcome strong opposition from the aristocracy and from
the Catholic Church before he issued his decree abolishing serfdom in **Bohemia**, **Moravia**, and **Silesia** in November 1781. Specifically, the decree abolished manorial duties and the lords’ rights to interfere with the peasants’ freedom of movement, marriage, and decisions about their children’s education or training. The peasants still had to provide a limited amount of labor on their lords’ land. This last form of servitude was terminated in 1848.

**Silesia** (*Slezsko* in Czech; *Slask* in Polish; *Schlesi* in German). A historical land in Central Europe, it borders on north eastern **Bohemia** and northern **Moravia**, extending both east and west along the Oder (**Odra**) River from the Krkonoše Mountains to the western Carpathians (**Beskidy**). Silesia was part of the **Czech Kingdom** in the early 11th century but came under Polish rule in the mid-12th century. Polish kings of the Piast dynasty encouraged German colonization of Silesia during that time, and large parts of the province became significantly Germanized. In 1138, Polish King Boleslaw III divided Poland into four hereditary duchies, of which Silesia was one.

In 1335, Silesia became part of the Czech Kingdom again under King John I Luxemburg, whom Silesian magnates recognized as their sovereign. In 1526, Silesia passed under Habsburg rule with the Czech lands when Ferdinand I became king of Bohemia. The country remained part of the Czech Kingdom until 1742, when Maria Theresa was forced to cede most of it to Prussia. Only four southern districts of Silesia remained part of the Czech crown—Těšín, Opava, Krnov, and Nisa. Silesia was thus factually divided into Prussian and Czech (Austrian) parts.

In the second half of the 19th century, Silesia was heavily **industrialized** along both sides of the border, where rich deposits of coal, lignite, iron, zinc, and other ores overlapped. The center of industrialization of Czech Silesia was **Ostrava** and the Karviná coal basin.

Poland, which had been divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the 18th century, was restored by the Allies after **World War I** and received parts of eastern Silesia. Poland also received a part of Czech (Austrian) Silesia. The Silesian districts that remained in Czechoslovakia were administratively united with Moravia in 1927,
forming the Moravian-Silesian Land. After the Munich Diktat in 1938, Poland briefly seized the Czech Silesian territory, but Germany annexed almost the whole province after the defeat of Poland in September 1939. Only a fragment of Czech Silesia was assigned to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

In 1945, as a result of World War II, Poland incorporated most of Silesia up to the Nisa River, which event was accompanied by a mass transfer of the German population. Czech Silesia was returned to Czechoslovakia in 1945 and it continued to be a part of the Moravian-Silesian Land until 1949, when the lands system was abolished and replaced with regional administration. Under this system, Czech Silesia was a part of the North Moravian Region. These regions were abolished in 1990 and were replaced by a new system in 2000.

ŠIROKÝ, VILIAM (1902–1971). An official of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and member of its leadership, he served as Czechoslovak prime minister from 1953 to 1963. Široký, a Slovak, had been a Communist party activist since 1921 and a member of the KSC leadership since 1935. After the Munich Diktat, he was sent to Moscow and in 1941 parachuted into Slovakia to organize underground Communist activities. He was quickly arrested and jailed until 1945, even during the Slovak National Uprising. After World War II, Široký held numerous high offices, including full membership in the KSC Politburo. He was minister of foreign affairs from 1950 to 1953 and then prime minister until 1963. He was forced to step down because of his complicity in the terror of the early 1950s.

ŠKODA PLZEŇ. The traditional and previous name for one of the best known and largest Czech industrial complexes, which, since privatization, is called ŠKODA HOLDING a.s. The original enterprise was founded by Count Valdštejn in 1859 as a machine-building workshop. When it was bought by Czech engineer and entrepreneur Emil Škoda in 1869, the enterprise had 130 employees. By the end of the century, Škoda had over 20,000 employees and was the main producer of heavy armament and ammunition in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1899, it became a shareholding company. When World War I started in 1914, Škoda was already
one of the largest enterprises of its kind in Europe. In 1918, it had 30,000 employees.

After the founding of Czechoslovakia, Škoda became the nation’s armory, but its production line was gradually diversified, and before 1938 it included locomotives, automobiles, airplanes, sugar mills, and electrical power stations. In the interwar period, the majority of Škoda shares were owned by the French corporation Schneider & Cie. During the Nazi occupation and World War II, Škoda was controlled by the then-largest German armaments complex, Hermann Goering Werke, and was fully integrated into the German war machine. For that reason, it became the target of Allied air attacks, which destroyed 70 percent of Škoda’s production capacity before the end of the war.

In 1945, Škoda was nationalized, rebuilt, and reorganized. Some old production lines, particularly those for automobiles, were moved elsewhere. In the 1960s, conventional and nuclear reactors became the priority production, but Škoda also continued some 80 other production lines, including electrical engines, cement works, trolley cars, electromobiles, steam turbines, and sugar cane mills. In 1989, the concern employed 38,000 people.

In 1992, Škoda was largely privatized through the voucher privatization method. It was restructured into 37 companies, some of which were joint ventures with foreign partners. The company sought to expand its production, including through the acquisition of other major Czech automotive producers Tatra and Liaz, but which placed it in fiscal crisis. It required substantial financial restructuring from 1999 and the new company of ŠKODA HOLDING a.s. was launched in 2000. The company produces various types of major machinery and automotive products, such as steam turbines and trams. Although it shares the name and symbol of the car manufacturer Škoda, it is a separate company.

ŠKVORECKÝ, JOSEF (1924– ). This Czech novelist now lives in Canada. In 1951 Škvorecký graduated from the Charles University with a PhD in linguistics and, until 1963, worked as an editor at a leading publishing house in Prague. His first major novel was Zbabělci (The Cowards), and while it was completed in 1949 it was
not published for a decade and then was condemned and banned by the Communist regime. Nevertheless, Škvorecký published several novels in the 1960s, some of which were made into movies. After the Soviet occupation in 1968, Škvorecký left the country and settled in Toronto, Canada, where he accepted a professorship at the University of Toronto. He founded and managed with his wife, the writer and actress Zdena Salivarová, the exile publishing house called Sixty-Eight Publishers. For his support of dissident activities, Škvorecký was awarded the Order of the White Lion by former dissident and post-Communist Czechoslovak president Václav Havel. He has also won many international literary awards and also received the Order of Canada, that country’s highest honor. Škvorecký’s best-known novel is probably Tankový prapor (The Tank Battalion), although his series of novels concerning the Prague homicide detective Lieutenant Boruvka also won him wide following. See also LITERATURE.

SLÁDEK, MIROSLAV (1950– ). This right-wing Czech politician was born on 24 October 1950 in Hradec Králové. In 1990, he formed and became chairman of the Sdružení pro republiku–Republikánska strana Československa, or the Association for the Republic–Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, which was often referred to simply as the Republican Party, which inferred the interwar party of the same name. Sládek’s significance in the 1990s came partly from his extremist comments and positions. While he and his party attacked genuine elements of corruption that occurred with post-Communist privatization, they otherwise played to aspects of Czech nationalism and xenophobia. Unflattering references to the Roma were common and the Sudeten German question was used to stoke fear and to present the party as the contemporary defender of the Czech nation, which also included opposition to Czech membership of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Sládek, however, did not simply voice radical views but also held for some time electoral significance. The party won seats in the 1992 federal elections, with Sládek sitting in parliament from June 1992 until its dissolution at the end of that year, as well as in 1996. Sladek also ran several times, unsuccessfully, for Czech president.
His absence from parliament due to incarceration in 1998 almost certainly meant that Václav Havel could be elected president, as he did so by only one vote, which Sládek would have otherwise negated. His party was forced to dissolve in 2001 due to financial irregularities but Sládek has nevertheless remained in public life, albeit at the municipal level in Brno. A 2006 conviction for debts relating to his former party resulted in a fine and a restriction on him becoming a political party leader for three years.

SLÁNSKÝ, RUDOLF (1901–1952). He was the chief defendant in and victim of the large Czechoslovak show trial in 1952. Slánský joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) at the age of 20 and became a member of the party’s leadership eight years later (1929) when the Comintern’s control of the KSC became complete. He was a deputy in the Czechoslovak parliament in the 1930s, and after the Munich Diktat he found refuge in Moscow. Slánský enjoyed full Soviet confidence at that time and belonged to the closed circle of exiled Communist leaders in Moscow. As a ranking member of the KSC Politburo and personal friend of the party leader Klement Gottwald, Slánský helped to shape the KSC policy for the postwar period. He took an active part in the negotiations with President Edvard Beneš in December 1943 in Moscow, during which an agreement was reached on the basic lines of internal and external policy of Czechoslovakia after liberation.

In 1944, Slánský was sent with Jan Šverma to Slovakia as one of two top KSC representatives during the time of the Slovak National Uprising. Between 1945 and 1951, Slánský was general secretary of the KSC. He directed the party machine during the coup of 1948, and there is no doubt about his share of responsibility for the introduction of a one-party dictatorship after the coup. There is no question either about his part in the introduction of methods of indiscriminate persecution.

When the KGB launched its witch-hunt in satellite countries in 1949 looking for “traitors” in the Communist ranks, Slánský soon came under suspicion at least in part because of his Jewish origin, something which featured in the show trial to which he was subjected. He was finally demoted and arrested in 1951 and brutally
forced to confess to entirely false accusations. In November 1952, Slánský and 14 other leading KSC officials were tried along the lines of the Moscow show trials of the 1930s. Eleven of the accused, including Slánský, were sentenced to death and hanged. They were all completely exonerated in 1968. In 1990, Václav Havel named Slánský’s son, Rudolf Jr., a dissident during the Soviet occupation, Czechoslovak ambassador to Moscow.

SLAVÍN CEMETERY. Burial place for meritorious national personalities in the complex of Vyšehrad in Prague, it was founded in the 1870s in parts of an older cemetery. Among those buried there are some politicians but principally poets, writers, academics, artists, and composers, among them Antonín Dvořák, Alfons Mucha, Božena Němcová, Jan Neruda, and Bedřich Smetana. The central feature of this cemetery is the pantheon, called “Slavin,” which was devised by Antonín Wiehl and was an important piece of architecture from the time of the Czech National Revival.

SLOVAK NATIONAL UPRISING (SLOVENSKE NÁRODNÍ POVSTÁNÍ). This general uprising in Slovakia against the rule of the clerical autocratic regime of Catholic priests and President Josef Tiso took place in August 1944. While opposition to the regime had existed in Slovakia since it came to power in 1939, it grew fast as Germany started to lose the war. Both the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London and the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) in Moscow maintained contacts with the opposition forces in Slovakia, and the Soviets parachuted thousands of guerrilla fighters into Slovakia. In 1943, the Slovak National Council (Slovenská národná rada—SNR) was founded as the leading organization of the anti-Nazi forces, with strong Communist participation.

When the Soviet Army reached its borders in spring 1944, Slovakia became the immediate rear of the German eastern front, acquiring strategic importance. Soviet troops, along with Czech and Slovak forces trained in the Soviet Union, changed plans in early August to undertake an invasion of Slovakia but were prevented by entrenched German positions at the border, which were also quickly and
substantially reinforced. On 29 August 1944, a general uprising was launched supported by large parts of the Slovak Army (60,000 men) and some 20,000 partisans, but before those Soviet and Czechoslovak forces could advance. The German High Command sent strong forces to suppress the uprising, but doing so took two months. The uprising was politically significant because it manifested the Slovaks’ support for the Czechoslovak Republic.

SLOVAKIA (SLOVENSKO). This region was a constituent part of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1939 and again from 1945 to 1992. Since 1992 it has been a sovereign state (Slovak Republic). Slovakia is bordered by Hungary in the south, Austria in the southwest, the Czech Republic (Moravia) in the west, Poland in the north, and Ukraine in the east. In 2008, Slovakia’s population was estimated at 5.4 million inhabitants, of whom 86 percent were Slovaks and 11 percent were Hungarians. Some 250,000 Czechs are estimated to reside in Slovakia and in October 1999, they became eligible for dual nationality. The capital of Slovakia is Bratislava. Sharing a common history for more than 70 years, the Slovaks and the Czechs are also very close culturally. Their languages are somewhat different, but translation is not necessary. Nevertheless, in 2005, for the first time in the shared history of Czechs and Slovaks, a Slovak television series was broadcast on Czech television with subtitles.

Settled by Slavic tribes in the 5th and 6th centuries, Slovakia was part of Greater Moravia in the first half of the 9th century when Christianity was introduced. In the 10th century, Slovakia was conquered by Asiatic Hungarians and annexed to their domain. The Czech Hussites temporarily liberated parts of Slovakia from the Hungarians in the 15th century. In 1526, together with the rest of the Hungarian Kingdom not yet occupied by the Turks, Slovakia came under Habsburg rule when Ferdinand I was crowned king of Hungary. When the Turks occupied most of Hungary proper (Panonia) in the 16th century, Bratislava, the present-day capital of Slovakia, became the seat of Hungarian kings until 1783.

The Slovaks retained their national identity in spite of heavy-handed Magyarization, and they launched a national revival movement in the mid-19th century that was similar to the one the Czechs
had organized earlier. A national program emerged, demanding autonomy for Slovakia. In 1918, Slovakia became part of Czechoslovakia on the basis of agreements signed by Slovak and Czech representatives in the United States, and on the basis of a parallel decision of the domestic patriotic movements. While the Slovaks greatly benefited from their union with the Czechs culturally and economically, they did not receive the autonomy that they had expected, and they claimed it after the Munich Diktat in 1938. That further weakened Czechoslovakia, which had just lost Czech and Moravian borderlands to Germany. In November 1938, the crippled country was also forced to cede large territories in southern Slovakia to Hungary (see Vienna Arbitration).

In March 1939, under Nazi pressure, Slovakia seceded from Czechoslovakia and declared its sovereignty. After its separation from Czechoslovakia, Slovakia was governed by the clerical authoritative regime of President Josef Tiso, a Catholic priest. This Slovak State, as it was called, became a German ally when World War II broke out in September 1939. Tiso made its territory, its resources and its transportation system available for German Army movements, and in 1941 he sent several divisions of the Slovak Army to fight on the German side on the eastern front.

The Tiso regime harshly persecuted all political opponents and on its own initiative deported 50,000 Slovak Jews to Nazi extermination camps. In August 1944, a general uprising in Slovakia showed widespread resistance against Tiso and his regime, and also a desire to renew Czechoslovakia. The Slovak National Uprising was crushed by German forces, but by early 1945 the whole country was liberated by the Soviets.

From 1945 on, Slovakia was again a part of the Czechoslovak Republic. The Prague Spring of 1968 was to no small extent the result of the courage and striving of Slovak leaders, namely, Alexander Dubček, to reform the old Stalinist system. However, all Czechoslovakia was occupied by the Russians in August 1968, and the reform movement was suppressed. Federalization, carried out in January 1969, brought no actual political gains for Slovakia. Formally, a Slovak Socialist Republic (Slovenská socialistická republika) was then established as a quasi-autonomous state.
In November 1989, Slovak civic organizations founded a joint front called Public against Violence (Verejnost’ proti násiliu—VPN) which allied with the Czech Civic Forum to force the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) to surrender power. After the fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia in 1989, the federation, which had been meaningless until then, became a political reality. The Slovak representatives soon started to demand broader autonomy than a federation would allow, including their own foreign policy and bank of issue. After prolonged negotiations, no mutually acceptable formula was found, and the Czecho-Slovak federation was peacefully dissolved in the so-called Velvet Divorce. On 1 January 1993, an independent Slovak Republic was declared.

Though the Velvet Divorce occurred entirely peacefully, some disputes arose, such as the division of federal gold reserves and of embassies overseas. The complete division of federal assets took seven years, being agreed between the Czech and Slovak prime ministers in November 1999, and ratified by their parliaments in 2000. Cooperation between the Czech Republic and Slovakia was strained under the nationalistic premiership of Vladimír Mečiar and Slovakia fell behind in the accession process to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). When Mečiar fell from power in 1998, both the Czech government and its partners in Visegrád cooperation sought immediately to assist Slovakia in reasserting a Euro-Atlantic foreign policy, and in April 1999 Slovak Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan thanked the Czech Republic for its support of his country’s efforts to enter NATO.

In January 1999 a three-year agreement was signed between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, allowing for a vast increase in reciprocal university education and on the same fees basis. Military cooperation continued between the two independent republics, with combined peacekeeping operations being a particular example. Not all offers of cooperation, however, have been necessary or accepted. For example, the offer of Czech fighter jets to help patrol Slovak airspace was declined for the summit between U.S. President George W. Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin in 2005.

Despite the setbacks to Slovakia’s integration into Euro-Atlantic structures in the later 1990s, in 2004 it joined NATO and the Euro-
pean Union, and on 1 January 2009, well ahead of the Czech Republic, it adopted the Euro as its national currency.

SMETANA, BEDŘICH (1824–1884). One of the Czech nation’s greatest composers, he is also thought to have conveyed Czech identity through his music. He is probably best known for Vltava, part of his Má Vlast (My Country) cycle and for the opera The Bartered Bride. Though he became deaf in later life he continued composing and he is considered to have influenced the work of the leading Czech composer Antonín Dvořák.

SMRKOVSKÝ, JOSEF (1911–1974). Chairman of the National Assembly during the Prague Spring of 1968 and its aftermath, he was a member of Alexander Dubček’s leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC). Smrkovský was a low-ranking KSC official before World War II. During the war, he was active in the anti-Nazi resistance, avoided arrest, and, during the Prague uprising in May 1945, he was deputy chairman of the Czech National Council. Accused of nationalism, Smrkovský was jailed from 1951 to 1955. In 1963 he was rehabilitated. As a member of the KSC Central Committee, he contributed significantly to the fall of Antonín Novotný in January 1968. A principled reformer throughout the Prague Spring, Smrkovský was one of the KSC leaders kidnapped to Moscow, where he signed the act of submission. Even so, he continued to resist Soviet pressure to renew the old regime and was demoted in 1969.

SOKOL. This historical Czech organization emphasized gymnastic exercises in a political context. Sokol was founded as a gymnastic society in 1862 under the name Prague Gymnastic Union, soon renamed the Prague Sokol (Sokol Pražský; sokol means “falcon” in English). The organization was a significant component of the advanced stage of the Czech National Revival. Its founders, Jindřich Fuegner and Miroslav Tyrš, modeled Sokol on the German Turnverein, which had been a tool of resistance against French domination of Germany during Napoleonic times. Sokol’s national importance was captured in Tyrš’s declaration that its aim was: “By the education of body and
spirit, by physical energy, by art and science, by all moral means, to revive the fatherland.” In the first decades of its existence, Sokol grew into an organization of massive proportions, consistently identifying itself with the Czech national cause. Hundreds of Sokol centers, called sokolovny, were built around the country, each with one or more gymnasiums, meeting rooms, and other facilities. In many towns and cities, social life evolved around these centers.

