

# Notes

## CHAPTER 1

1. Poland, too, likes to see itself in this guise. See Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

2. Vladimír Macura, *Znamení zrodu: České obrození jako kulturní typ*, 2d ed. (Jinočany: H&H, 1995), pp. 170–77; Milan Kundera, “A Kidnapped West or Culture Bows Out,” translated by Edmund White, *Granta* 11 (1984): 93–122.

3. See František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě* (1848; Prague: B. Kočí, 1908), pp. 7–8, and Vladimír Macura, *Český sen* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1999), pp. 63–77.

4. See Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1998).

5. See: John M. Kramer, “The Environmental Crisis in Eastern Europe: The Price for Progress,” *Slavic Review* 42, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 204–20; Kramer, “Chernobyl’ and Eastern Europe,” *Problems of Communism* 35 (November-December 1986): 42, 47–50; Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, *Newsline, Central and Eastern Europe*, May 5, 2000 <<http://www.rferl.org/newsline/2000/05/3-cee/cee-030500.html>>, and chapter 17.

6. Miroslav Vaněk, “Porobení přírody,” in *Proč jsme v listopadu vyšli do ulic*, compiled by Jiří Vančura (Brno: Doplněk, 1999), pp. 133–54.

7. Ivan Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I: od příchodu Slovanů do roku 1740* (Prague: Paseka, 1992), pp. 11–18; Karel Sklenář, *Památky pravěku na území ČSSR: Od lovců mamutů ke státu Přemyslovců* (Prague: Orbis, 1974); Radomír Pleiner and Alena Rybová, eds., *Pravěké dějiny Čech* (Prague: Academia, 1978).

8. Sklenář, *Památky pravěku*; Traian Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe* (Armonk, N.Y., and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 13–16.

9. Jan Filip, *Keltská civilizace a její dědictví*, 5th ed. (Prague: Academia, 1996).

10. The Greek “barbarian” has a similar sense. See Josef Holub and Stanislav Lyer, *Stručný etymologický slovník jazyka českého se zvláštním zřetelem k slovům kulturním a cizím* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1967), pp. 333, 442, 461.

11. John A. Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 128–67.

12. *Kosmova kronika česká*, 6th ed., edited by Karel Hrdina and Marie Bláhová, translated by Zdeněk Fiala and Marie Bláhová (Prague: Svoboda, 1975), pp. 12–13.

13. See Jiří Sláma, “Boiohaemum-Čechy,” in *Bohemia in History*, edited by Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 37.

14. Michal Lutovský and Naďa Profantová, *Sámová říše* (Prague: Academia, 1995). Czechs and Slovaks view Samo’s empire as a forerunner of their states: see Peter A. Toma and Dušan Kováč, *Slovakia: From Samo to Dzurinda* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2001).

15. This account relies on Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 24–27; but compare Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců: vstup Čechů do dějin (530–935)* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997), pp. 17–53, who argues that the Czechs were a single tribe with several rulers.

16. Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, p. 26; Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, pp. 76–78.

17. Many Slavic languages derive their word for “king” from Charlemagne’s name “Carolus,” in Czech, *král*. See Holub and Lyer, *Stručný etymologický slovník*, p. 266.

18. This account reflects the views of most scholars. See *Magna Moravia: Sborník k 1100. výročí příchodu byzantské míše na Moravu* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1965); Josef Poulík and Bohuslav Chropovský, *Velká Morava a počátky československé státnosti* (Prague and Bratislava: Academia and Obzor, 1985); and Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, pp. 263–96; but see also the revisionist works of Imre Boba, *Moravia’s History Reconsidered: A Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971);

Charles Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars: The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); and Martin Eggers, *Das grossmährische Reich: Realität oder Fiktion? Eine Neuinterpretation der Quellen zur Geschichte des mittleren Donauraumes im 9. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1995).

19. Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, pp. 74–98.

20. *The Vita of Constantine and the Vita of Methodius*, translated by Marvin Kantor and Richard S. White, with an introduction by Antonín Dostál (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1976), p. 75.