Sokol’s territorially fragmented structure was unified after the fall of the Habsburgs and the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918. An all-state organization called the Czechoslovak Sokol Society (Československá obec sokolská—COS) was established in 1919. Sokol stayed out of politics, but it retained its patriotic spirit. Its exercise program had many elements of a premilitary education, and cooperation with the Czechoslovak Army was very close.

Every four years, Sokol organized mass exhibitions in Prague called slety (literally, “downward flights,” referring to the falcons). Hundreds of thousands of people attended. A large stadium was built especially for the last pre–World War II meeting in June–July 1938, which turned into a manifestation of Czechoslovak patriotism on the eve of the Nazi onslaught. In that year, Sokol had over 2,500 local organizations and 650,000 members. During the Nazi occupation, Sokol was banned and thousands of its members perished in German concentration camps.

In 1945, the organization was revived, but it did not reach its old strength or influence. In the political struggles preceding the Communist coup in February 1948, Sokol itself became a political battlefield. The KSC was not willing to tolerate an uncontrolled body of that size, and in 1949, a “unification” of all sports organizations was carried out. The tradition of Sokol was then continued in exile communities, but the efforts to revive the organization after 1989 have brought only limited results, although its supporters claimed in 2006 to have rebuilt a membership of 200,000.

ŠPIDLA, VLADIMÍR (1951– ). Vladimír Špidla was born on 22 April 1951 in Prague and became a prime minister and the Czech Republic’s first European Commissioner. He received a PhD in history in 1976 from Charles University. His European Commission website
explained his career history during the Communist period thus: “a respectable person did not make a special career in my country at that time. So, following my studies I occupied different positions in different sectors very often just as a worker: saw-mill worker; scene-shifter; dairy industry worker; archaeologist; public administrator in nature protection and environment; construction worker; public administrator in culture heritage preservation.”

After the Velvet Revolution Špidla was involved in regional administration and joined the Czech Social Democratic Party. He was elected to parliament for that party in 1996, and became a party vice-chairman the year after. He became first deputy prime minister and minister of labor and social affairs following the Social Democratic victory in the June 1998 elections. He succeeded Miloš Zeman as prime minister in 2002 but resigned after the party’s poor performance in the elections to the European Parliament in 2004, and was succeeded by Stanislav Gross. After some uncertainty as to who would become the first Czech European Commissioner, and the proposed candidate, environment minister Miloš Kuzvart, had to step down, Špidla was then named and became commissioner for employment, social affairs, and equal opportunities after the Czech Republic’s entry into the European Union in 2004, a position he continued to hold in 2009.

ŠRÁMEK, JAN (1870–1956). A leading coalition politician in Czechoslovakia before 1938, he was closely allied with Tomáš Masaryk and Edvard Beneš and served as prime minister of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London from 1940 to 1945. Šrámek was a Catholic priest, organizer of the Christian-Socialist Party (later the People’s Party) in 1899, founder of Catholic cooperatives and trade unions, particularly in Moravia. He took an active part in the anti-Habsburg activities during World War I and held various ministerial positions during the interwar period. In 1938, he stood firmly against the Nazi encroachment and went into exile in 1939. His party was part of the National Front formed before the end of World War II, and Šrámek acted as deputy prime minister until the Communist coup in 1948. His attempt to escape to the West failed and, until his death, he was held in confinement.
ST. VITUS CATHEDRAL (KATEDRÁLA SV. VÍTA). The most important Catholic church in the Czech Republic, it is also the largest one in the country and the main national shrine. The cathedral forms the northern side of the third courtyard of the Prague Castle. It was founded at the time of princes Vratislav and Václav in the early 10th century when two Romanesque chapels (rotundas) were built in the compound of the Premyslite castle, one dedicated to St. George (sv. Jiří), the other to St. Vitus (sv. Vít). After the establishment of the Prague bishopric during the reign of Prince Boleslav II in 973, both old chapels were expanded, and the St. Vitus chapel was rebuilt into a two-chancel structure called Spytihněv’s Basilica (Spytihněvova basilika) after Prince Spytihněv II (1055–1061).

In 1344, the Prague diocese was elevated to an archdiocese, and Charles IV Luxemburg called French master builder Matthias of Arras to rebuild the old basilica into a large cathedral on the model of the cathedral in Narbonne. During his life (he died in 1352), Matthias finished a large part of his task, including eight internal chapels, all in the French Gothic style. After Matthias’s death, Charles IV entrusted Schwabian master builder Peter Parléř to finish the construction. Parléř’s architectural style was already late Gothic, and the combination of both concepts made the structure quite unique. Parléř died in 1399 and the construction was completed by his sons. King Vladislav II (1471–1516) and Emperor Leopold I (1657–1703) attempted to expand the cathedral, but concentrated efforts started only in the mid-19th century, and the present structure was not fully completed until 1929.

The most cherished parts of the cathedral are the tombs of Czech princes and kings as well as several emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, and the coronation chamber, which holds the Czech coronation jewels including the crown of Saint Wenceslaus dating to 1346. The cathedral is rich with statues and paintings by leading Czech and European artists of various historical periods. In 1954 the Communist regime decreed that the cathedral and its contents no longer belonged to the Catholic Church but to the people. After the fall of Communism the church sought to reclaim ownership of the cathedral, and engaged in court battles for 15 years. These resulted in a ruling in 2005 that it should be returned to the church, but this was then over-
turned by the Supreme Court in early 2009. At present, the cathedral remains in state hands and the state must pay for its maintenance.

ŠTEFÁNIK, MILAN RASTISLAV (1880–1919). A Slovak astronomer, aviator, and diplomat, he was also a general in the French Army and cofounder of Czechoslovakia. As were most other Slovak patriots of the pre–World War I era, Štefánik was a Protestant. He studied at the Czech Technical University in Prague. Starting in 1904, he lived and worked in Paris, becoming a well-known astronomer. In 1914, he was made a knight of the French Légion d’honneur. Serving with the French air force, he organized the related meteorological services along the Western front. In 1915, he worked closely with Tomáš Masaryk and Edvard Beneš, becoming vice-chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris. In October 1918, he was appointed the first Czechoslovak minister of defense. He died when his airplane crashed close to Bratislava, the Slovak capital, as he was returning home.

ŠTROUGAL, LUBOMÍR (1924– ). He served as prime minister of Czechoslovakia during most of the time of Soviet occupation (1970–1988). A professional apparatchik and the first Czech graduate of the KGB school in Moscow in the early 1950s, Štrougal held many party and government positions before 1968. From 1961 to 1965, he was minister of the interior, and from 1965 to 1968, he served as secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) Central Committee. He showed sympathy for economic reform in the mid-1960s, even during the Prague Spring of 1968, when he was a deputy prime minister. At the time of the Soviet invasion in August 1968, he was acting prime minister after Prime Minister Oldřich Černík was kidnapped and taken to Moscow. Shortly after the Soviet invasion, he became a leading Czech collaborator with the Russians and was put in charge of KSC party affairs in the Czech lands with the task of suppressing the reform movement.

When the pro-Soviet Gustáv Husák regime was installed in April 1969, Štrougal was awarded with the office of prime minister. Along with his membership in the KSC Politburo, Štrougal held the office of prime minister during the mass persecutions and purges of the
1970s and he resigned his government post only in 1988. At that time, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev’s reforms in the USSR had already undermined the whole legacy of the regime of occupation in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, Štrougal continued as a member of the KSC Politburo until the collapse of Communism in 1989. In 1990, the KSC found it expedient to expel him from the party.

SUDETENLAND (SUDETY). This political term applied to Czech borderlands with a large German-speaking population before 1945. The Sudetes (Sudetská pohoří), the name from which the term “Sudetenland” was derived, is a chain of mountain ranges in north and northeast Bohemia and north Moravia, between the Labe River and the Moravian Gate, along the Czech–Polish border. It consists of the mountain ranges, from west to east, of Lužické hory, Krkonoše, Orlické hory, and Jizerské hory. In the 1930s, when the German-speaking population of Czechoslovakia came under the influence of Nazi Germany, Bohemian Nazis founded a political party called (in German) Sudetendeutsche Partei—SdP (Sudetoněmecká strana), an offshoot of the Adolf Hitler’s National Socialist Workers’ Party in Germany (NSDAP).

The SdP applied the term “Sudeten” to all parts of Bohemia and Moravia having some German-speaking population, particularly areas of western Bohemia with no relevant connection to the Sudetes. These territories were inhabited by both Germans and Czechs, and most of them had been a part of the Czech state since the 10th century; only the westernmost district, Chebsko, had been added in the 13th century. In the last pre–World War II Czechoslovak elections in 1935, the SdP received over 60 percent of the total German vote, and by 1938, it was supported by an estimated 90 percent of the German population of Czechoslovakia. The party became the chief tool of Nazi Germany in undermining political stability in Czechoslovakia.

After the annexation of Austria in March 1938, Hitler raised demands for cession of Czechoslovak borderlands to Germany, arguing for the Germans’ “right to self-determination.” France and Great Britain, looking for ways to avoid a war, retreated from their commitment to defend the post–World War I political order in Europe and at the Munich Conference in September 1938, ordered Czechoslovakia to surrender large border territories to Hitler (see MUNICH DIKTAT).
In some of these territories, there was practically no German population. Over 800,000 Czechs and Jews living in the districts annexed to Germany were forced to move out. In 1945, Czechoslovakia was restored to its historical borders and the German populations were transferred back to Germany according to the decision of the Postdam Conference in June–July 1945. See also TRANSFER OF GERMANS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1945–1947.

ŠVEHLA, ANTONÍN (1873–1933). A distinguished political leader and statesman, he served as a prime minister during the First Republic. Švehla, a farmer and leader of the Czech Agrarian Party, was deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council in October 1918. In the first post–World War I governments, he served first as minister of the interior and then as prime minister from 1922 until 1929, when poor health forced him to resign. A gifted politician and a tolerant man, Švehla is credited with the consolidation of political life in the new state. While Švehla and Tomáš Masaryk held different opinions on a number of issues, the two men worked closely together and established a good personal relationship. Švehla is also considered to have initiated the informal but decisive Pětka system, which coordinated governmental policy through the coalition of five major political parties in interwar Czechoslovakia.

SVĚRÁK, ZDENĚK (1936– ). A much-liked and leading Czech cultural personality, he was born in Prague on 28 March 1936. Svěrák is probably best known as an actor, including for the Oscar award-winning 1996 film Kolya, which he wrote and which was directed by his son Jan. Jan also produced the 2004 Tatinek documentary film about his father. Zdeněk Svěrák cocreated the immensely popular Czech character Jara Cimerman, who, if not fictional, would have won the 2005 national poll of the “Greatest Czech of All Time.” See also CINEMA.

SVOBODA, CYRIL (1956– ). This Czech politician was trained as a lawyer and worked as a notary public before the end of Communist rule in 1989. He then served in various governmental capacities and became a substantial public figure when he was appointed interior minister in the caretaker cabinet of Josef Tošovský that functioned
between January and July 1998. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies following the June 1998 elections. He became leader of the Christian Democratic Union–Czechoslovak People’s Party in May 2001 and led it for over two years, being edged out in a leadership ballot by Miroslav Kalousek. In July 2002, Svoboda was appointed both deputy prime minister (which he was until 2004) and foreign minister, which he remained until 2006. In that capacity he was involved in the challenging issue of the Czech Republic’s position on the Iraq War of 2003. Svoboda was also appointed to the second cabinet of Miroslav Topolánek in January 2007 as minister without portfolio and chairman of the government’s Legislative Council. See also FOREIGN POLICY.

SVOBODA, LUDVÍK (1895–1979). President of Czechoslovakia between 1968 and 1975, he was also a general of the Czechoslovak Army. During World War I, Svoboda fought in the ranks of the Czechoslovak Legions in Russia. From 1922 on, he was an army officer and reached the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1938. In 1939 he organized a Czech fighting unit in Poland with which he retreated into the USSR before the advancing Germans. In Russia, his unit was kept in confinement until 1941, when he was installed as commander of the Czechoslovak armed forces in the USSR. Svoboda led his troops in combat on the Eastern front and was promoted to general in 1945. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia, he was appointed minister of defense. He supported the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) during the coup in February 1948. In 1950, he was deposed and, in 1952, jailed for several months. Until 1968, he then held various secondary public positions. In 1968, he was chosen to succeed Antonín Novotný as president. He is credited with preventing the Soviets from installing a quisling government immediately after the invasion in August 1968. Later, though, he did not oppose the Soviet encroachment and served as president until 1975, when Gustáv Husák took over the presidency.

SYROVÝ, JAN (1888–1970). General of the army, Czechoslovak prime minister, and officer of the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia in World War I. Syrový distinguished himself in one of the most
celebrated actions of the legion, the Battle of Zborov (1917), during which he was wounded and lost one eye. He was commander in chief of the legion during its withdrawal from Russia from 1918 to 1920. Holding various command posts after his return home, Syrový was minister of defense (1926), chief of the general staff (1927–1933), and inspector general of the armed forces (1933–1938). For his popularity and the public confidence that he enjoyed, Syrový was appointed by President Edvard Beneš as prime minister at the time of the Munich crisis. During the German occupation, Syrový lived in seclusion. In 1945, he was unjustly accused of collaboration with the Nazis and jailed until 1960, when he was pardoned.

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TÁBOR. This historical town in south Bohemia was a center of the Hussite movement in the 15th century. Located 75 kilometers (50 miles) south of Prague, the town was founded in 1420 by local followers of Jan Hus, mainly poor landless peasants. Named after the biblical Mt. Tabor in Palestine, the town was built on the ruins of a previous deserted settlement around a 13th-century castle. The place was close to Kozí hrádek, a small country where Hus lived and preached after he was forced to leave Prague in 1412. The early Taborites founded a brotherhood, practiced equality of property, and rejected any compromise with the Catholic Church. Tábor was fortified and remained a stronghold of the radical wing of the Hussite movement until 1434, when the more moderate Utraquists prevailed in the Battle of Lipany (Bitva u Lipan). Presently, Tábor is an industrial district center with 30,000 inhabitants. The 16th-century town hall keeps a rich collection of relics of the Hussite wars, and the round tower of the old castle is also still preserved.

TATRA WORKS. This historical Czech industrial enterprise was founded by F. Ringhoffer in 1771 in Prague as a workshop producing boilers. The enterprise grew rapidly in the 19th century to become one of the leading centers of industrialization. Starting in 1850, its main production lines were railroad cars and track. During the period
between World War I and World War II, Tatra continued to play its leading role in industrial development, adding automobiles and electric streetcars to its assortment of products. Tatra automobiles were among the most popular for many years in Czechoslovakia, and they were exported to dozens of other countries. After 1945, when Tatra was already nationalized, it was merged with the truck and automobile complex in Kopřivnice, Moravia, and production of personal cars gave way largely to trucks and utility vehicles. Tatra was also used, under specific instructions under the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), as the specialist producer of trucks for the socialist bloc. Consequently, when the CMEA collapsed in 1990–1991 Tatra lost much of its guaranteed, and state-subsidized, markets.

Nevertheless, the Kopřivnice plant was privatized in 1992; but being a flagship of the voucher privatization scheme, it was denied the opportunity to seek foreign investment. The Prague plant followed suit in 1994; and became ČKD Tatra, an entirely separate operation. Both companies have faced financial difficulties and Tatra is now owned by a mix of Czech public and private and foreign interests, including both Russian and American.

Despite difficult financial circumstances, Tatra remains a loved Czech brand name, and one also recognized internationally.

“THANK YOU, NOW LEAVE.” The name, using English, of an important petition initiated in November 1999, around the 10th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, which ended Communist rule and repluralized Czech political life. The petition was started by some of the then-student leaders of the Velvet Revolution in anger at the Opposition Agreement of 1998 that allowed the minority Czech Social Democratic Party government to remain in power through an alliance with the Civic Democratic Party. The petition, which gained over 170,000 signatures in one month, called on Prime Minister Miloš Zeman and parliamentary speaker Václav Klaus to resign and hold new elections; neither obliged. Instead, Jan Ruml, the leader of the newly formed Freedom Union, stood down from his post in sympathy for the movement.

The activism surrounding the petition, which was also estimated to carry 70 percent of the population’s support, suggested that civil soci-
ety had been reinvigorated and that what was seen as a routinization, even unaccountability, of politics through deals by political parties was facing a healthy societal challenge. The leaders of the petition, however, decided not to form their own political party; the Opposition Agreement was renewed the following year with little popular challenge, and its essential terms remained in place until 2002.

THEATER (divadlo). While the first professional Czech theater appeared in the early stages of the National Revival (the late 18th century), the history of the Czech stage goes back to at least the 12th century. Acting was initially confined to liturgical plays, probably only in Latin. Temporal themes appeared simultaneously with the use of the Czech language on stage in the 13th century. During the Hussite era, the theater was viewed as an improper entertainment, and it made little headway until the 16th century. Both historical and religious themes were then put on the stage, mainly in cities and towns. The Counterreformation interrupted this development again in the 17th century, and until the late 1780s, the Czech theater survived only as amateur dramatics played before rural audiences.

The National Revival, with its emphasis on the Czech language and national identity, brought the theater to the forefront of the movement. The first two stages carrying regular performances in Czech opened in Prague in 1785. From modest beginnings, there was a relatively fast rise to a high degree of professionalism, both in dramatic production and in acting not only in Prague, but also in Brno and other Czech cities. Performing for audiences that consisted mainly of ordinary people with country roots, the theater established a lasting tradition of direct involvement with national and public life. The most distinguished place in the early modern era (1830s to 1850s) of Czech theater belongs to Josef Kajetán Tyl, a patriotic writer, journalist, and playwright whose historical and folkloric plays have not lost their appeal to this day. Tyl is viewed as the real founding father of the Czech national stage.

The theater’s popularity grew into a wide movement for building a national venue comparable to the famous opera houses in large foreign cities. Enthusiastic public collections to fund the project resulted in the opening of the National Theater in Prague in 1883. Grand
historical topics dominated both Czech drama and opera in which leading writers such as Alois Jirásek, composers such as Bedřich Smetana, and directors such as Jaroslav Kvapil played an eminent role. The perfection of Czech theater was significantly aided by dramatic theory, education, and criticism.

In the interwar period of 1918 to 1938, the Czech theater was already highly developed, with dozens of daily shows in Prague alone, and permanent playhouses in all regional centers. Karel Čapek and Karel Hugo Hillar were the greatest personalities of the Czech theater at that time. Some of Čapek’s plays (e.g., R.U.R. and Krakatit) have been performed worldwide. A special place in the pre–World War II Czech theater belongs to the Osvobozené divadlo (Liberated Theater) in Prague, which specialized in satirical musicals sharply critical of Nazism.

During the Nazi occupation, the Czech theater was heavily censored, and during the last year of the war, all Czech theaters were entirely closed down. Between 1946 and 1948, theaters were nationalized and gradually made dependent on state subsidies. Subject to political and ideological controls during the Communist era, dramatic art still managed to gradually resume its traditional role in the mid-1950s, and to flourish in the 1960s when Václav Havel emerged as one of the young successful playwrights. After the Soviet occupation in 1968, theaters became victims of insensitive censorship again, and traditional contemporary critical drama was severely curtailed.

Since 1990, theaters have been privatized again, and commercialization has claimed its victims. Nevertheless, the freedom of artistic expression created a favorable environment for the Czech theater, and most of the good traditional theaters have managed to maintain the support of their audiences. Public subsidies have not been entirely discontinued, especially in the case of such shrines of national culture as the National Theater.

**THERESIENSTADT (TEREZÍN).** Located in north Bohemia about 60 kilometers (40 miles) from Prague, Theresienstadt was built in 1780 by Josef II as a fortress close to the border with Prussia. In autumn 1941, the Nazis turned it into a transit ghetto for European Jews who were to be finally annihilated in the East. In addition to thousands
of Jews from Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, and other Nazi-occupied European countries, 73,608 Czech Jews were deported to Theresienstadt between 1941 and 1945. After the end of the war, only 6,900 returned. The rest either died in Theresienstadt or perished in the Eastern extermination camps, particularly Auschwitz.

THIRD REPUBLIC. This term refers to the Czechoslovak state from April 1945, when the eastern part of Slovakia was liberated in the final stages of World War II to February 1948, when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia seized control of the country and declared Czechoslovakia to have become a “People’s Democracy.” See also FIRST REPUBLIC; SECOND REPUBLIC.

THIRTY YEARS WAR (TŘICETILETÁ VÁLKA), 1618–1648. This widespread European war was caused by clashing dynastic, religious, and territorial interests. The initial stage of the long war was the rebellion of Czech Protestant Estates against the Habsburgs, upholders of Catholicism, which ended with the Czech defeat in November 1620 (see WHITE MOUNTAIN BATTLE). The other periods of the war were the Palatinate War (1621–1623), the Danish War (1625–1629), the Swedish War (1630–1635), and finally the French-Swedish period (1635–1648), when France was allied with the Swedes against the Habsburgs, both Spanish and Austrian. The war was ended by the signing of the Westphalian Peace Treaties in 1648, which severely weakened the Holy Roman Empire and estranged north Germany from the Habsburg domains in the south.

The Czech lands, a frequent battlefield during the long war, suffered the worst of all European countries. The kingdom’s population, estimated at 2 million in 1618, was halved by war losses, widespread famine, and forced emigration. When peace returned, the country was economically devastated. Until 1918, the Czech Kingdom, forcibly Catholicized, remained under the rule of the Habsburgs.

TOMÁŠEK, FRANTIŠEK (1899–1992). Born on 30 June 1899 in the Moravian town of Studénka, he became Head of the Czech Catholic Church, cardinal and archbishop of Prague. Tomášek was a professor of theology at the Palacký University in Olomouc, Moravia,
at the time of the Communist coup in February 1948. In 1951, he was sent to a labor camp, where he was held until 1954. After the departure of Cardinal Josef Beran for Rome in 1965, Tomášek was appointed administrator of the Prague archdiocese, a very difficult position under the continuing limitations imposed on religious activities. In 1977, Tomášek was named cardinal, and in 1978, Prague archbishop, a position he held until 1991. In the 1980s, Tomášek became clearly visible as an opponent of the Communist regime and he maintained contact with the Charter 77 movement.

TOPOLÁNEK, MIROSLAV (1956–). Born on 15 May 1956 in Vsetín, Miroslav, or as he is more commonly referred, Mirek, Topolánek became a Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Senator who then took over chairmanship of the party after Václav Klaus in November 2002. He succeeded in reuniting much of the party after significant divisions and gaining unprecedented popular support for the party. His leadership and the success of the party during election campaigns in 2004 ensured his continuity as chairman. He led the Civic Democrats in the June 2006 elections, in which they won a plurality of votes, but they were unable to form a coalition with other parties. Topolánek became prime minister on 16 August, leading a minority government. He resigned in October 2006 following a nonconfidence vote in parliament. Suspecting even before then that his time in high office might be limited, Topolánek compared himself to American astronaut Neil Armstrong who was briefly on the moon, saying that one could leave a mark even in a short period. Topolánek also distinguished himself by being the world’s only serving prime minister who had a wife standing as a candidate for an opposition party. Pavla Topolánková joined the populist, but marginal, political party “Politika 21” and she intended to stand for the November 2006 elections to the Senate in Topolánek’s home city of Ostrava, to spite him for his affair with a deputy speaker of parliament. Topolánek succeeded in forming a second government in January 2007 and continued to be prime minister. His government fell in March 2009 when some of his own members of parliament defected from the party and voted against it in a vote of nonconfidence.
TOŠOVSKÝ, JOSEF (1950– ). Economist, financial expert, and chairman for many years of the Czech National Bank, Tošovský graduated from the Higher School of Economics in Prague in 1973 and was then employed in the Czechoslovak banking system until 1989, mainly with the State Bank. Between 1984 and 1985, he worked in the London branch office of Živnostenská banka, a Czechoslovak bank that specialized in hard currency transactions during the Communist regime. In 1989 he was appointed head of the Czechoslovak State Bank, and from 1993 he was chairman of the Czech State Bank.

Tošovský gained further importance when he was asked by president Václav Havel in December 1997 to serve as prime minister and to form an interim government, following the resignation the month before of Václav Klaus. Tošovský did so until new elections were held in June 1998. He then continued as chairman of the State Bank until November 2000, a role that won him several major international banking awards. He then became chairman of the Financial Stability Institute at the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, Switzerland but regained international attention briefly in 2007 when the Russian government decided to back his candidacy to lead the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The move was seen as a Russian challenge to the candidate preferred by the European Union (EU), Dominique Strauss-Kahn, and the Czech government immediately said that it would also back the EU candidate.

TOURISM (TURISMUS). With its wealth of well-preserved historical monuments for which the country is internationally renowned, tourism—namely foreign tourism—has been a constantly growing positive factor in the Czech economy since the collapse of Communism in 1989. Prague, the capital, has been the main attraction, but visitors have been also showing a growing interest in the west Bohemian spas (Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně, and Františkovy Lázně), in the old Moravian capital of Olomouc, and other places such as Český Krumlov in south Bohemia, which is on UNESCO’s “universal cultural heritage” list. Thus, while tourism in the post-Communist period first saw over 90 percent of tourists just visiting Prague, this is now estimated to be only about 60 percent.
While most visitors come from neighboring countries, especially from Germany, the numbers of tourists coming from more distant countries has also been impressive, including France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Canada, and the United States. According to the Czech National Bank reports, tourism brought $1.97 billion into the country in 1995, representing almost 15 percent of the total volume of Czech exports. The Czech government officially deems tourism a significant factor in the Czech economy.

Foreign exchange earnings from tourism generated 118.13 billion crowns in 2001, providing 5.5 percent of the gross national product. Tourism in 2001 was estimated to employ over 110,000 people directly, and that one-tenth of the working population was involved in some way with the travel and tourism sector. In 2007 some 6,680,400 tourists visited the Czech Republic. Czech government statistics indicated a 2.3-percent increase on that figure for 2008. The biggest proportional increase in foreign visitors to the Czech Republic are Russians, whose numbers increased by 37 percent in 2008 over the year before.

The country, however, was initially unprepared for the scale of tourism that followed the Velvet Revolution, which ended the restrictions imposed by the Communist regime. The response to it, however, was very fast, especially in the area of accommodation (hotels, motels, hostels, boarding houses, and related services), a sector privatized in the early stages of the process. Construction of many new tourist facilities continues. Improvement of the transportation infrastructure, especially the road system, proceeds at a slower pace but is getting increasing priority in view of the fact that the majority of foreign visitors arrive by automobile. Foreign tourism is bound to remain a constant factor of great importance for the Czech economy.

TRADE. Trade has always been essential to the economy of the Czech lands, Czechoslovakia, and the Czech Republic. A record from 965 A.D. by Cordoban trader Ibrahim ibn Jakub called Prague the Slavic world’s largest trading city. Long-term political stability offered by the Czech lands encouraged the presence of foreign traders and merchants. Successful agriculture and especially the early development of industrialization in the Czech lands also provided both
the opportunity and need for trade. Much of Czech production was sold within the Austrian and **Austro-Hungarian Empire** and when the empire broke up in 1918 the new Czechoslovak Republic lost two-thirds of what was its previous market. By 1924, 40.3 percent of Czechoslovak trade still went to successor states of the empire; Germany became the second-largest market, taking 19.5 percent of Czechoslovak exports. Great Britain and France together accounted for 11 percent, and the rest of the world about 10 percent. Exports to the United States grew most among single destinations during the interwar period, accounting in the 1930s for 9.3 percent of Czechoslovak foreign sales; as a region it was Asia that expanded exponentially as a destination for Czechoslovak trade. German protectionism in the 1930s severely affected Czechoslovak exports, and the overall impact of the Depression on the Czechoslovak economy shrank the volume of its exports by one-third. Consumer products such as textiles, glassware and ceramics, leather goods, and food accounted for just over 60 percent of Czechoslovak exports in 1929, although this fell to 43.2 percent in 1937. Industrial goods, including machinery and vehicles, constituted the remainder.

During **World War II** trade effectively ceased. The Czech lands were incorporated into the Nazi German Reich as the **Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia** and became an integral, and important, part of the German war effort, producing proportionately more for it than any other region of the Reich. **Slovakia**, although an independent state, became part nevertheless of the greater German economy (*Grossraumwirtschaft*). The immediate postwar period was a period of opportunity for the reestablished Czechoslovakia. Relative to its neighbors, Czechoslovakia’s industry escaped the war. In addition, as economic historian Alice Teichová writes, “With the elimination of Germany as a competitor, Czechoslovakia took on an even more important role as an exporter of industrial goods for the extremely deprived East European market.”

Czechoslovakia’s absorption in 1948 into the emerging socialist bloc, however, transformed much of the basis of its production and its trading patterns. From 1949 Soviet bloc economic relations were directed through the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (COMECON). In one sense, large-scale socialist bloc planning could
have assisted Czechoslovakia: it was the most industrial country in that group but lacked extensive natural resources, which the USSR could supply. But in practice much of this region-wide planning worked against Czechoslovak interests. Indeed, at the outset of the COMECON, Czechoslovak officials presented proposals for the coordination of national plans but these were rejected. Instead, at the expense of Czechoslovakia’s established tradition of consumer goods, a concentration on heavy industry was ordered. Between 1950 and 1952, for example, Czechoslovakia was directed to quadruple its arms production.

Both the structure and direction of Czechoslovakia trade changed significantly: in 1949, 27.2 percent of its trade was in machinery and equipment; by 1980, this had almost doubled, to 50.2 percent. By contrast, the 27.9 percent of exports in 1949 that was derived from consumer goods had fallen almost by half, to 15.8 percent. In 1948, already 39.7 percent of Czechoslovak exports went to socialist countries; this soared to 78.9 percent already by 1953, but fell slightly in subsequent years once trade was allowed to increase again with Western Europe. Further opening to western markets was signaled by the signing with the European Community (EC—see EUROPEAN UNION [EU])—of a Trade and Cooperation Agreement in December 1988. Nevertheless, 70 percent of Czechoslovak exports still went to COMECON countries throughout the duration of the COMECON. Czechoslovakia was also a major recipient of Soviet fuel, the real value of which was heavily subsidized, and became dependent on it. Ironically, Czechoslovakia gained a relative monopoly in the Soviet bloc for its advanced machinery; this comfortable position, however, bred complacency, and innovation (as much as might have remained under central planning) declined. Despite distortions to Czechoslovak production and trade caused by the COMECON, the Council had become essential to Czechoslovakia; its demise after the Velvet Revolution caused serious disruptions to the Czechoslovak economy and trade.

A major aim of post-Communist Czechoslovak, and then Czech foreign policy, was integration into the EC. In December 1991 Czechoslovakia (along with Hungary and Poland, but in separate treaties) signed an Association Agreement, which established trad-
ing relations, including very favorable access to the EC market for Central European goods. Sectors in which those three countries were considered to retain an advantage—textiles, agriculture, and steel—faced continued protectionist measures from the EC. In December 1992 those three countries signed the **Central European Free Trade Agreement**, which reduced trade barriers among them, although arguably to no greater degree than was already required by their trading relations with the EC.

The expansion of trade has been a priority, and one successfully achieved, throughout the post-Communist economic transformation. The value of Czech exports now account for almost two-thirds of the gross domestic product (GDP) and the value of Czech imports, while less, remains at well over 60 percent. More importantly, the value of foreign trade has grown nearly three times since the establishment of the Czech Republic in 1993. The Czech Republic has also demonstrated at points remarkably large trade growth; for example, it recorded the third-fastest growth in exports worldwide in 2004 (after China and South Korea), an achievement particularly attributed to accession to the EU.

In the statistics available for 2008, 90.7 percent of Czech exports went to what the Czech Statistical Office categorizes as “developed countries with a market economy.” Within that, the EU has become the overwhelming recipient of Czech exports, accounting for 85.4 percent of all exports. The value of trade with the EU has also expanded almost threefold since the creation of the Czech Republic. Of Czech trading partners in the EU Germany is by far the largest, taking over one-third of Czech exports and supplying just under one-third of imports. Slovakia is the Czech Republic’s second largest trade partner, accounting for between 7 and 8 percent of exports and supplying about 5 percent of imports.

The Czech Republic imports disproportionately less from the EU than it exports, accounting for 67.7 percent of total Czech imports. The entirety of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), including the Russian Federation, accounted in 2008 for only 4.3 percent of Czech exports. The CIS represented 8.6 percent of Czech imports in 2008, but this formerly essential trading area for Czechoslovakia is now marginal to the Czech Republic. Russia’s trade importance is primarily for the import of oil and gas.
The Czech Republic’s trade success is attributed by government sources to the country’s capable labor force; an extended tradition of industrial production; developed infrastructure; low production costs, which today includes still relatively inexpensive labor costs; and the country’s favorable geographical location in Europe. The Czechs also have an extensive and continuing tradition of hosting major trade fairs. Czech trade is not only considerable in volume but also diversified, including cars, buses, and trucks; jewelry, crystal, and other glassware; and beer and other agricultural products. Many Czech exports are major international brand names, ranging from Škoda vehicles, Tatra trucks, to Pilsner Urquell beer. Despite such successes, however, the Czech Republic generally maintains an annual negative trade balance.

TRADE UNIONS (ODBORY). The labor movement has had a long tradition in the Czech lands, dating back even to the preindustrial modernization in the first half of the 18th century. When industrialization arrived in the last decades of the 18th century, workers in Bohemia and Moravia had already experienced labor struggles, including strikes as a tool to achieve better working conditions. Large strikes are recorded in various places in Bohemia and Moravia in 1817, 1823, 1837, and 1843.

As was the case in England, the introduction of the first machines run by steam power was met with worker resistance. Attempts to destroy the new technology were not uncommon. Until 1870, when the Vienna Reichsrat voted a law that legalized trade unions and collective bargaining (koaliční zákon), the main organizational forms of employee solidarity were “workers’ societies,” which tried to provide basic security in case of injury or unemployment and in old age. After 1870, these societies could function legally. They formed wider alliances, worked hand in hand with the emerging Social Democratic Party, and they took part in efforts toward founding all-state organizations. As early as 1873, there were already 64 trade unions in Bohemia and Moravia. Coordinating their activities, they demanded such things as a 10-hour work day, fair wages, the right of work-free Sundays, prohibition of night work for women and children, and social security.
In 1893, Czech representatives attended the unification congress of all trade unions in the western part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, called Cisleithenia. In 1897, 90 Czech and Moravian trade unions founded their umbrella organization called the Association of Czecho–Slavic Trade Unions (Odborové sdružení Českoslovanské—OSC), a development parallel to the course of the Czech political leadership, which did not cease demanding full recognition of the historical rights of the Czech Kingdom within the empire.

While the Czech trade union movement initially developed side by side with the rise of Social Democracy and in close cooperation and mutual support with that party, other movements soon tried to found their own trade unions, especially the Catholics, the nationalists, and the anarchists. But the OSC remained the main and strongest trade union association for decades to come.

After the breakup of Austria-Hungary in 1918, a new trade union association was founded the Association of Czechoslovak Trade Unions (Odborové sdružení Československé—OSC), which united Czech and Slovak trade unions. This OSC, also closely allied with the Social Democratic Party, was by far the strongest trade union association in interwar Czechoslovakia, in spite of the split caused by the founding of the Communist Party. In 1937, nine existing trade union associations in Czechoslovakia had a total membership of over 4 million, including the German unions with their 200,000 members.

During the Nazi occupation, all Czech trade unions were forcefully united and turned into a tool of German administration. After liberation in 1945, there was a strong spontaneous drive toward unity of the labor movement, which resulted in the foundation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (Revoluční odborové hnutí—ROH), with over 5 million members. While the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) was the strongest political party in the country, Communists were elected to leading positions in the ROH.

In February 1948, the ROH actively supported the coup of the KSC. A year later, the movement lost all independence. True to the Stalinist model, it was turned into a “transmission handle” of the KSC—meaning that the trade unions became just a tool in the hands of the Communist Party leadership like any other organization. Membership became virtually mandatory, and the trade unions’
activities were entirely formalized. The ROH was also used as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy as a constituent part of a leading Soviet international front organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

During the Prague Spring of 1968 and its immediate aftermath, consistent efforts were made to democratize the movement and return it to its original mission, but those efforts were cut short by the reestablishment of the centralized system in April 1969. It was only after the changes in 1989 that the Czechoslovak trade union movement could free itself from the straightjacket of the KSC. A new umbrella organization was founded in March 1990, called the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions (Československá konfederace odborových svazů—CKOS). After the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1992, the Czech unions formed their own association, called the Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions (Českomoravská konfederace odborových svazů—CMKOS).

In 2008, the CMKOS had 32 affiliated Czech trade unions and it asserts, based on findings from independent poll results, that its positions on socioeconomic policies are supported by 60 to 70 percent of the population. Despite having led strikes against governmental policies, it remains one of the integral parts of the Czech Republic’s tripartite system, which seeks to manage wider economic issues between them, government, and industry.

TRANSFER OF GERMANS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1945–1947 (ODSUN NĚMCŮ Z ČESKOSLOVENSKA, 1945–1947). The transfer of German populations from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland was decided on by the Potsdam Conference of 17 July to 2 August 1945, between the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Great Britain. Of the total of approximately 11 million Germans expelled from Eastern Europe, 2.1 million were transferred from Czechoslovakia. Unlike other affected territories from which Germans were expelled (e.g., East Prussia, Pomerania, Danzig, Silesia, etc.), the Czech borderlands had never been part of Germany before World War II.