21. Martin Eggers, *Das Erzbistum des Method: Lage, Wirkung und Nachleben der kyrillomethodianischen Mission* (Munich: Otto Sagner, 1996).

22. Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, pp. 348–74; Rada et al., *Dějiny zemí koruny české, I*, pp. 34–35.

23. See Pavla Obrazová and Jan Vlk, *Maior Gloria svatý kníže Václav* (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 1994), esp. pp. 192–217 and 228–230; and Robert B. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1994), pp. 196–98.

24. Václav Novotný, *Od nejstarších dob do smrti knížete Oldřicha*, vol. 1, part 1 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1912), pp. 554–73.

25. Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, pp. 437–40.

26. See Obrazová and Vlk, *Svatý kníže Václav*, pp. 111–41.

27. Novotný, *České dějiny*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 512–17.

28. Ivan Hrbek, “Ibráhím ibn Jákúb v Praze, Čechách a jiných slovanských zemích,” *Český lid* 6 (1951): 267–71.

29. Novotný, *České dějiny*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 582–92.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 627–52; Rudolf Turek, *Slavníkovci a jejich panství* (Hradec Králové: Kruh, 1982).

31. The Polish Piasts also claim descent from a peasant. See Paul W. Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East Central Europe, 1320–1370* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 3.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Ivan Rada et al., *Dějiny zemí koruny české, I*, pp. 47–49; Josef Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí (1034–1198)* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997), pp. 53–68.

2. Václav Novotný, *Od Břetislava I. do Přemysla I.*, vol. 1, part 2 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1913), pp. 3–27.

3. Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí*, pp. 69–76.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 104–18.

5. Ibid., pp. 221–30.
6. Ibid., pp. 328–64.
7. Ibid., pp. 201–8; Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague: Sefer, 1993), pp. 14–16.
8. This section relies on Václav Novotný, *Čechy královské za Přemysla I. a Václava I., 1197–1253*, vol. 1, part 3 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1928).
9. See *Minulost našeho státu v dokumentech*, compiled and edited by Státní ústřední archiv v Praze (Prague: Svoboda, 1971), pp. 35–36.
10. Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí*, pp. 386–401.
11. The classic study of this period is Josef Vítězslav Šimák, *Středověká kolonizace v zemích českých*, vol. 1, part 5 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1938), esp. pp. 503–37.
12. What follows draws on Václav Novotný, *Rozmach české moci za Přemysla II. Otakara, 1253–1271*, vol. 1, part 4 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1937).
13. See Dobroslava Menclová, *České brady* (Prague: Odeon, 1972), p. 67.
14. Josef Šusta, *Soumrak Přemyslovců a jejich dědictví*, vol. 2, part 1 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1935), p. 275, citing Rudolf's own account to the pope.
15. Jiří Rak, *Bývali Čechové: české historické mýty a stereotypy* (Jinončany: H&H, 1994), pp. 67–82.
16. Paul W. Knoll, *Rise of the Polish Monarchy*, pp. 18–27.
17. *Pokračovatelé Kosmovi*, 1st ed., translated by Karel Hrdina et al. (Prague: Svoboda, 1974), pp. 39–40.
18. Arne Novák and Jan V. Novák, *Přehledné dějiny literatury české od nejstarších dob až po naše dny*, 4th ed. (1936; Brno: Atlantis, 1995), pp. 11–14.
19. Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, pp. 17–26.
20. Novák and Novák, *Přehledné dějiny literatury české*, pp. 18–24.

### CHAPTER 3

1. Jiří Rak, *Bývali Čechové*, pp. 9–33.
2. Josef Šusta, *Král cizinec*, vol. 2, part 2 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1939); Jiří Spěváček, *Král diplomat (Jan Lucemburský, 1296–1346)* (Prague: Panorama, 1982).
3. Jaroslav Mezník, *Čechy a Morava v 14. století* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1991), pp. 15–17; Jiří Spěváček, *Jan Lucemburský a jeho doba, 1296–1346: K prvnímu vstupu českých zemí do svazku se západní Evropou* (Prague: Svoboda, 1994), pp. 137–58.