Czech relations with the German minority in Bohemia and Moravia had long been tense, partially because of the 19th-century Czech
National Revival, which collided with German hegemony in the Czech Kingdom during the Habsburg era. In 1918, Bohemian Germans opposed the creation of Czechoslovakia, and after Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, most of them identified with Nazism. From 1936, their main political goal was the annexation of Czech borderlands to Nazi Germany. Their activities facilitated Hitler’s blackmailing of France and Britain, which led to the Munich Conference in September 1938 and the Munich Diktat.

After Munich, over 800,000 Czechs, including Czechoslovak citizens of Jewish faith, were driven out of the territories annexed to Germany; Bohemian Germans became citizens of the Reich. In the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1945), thousands of Sudeten Germans served in the SS, the Gestapo, and the German Army, and they took part in the atrocities inflicted on the Czechs, whose human losses exceeded 150,000 people. These events caused a great Czech embitterment, and the postwar expulsion of the Bohemian Germans from the country was seen as a justified solution by the Allies, by the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, and by the domestic resistance.

The transfer took place between 1945 and 1948. The first stage occurred in the weeks immediately after the war, even before the Potsdam Conference legitimized the transfer. During this time, expulsions were carried out in some places by spontaneous actions of unorganized local Czech groups, and there were instances of brutal behavior, which President Václav Havel openly admitted in 1990 with sincere regret. As soon as the transfer took an organized form, it was supervised by the Allied Control Commission and carried out in a civilized manner, to the extent to which that was possible with an operation of such nature and magnitude.

In 1995 and 1996, the issue of the transfer caused a serious crisis in Czech–German relations. Czechoslovakia, alone among the countries from which Germans were transferred after World War II, had for years been denounced by private organizations in Bavaria, but the government of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) had not been participating. The 1954 Treaty of Sovereignty bound the FRG not to lay any claims against any Allied country (explicitly including Czechoslovakia). In 1995, during the negotiations of a
Czech–German declaration of general reconciliation, Bonn also raised, for the first time, the demand for an apology and compensation for the transfer. The Czech government rejected any revision of the case, pointing out that the transfer, like that from Poland, was fully legitimized by the decision of the Potsdam Conference and supervised by Allied representatives, and that human losses and economic damage suffered by the Czechs during the Nazi occupation far exceeded the wrongs that the Sudeten Germans suffered during their transfer. This standpoint was publicly endorsed by the American, British, French, and Russian embassies in Prague. After prolonged negotiations, a Czech–German Declaration on Mutual Relations and Their Future Development was agreed on in November 1996, signed in Prague in January 1997, and approved by the legislatures of both countries within several weeks. The declaration is a compromise, the Czech and the German texts differ in diction and nuances, and the document leaves some of the old problems legally unresolved. Issues pertaining to the transfer continue to be raised, now by descendents of those transferred, who even made an unsuccessful bid to make Czech entry to the European Union conditional on repealing the decrees that authorized the transfer.

TRANSPORTATION. The Czech Republic has a highly developed modern system of transportation, which has gradually been built since the late 18th century hand in hand with progressing industrialization, urbanization, and general modernization. The first firm-foundation highways connecting significant urban centers were constructed in the 1780s; a rather dense network of these highways, complete with new bridges, was built between the 1820s and 1840s. Railroads started in 1832 with the opening of a 90-mile-long, horse-drawn railroad connecting the south Bohemian metropolis of České Budějovice with the north Austrian town of Linz. Construction of railroads proceeded quickly both in Bohemia and Moravia.

The first train pulled by a steam locomotive reached Brno from Vienna in 1836 and Prague in 1840. Telegraph lines were built simultaneously. The main long-distance railroads were soon supplemented with a dense network of local lines. A modern postal system was launched with the introduction of postage stamps in 1850. By
the end of the 19th century, modern highway and railroad networks in Bohemia and Moravia were basically completed. The positioning of transportation infrastructure, especially railroads, had a decisive impact on the drawing of boundaries for the new Czechoslovak Republic in 1918. To ensure the east–west integrity of the railroads across this new country, territory was assigned to it in both the north and the south. A particular result was the inclusion in the country of thousands of Hungarians inhabiting southern Slovakia.

The majority of the railroads in the interwar period was run by state-controlled Czechoslovak State Railways (Československé státní dráhy—CSD), which inherited and maintained the fifth-largest network in Europe. Lack of further railway development after independence saw the relative size of the network decline to 15th in Europe. The bulk of railroads were in Bohemia and Moravia, and when that was made a Protectorate of the Nazi Reich, the whole system was placed under direct control of the German Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn). Independent Slovakia created a separate Slovak Railways (Slovenské železnice), but the two systems were brought back together as ČSD at the end of the war in 1945.

A plan for a major highway to link Czechoslovakia’s three main cities of Prague, Brno, and Bratislava was initiated in 1938, but could not be undertaken due to the German occupation and division of the country. Czechoslovakia did not have the same intensity of fighting during World War II as Poland or Hungary, although its transportation infrastructure was nevertheless heavily damaged; railroads in particular were targets of the British–American bombing campaign to disrupt German supplies. Soviet forces also took transportation equipment with them when they withdrew.

The Communist period saw some development of transportation networks but probably far less than was needed. In any case, consumer and civilian needs were not a priority; the main networks, particularly rail, were subordinated to military planning. The highway project begun in 1938 was only completed in 1980, even though it covered a distance of only 317 kilometers (200 miles). Less than 1 percent of Communist-era Czechoslovakia’s roads could be classed as major highways. Even so, Czechoslovakia had the highest density of roads among Europe’s Communist countries. Efforts begun after
the fall of Communism to improve the whole transportation system continue today.

Currently, in the Czech Republic there are 9,588 kilometers (about 6,000 miles) of track, of which about one-fourth is electrified. As elsewhere in Europe, railroads remain the most important means of transportation of merchandise. In 1993, almost 3 million automobiles for various purposes were registered. By 2007, however, this had increased considerably, to 4,280,081 passenger cars and 533,916 trucks. Although the quality of many roads has improved since Communism, the overall amount has not, and the pressure on the road system has therefore increased substantially. While the highway network is relatively dense (55, 584 kilometers, or over 37,000 miles), construction particularly of multilane, high-speed roads was neglected before 1989, and these are being built. The Czech Republic also has 664 kilometers, or 412 miles, of water canals.

Another important feature of Czech transportation is the Prague Metro, or subway, which was one of the major engineering achievements of the Communist period and which continues to be modernized and expanded; it also continues to benefit from government subsidies. The government’s continuing role in transportation is also evident from Czech Railways remaining the country’s largest state-owned company, and one that persists in making enormous financial losses.

The Czech Republic has over 60 airports, although the majority of them land only small aircraft. This includes four international airports, Ostrava, Brno, Karlovy Vary, and Prague, of which the latter is by far the busiest, serving 11 million passengers annually. The national airline is Czech Airlines, which now flies an entirely modern fleet of 51 aircraft to numerous international destinations.

**TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN.** This peace treaty between the Allies and Austria following World War I was signed in Saint-Germainen-Laye outside Paris on 10 September 1919. It confirmed the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and the establishment of its successor states, namely, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia. An important document of modern international law, the treaty was
signed between the victorious Allies (United States, France, Great Britain, and Italy), and the Republic of Austria. Russia did not take part in the treaty because it had abandoned the alliance that fought against the Central Powers in March 1918. By the treaty, Austria lost large crown lands including Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, and it also lost Dalmatia to Yugoslavia and Trieste and South Tyrol to Italy. Austria was essentially reduced to the “hereditary Alpine lands” of the Habsburgs, who themselves had to renounce their return to the Austrian or Hungarian thrones. Burgenland, the westernmost district of Hungary, was attached to Austria.

The treaty also bound Austria to maintain its independence, which meant particularly that any political or other union with Germany was ruled out. The historical borders between Austria and the Czech Kingdom remained practically unchanged. The eastern borders of Austria, as well as the southern borders of Czechoslovakia, were established by the Treaty of Trianon in 1920.

**TREATY OF TRIANON.** This peace treaty between the Allies and Hungary after World War I was delayed by revolution in Hungary after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire and by Hungarian attempts to reconquer some of the lost territories. The treaty was finally signed on 4 June 1920, in the Grand Trianon Palace in Versailles. Hungary lost Slovakia and Ruthenia to Czechoslovakia, Croatia to Yugoslavia, Transylvania to Romania, and Burgenland to Austria. In contrast to Austria, Hungary had to be forced to accept the Allied peace conditions, and even after signing the treaty, it continued to strive to regain its former possessions. It partially and temporarily succeeded in these efforts in 1938, 1939, and 1940 by allying itself with Nazi Germany. The territorial order of the Trianon Treaty was reestablished in 1945 and confirmed by another peace treaty with Hungary, signed in Paris in 1947.

The borders between Czechoslovakia and Hungary were thus the legacy of the Treaty of Trianon; no political dividing line had existed between Slovakia and Hungary before 1918, because Slovakia was regarded as “upper Hungary.” Since 1993, the Trianon line is the border between Hungary and the Slovak Republic.
TUSAR, VLASTIMIL (1880–1924). A Social Democratic leader and politician and Czechoslovak prime minister from 1919 to 1920, Tusar was a deputy in the Vienna Reichsrat before and during World War I. Initially not a supporter of the idea of Czech independence, Tusar broke the party line in 1917 and cooperated with the Czech underground. After the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (see CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY) won the elections in 1919, he was appointed prime minister. During the ensuing crisis in the party, Tusar opposed the radical left and association of the party with the Comintern in Moscow. After the pro-Moscow forces won a majority at the 13th party congress in September 1920, Tusar resigned as prime minister. In his last years, Tusar was Czechoslovak ambassador in Berlin.

TYL, JOSEF KAJETÁN (1808–1856). Czech playwright, actor, and songwriter who composed the Czech national anthem “Kde domov můj,” which was first aired in his best-known play, Fidlovačka. He was a leading figure in the 19th-century Czech National Revival and authored almost 20 other plays, numerous stories, and established the magazine Kwety české, of which the current magazine Květy is a direct successor. His contributions to the National Revival included political allegories in his cultural work, particularly depictions of Czech resistance against foreign repression. In addition to his artistic work, which has been described as contributing fundamentally to the national awakening of the Czech people, he was politically active himself. He participated in the Revolution of 1848 and served as a representative in the Austrian parliament, but his strident support for Czech independence provoked the authorities to retaliate by curtailing some of his cultural activities and forcing him from his work at the Royal Estates Theater in Prague, which he had managed for five years. He died in relative poverty in Plzeň. In 1949 the Royal Estates Theater was renamed for him and bears his name today. See also LITERATURE.

Udržal was a deputy in the Vienna Reichsrat from 1887 until 1918. He was a member of the Czechoslovak National Committee which declared independence in 1918. During the interwar era, until 1937, Udržal was a deputy, a senator, minister of defense, and prime minister.

**UHDE, MILAN (1936– ).** Czech playwright and chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Republic from 1992 to 1996, Uhde graduated from Masaryk University in Brno in 1958 and, until 1970, worked as a journalist on the literary review Host do domu. In the 1960s, he became known as the author of the popular satirical plays Antigona, People from the Ground Floor (Lidé z přízemí), and Dispensary (Ošetrovna). Blacklisted in the era of “normalization” after the Soviet occupation, Uhde’s work was published as the underground literature referred to as samizdat and abroad. In 1977, he signed the dissident document Charter 77. After the fall of communism, in 1990, he was appointed minister of culture of the Czech Republic. From 1992 to 1996, he was chairman of the Czech parliament. In the 1996 election, he was reelected to parliament but after 1998 he returned to writing and has not reentered politics.

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**VANČURA, VLADISLAV (1891–1942).** A member of the Czech avant garde movement of the interwar period and a principal experimental novelist as well as a film director. Among his works was Marketa Lazarova, but his Capricious Summer gained particular popularity in the 1960s following its dramatization by film director Jiří Menzel. In 1938 Vančura devised a collaborative project to be entitled Pictures from the History of the Czech Nation but ultimately undertook it himself, publishing the second instalment in 1941 but without being able to complete it. See also LITERATURE.

**VELVET DIVORCE (SAMETOVÝ ROZVOD).** This name is used both in Czech and especially in English to describe the process of peaceful dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1992. The causes,
responsibility, and inevitability of the Velvet Divorce remain disputed, even if some essential dates are agreed.

One view is that Czechoslovakia was an artificial creation that had limited legitimacy and allegiance. In addition, when international circumstances changed, such as during World War II, the country could easily come apart. A compounding view suggests that various policies by both Czech and Slovak leaders undercut mutual trust and heightened existing tensions, making dissolution almost inevitable, particularly in a context of democratization when nationalistic references could have particular appeal. This version, however, discounts the great degree of cooperation between leading Czechs and Slovaks in the creation of the country and the substantial efforts made and genuine feelings for the reunification of Czechoslovakia at the end of World War II.

In terms of the breakup of Czechoslovakia after the Velvet Revolution in 1989, it seems far more convincing to argue that specific policies of leaders—rather than any foundational problem—led to the division of the country. Perhaps ironically, the democratization provided the necessary opportunity. Almost from the outset of the post-Communist period, nationalist grievances were aired in the era of free discussion. A parliamentary debate in early 1990 on removing the word “socialist” from the country’s name provoked acrimony on the rest of the name for the country, particularly whether “Czecho- slovakia” should be hyphenated. The “hyphen debate” signalled the existence of deeper national issues.

Relations were compounded by the development of political representation in the immediate post-Communist period. The nascent political groupings, not yet political parties, developed not on a country-wide basis but within the Czech lands and Slovakia. Thus while opposition forces in each part of the country cooperated during the Velvet Revolution, their antigovernment efforts were coordinated through the regionally based movement of Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF) and Public against Violence (Verejnost’ proti násiliu—VPN). These apolitical movements also cooperated in the first freely elected parliament in June 1990, but as they splintered, arguably inevitably, into political parties, neither were those new political formations constructed on a Czechoslovak-wide basis. Instead,
the principal political parties, other than the **Communist Party of Czechoslovakia** *(Komunistická strana Československa—KSC)*, had Czech- or Slovak-based programs and electorates. The leading ones were the **Civic Democratic Party** *(Občanská demokratická strana—ODS)* and the **Movement for a Democratic Slovakia** *(Hnutí za demokratické Slovensko—HZDS)*.

Both of those parties advocated programs that presented some challenges to the continuation of the Czechoslovak federation. On the Czech side, ODS leader **Václav Klaus** embraced at least the rhetoric of unbridled marketization. Communist **industrialization** in hitherto agrarian Slovakia resulted in massive conglomerates that would be reliant on state subsidies. If the stated intentions of Klaus, who was federal finance minister, of mass **privatization** were enacted Slovakia would suffer mass unemployment. In addition, the new and moralistic post-Communist Czechoslovak **foreign policy**, engineered by former dissident **Jiří Dienstbier**, pledged to stop Czechoslovakia’s sales of arms to undemocratic regimes. The concentration of military production from the Communist era in Slovakia meant that this measure would also heighten unemployment there.

Several leading Slovak politicians, foremost HZDS leader **Vladimír Mečiar**, sought electoral favor by making nationalistic claims, including demands for various forms of decentralization or confederalization, as well as seeking to heighten Slovakia’s image internationally, in contrast to Czechoslovakia’s. In July 1991, Mečiar said that the Slovene efforts to gain independence from Yugoslavia were a model for Slovakia and Slovak Prime Minister Ján Čarnogurský declared that he wanted Slovakia to be independent by 2000. As leadership pressures toward dissolution increased, even in 1992 only a minority of the Czechoslovak people in either part of the country wanted an end to the Czechoslovak federation.

Many in Czechoslovakia worked to seek compromise, and at various points the federation seemed to be saved. For example, in August 1990 an agreement reached in the Slovak town on Trenčianské Teplice, which then took that name, provided for a revised division of powers between the federal and republican levels of government. In November 1990, a modified version of that agreement was again announced as having been successfully agreed. Various negotiations
continued thereafter, but the June 1992 elections reinforced divisions: Klaus and Mečíar won a plurality of votes in the Czech lands and Slovakia, respectively. An argument runs that, still at this stage, the Slovak leadership did not seek independence but Klaus maneuvered Mečíar into that position, and thereby also displaced the responsibility for it.

A further issue involved the structure of voting in the Federal Assembly: a minority of either republic’s parliamentarians could veto major legislation. A polarization of positions meant that the federal system could be paralyzed. One serious indication of such a fractious future was given when Slovak MPs threatened to block the reelection of Václav Havel as president (Havel, supportive of the federation, refused to serve as president rather than preside over its demise).

On 17 July, the Slovak parliament issued the Declaration of Independence of the Slovak Nation. Within days, leaders of the ODS and HZDS had agreed on the basis of a split. By 29 October, Klaus and Mečíar signed a formal agreement for cooperation for what would become two independent countries. Six days later, Klaus and Mečíar agreed to dissolve Czechoslovakia at a meeting in Bratislava. At this time the Federal Assembly had passed no legislation consenting to these terms, although the Klaus-Mečíar deal required the consent to an end of the federation by 60 percent of members of parliament.

At no time throughout this process was a referendum held that asked Czechs and Slovaks for their views on dissolution. Rather, successive public opinion polls showed continuing strong support for the federation, especially among Czechs, but also among a majority of Slovaks. With the negotiations of dissolution completed essentially by leading representatives of the ODS and HZDS—and thus through extraparliamentary means—the Federal Assembly had little option but to vote on 25 November to accept the foregone conclusion of Czechoslovakia’s termination. The measure came into effect at midnight on 31 December 1992.

Fortunately, neither side had territorial claims on the other, and very few of each others’ minorities lived in the other country. The split of most federal assets was agreed on a ratio of 2:1, reflecting the relative population distribution. A few issues remained outstanding for several years, such as the full division of federal gold reserves.
Some Slovaks also claim, for example, that Czechs managed to secure better diplomatic facilities from among the former Czechoslovak embassies. Also under the agreement to split the country was an understanding that federal symbols would not be used by either side. The Czechoslovak flag, however, was adopted by the Czech Republic. Despite modest differences stemming from the breakup of Czechoslovakia, cooperation between the two states thereafter proved generally very good. The Velvet Divorce was welcomed internationally on the basis that if an ethnically heterogeneous country is to break up, it should do so through a negotiated, peaceful separation. The end of Czechoslovakia was in sharp contrast to the wars of secession that waged simultaneously in former Yugoslavia.

VELVET REVOLUTION (SAMETOVÁ REVOLUCE). This term is widely used in English to describe the series of events that began on 17 November 1989 and resulted in the surrender of Communist power through peaceful protest by the end of December. Some dictionaries accepted the term in 1990 as one of the major new contributions to the English language from 1989. Czechs and Slovaks, however, use the phrase much less, preferring such expressions as “November events” (Listopadové udalosti). The event is commemorated with a state holiday called, officially in English, the “Anniversary of the fight for freedom and democracy.”