4. See Jiří Daňhelka, Karel Hádek, Bohuslav Havránek, and Naděžda Kvítová, eds., *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila* (Prague: Academia, 1988), pp. 8–9.

5. Zdeněk Fiala, ed., *Zbraslavská kronika: Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, translated by František Heřmanský and Rudolf Mertlík (Prague: Svoboda, 1976), pp. 356–60.

6. Otfried Pustejovsky, *Schlesiens Übergang an die böhmische Krone: Machtpolitik Böhmens im Zeichen von Herrschaft und Frieden* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1975).

7. Spěváček, *Jan Lucemburský*, pp. 495–512.

8. Karel IV, “Vlastní životopis,” in *Kroniky doby Karla IV*, edited by Marie Bláhová, translated by Jakub Pavel (Prague: Svoboda, 1987), pp. 27–28.

9. Beneš Krabic z Weitmile, “Kronika pražského kostela,” in *Kroniky doby Karla IV*, translated and edited by Marie Bláhová (1987), p. 224.

10. Karel IV, “Vlastní životopis,” p. 27.

11. Jiří Spěváček, *Karel IV. Život a dílo, 1316–1378* (Prague: Svoboda, 1979), pp. 304–7.

12. František Kavka, *Vláda Karla IV. za jeho císařství (1355–1378): Země České koruny, rodová, říšská a evropská politika* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1993), p. 10.

13. See Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, pp. 34–36, and the literature cited there.

## CHAPTER 4

1. Jiří Rak, *Bývalí Čechové*, pp. 49–66; František Šmahel, “The Hussite Movement: An Anomaly of European History?” in *Bohemia in History*, edited by Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 79–97.

2. Petr Čornej, *Lipanské ozvěny* (Prague: H&H, 1995), pp. 183–85.

3. See Alexander Patschovsky, *Die Anfänge einer ständigen Inquisition in Böhmen. Ein Prager Inquisitoren-Handbuch aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1975); Alexander Patschovsky, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1979); also Alexander Patschovsky, “Ketzler und Ketzerverfolgung in Böhmen im Jahrhundert vor Hus,” *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 32 (1981): 261–72.

4. See František Šmahel, *Doba vymknutá z kloubu*, vol. 1 of *Husitská revoluce* (Prague: Historický stav Akademie věd České Republiky, 1993), pp. 220–33.

5. On these issues see Matthew Spinka, *John Hus’ Concept of the Church*

(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 11–12, 22–36. See also, Howard Kaminsky, “Wyclifism as Ideology of Revolution,” *Church History* 32 (1963): 57–74.

6. Brian Tierney, *Foundations of Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).

7. František Šmahel, *Husův proces v Kostnici* (Prague: Melantrich, 1988).

8. Peter z Mladoňovic, *Zpráva o mistru Janu Husovi v Kostnici*, translated by František Heřmanský (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1965), p. 173; Matthew Spinka, *John Hus at the Council of Constance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 233.

9. Vavřinec z Březové, *Husitská kronika, Píseň o vítězství u Domažlic*, edited by Marie Bláhová, translated by František Heřmanský and Jan Blahoslav Čapek (Prague: Svoboda, 1979), pp. 30–33.

10. This section uses František Šmahel, *Kronika válečných let*, vol. 3 of *Husitská revoluce* (Prague: Historický ústav Akademie věd České Republiky, 1993), and Ivan Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 163–78.

11. Petr Čornej, *Tajemství českých kronik* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1987), and Petr Čornej, *Lipanská křižovatka. Příčiny, průběh a historický význam jedné bitvy* (Prague: Panorama, 1992).

12. Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 178–87; František Šmahel, *Epilog bouřlivého věku*, vol. 4 of *Husitská Revoluce* (Prague: Historický ústav Akademie věd České Republiky, 1993).

13. *Ze starých letopisů českých*, translated and edited by Jaroslav Porák and Jaroslav Kašpar (Prague: Svoboda, 1980), p. 182.

14. Petr Chelčický, *Petr Chelčický: Treatises on Christianity and the Social Order*, translated and edited by Howard Kaminsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964).

## CHAPTER 5

1. The tutor to the Pernštejns, Jan Češka, once said, “If a peasant were made a burgher today, tomorrow he would want to be a page, being a page he would want to be a lord, being a lord, he would desire the kingship.” Cited in Josef Macek, *Hospodářská základná a královská moc*, vol. 1 of *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích* (Prague: Academia, 1992), pp. 175–76. This section also draws from Jaroslav Purš and Miroslav Kropilák, gen. eds., *Přehled dějin Československa do r. 1526*, vol. 1, part 1 of *Přehled dějin Československa* (Prague: Academia, 1980), pp. 525–27.

2. Macek, *Jagellonský věk*, vol. 1, pp. 170–79.

3. František Šmahel, “The Hussite Movement,” pp. 94–96.

4. For a detailed dissection of the nobility during the Jagiellonian age see Josef Macek, *Šlechta*, vol. 2 of *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích* (Prague: Academia, 1994), pp. 9–90.

5. *Ze starých letopisů českých*, p. 221.

6. Robert A. Kann and Zdeněk V. David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526–1918. A History of East Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), pp. 24–28.

7. Josef Macek, “The Monarchy of the Estates,” in *Bohemia in History*, edited by Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 98–103.

8. Kann and David, *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*, pp. 37–43.

9. See Jaroslav Krejčí, *Czechoslovakia at the Crossroads of European History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1990), p. 60. See also, Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa do r. 1526*, pp. 538–40.

10. *Ze starých letopisů českých*, p. 411.

11. Macek, *Jagellonský věk*, vol. 1, pp. 292–318.

12. J. V. Polišenský, *The Thirty Years War*, translated by Robert Evans (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 23–52. See also, Jaroslav Purš and Miroslav Kropilák, gen. eds., *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, vol. 1, part 2 of *Přehled dějin Československa* (Prague: Academia, 1982), pp. 9–11.

13. Macek, “Monarchy of the Estates,” pp. 106–8.

14. Ivan Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 217–20; Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 16–22.

15. Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, p. 61.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.

17. Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 220–24; Jaroslav Pánek, *Zápas o Českou konfesi* (Prague: Melantrich, 1991), pp. 29–34 and 63–67.

18. The best study in English of the monarch and his time is still R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576–1612* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

19. This section relies on Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 240–54, and Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 70–78.

20. Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa do r. 1526*, pp. 546–47.

21. Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 240–54; Ivana Čornejová, *Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo: jezuité v Čechách* (Prague: Mlada fronta, 1995), pp. 59–73.

22. Josef Janáček, *Rudolf II. a jeho doba* (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 1997), pp. 244–66; Josef Válka, “Rudolfine Culture,” in *Bohemia in History*,

edited by Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 130–32.

23. Válka, “Rudolfine Culture,” pp. 132–33.
24. Janáček, *Rudolf II*, pp. 515–26.
25. Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 82–94.
26. Janáček, *Rudolf II*, pp. 376–438.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 439–58.
28. Polišenský, *Thirty Years War*, pp. 49–51.
29. Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 224–29.
30. See Charles Ingraio, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 28–31; and Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 95–97.
31. Rada et al. *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 230–34.

## CHAPTER 6

1. Josef Petráň, *Staroměstská exekuce*, 3d revised and expanded ed. (Prague: Brána, 1996).
2. J. V. Polišenský, *Thirty Years War*, pp. 178–81; Ingraio, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 34–35.
3. This section relies on Jaroslav Purš and Miroslav Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 182–90.
4. Robert Kann and Zdeněk David, *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*, pp. 117–22; Ivan Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, p. 276; figures given in Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, p. 190, differ slightly but suggest a drop of similar proportions.
5. See Robert Joseph Kerner, *Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Political, Economic, and Social History with Special Reference to the Reign of Leopold II, 1790–1792* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 66–71.
6. Kann and David, *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*, p. 111.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 107–10.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 115–18; Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 226–28.
9. Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 277–79; Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 237–46.
10. Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 279–81.
11. Eduard Maur, *Kozina a Lomikar* (Prague: Melantrich, 1989).
12. Jiří Rak, *Bývalí Čechové*, pp. 127–33; Ivana Čornejová, *Jezuité v Čechách*, pp. 92–94.