Some small antiregime protests had occurred before November 1989, particularly in January, including around commemorations of the 20th anniversary of the self-immolation of Jan Palach in protest against the Soviet-led military intervention in Czechoslovakia following the reforms of the Prague Spring of 1968. Major protests, however, only came in this hard-line Communist regime after monumental changes had occurred in all of the surrounding Communist countries, including the opening of the borders, most famously the Berlin Wall, of the German Democratic Republic, on 9 November.

The spark for regime change in Czechoslovakia came ironically from a march on 17 November in Prague that was authorized by the regime. That date was precisely the 50th anniversary of the killing of Czech university student leaders as part of a wider repression by the occupying German forces in the Protectorate of Bohemia
and Moravia. The march drew more people than expected and also featured banners that called for democracy. The march then also moved off the officially agreed route, and turned toward Wenceslaus Square. Police stopped some marchers and beat them; other marchers escaped but where soon intercepted by riot police. Rumors began that one student had been beaten to death. Uncharacteristically, the police sought to reassure public opinion by producing, on television, not one but two unharmed students bearing the same name as the alleged victim. Despite such efforts (and the eventual fact that no one was killed) the population was incensed by the regime’s apparent efforts to disguise its cruelty, as well as the fact of the use of force against unarmed, peaceful marchers.

As a result more people joined the initial protestors; all of them remained orderly. Staff of the Prague Theater, in a society where artists were valued, called for a strike; theaters elsewhere participated. University officials said that they would not invoke academic penalties for illegal political activity. Signatories of the dissident document Charter 77, as well as students, and others converged on Prague’s Magic Lantern Theater on 19 November and formed the very broadly based opposition movement called Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF). Led by the dissident playwright Václav Havel, OF issued demands, including the resignation of Communist leaders. A similar movement, Public against Violence (Verejnosť proti násiliu—VPN), was formed the next day in Slovakia’s capital, Bratislava.

By 20 November, over 200,000 people were demonstrating in the capital. Many official trade unions and student organizations joined in as well, also contributing their facilities and equipment to help organize further protest. On 24 November, Alexander Dubček, the leader of the popular reforms that were crushed by Warsaw Pact forces, arrived in Prague from Bratislava. Dubček was enthusiastically received by the crowds and the legitimacy of the regime was further undermined. In the evening, Dubček joined Havel on stage at the Magic Lantern, signalling the unity of opposition forces against the regime. The regime attempted to respond by making the concession of dismissing senior figures, including Miloš Jakeš, the leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC). The demonstra-
tors, however, wanted an end to Communist rule, not a superficial change in its management.

Protests grew also in Slovakia, where the prominent actor Milan Kňažko read PAV statements on television, augmenting popular support. Back in Prague, large crowds, estimated as high as 750,000, protested in Prague’s Letná Park; this marked an enormous change where massive compulsory pro-Communist rallies had been held before. Havel believed that Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec was sympathetic to change and invited him to address the crowds. Adamec lost any support he might have had by using the unreformist, Communist-era language of “restoring order.” In defiance, the crowds jingled their keys, providing one of the iconographic images of Czechoslovakia’s emerging peaceful Velvet Revolution: it was time for the Communists to go.

Even so, the regime remained unwilling to rescind power. OF led a two-hour general strike on 27 November, in which, by some estimates, half the workforce participated. The strike’s brevity was inversely proportionate to its symbolism: the regime had lost the consent of the working class. On 28 November, Adamec agreed to negotiations with OF, and offered a new cabinet (but which remained Communist-dominated) and to revise the constitution to end the Communist monopoly on power.

Even though the Communist-controlled parliament accepted these changes on 29 November, they were insufficient for the opposition; protests continued. A coalition cabinet was convened but the Communists still retained the majority of posts. The Communists were unwilling to cede power; the population, however, was not lulled by the minor concessions. In the wake of continuing demonstrations, on 10 December Communist President Gustáv Husák announced that a new coalition government would be installed that now included a majority of representatives from CF and PAV. Husák then resigned on television. OF called off its general strike, scheduled for the following day. Dubček was elected president of the Federal Assembly on 28 December; one day later it elected Havel president of Czechoslovakia. The repluralization of political life in Czechoslovakia continued with free elections in June 1990, which were won by OF in the Czech part of the country and by VPN in Slovakia.
VIENNA ARBITRATION (VÍDEŇSKÁ ARBITRÁŽ). This German–Italian decision in November 1938 awarded a large part of southern and eastern Czechoslovakia to Hungary. After the Munich Conference in September, Hungary also demanded the annexation of parts of Czechoslovakia. The maximum Hungarian claim was to the whole territory of Slovakia and Ruthenia (Sub-Carpathian Ukraine), both of which had been part of Hungary before 1918. Germany had for years been sympathetic toward Hungarian revisionist ambitions, but in the fall of 1938 Adolf Hitler already had other plans for that area, including the creation of a Slovak satellite state. Budapest pressed its demands, but Czechoslovakia, while severely crippled by the consequences of the Munich Diktat, was still sufficiently strong to keep Hungary in check.

Germany assumed the role of honest broker and invited Italy to take part in the deal. Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and his Italian counterpart Count Galeazzo Ciano met in Vienna and decided to partially satisfy the Hungarian demands, forcing Czechoslovakia to cede southern and eastern Slovakia and some of Ruthenia to Hungary. This act is known in history books as “The Vienna Arbitration.” It completed the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia that started in Munich. Less than five months after the Vienna verdict, Czechoslovakia was eliminated completely. The Slovak State retained its new boundaries, guaranteed by Germany, and Hungary was permitted to annex the rest of Ruthenia.

The Vienna Arbitration had a second, less well-known act in August 1940, when Romania was forced, under similar circumstances, to cede to Hungary the northern parts of Transylvania.

VISA-WAIVER POLICY. A major aim of Czech foreign policy was to secure visa-free travel of Czech citizens to the United States. There was some speculation that once the Czech Republic joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1999, visas would be lifted (although some citizens of other member-states require them). The support of at least parts of the Czech government for the U.S. position over the Iraq War of 2003 was also seen as seeking, or at least deserving, a visa-waiver policy in return. Instead, tightened American security procedures for entry resulted in Czechs, like many other
foreigners, being required to obtain an American visa in advance even for transiting the United States. The Czech cabinet’s consent to the stationing of part of an American missile defense system on Czech soil was similarly expected to end the American visa regime.

The visa-waiver was finally signed in Washington on 26 February 2008, an achievement that Czech Prime Minister Miroslav Topolánek called “The fulfillment of a dream for a generation of Czechs” and that he ranked with Czech attainment of membership of NATO and the European Union (EU). Under the new scheme, Czechs intending to travel to the United States would still have to file personal details electronically in advance of departure and give fingerprints on arrival. The European Commission, however, objected to this bilateral agreement as one negotiated outside of EU multilateral practices, and contended that it risked exceeding EU laws on the provision of personal details. Czech Interior Minister Ivan Langer rejected the commission’s criticism, saying that the Czech Republic had waited a “bloody long time” for EU solidarity during the negotiations.

VISEGRÁD. A Hungarian town where Czechoslovak President Václav Havel met his Hungarian and Polish counterparts in February 1991. The meeting solidified foreign policy cooperation among the three countries, and would become an important platform for both, projecting an aura of stability in the region to the West and in assisting what became the three countries’ principal post-Communist foreign policy aims: membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). Regular meetings of presidents, prime ministers, ministers, and deputy ministers would be held. The cooperation was nicknamed the Visegrád Three or the Visegrád Triangle. One of the early achievements of Visegrád cooperation was the agreement on and implementation of regional free-trade liberalization under the terms of the Central European Free Trade Agreement, which came into effect at the end of 1992.

With the breakup of Czechoslovakia the cooperation became four-way, and its informal name changed to the Visegrád Four or the Visegrád Square. Thereafter, however, cooperation was impeded by two developments. The first were the marketizing
policies of Václav Klaus, who had become Czech prime minister and who contended that Visegrád was an artificial process forced on the region by the West. He also insisted that Visegrád be limited to economic affairs, mainly trade liberalization. Although the Klaus government occasionally sent inappropriately low-ranking delegations to Visegrád meetings, the Czech Republic continued to participate in this period. The second development concerned the nationalist policies of Vladimír Mečiar in Slovakia, which antagonized the Hungarian minority and worsened relations with Hungary, as well as Mečiar’s disinterest in Euro–Atlantic integration, the fundamental objective of Visegrád. His policies consequently reduced Visegrád to a three-way cooperation.

The resignation of Klaus in 1997 and the electoral defeat of Mečiar in 1998 allowed Visegrád cooperation to enter a revitalized stage; to emphasize its regeneration, the group was relaunched as Visegrád II in 1999. One of its new initiatives included the International Visegrád Fund, dedicated to supporting cross-cultural and education programs. The group also took increased interest in democracy and human rights promotion in the former Soviet Union, and also developed some common positions on their accession to the EU. The successful entry of all four countries into the EU in 2004 caused speculation that it was defunct. The four prime ministers declared on 12 May 2004 at their summit in Kroměříž, the Czech Republic, that even with NATO and EU membership, Visegrád cooperation would continue. Officials of the various foreign ministers attest that Visegrád cooperation has been integrated into various sectors and levels of their foreign policy making.

VLK, MILOSLAV (1932– ). Cardinal and archbishop of the Prague archdiocese, Vlk studied at the Department of Philosophy of the Charles University and then graduated from the School of Theology of Saint Cyril and Methodius in Litoměřice, in north Bohemia. After working as a historian and archivist, Vlk was ordained in 1968, and until 1978 he held various positions in the Catholic Church administration, mostly in the south Bohemian diocese. In 1978, the Communist regime canceled his license to function as a priest, and until 1989, Vlk worked outside the church organization; for several
years, he even washed shop windows in Prague. In 1989, his license to work as a priest was renewed. In 1990, he was named bishop of the south Bohemian diocese in České Budějovice. In 1991, he was named head of the Catholic Church in Bohemia and the archbishop of Prague, succeeding Cardinal František Tomášek. He served as president of the Council of European Episcopal Conferences between 1993 and 2001. In 1996, he became a cardinal and was one of the cardinal electors in the papal conclave that chose Pope Benedict XVI in 2005. In 2007, Vlk wrote to the Pope indicating his intentions to retire but he was requested to postpone that until 2009.

VONDRA, ALEXANDR (“SAŠA”; 1961– ). This former Czech dissident and then senior foreign policy figure was born on 17 August 1961 in Prague. He was a signatory of the dissident document Charter 77, and in the mid-1980s had far-sighted and unusual thinking about the possibilities of German unification. In early 1989 he was arrested and jailed for his dissident activities but was released and able to contribute to the foundation of Civic Forum, which coordinated the end of Communist rule. Thereafter Vondra became a practitioner of Czechoslovak and then Czech foreign policy. Among his positions was as a senior adviser to Czechoslovak President Václav Havel. As Czechoslovakia began to split into two countries in 1992 under the Velvet Divorce, Vondra led the Czech side in the negotiations for the division of the federal Foreign Ministry. He was later a chief architect and negotiator of the 1997 agreement that sought historic reconciliation between the Czechs and Germans, and from that year until 2001 he served as the Czech Republic’s ambassador to the United States, also overseeing his country’s signature of the protocols bringing it into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in March 1999. Upon returning to the Czech Republic, he oversaw preparations for the 2002 NATO summit, which was held in Prague, and also sanctioned the further expansion of the alliance. He became deputy foreign minister in 2003 and then briefly foreign minister in 2006 and 2007 in the short-lived first government of Miroslav Topolánek. He was also elected to the Senate in 2006 and became deputy prime minister for European affairs in the government formed in January 2007.
According to the 11th-century Czech chronicler Cosmas, Vyšehrad was the oldest seat and redoubt of the Premyslites, built probably in the 9th century on the hills above the eastern banks of the Vltava River. Initially built of timber, Vyšehrad was rebuilt of stone as a Romanesque fortified castle with a parish church by King Vratislav II in the second half of the 11th century. During the reign of Charles IV Luxemburg, Vyšehrad was reconstructed into a Gothic castle with walled fortifications, but was burned by the Hussites in 1420. The contemporary structure dates back to the mid-17th century when Vyšehrad was turned into a military fortress, part of the defensive fortifications of the city.

WAR. See ARMED FORCES; CZECHOSLOVAK LEGIONS; FOREIGN POLICY; HUSSITE WARS; IRAQ WAR OF 2003–; NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION; PEACEKEEPING; THIRTY YEARS WAR; WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION; WHITE MOUNTAIN; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II.

“WARSAW PACT.” See WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION.

WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION (VARŠAVSKÁ SMLOUVA). More frequently referred to as the Warsaw Pact (Varšavský pakt), not least in Czechoslovakia, this military alliance existed between the countries of the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe from 1955 to 1991. Called in full “Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance,” the document was signed in Warsaw on 14 May 1955. The initial members were Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Romania, and the Soviet Union. The Chinese People’s Republic maintained an “observer’s status” until 1961. Albania abandoned the pact de facto in 1961 and de jure in 1968.

While all countries of the Soviet bloc had valid mutual alliance treaties between themselves, there had been no equivalent of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (founded in 1949)
until then. The creation of the Warsaw Pact was explained as a response to the signing of the Paris Treaties in October 1954, which established the independence of West Germany, brought that country into NATO and the West-European Union, and legalized its limited rearmament. There was a provision in the Warsaw Treaty for the pact to be dissolved in case an agreement was reached on the creation of an all-European collective security system.

In the first years of its existence, the Warsaw Pact remained without an actual organizational structure, and it was only in the early 1960s that the Soviets established a Unified Command (in Moscow) and a Political Advisory Committee. The first supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact forces was Soviet Marshal Ivan Konev of World War II fame. The pact was also used to legitimize the presence of Soviet occupation forces in some of the bloc countries: East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Until 1961, there was also some Soviet military presence in Albania. Czechoslovakia (until 1968) and Romania had no Soviet troops on their territories.

The Unified Command was under complete Soviet control. This situation was criticized in spring 1968 by Czechoslovak Army generals, who demanded more authority for representatives of smaller countries. In August 1968, the Soviets used the Warsaw Pact organization for their invasion of Czechoslovakia—the only combined military operation of the pact in its history. Limited contingents of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, East German, and Polish armies were employed in the initial stages of the operation, which was otherwise largely a Soviet enterprise.

The pact ceased to function in practice because of the changes in Eastern Europe in 1989. It was formally dissolved on 1 July 1991, by a Protocol on the Termination of the treaty, signed in Prague. The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly ratified the protocol a few days later.

WASHINGTON DECLARATION 1918 (WASHINGTONSKÁ DEKLARACE 1918). The Declaration of Independence of Czechoslovakia was issued in Washington, D.C., in October 1918. World War I was coming to an end, but neither Tomáš Masaryk in Washington nor Edvard Beneš in Paris was quite certain that a
last-minute Austrian diplomatic maneuver would not persuade the Allies of the wisdom of preserving the Habsburg Empire in some form. Masaryk and Beneš, and the Czechoslovak National Council (Československá národní rada—CNR) in Paris, strove for full independence of Czechoslovakia, with Bohemia and Moravia preserved in their historical boundaries. According to a plan coordinated between Beneš and Masaryk in September, the CNR reconstituted itself into a Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak Republic on 14 October, with Masaryk as its chairman, Beneš as minister of foreign affairs and the interior, and Milan Rastislav Štefánik as minister of war. France recognized the new government a day later, and other recognitions came soon after.

When the last Habsburg emperor Charles I issued a manifesto (16 October) declaring federalization of the empire—as Masaryk and Beneš had expected—it was too late. In agreement with the CNR, Masaryk drafted the Declaration of Independence of Czechoslovakia, consulted on it with his American friends, and submitted it to Secretary of State Robert Lansing in the morning hours of 18 October, a day before President Woodrow Wilson issued his negative reply to the last Austrian proposals. The declaration, clearly inspired by the American historical model, made a deep impression on President Wilson, as Masaryk remembers in his memoirs. The name “Washington Declaration” is used for the document in Czech history books.

WENCESLAUS SQUARE (VÁCLAVSKÉ NÁMĚSTÍ). This central Prague square is a place of special meaning in modern Czech history. Almost half a mile long and 200 feet wide, Wenceslaus Square is the largest, longest, and liveliest thoroughfare in the Czech capital. It was designed in the time of Charles IV Luxemburg to join the fortifications of the Old City and the outer walls of the New City, which was then being built. The space initially hosted annual horse markets and was called Horse Market until 1848, when it was given its contemporary name.

An old statue of Saint Wenceslaus had been standing in the lower part of the square since 1680; it was replaced in 1913 with a new mounted statue of the Czech patron saint erected in the upper part of the square. This new statue was created by the great Czech sculptor
J. V. Myslbek. Since 1848, the square and the statue have witnessed mass gatherings on key historical occasions, most recently in 1989, during the Velvet Revolution, when over 250,000 people demanded the end of the Communist regime.

WHITE LION, ORDER OF THE. The highest honor awarded in the Czech Republic, conferred by the president, for distinguished services to the state. It was reintroduced in 1994, having previously been awarded in Czechoslovakia since 1922. It can be conferred on both Czech and foreign citizens. The Order of the White Lion has five classes, with First Class as the most prestigious, and two divisions, the Civil and the Military. Among foreign recipients were the founder of the Boy Scouts, Robert Baden-Powell, in 1929; United States Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and George Patton, in 1945; and the distinguished Canadian scholar of Czechoslovakia and supporter of Czechoslovak dissidents, H. Gordon Skilling, in 1992. Skilling records in his autobiography that he was told that the first two classes of the order were for heads of state and foreign ministers, and the third, which he received, was “for people who had really done something!”

WHITE MOUNTAIN BATTLE (BITVA NA BÍLÉ HOŘE). This event is one of the most memorable in Czech history. On 8 November 1620, an army of the rebellious Czech Estates was defeated there by imperial forces of Ferdinand II Habsburg. The emperor had the support of the Catholic League led by the Bavarian Prince Maximilian, of the pope, of the Spanish Habsburgs and, finally, of Lutheran Saxony, which was wrongly expected to help the Czechs. Both armies in the battle (it lasted only two hours) were mercenary forces and few Czechs did in fact take part in it. Nevertheless, the defeat was to have far-reaching political, economic, and religious consequences for the Czech nation and for the Czech state (see NEW POLITICAL ORDER OF THE LAND, 1627 and THIRTY YEARS WAR). The place of the battle was then outside Prague, on a plain below a hill called White Mountain. Presently, it is a western suburb of the Czech capital.
WICHTERLE, OTTO (1913–1998). An eminent Czech scientist and outstanding organic chemist, Wichterle taught at the Czech Technical University (České vysoké učení technické—CVUT) in Prague since 1935. In 1955 and 1956, he distinguished himself as the principal inventor of polymer fibers and contact lenses. A member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences since 1955, Wichterle held over 150 patents and was the author of over 150 scientific publications. He was chosen honorary president of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (Akademie věd České republiky—AVCR) in 1993.