13. Josef Petráň and Lydia Petráňová, “The White Mountain as a Symbol in Modern Czech History,” in Mikuláš Teich, ed., *Bohemia in History*, pp. 143–63; Victor S. Mamatey, “The Battle of the White Mountain as Myth in Czech History,” *East European Quarterly* 15 (1981): pp. 335–45.

14. See John Comenius, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*, translated by Howard Louthan and Andrea Sterk, with a preface by Jan Milič Lochman (New York and Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1998). See also, Josef Válka, “Rudolfine Culture,” pp. 138–39.

15. Jiří Mikulec, *Pobělohorská rekatolizace v českých zemích* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1992); Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 190–96.

16. Rada et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, I*, pp. 285–86; Čornejová, *Jezuité v Čechách*, pp. 110–19.

17. See Vít Vlnas, *Jan Nepomucký: česká legenda* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1993).

18. Josef Pekař, *Postavy a problémy českých dějin* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1990), p. 195.

19. Jiří Rak and Jan P. Kučera, *Bohuslav Balbín a jeho místo v české kultuře* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1983).

20. See Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 37–60.

21. Otto Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny do roku 1918* (Prague: Svoboda, 1991), pp. 120–21.

22. Kann, *Habsburg Empire*, pp. 93–96; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 142–49.

## CHAPTER 7

1. Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 105–49.

2. Louis Eisenmann, *Le compromis austro-hongrois de 1867: Étude sur le dualisme* (1904; Hattiesburg, Miss.: Academic International, 1971), pp. 22–25; Gerhard Hanke, “Das Zeitalter des Zentralismus (1740–1848),” in *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, edited by Karl Bosl (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1974), pp. 436–68.

3. This section relies on Pavel Bělina et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, II. Od nástupu osvětenství po naši dobu* (Prague: Paseka, 1992), pp. 18–22; Otto Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny* (1991), pp. 126–28.

4. Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 155–56; Horst Haselsteiner, “Cooperation and Confrontation Between Rulers and the Noble Estates, 1711–1790,” in *A History of Hungary*, Peter F. Sugar, gen. ed., edited by Péter Hánák, assisted by Tibor Frank (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1990), p. 147.

5. Ingraio, *Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 152–59; Robert Kann, *The Habsburg Empire*, pp. 96–101.

6. See František Martin Pelcl, *Paměti*, translated and edited by Jan Pan, with a foreword by Jiří Černý (Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1956), pp. 88–89.

7. See Herman Freudenberger, “State Intervention as an Obstacle to Economic Growth in the Habsburg Monarchy,” *Journal of Economic History* 27, no. 4 (December 1967): 495; and Otto Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny do roku 1918*, 2d ed. (Prague: Aleš Skřivan ml., 2000), pp. 150–60.

8. Eisenmann, *Le compromis austro-hongrois*, pp. 22–25.

9. Jaroslav Purš and Miroslav Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, p. 332.

10. Herman Freudenberger, “The Woolen-Goods Industry of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 3 (September 1960): 383–406.

11. Robert Kann and Zdeněk David, *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*, pp. 204–5.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

13. Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 347–49.

14. This section draws from William E. Wright, *Serf, Seigneur, and Sovereign: Agrarian Reform in Eighteenth-Century Bohemia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966).

15. Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 350–55.

16. Stefan Plaggenborg, “Maria Theresia und die böhmischen Juden,” *Bohemia* 39, no. 1 (1998): 1–16.

17. Hugh LeCaine Agnew, “Josephinism and the Patriotic Intelligentsia in Bohemia,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10 (1986): 577–97; Purš and Kropilák, *Přehled dějin Československa, 1526–1848*, pp. 413–22.