WOMEN. Women have featured prominently throughout Czech history, although their importance and influence might still be greater in view of the relative pluralism of Czech society and of its advanced education and economy. The centrality of women to Czech history, and some of the ambiguities of how women were viewed, extends to its very beginning. Czech legend contends that Princess Libuše, often called the Mother of the Czech Nation, was the ruler of the Czechs in premodern times but that she ceded her reign to her peasant-husband because of disquiet at female rule. The Hussite movement involved women in important roles, including as combatants. Greater administrative and economic development occurred in the Czech lands under the Habsburg Dynasty when Maria Theresa ascended to the throne in 1740, becoming the first female ruler of the Czechs since Libuše.

The 19th-century woman writer Božena Němcová was a pivotal figure in the Czech National Revival. In the later 19th century, Czech academic and parliamentarian Tomáš Masaryk advocated the expansion of education for women, and the Czech lands developed some of the most advanced educational opportunities for women in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, such as the path-breaking Minerva Gymnasium for Girls, established in 1890. In politics, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (see CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY) before World War I began demanding that female candidates be accepted for positions that became available. However, when a vacancy arose in 1912, Božena Viková-Kunětická stood and won a plurality of votes but was unable to take her seat.
Adult women in **Czechoslovakia** gained the vote in 1919, as they did in many countries, but this was still ahead of other European states, such as France and Italy. Even with female suffrage, Czechoslovakia’s major political figures throughout the interwar remained overwhelmingly male. In addition, as Bruce M. Garver chronicles, no feminist movement or organization in the Czechoslovak Republic embraced “women of all nationalities, religions, and social classes,” instead pursuing different objectives derived from “nationality and within each nationality according to social status, occupation, or religion.” The situation was worse still in **Slovakia**, where, as Sharon L. Wolchik writes, “the influence of the **Catholic Church** and the fact that Slovakia was a more agrarian, less literate region restricted women’s opportunities to take part in public life to a greater degree” than in the Czech lands.

Although the advancement of feminist interests would have been hampered by the lack of unity among Czechoslovak women, a few women featured in interwar political life. Viková-Kunětická, for example, became a senator. Another example was **Milada Horáková**, a member of the **Czechoslovak National Socialist Party** (CSNS) (which, despite the name, bore no relation to the German fascist party), and whose political activities during the later interwar period included resistance to fascism, resulting in five-year internment in German camps during **World War II**, and being elected to parliament after the war; but she fell victim to false charges and execution once the Communists secured power. Masaryk’s wife, Charlotte, was also a prominent, though unelected figure, and was said to have positively influenced his thinking on women’s rights.

In the interwar democracy, however, women never constituted more than 4 percent of parliamentarians; none became cabinet ministers, and only the CSNS had a female deputy chairperson. Despite the relative absence of female political activism in the interwar period, women made their marks in culture and the arts. **Milena Jesenská**, for example, was a noted journalist and then antifascist activist who died in a concentration camp, although her own important achievements have been overshadowed in history by her relationship with the writer **Franz Kafka**.
During the Communist period of 1948–1989 women were represented in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and in state positions, but these remained largely nominal appointments. The Communist period saw a doubling of the percentage of women in higher education, from women constituting approximately 23 percent of university students at the time of the Communist takeover in 1948 to 45 percent at the time of the Velvet Revolution in 1989, although it may well have been that such increased female representation in higher education would have occurred anyway. While committed to gender equality and the advancement of women, Communist rule still meant that Czechoslovak women, as elsewhere under socialist rule, faced the “double burden” of being working women while still shouldering much of family and household duties, as men were not generally being encouraged to take on more of these responsibilities. Women were also involved, although again in disproportionately small numbers, in the dissident movement and as signatories of Charter 77, and then in Civic Forum, which coordinated the popular protests that ended Communist power in November and December 1989.

The immediate post-Communist period saw several women being appointed to senior positions, including some involved in the dissident movement, such as Rita Klimová as the Czechoslovak ambassador to the United States, Marketa Fialková-Němcová to Poland, and actress Magda Vášáryová to Austria. Interest in gender studies also increased in universities, and some women academics have gained rightful intellectual prominence. Nevertheless, a leading sociologist, Jiřina Šiklová, wrote in 1999 that no one in the Czech Republic “is interested in feminism and almost no Czech woman describes herself as a feminist.” Disinterest may be compounded by cases of abuse. U.S. State Department reports on human rights in the Czech Republic, for example, have noted the fact of “some violence and discrimination against women.” Still worse, international organizations consider Czech women to be vulnerable to sexual exploitation and senior Czech officials have acknowledged the trade in women to be particularly serious in the Czech Republic because it has simultaneously been a target, source, and transit country for sex trafficking.
In addition, both Czech and foreign reports suggest that both sexual discrimination and harassment is common, particularly in employment; by some calculations Czech women receive the second-lowest relative share of male pay in the European Union (EU). Several major government initiatives have sought to address such issues, including the creation in 2002 of the Government Committee for Equal Opportunities and the requirement that every Czech ministry have an official assigned to gender matters. That said, the Czech Republic has one of the higher percentages of women serving in the armed forces in industrial countries. In April 2001 the Czech Academy of Sciences elected biologist Helena Illnerová as its first female chair.

Women in the Czech Republic nevertheless are relatively underrepresented as members of parliament, falling below the international average as calculated by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. In 2008 the Czech Republic ranked 76th worldwide in terms of female representation, below Cambodia, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan, and behind many, but not all, fellow member states of the EU. Women have contested or been nominated for the presidency, albeit unsuccessfully, such as the surgeon and diplomat Jaroslava Moserová in 2003, and Jana Bobošíková, a European parliamentarian proposed in 2008 by the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

Despite some cause for concern for the well-being of gender equality in the Czech Republic, women have come to political prominence, including but not limited to: Hana Marvanová, as a Chair of the Freedom Union–Democratic Union; Petra Buzková, as a deputy chair of the Czech Social Democratic Party; Libuše Benešová, who chaired the Senate; and Vlasta Parkanová, who served as minister of justice in 1997–1998 and as minister of defense from 2007; some opinion polls have considered her to be the Czech Republic’s most popular politician. Nevertheless, the relatively limited female representation has continued: for example, when it was constituted in January 2007, the government of 18 portfolios had two women officeholders. These achievements may be all the more considerable in view of some high-level resistance to female participation, including most notably that of Prime Minister Miloš Zeman who, in forming a
new cabinet in 2000, explained the continued absence of any women since he formed the government in 1998 by declaring that men made better experts.

WORLD WAR I. World War I was transformative for the Czech and Slovak nations and essential for the attainment of independent statehood. Broadly speaking, the Czech and Slovak peoples exhibited limited support for Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Josef’s declaration of war against Serbia on 28 July 1914, which was followed the next day by Russia’s declaration of war against Austria-Hungary. Czechs and Slovaks could hardly have been expected to be supportive of the anti-Slavic language adopted by Austria-Hungary and its ally Germany. In turn, the Russian Empire made offers of political support, even of independence, to the Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austro-Hungarian authorities were sufficiently conscious of Czech and Slovak discontent and even disloyalty toward the empire; consequently prewar Czech and Slovak cooperation toward autonomy became even more difficult during the war.

Much national activism was consequently pressed underground; the Sokol movement was banned; the intended 500th anniversary celebrations in 1915 of the Hussite martyrs were prevented. Other severe measures saw national leaders Karel Kramář and Alois Rašín sentenced to death for treason (though this was commuted in 1917 after the emperor’s death, and then they were pardoned). Anti-Austrian resistance nevertheless developed, led by the conspiratorial movement called Maffie. In addition, within months of the start of the war Czech soldiers fighting against Russia had deserted the Austro-Hungarian Army, which in the course of the whole war called up some 8 million men and of whom well over half were killed, hospitalized, or captured. The Czech lands, which were the industrial heartland of the empire and had an established arms industry, were pressed hard to produce for the war effort. From outside the empire, scholar and parliamentarian Tomáš Masaryk began arguing for its dismemberment. By later 1915 such efforts gathered strength as Masaryk combined forces in France with Slovak military officer Milan Rastislav Štefánik and Edvard Beneš to assert Czechoslovak claims for independence.
Masaryk also sought to rally émigré Czechs and Slovaks in North America behind the cause of independence, securing a promise of cooperation in Cleveland, Ohio in October 1915. The drive for independence was further formalized in the creation of the Czechoslovak National Council, which Masaryk headed and which served as a platform to lobby the Entente Powers. The Entente included among its war aims declared on 17 January 1917 the liberation of Czechs and Slovaks from foreign rule.

While some political progress was made, the military dimension took a different turn. The Russian Provisional Government that succeeded the czar recognized the military achievements of Czechoslovak forces in Russia and allowed for a separate unit to be created, which was then put under the control of the Czechoslovak National Council. Masaryk had achieved his ambition of a de facto army for his nascent country through the forces serving in Russia, which numbered approximately 92,000 and which became known as the Czechoslovak Legion. Masaryk intended also that those forces remain neutral in the widespread violence that followed the Bolshevik revolution and the ensuing Russian civil war. Masaryk negotiated for their extraction from Russia so that they could join the continuing fighting against the Central Powers on the Western front. The Bolsheviks consented to the Czechoslovak forces being allowed to travel eastward along the Trans-Siberian railroad to reach the Pacific port of Vladivostok, from where they would sail back to Europe. But the Czechoslovak forces resented how they were treated, which included instances of being forcibly disarmed by the Bolsheviks, and subjected to Marxist propaganda and even coercive efforts to convert them to the Bolshevik cause. Fighting between some of the Czechoslovak forces and Bolsheviks began around the Russian city of Chelyabinsk on 14 May 1918.

Although some foreign governments were already intent on intervening in the Russian civil war to support non-Bolshevik forces, the Legion’s remarkable feat of seizing control of the Trans-Siberian railway, the primary transportation and communications route across Russia’s Eurasian landmass, encouraged other governments to intervene. French President Georges Clemenceau, previously committed to securing the Czechoslovaks to fight in France, instead
declared “all efforts must now be directed toward diverting the action of the Czechs to the complete occupation of the Trans-Siberian railway” and the American attaché in Peking lauded that were the Legion not already in Siberia “it would be worthwhile to bring them there.” In total almost 130,000 Czechs and Slovaks fought in Allied armies and the Legion’s fighting certainly propelled the Entente Powers to acknowledge the Czechoslovaks as cobelligerent people and elevated the status of the Czechoslovak National Council in its dealings with them.

In 1917 the British and American governments did not speak of dismembering the Austro-Hungarian Empire; by early 1918, however, the tide was turning and in late May and June 1918 the American, British, French, and Italian governments had expressed their support for the self-determination of the Czechs and Slovaks. At about the same time, on 30 May, Masaryk secured the Pittsburgh Agreement, which declared the will of Czechs and Slovaks to create a common state. Exhausted by the war it had initiated, the Austro-Hungarian emperor sought peace and accepted the Allied demands. Representatives of the Czechoslovak National Council declared Czechoslovakia independent as of 28 October 1918.

The war caused considerable socioeconomic difficulties, including shortages, for the Czechs and Slovaks, and intensified desires to leave the Empire, but the fighting did not substantially affect civilian populations. Nevertheless, the impact of World War I for Czechoslovakia was fundamental: it destroyed the Austro-Hungarian Empire and facilitated the birth of the Czechoslovak state.

**WORLD WAR II.** Whereas the course of World War I both necessitated and provided fundamental opportunities for the creation of the Czechoslovak state, World War II saw the country’s dismemberment and the creation of historical legacies that arguably caused the state resurrected after the war to be enduringly fragile. The impact of World War II on Czechoslovakia cannot therefore be understated, and while for Great Britain and France the war began with the invasion of Poland in September 1939, the impact of Germany’s expansion was profoundly consequential for Czechoslovakia before that date. Austria’s union with Germany aside, Czechoslovakia was the
first occupied and last liberated country in the war. Its division under the Munich Diktat of September 1938, which ceded the Sudetenland to Nazi Germany without even consultations with the Czechoslovak authorities, has become an infamous metaphor for unjust and misguided, or even cowardly efforts at peace. That measure brought many of Czechoslovakia’s 3 million ethnic Germans under direct German rule, but also some 75,000 Czechs. Hundreds of thousands of other Czechs were expelled from the annexed territory. Germany thereafter made further demands on Czechoslovakia; German Chancellor Adolf Hitler encouraged the independence of Slovakia in talks in Berlin with Slovak leader Jozef Tiso on 13 March 1939, which was followed the next day by a declaration of Slovak independence. Hitler pledged to support the new Slovak state against Hungarian aggression, although Hungarian forces immediately occupied the eastern-most part of former Czechoslovakia, Ruthenia, on that day. On 15 March 1939, the remaining Czech lands become a protectorate directly under the German Reich (see PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA). The German control of Czechoslovakia’s main defensive fortifications meant that the rest of the Czech lands could no longer resist further German encroachment. Czechoslovakia ceased to exist.

That Czechs would resist German rule in at least some form was obvious. Before the Munich Diktat some 1,500,000 Czechoslovaks reported for military duty. After the annexation, Czech resistance was met both with brutal German countermeasures and widespread measures to instill terror. The last large-scale demonstration against German occupation was the celebration on the anniversary of Czechoslovak independence on 28 October 1939. Czech universities, suspected of fomenting resistance, were systematically attacked and closed by German forces in later 1939, and student leaders arbitrarily imprisoned in horrendous conditions. Edvard Beneš, who gave up the Czechoslovak presidency after Munich, managed to flee to Britain and established a government-in-exile that was recognized by the Allies on 21 July 1940. Free Czech military forces also strove to make contributions to the British war effort. Nearly 4,000 Czech airmen and soldiers fighting on the Western front were evacuated to Britain from France as that
country collapsed in the face of German invasion in 1940. Eighty-eight Czech pilots served in the Battle of Britain, which successfully prevented the German air force from gaining control of Britain’s skies. That service and sacrifice helped to encourage British recognition of the Czech government-in-exile, based in London and led by Beneš, which occurred on 21 July 1940. That recognition, in turn, resulted in further German brutality against Czech society. Separately, however, a program for the future of the Czechs in a Nazi-dominated world was prepared by August 1940 and intended the obliteration of Czech national identity. Although Czechs outnumbered Germans by 30:1 in the Protectorate, the German plan intended to Germanize that territory by reeducating some chosen Czechs into Germans, leaving others with limited education to serve as slave labor, physically eliminating the remainder, and also by repopulating the region with ethnic Germans.

Both despite and because of German repression, democratic Czech resistance continued and, throughout 1940, its disparate entities united to create the Central Committee of the Home Resistance (Ústřední výbor odboje domácího—ÚVOD). As Czechs were increasingly being used as labor in the German war effort, both in the Czech lands and upward of 400,000 throughout the war as forced labor in Germany, the Czech government-in-exile was motivated to demonstrate that Czech society was not acquiescent of German occupation. The Beneš government trained special forces abroad for special missions inside the Czech lands to engage the Germans and to encourage more active Czech resistance. The most notable effort was the assassination on 4 May 1942 of the German in charge of the Protectorate, Reinhard Heydrich. This resulted, however, in the “Heydrichiade,” the name given to the fierce Nazi reprisals, including the obliteration of the towns of Lidice and Ležáky.

Apart from such measures against the general Czech population, the Jewish minority suffered horrifically. German policies of humiliation, degradation, and the destruction of this population could be implemented with particular ease in view of Germany’s early occupation of the Czech lands; of the 92,199 people classified in Bohemia and Moravia as Jews under German law in 1939, nearly
85 percent would be murdered in the Holocaust. From late 1941 the Bohemian town of Theresienstadt was turned by German forces into a “model ghetto” to suggest that the Jews shipped to it from across Europe were simply being resettled, while in fact that population was constantly being depleted by the transports leaving there mainly to extermination camps in occupied Poland.

The intensity and duration of the war, as well as battlefield victories by Soviet forces in 1943, meant that the Beneš government sought improved relations with the Soviet Union, and a treaty of friendship with Moscow was signed in May 1944. Communist support for resistance in Slovakia increased from 1943, and the Slovak National Council was created, including participation from the Communists, as a broad-based resistance against the Tiso regime. Slovak resistance culminated in the Slovak National Uprising that began in August 1944 and lasted for two months, and involved some 20,000 partisans and 60,000 Slovak soldiers who had originally been recruited to fight for the Axis. Germany retaliated and crushed the uprising. Unlike in Poland, where Soviet forces stopped their advance while non-Communist Free Poles fought desperately against the Germans, Soviet troops, backed by Czechoslovaks who had made it safely to the Soviet Union, planned to enter Slovakia through the Dukla Pass, but were impeded by entrenched German resistance.

The Slovak National Uprising was also taken as an important indication of Slovak support for the unity of Czechoslovakia. With the liberation of the eastern part of Czechoslovakia, a provisional government was created in the Slovak city of Košice on 4 April 1945 and National Committees took control of local government with Soviet assistance throughout liberated areas. German forces, however, still controlled Prague but faced an uprising on 5 May 1945 that lasted until a German surrender on 8 May. By this time American forces had advanced into western Czechoslovakia, liberating the important industrial city of Plzeň; Soviet forces arrived in Prague on 9 May. Official Communist historiography only commemorated that day as the end of the war, as well as presenting the Soviet Union as a liberator of Czechoslovakia, ignoring the American role, but since 1990 that has been celebrated as well.
ZAHRADNÍK, RUDOLF (1928– ). This leading Czech scientist was president of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (Akademie věd České republiky—AVCR) between 1993 and 2001. Zahradník, a theoretical chemist and founder of Central European quantum chemistry, worked in the Institute of Work Hygiene and Work-Related Illnesses of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences from 1952 to 1961. From 1961 until 1990, he worked in the Institute of Physical Chemistry in Prague and in that year became its director. A professor of physical chemistry at the Charles University in Prague, Zahradník has authored over 340 scientific studies and 16 books, mainly in his field of theoretical chemistry. In May 1996, Zahradník was awarded an honorary doctoral degree from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

ZAJÍČ, JAN (1950–1969). Zajíc was a Czech high school student who burned himself alive in Prague on 25 February 1969, in protest against the progressive strangulation of the Prague Spring of 1968 in the months after the Soviet invasion in August 1968. Zajíc was most probably inspired by a similar act committed by Jan Palach, a Charles University student, on 16 January 1969.

ZÁPOTOCKÝ, ANTONÍN (1884–1957). Czech Communist politician, prime minister from 1948 to 1953, and Czechoslovak president from 1953 to 1957, Zápotocký was an official of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (see CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY) and a journalist in the party press before World War I. During that war, he served in the Austro-Hungarian Army, and in 1919, he became one of the leaders of the radical left in the Social Democratic Party, which strove for association with the Communist International. In 1921, he took part in the founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC). In the interwar period, Zápotocký held various party offices and was also a deputy in the parliament and a senator. In 1939, he was arrested and sent to the Nazi concentration camp Sachsenhausen, where he was held until 1945. A member of the KSC Politburo since his return home, Zápotocký was also head of the Central Trade Union Council (Ústřední rada odborů)
from 1945 to 1950 and prime minister after the Communist coup in 1948. After the death of Klement Gottwald in 1953, Zápotocký was elected president of the republic. He died in office. With other KSC leaders of the time, Zápotocký is held directly responsible for the terror of the early 1950s. He is also the author of four social novels that reflect his early experience in the labor movement.

ŽELEZNÝ, VLADIMÍR (1945– ). Founder and former director of post-Communist Central Europe’s first commercial television station, NOVA TV, his media achievements first earned him the nickname of the region’s Rupert Murdoch. While he gained enormous financial backing for his enterprise from the American Lauder company, which subsequently received 99 percent control of the channel, Železný then claimed that the station was controlled by his own company. He was forced to relinquish control of the station but later entered politics, earning comparisons to Italy’s Silvio Berlusconi for a similar shift from media to politics. Železný successfully contested elections to the Czech Senate in 2002 and then to the European Parliament in 2004, for which he represented a party he formed. But ongoing investigations for alleged tax invasion have raised questions about his ability to retain parliamentary immunity. In January 2009 he founded a new political party called libertas.cz, a branch of the European-wide eurosceptic party libertas.eu.

ZEMAN, MILOŠ (1944– ). Zeman was the leader of the Czech Social Democratic Party (Česká strana sociálně demokratická—CSSD) from 1993 to 2001, and was prime minister between 1998 and 2002. A graduate of the Prague School of Economics (1969), Zeman was briefly a member of the Communist Party during the Prague Spring of 1968. He was expelled a year later for his opposition to the Soviet occupation. While prevented from taking employment suitable to his academic training for most of the time until 1989, Zeman studied economic forecasting. He joined Civic Forum (Občanské fórum—OF) in November 1989 and was elected a deputy of the Federal Assembly on the OF list. After the breakup of the OF, he joined the CSSD, for which he was reelected to the Federal Assembly in June 1992. He lost his mandate after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia.
In 1993, Zeman was elected his party’s chairman and confirmed as such in 1994. He led his party in the elections in May–June 1996 in which the CSSD won 26.44 percent of the vote, becoming the second-strongest Czech political party. In June 1996, Zeman was elected chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of the parliament. Following the 1998 elections Zeman formed the government and became prime minister until 2002 through the Opposition Agreement with the second-largest party, the Civic Democratic Party. In 2003 he contested the presidency but lost to Václav Klaus. Zeman then formally retired from politics and even left his party in 2007, although he has criticized party practices and successive party leaders.

ZENKL, PETR (1884–1975). Chairman of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and deputy prime minister in the last government before 1948, Zenkl, a high-school teacher and author of many textbooks, was an activist in the Czech National Socialist Party starting in the 1920s. As mayor of Prague from 1937, he was arrested by the Germans shortly after the occupation of the rest of Czechoslovakia in 1939 and then kept prisoner in the Nazi concentration camp at Buchenwald. Elected chairman of his party in 1945, Zenkl was deputy prime minister in the government of the National Front until February 1948. After the Communist takeover, he left the country and, until his death, lived in the United States. In exile, Zenkl was a cofounder and chairman of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, the principal external organization of Czechs and Slovaks opposed to the dictatorship of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

ZIELENIÉC, JOSEF (1946– ). This leading economist and politician was born in Moscow on 28 April 1946, although he grew up in Czechoslovakia and was a Czechoslovak citizen. In spite of the pervasiveness of Marxist thinking during Communist rule, Zieleiniec worked on the possibilities of fundamental economic change and contributed to the Czech economic transformation after the Velvet Revolution of 1989. He also established the Center of Economic Research and Education at Charles University. His political activities included being a founder of the Civic Democratic Party in 1991 and then serving as minister for international relations of the Czech
Republic, still within the Czechoslovak federation. Upon the breakup of the country, Zieleniec became Czech foreign minister, a position he held until 1997. One of the major achievements of that post was overseeing the Czech–German Declaration on Mutual Relations and Their Future Development. He was also a deputy prime minister in Václav Klaus’s second government, between 1996 and 1997, although he stepped down from the government as mounting economic problems called the government’s record into question, and due to what he considered the impropriety of some of the party’s financing. In 2000 Zieleniec received the support of the four-party coalition to stand, successfully, for the Senate, where he particularly worked on the Czech Republic’s integration into the European Union. In 2004, he won a seat in the elections to the European Parliament.

ŽIŽKA, JAN (JAN ŽIŽKA Z TROCNOVA; 1360–1424). A Czech military leader of the Hussite period, Žižka is internationally recognized by military historians as a tactical and strategic genius who never lost a battle. He is ranked with the greatest military innovators. Born as a yeoman in south Bohemia, Žižka gathered significant military experience in the service of various lords, domestic and foreign. In 1410, for example, he fought on the Poles’ side at Tannenberg (Grunwald), where an army of Teutonic Knights was crushed.

At the time of the first Hussite battles, Žižka was 60 years old and blind in one eye. He introduced armored wagons that were used both offensively (like tanks later) and defensively (by forming a fortified wall). In the area of tactics, he artfully combined the use of the wagons, foot soldiers, light cavalry, and small cannons. His army consisted mainly of peasants and poor townspeople, who very effectively used weapons such as converted farming tools as halberds and iron-tipped flails.

Žižka put great emphasis on organization and discipline and issued in 1423 the first field manual of its kind. He defeated the crusaders of Emperor Sigismund in 1420 and 1422 and several times crushed other Catholic forces. As of 1421, Žižka was completely blind. Uncompromising in his opposition to the Catholic Church, Žižka was otherwise moderate in religious views and tried to maintain a balance between the radical Taborites and the more conservative Utraquists. See also HUSSITE WARS.
### PRINCES, PREMYSLITE DYNASTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bořivoj</td>
<td>??–894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spytihněv</td>
<td>??–905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vratislav</td>
<td>905–921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Václav I</td>
<td>924–935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boleslav I</td>
<td>935–967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boleslav II</td>
<td>967–999</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vladivoj</td>
<td>1002–1003</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boleslav III</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaromír</td>
<td>1003</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boleslav the Valiant</td>
<td>1003–1004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaromír</td>
<td>1004–1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldřich</td>
<td>1012–1033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaromír</td>
<td>1033–1034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldřich</td>
<td>1034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Břetislav I</td>
<td>1034–1055</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spytihněv II</td>
<td>1055–1061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vratislav II</td>
<td>1061–1092 (as king, 1085–1092)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konrád I</td>
<td>1092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Břetislav II</td>
<td>1092–1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svatopluk</td>
<td>1107–1109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladislav I</td>
<td>1109–1117</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bořivoj II</td>
<td>1117–1120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vladislav I</td>
<td>1120–1125</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soběslav I</td>
<td>1125–1140</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vladislav II</td>
<td>1140–1173 (as king, 1158–73)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bedřich</td>
<td>1178–1189</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Konrád II Ota 1189–1191
Václav II 1191–1192
Přemysl I 1192–1193
Břetislav Jindřich 1193–1197
Vladislav III 1197

KINGS, PREMYSLITE DYNASTY

Přemysl Otakar I 1197–1230
Václav I 1230–1253
Přemysl Otakar II 1253–1278
Václav II 1278–1305
Václav III 1305–1306 (end of the Premyslite line)

INTERREGNUM

Jindřich of Carinthia 1306
Rudolf I Habsburg 1306–1307
Jindřich of Carinthia 1307–1310

KINGS, LUXEMBURG DYNASTY

Jan I Luxemburg 1310–1346
Karel I Luxemburg 1346–1378 (as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles IV 1348–1378)
Václav IV Luxemburg 1378–1419 (as emperor, Wenceslaus I 1378–1400)
Zikmund Luxemburg 1436–1437 (as emperor, Sigismund I; end of the Luxemburg line)

KINGS, HABSBURG DYNASTY (I)

Albrecht I Habsburg 1438–1439
Ladislav I Habsburg 1453–1457 (end of the first Habsburg line)
Jiří z Poděbrad 1458–1471 (George of Poděbrady)
## KINGS, JAGELLO DYNASTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vladislav II</td>
<td>1471–1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludvík I</td>
<td>1516–1526 (end of the Jagello line)</td>
</tr>
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## KINGS, HABSBURG DYNASTY (II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
<td>1526–1564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximilian I Habsburg</td>
<td>1564–1576 (as emperor, Maximilian II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudolf II Habsburg</td>
<td>1576–1611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathias I</td>
<td>1611–1619</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## INTERREGNUM

<table>
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<tr>
<th>King</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frederick of Palatinate</td>
<td>1619–1620</td>
</tr>
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## KINGS, HABSBURG DYNASTY (III)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand II</td>
<td>1620–1637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand III</td>
<td>1637–1657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leopold I</td>
<td>1657–1705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josef I</td>
<td>1705–1711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karel II</td>
<td>1711–1740 (as emperor, Charles VI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Theresa</td>
<td>1740–1780</td>
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</table>

## KINGS, HABSBURG-LORRAINE DYNASTY

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Josef II</td>
<td>1780–1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leopold II</td>
<td>1790–1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>František I</td>
<td>1792–1835 (as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II; as of 1806, emperor of Austria as Francis I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand V</td>
<td>1835–1848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
František Josef I 1848–1916 (as Austrian emperor, Francis Josef I)
Karel III 1916–1918 (as Austrian emperor, Charles I)

PRESIDENTS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Tomás G. Masaryk 1918–1935
Edvard Beneš 1935–1938
Emil Hácha 1938–1939
Edvard Beneš 1945–1948
Klement Gottwald 1948–1953
Antonín Zápotocký 1953–1957
Antonín Novotný 1957–1968
Ludvík Svoboda 1968–1975
Gustáv Husák 1975–1989
Václav Havel 1989–1992

PRIME MINISTERS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Karel Kramář 1918–1919
Vlastimil Tusar 1919–1920
Jan Černý 1920–1921
Edvard Beneš 1921–1922
Antonín Švehla 1922–1926
Jan Černý 1926
Antonín Švehla 1926–1929
František Udržal 1929–1932
Jan Malypetr 1932–1935
Milan Hodža 1935–1938
Jan Syrový 1938
Rudolf Beran 1938–1939
Jan Šrámek 1940–1945 (as the government-in-exile)
Zdenek Fierlinger 1945–1946
Klement Gottwald 1946–1948
Antonín Zápotocký 1948–1953
Viliam Široký 1953–1963
Jozef Lenárt 1963–1968
Oldřich Černík 1968–1970
Lubomír Štougal 1970–1988
Ladislav Adamec 1988–1989
Marián Čalfa 1989–1992
Jan Stráský 1992

PRESIDENTS OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Václav Havel 1993–2003
Václav Klaus 2003–

PRIME MINISTERS OF THE INDEPENDENT CZECH REPUBLIC

Václav Klaus 1993–1997
Josef Tošovský 1997–1998
Miloš Zeman 1998–2002
Vladimír Špidla 2002–2004
Stanislav Gross 2004–2005
Miroslav Topolánek 2006–2009
Jan Fischer 2009
Appendix 2
Elections in the First Republic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1935</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agrarians (see Czech Agrarian Party)</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Democrats (see Czech Social Democratic Party)</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Socialists (see Czechoslovak National Socialist Party)</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovak Populists</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Democrats</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Tradesmen</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlinka Slovak Populists</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czechoslovak Communist Party</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Communist Party of Slovakia</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Social Democrats</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Christian Social Democrats</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Agrarians</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Nationalists</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudetendeutsche Partie</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German-Magyar Christian Socialists</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 3
Chamber of Deputies (Lower House) Election Results for Major Political Parties in the Czech Republic since 1992
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civic Democratic Party (ODS)</td>
<td>Center-right; associated with earlier heavy rhetoric toward free markets</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>35.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Democratic Union–Czech People’s Party (KDU-CSL)</td>
<td>Center-right, with religious following; formed government coalition with ODS 1992–1996</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA)</td>
<td>Center-right;</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD)</td>
<td>Center-left; long historical origins; supports social welfare</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>32.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Election Year</td>
<td>Seats</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Change</td>
<td>*Change</td>
<td>**Change</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom Union (US)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td><em>defectors</em> from ODS in 1998</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDU-CSL &amp; US coalition*</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.81</td>
<td>Far-left, largely unreconstructed successor to Communist-era ruling party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Party (SPR-RSC)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Far-right, nationalist and xenophobic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Party (SZ)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>***The Green Party contested the European Parliamentary elections of 2004, the Senate elections of 2002, and various regional and local elections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from Czech media and www.volby.cz.

*The two parties fought the election together.
**As the “Republikani Miroslava Sladka.”
***The Green Party contested the European Parliamentary elections of 2004, the Senate elections of 2002, and various regional and local elections.
Appendix 4
Text of Charter 77

January 1, 1977

On October 13, 1976, The Collection of Laws of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (No. 120) published “The International Pact on Civil and Political Rights” and “The International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights” which had been signed in the name of our republic in 1968, ratified in Helsinki in 1975, and came into force in our country on March 23, 1976. Since that time, our citizens have the right, and our government has the obligation, to conform to them.

Freedoms and rights guaranteed by these pacts are important values of civilization for which many progressive people had been striving throughout history. Their enactment can significantly aid the humane development of our society. We welcome the fact that the CSSR joined these pacts.

The publication of both agreements, however, reminds us with renewed urgency how many fundamental human rights in this country have only paper value.

For example, the right of freedom of expression, guaranteed in Article 19 of the first pact, is entirely fictitious.

Tens of thousands of our citizens are prevented from taking jobs in their professional fields only because their opinions differ from the official ones. At the same time, these citizens are subjected to most varied discrimination and harassment by the authorities and public organizations. They are deprived of any possibility to defend themselves. In practical terms they are victims of apartheid.

Hundreds of thousands of other citizens are deprived of their “freedom (to live) without fear” (introduction to the first pact). They live in constant danger that if they reveal their opinions, they would lose their jobs and other opportunities.
Contrary to Article 13 of the second pact, innumerable young people are deprived of the possibility to study only because of their, or even their parents’ opinions. Countless citizens must live in fear that if they speak out in agreement with their persuasion, they themselves, or their children, would be deprived of the right to education.

The exercise of the right to “seek, receive, disseminate information of all kinds regardless of frontiers, orally, in writing or in print” or “by means of art” (point 2, Article 19 of the first pact) is persecuted out of court as well as prosecuted judicially. Frequently it is done under the veil of criminal accusation, as the current trials with young musicians testify.

Freedom of public expression is suppressed by central control of all mass media as well as publication and cultural facilities. No political, philosophical, scientific or artistic expression can be published if it only somewhat goes beyond the limits of official ideology or aesthetics. Public criticism of signs of social crisis is made impossible. Defense against untrue and slanderous accusations in official propaganda is made impossible (legal protection against “assaults on honor and reputation,” unequivocally guaranteed in Article 17 of the first pact, does not exist). Untrue accusations cannot be refuted and all attempts to reach legal rectification are in vain. In the sphere of spiritual and cultural creation, open debate is excluded. Many scientists and other citizens are discriminated against only because years ago they had published or openly expressed opinions which the current political power condemns.

Freedom of faith, emphatically ensured by Article 18 of the first pact, is systematically circumscribed by the licentious practice of the government. It is done by limitations imposed upon the activities of clergymen who live under constant threat that they will lose the state’s license to exercise their function. It is also done by attacks on subsistence and other persecution of people who profess their faith by word or action. It is done by suppression of religious education and by other means.

The factual subordination of all institutions and organizations in the country to the political directives of the apparatus of the ruling party and to the decisions of influential individuals is an instrument of circumscription, and often of complete suppression of a number of civil rights. The Constitution of the CSSR and other laws and legal norms define neither the contents and the form, nor the application of such decisions. In most cases, these decisions are made behind the scenes,
often only orally, unknown to the citizens and beyond their control. Those who make these decisions are not responsible before anybody but themselves and their hierarchy. At the same time, they affect the activity of legislative and executive organs of the state administration, of the judiciary, the trade unions and all other social and special interest organizations, other political parties, enterprises, institutions, offices, schools, etc. Their commands carry more weight than the law. When organizations or citizens, while interpreting their rights and obligations, get at variance with these directives, they cannot turn to an impartial authority because no such authority exists. This situation seriously narrows the rights following from Articles 22 and 21 of the first pact (right of association, and prohibition of any limitation of its exercise); of Article 25 (equality of the right to take part in conducting public affairs); and of Article 26 (preclusion of discrimination before the law). This situation also prevents workers and employees from founding, with no limitations, trade unions and other organizations for the protection of their economic and social interests, and to freely use their right to strike (point 1 of Article 8 of the second pact).

Other civil rights, including the explicit prohibition of “licentious interference with private lives, family, homes, or correspondence” (Article 17 of the first pact), are also seriously violated by the Ministry of the Interior. This ministry controls the lives of citizens in many various ways: eavesdropping of telephone conversations and of homes, supervision of mail, shadowing of citizens, house searches, building of a network of informers (often recruited by impermissible threats or promises). This ministry frequently intervenes with the decisions of employers, it sets up discriminatory actions of authorities and organizations, it influences the judiciary organs and even directs propagandistic campaigns of mass media. This activity is not ruled by law, it is conducted secretly and the citizen has no means to defend himself.

In cases of politically motivated prosecution, the investigating and prosecuting organs violate the rights of the accused and of their defense, rights guaranteed by Article 14 of the first pact and by Czechoslovak laws. Political prisoners are treated in ways which hurt their human dignity, endanger their health, and strive to break them morally.

Generally violated is also point 2 of Article 12 of the first pact, which guarantees the citizens’ right to leave their country. Under the pretext of “protection of national security” (point 3), this right is tied to various
impermissible conditions. Licentious approach exists in the practice of issuing entry visas to foreign citizens, many of whom cannot visit the CSSR because, for example, they had professional or friendly contacts with persons discriminated against here.

Some citizens—in private, in their workplaces, or in public (which is only possible in foreign media)—are turning attention to the systematic violation of human rights and democratic freedoms. Their voices, however, remain without any response, and they themselves become targets of investigation.

Responsibility for the observation of civil rights in the country rests, of course, primarily with the political and state power. But not only with them. Everyone bears his share of responsibility for the general state of affairs, including the observation of enacted international pacts which obligate not only governments, but also all citizens.

A sense of this responsibility, faith in the rationale of civic commitment and a will to pursue it, as well as a common need to search for its new and more effective expression led us to the idea to create CHARTER 77, the inception of which we are publicly announcing today.

CHARTER 77 is a free, informal, and open community of people of differing persuasions, different faiths and professions, united by their will to strive for respect for civil and human rights in our country and in the world. Those rights are accorded to man by both enacted international pacts and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and by numerous other international documents against wars, violence and social and spiritual oppression, all of which comprehensively are specified by the General Declaration of Human Rights of the Organization of United Nations.

CHARTER 77 grows from the base of solidarity and friendship of people who share their concern for the fate of ideals with which they tied, and continue to tie, their lives and work.

CHARTER 77 is not an organization, it has no statutes, no permanent bodies or membership contingent on them. Everybody who agrees with its ideas, who takes part in its work and who supports it belongs to it.

CHARTER 77 is not a basis for opposition political activity. It wants to serve common interest as do many other civil initiatives in various countries in the West and East. CHARTER 77 therefore does not want to formulate its own program of political or societal reforms or changes. It wants to conduct a dialog, in the sphere of its activity, with the po-
political and state power, namely to turn attention to specific cases of violation of human and civil rights, document them, propose solutions, put forward various general proposals striving for elaboration of these rights and guarantees, act as an intermediary in situations of eventual conflicts which might lead to wrongdoing, etc.

By its symbolic name, CHARTER 77 emphasizes that it originates at the threshold of the year which was declared the year of the rights of political prisoners, a year in which the Belgrade Conference is to survey the fulfillment of the obligations adopted in Helsinki. As signatories of this declaration, we are entrusting Professor Dr. Jan Patočka, Dr. Sc., Dr. H. C., Mr. Václav Havel, and Professor Dr. Jiří Hájek, Dr. Sc., with the task of acting as spokespersons of the CHARTER 77. These spokespersons rightfully represent CHARTER 77 before the state and other organizations as well as before our own and the world public, and by their signatures they guarantee the authenticity of the CHARTER’s documents. In the rest of us, as well as in those who will still join the CHARTER, they will have their colleagues who will participate with them in needed negotiations, who will set about particular tasks, and will share with them all responsibility.

We believe that CHARTER 77 will contribute to the goal that all citizens of Czechoslovakia would work and live as free people.

This text was followed by the signatures of the first 242 signatories. In 1979, the total number of signatories was 1,886.
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INTRODUCTION

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s comments made at the desperate time of the Munich Agreement with Nazi Germany in September 1938 that Czechoslovakia was a “faraway country” and its inhabitants were “people of whom we know nothing” still resonate for some. Nevertheless, even in the interwar period Czechoslovakia both produced and attracted considerable academic writing. Thereafter and continuing to the present, Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic remain the subject of intense, dynamic, and diverse scholarly and popular interest. This may be in part due to aspects of the country’s tragic history, foremost the Munich ultimatum of 1938 and resulting destruction of Central Europe’s most successful democracy; the Communist takeover
of 1948; the reforms of 1968 and ensuing Soviet military intervention; the almost-magical Velvet Revolution of 1989; and the tremendous expressions of bravery by many of the country’s citizens throughout these challenging times. In addition, Czechoslovak and Czech society have produced some outstanding technological, sporting, cultural, cinematographic, and literary achievements, which deserve international recognition.

Although much has been written by and of the Czechs, it is only recently that readers can benefit from a single, comprehensive, and authoritative account of Czech history from its inception to the present, which is offered in the very welcome volume by Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (2004), while Maria Dowling covers the modern era succinctly and with incorporation of cultural developments in *Czechoslovakia* (2002). Though now dated, Czechoslovak émigré historian and diplomat Josef Korbel’s *Twentieth-Century Czechoslovakia: The Meaning of Its History* (1977) remains interesting and conveys the perspectives of a participant. Using a title that plays on Shakespeare’s facetious or ignorant reference to a distant land, Derek Sayer provides a multidimensional overview of Czech history that particularly draws on the rich culture, music, and literature, in *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*. A deservedly extensive history of the Czech capital city, from its premodern origins to World War II, and with some poignant personal reflections, is provided by Peter Demetz in *Prague in Black and Gold* (1998).

The establishment of the Czech Republic and the post-Communist transformation have been covered in a range of works, including some specialized in thematic issues such as banking and privatization. Indeed, because of the Czech Republic’s apparent early economic successes, and then because of its seemingly unexpected economic crises, the country’s path has attracted considerable thematic analysis in wider literature concerning post-Communist political and economic transition. With a profound knowledge of Czechoslovak economy and society and of Czech-language sources, Martin Myant’s *The Rise and Fall of Czech Capitalism: Economic Development in the Czech Republic, 1989–2002* (2003) deserves particular attention while remaining accessible to those without an economic background. Regular and detailed assessments of political and economic change in the Czech Republic are provided in the quarterly and yearly reports by the Economist Intelligence Unit.

Addressing post-Communist politics, particularly those of the center-right, is Séan Hanley’s *The New Right in the New Europe: Czech Transformation and Right-Wing Politics, 1989–2006* (2008). Earlier overviews or essays on general post-Communist change are offered in such works as Robin H. E. Shepherd,

Broader questions of Czech identity over time are addressed by the Czech-born anthropologist Ladislav Holy, The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation: National Identity and the Post-Communist Transformation of Society (1996), and by Robert B. Pynsent, Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality (1994), who also has a chapter on Václav Havel. As one of the most interesting and inspiring personalities of the later 20th century, Havel has understandably been the subject of several biographies, although we are fortunate also to have a range of works by him, including his recent reminiscences in To the Castle and Back (2007). Popular Czechoslovak and Czech culture and society is covered in encyclopedic and entertaining form in Andrew Roberts, From Good King Wenceslas to the Good Soldier Švejk (2005).

The breakup of Czechoslovakia is covered in a single volume by Abby Innes, Czechoslovakia: The Short Goodbye (2001), while a range of perspectives are offered in the edited collection by Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger, Irreconciliable Differences: Explaining Czechoslovakia’s Dissolution (2000). For the Velvet Revolution one must read the Prague sections of Timothy Garton Ash’s We The People (1990). Tim D. Whipple’s collection After the Velvet Revolution: Vaclav Havel and the New Leaders of Czechoslovakia Speak Out (1991) still provides refreshing views from leading Czechoslovak activists. Pre-1989 dissidence, including in Czechoslovakia, is provided in Barbara J. Falk’s The Dilemmas of Dissidence in East-Central Europe (2003), while Barbara Day details the Czech underground thinkers in The Velvet Philosophers (1999), and John Keane’s edited collection, The Power of the Powerless: Citizens against the State in Central-Eastern Europe (1985), concentrates on Havel’s dissident-era works and on views of him by fellow dissidents and foreign sup-

The major disjunctures in Czechoslovak history that preceded the end of Communism continue to capture academic interest. The Prague Spring reforms and the resulting Soviet-led military intervention in August 1968 continue to draw attention both among Czech and Slovak scholars and abroad. At nearly 900 pages and exhaustive of sources then available, H. Gordon Skilling’s *Czechoslovakia’s Interrupted Revolution* (1976) remains an essential work. Kieran Williams offers important updates with findings from sources made available after the collapse of the Soviet bloc and, at under 300 pages, is also very accessible. The collection by Jaromír Navratil, Antonín Bencík, Václav Kural, Marie Michalková, and Jitka Vondrova, *The Prague Spring 1968* (1998), affords indigenous reflections in English. How Communist rule was installed in Czechoslovakia in the later 1940s has also generated considerable literature. Recently Bradley F. Abrams challenged existing conventions on indigenous Czech sympathy for Communism in *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (2004). Karel Kaplan’s *Report on the Murder of the General Secretary* (1990) provides chilling records of Stalinist show trials from the Communist consolidation of power in Czechoslovakia.


While much Czech and international scholarship exists and continues on the formation and existence of Czechoslovakia, Zdeněk Zeman’s The Masaryks: The Making of Czechoslovakia (1991) provides a readable account of this founding family and of the establishment of the state. Among his many works, Tomáš G. Masaryk’s The Meaning of Czech History (republished 1974), deserves particular attention.

The pre-1918 history of the Czechs and Slovaks, however, generally must be read among major works on the Austrian/Austro-Hungarian Empires. Recent scholarship includes Mark Cornwell’s The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds (2000) and this area continued to benefit from some older and substantial works such as Robert A. Kann’s A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918 (1974) and R. J. W. Evans’s The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy (1979). Earlier periods of Czech history continue to be served well by some older scholarship, although several major new works have recently appeared, including Alfred Thomas, Anne’s Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310–1420 (1998) and Lisa Wolverton, Hastening Toward Prague: Power and Society in the Medieval Czech Lands (2001). It can be expected that the fascinating, if at times deeply tragic, history of the Czechs and the Czech Lands will continue to draw considerable scholarly interest and talent.

How This Bibliography Works

Precisely because of the very strong and varied interest in the Czech lands, no bibliography could reasonably be exhaustive, and although the present one is meant to be substantial, authors are asked to be understanding of the practical constraints. This bibliography is meant to reflect major areas of interests and to show aspects of the historiography of the Czech lands over time. In addition, works appear only once in the bibliography and may naturally be relevant in different sections but are categorized according to their main emphasis. In some cases certain book chapters from edited collections are specifically included; but not all can be. Where an individual book chapter or article has later constituted part of a monograph only the later will normally be cited. Needless to say, inclusion of works here should not be taken as an endorsement of their positions but an indication of the spectrum of research and opinion.

Thematic sections of the following bibliography are arranged in alphabetical order. Only academic works, or works of similar standing, are included. While most of the listed books or journal articles are no more than 20 years
old, there are some notable exceptions, for example classical works that have
not been equaled since their publication or that give important indications of
historiographical thinking. Most publications cited are in English; some impor-
tant Czech works are included, with translations of their titles, and some select
works written in other languages. Diacritic marks have been included when
they appeared originally in the authors’ names and original publication titles.

The historical section is divided into three sections: Medieval to 18th Cen-
tury, Modern to 1918, and Czechoslovakia, the latter being divided into nine
chronological subsections. A fourth section concerns the Czech Republic, and
contains four subsections on politics, foreign policy, economy, and society. A
thematic section then follows that covers major topics in the study of Czecho-
slovakia/Czech Republic.

A list of some important academic publications in the Czech Republic is
added. Some of these journals have only English, French, or occasionally Latin
names, and most carry an English abstract of published articles.

As evidence of worldwide scholarly interest in Czechoslovakia and now
the Czech Republic, many research centers and libraries have developed with
specialist collections. The U.S. Library of Congress explains that it “is con-
sidered to be the best repository of Czech and Slovak books, periodicals and
other reading materials outside the Czech Republic and Slovakia.” The British
Library holds over 14,000 works, although it cautions that these holdings pos-
sess “no separate catalogue and are dispersed within the rest of the collections.”
Specialist collections can also be found at the School of Slavonic and East
European Studies, University College London; at the University of Toronto,
Canada, which includes some original samizdat dissident writings held in the
Thomas Fisher Rare Book depository; and at the University of Texas and at
Indiana University.

The Internet has also become an extremely important source of information
on the Czech Republic. All major institutions of Czech government and major
political parties have websites, often with some material in English. In addi-
tion, major Czech media, listed later in the bibliography, are available online,
although access, including charges, varies.

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Medieval to 18th Century

Bauer, Franz, et al. Tisíc let česko-německých vztahů (A Thousand Years of


**Modern to 1918**


Cohen, Gary B. *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848–1918*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1996.


HISTORY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

General Overviews


**Foundation of Czechoslovakia**


**First Republic and the Interwar Years**


**Munich and Wartime, 1938–1945**


**Postwar and Establishment and Functioning of Communist Rule**


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**The 1989 Velvet Revolution**


### The Breakup of Czechoslovakia


### THE CZECH REPUBLIC SINCE 1993

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**Society**


## THEMATICAL STUDIES

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### Visual Arts and Architecture


### Culture and Cultural History


**Film and Theater**


**Language and Literature**


**Music**


**Geography**


**Sociological**


**Histories of Prague**


**Memoirs**


Masaryk, T. G. *Světová revoluce; za války a ve válce* (World Revolution: During the War and in the War). Prague: Orbis a Čín, 1925.


**Secondary Sources on Tomáš G. Masaryk**


**Political Works in English by and Secondary Sources on Václav Havel**


**Minorities**

**Germans**


**Jews**


**Roma or “Gypsies”**


**Ruthenians**

Slovaks


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**PRINCIPAL CZECH ACADEMIC JOURNALS IN THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**Economy**

*Acta economica Pragensia*, a bimonthly published by Vysoká škola ekonomická (Higher School of Economics), Prague.

*Ekonom* (Economist), a weekly published by ECONOMIA, Prague.

*Národní hospodářství* (National Economy), a monthly published by ORBIS, Prague.

*Politická ekonomie* (Political Economy), a bimonthly published by Vysoká škola ekonomická (Higher School of Economics), Prague.

*Prague Economics Papers*, an English-language quarterly published by the Higher School of Economics, Prague.

**Geography**

*Geographica, Acta Universitatis Carolinae*, a biyearly journal published by the Department of Natural Sciences of the Charles University, Prague.

*Moravian Geographical Reports*, a biannual journal published by the Institute of Geonics of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno.

*Sborník České geografické společnosti* (Reports of the Czech Geological Society), published by the Czech Geological Society, Prague.
History

*Acta Universitatis Carolinae—Historia* (Studies of the Charles University—History), a biyearly journal published by the Department of Philosophy, Charles University, Prague.

*Český Časopis historický* (Czech Historical Journal), a quarterly published by the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

*Dějiny věd a techniky* (History of Science and Technology), published by Society for History of Sciences and Technology, Prague.

*Soudobé dějiny* (Contemporary History), a quarterly published by the Institute for Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

International Relations

*Mezinárodní politika*, a monthly published by the Institute for International Relations, Prague.

*Mezinárodní vztahy*, a quarterly published by the Institute for International Relations, Prague.

*Perspectives*, an English-language quarterly published by the Institute for International Relations, Prague.

Law

*Acta Universitatis Carolinae—Iuridica*, a biannual journal published by the Charles University, Prague.

*Budování státu* (Building of States), a monthly published by the International Politological Institute of the Department of Law, Masaryk University, Brno.

*Časopis pro právní vědu a praxi* (Journal of Juridical Science and Practice), a quarterly published by the Department of Law of the Masaryk University, Brno.

*Právní praxe* (Legal Practice), a monthly published by the Czech Ministry of Justice, Prague.

*Právní rozhledy* (Juridical Overview), a monthly published by C.H. Beck/SEVT, Prague.

*Právník* (Jurist), a monthly journal published by the Institute of State and Law of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

Slavic Studies

*Byzantinoslavica—Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines*, a biannual journal published by the Slovanský ústav (Slavic Institute), Prague.
Opera Slavica: Slavistické přehledy (Slavic Studies), a biyearly published by the Institute of Slavic Literatures of the Masaryk University, Brno.

Slavia—Časopis pro slovanskou filologii (Slavia: A Journal for Slavic Philology), a quarterly published by the Slovanský ústav, Prague.

Slovenský přehled (Slavic Review), a quarterly published by the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

### Sociology and Social Studies

Český lid (Czech People), a quarterly published by the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

Czech Sociological Review, published six times per year (twice in English, four times in Czech) by the Sociological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

Politological Review, a quarterly published by the Czech Society for Political Sciences, Prague.

### Major English-Language Academic Journals with Czech Content

Austrian History Yearbook
Central Europe
Central European History
Communist and Post-Communist Studies (formerly Studies in Comparative Communism)
Cross Currents
East European Quarterly
Europe-Asia Studies (formerly Soviet Studies)
Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics
Journal of Slavic Military History
Kosmas
Nationalities Papers
Problems of Post-Communism (formerly Problems of Communism)
Slavic Review
Soviet Studies (since 1993 called Europe-Asia Studies)

### GOVERNMENT, MEDIA, AND INTERNET SOURCES

A substantial amount of material is available from and regarding the Czech Republic on the Internet. Major sources from the Czech government and media are provided, using what is believed to be a permanent website, although these
sites may subsequently change their terms of access (including paid subscriptions) and their Internet addresses.

**Czech Government Sources (in English)**

Main official site for the Czech Republic: http://www.czech.cz/
Main site for the Czech government: http://www.vlada.cz/defaultEN.html
Czech presidency: http://www.hrad.cz/
Czech Senate (Upper Chamber): www.senat.cz/
Chamber of Deputies (Lower Chamber): http://www.psp.cz/cgi-bin/eng/sqw/ hp.sqw
Speeches and writing by Václav Klaus and Václav Havel, from their times in office and outside it (available in English): http://www.klaus.cz/ and http:// www.vaclavhavel.cz/

**Websites for Major Ministries (as of 2009)**

Ministry of Agriculture: http://www.mze.cz/
Ministry of Finance: http://www.mfcr.cz/
Ministry of Foreign Affairs: http://www.mzv.cz/
Ministry of Interior: http://www.mvcr.cz/

**Czech Media Internet Sources**

*Britské listy* (Internet-only daily with no paid staff): www.blisty.cz/
*Hospodářské noviny* (economic and business focus): http://hn.ihned.cz/
*Lidové noviny* (major daily with pre-1989 dissident-era *samizdat* origins): www.lidovky.cz/
Mladá fronta Dnes (major daily that is the successor to the Communist Party youth newspaper): www.idnes.cz/

Prague Post (main English-language weekly): www.praguepost.com/

Právo (left-leaning but unaffiliated successor to the main Communist-era party newspaper Rudé právo): www.pravo.novinky.cz/

Respekt (weekly newspaper with Communist-era dissident origins): www.respekt.cz/
Rick Fawn is senior lecturer in International Relations at the University of St. Andrews in Great Britain. He was born in Toronto, Canada. He benefited from the expertise of distinguished scholars of Central European origin and established teaching on the region at the University of Toronto, where he did his BA and MA. He visited Czechoslovakia in 1989 and lived in post-Communist Czechoslovakia, where he studied Czech language and subsequently completed a PhD on Czechoslovak foreign policy at the London School of Economics. His current teaching and research involves both international relations and post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe, and a recent publication is Globalising the Regional, Regionalising the Global (as editor, 2009). Works on Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic include The Czech Republic: A Nation of Velvet (2000) and articles in such journals as Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Communist Studies and Transition Politics, East European Quarterly, and Europe–Asia Studies.

Jiří Hochman, born in 1926 in Prague, was a leading Czech journalist at the time of the Prague Spring of 1968 and until complete suppression of the free press in Czechoslovakia in May 1969. He was jailed in 1972 and forced into exile in 1974, and he has been living in the United States since then. A historian by training, Hochman is the author of 12 books, both nonfiction and fiction, and more than 200 short stories. His work The Soviet Union and the Failure of Collective Security, 1934–1938 (1984) was nominated for the American Historical Association’s Prize in European Military and Strategic History. From 1991 to 1992 Hochman worked with Alexander Dubček to produce
the latter’s autobiography, *Hope Dies Last* (1993), which has been published in 16 languages. Until his retirement in 1995, Hochman was an associate professor at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. Awarded emeritus status, he now lives in Palm Coast, Florida.