18. Robert Kerner, *Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century*, remains an invaluable account of this process in Bohemia.

19. Hugh LeCaine Agnew, “Ambiguities of Ritual: Dynastic Loyalty, Territorial Patriotism, and Nationalism in the Last Three Royal Coronations in Bohemia,” *Bohemia* 41, no. 1 (2000): 3–22.

20. Éva H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs, 1765–1800: An Experiment in Enlightened Absolutism*, translated by Tim Wilkinson (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1997). See also, Ernst Wangermann, *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials: Government Policy and Public Opinion in the Habsburg Dominions in the Period of the French Revolution* (Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

21. This section is based mostly on Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renaissance* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993).
22. Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*, translated by Ben Fowkes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
23. Bělina et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, II*, p. 45.
24. Antonín Kostlán, “Kralovská česká společnost nauk a počátky nové tolerance,” in *Mezi časy . . . Kultura a umění v českých zemích kolem roku 1800*, edited by Zdeněk Hojda and Roman Prahla (Prague: KLP-Koniasch Latin Press, 2000), pp. 98–105.
25. Bělina et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, II*, pp. 48–52.
26. Agnew, “Josephinism.”
27. Franz Joseph Kinský, *Erinnerung über einen wichtigen Gegenstand, von einem Böhmen*, vol. 3 of *Des Grafen Kinskýs gesammelte Schriften* (Vienna: Wappler, 1786), p. 57.
28. Karel Hynek Thám, *Obrana jazyka českého proti zlobivým jeho utrháčům, též mnoha vlastencům v cvičení se v něm liknavým a nedbalým* (Prague: Schönfeld, 1783), p. 21.
29. Vladimír Macura, *Znamení zrodu*, pp. 42–60.
30. Hugh LeCaine Agnew, “Enlightenment and National Consciousness: Three Czech ‘Popular Awakeners,’” in *Nation and Ideology: Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vucinich*, edited by Ivo Banac, John G. Ackerman, and Roman Szporluk (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1981), pp. 201–26.

## CHAPTER 8

1. Clemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst von Metternich, *Memoirs of Prince Metternich, 1815–1829*, vol. 1, edited by Prince Richard Metternich, papers classified and arranged by M. A. de Klinkowstrom, translated by Mrs. Alexander Napier (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881), pp. 333–34.
2. See Jan Nejedlý, “O lásce k vlasti,” *Hlasatel Český* 1, no. 1 (1806): 3–5.
3. See Karel Sklenář, *Obráz vlasti: Příběh Národního muzeum* (Prague: Paseka, 2001), pp. 58–62.
4. Hugh Agnew, “Ambiguities of Ritual.”
5. Antonín Okáč, *Český sněm a vláda před březněm 1848: kapitoly o jejich ústavních sporech* (Prague: Nákladem Zemského Národního výboru, 1947).
6. Robert Kann and Zdeněk David, *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*, pp. 206–9.
7. See William O. McCagg, *A History of the Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 76–81.

8. Robert W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (1943; Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965), p. 165.
9. Joseph Matthias Graf von Thun-Hohenstein, *Der Slawismus in Böhmen* (Prague: J. G. Calve, 1845), p. 17.
10. Bernard Bolzano, *Über das Verhältniss der beiden Volkstämme in Böhmen* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1849), pp. 40–45.
11. Milan Řepa, *Moravané nebo Češi? Vývoj českého národního vědomí na Moravě v 19. století* (Brno: Doplněk, 2001), pp. 39–76.
12. Jiří Pernes, *Pod moravskou orlici aneb dějiny moravanství* (Brno: Barrister & Principal, 1996), pp. 81–102.
13. This section relies on Miroslav Hroch, “The Social Composition of the Czech Patriots in Bohemia, 1827–1848,” in *The Czech Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century; Essays Presented to Otakar Odložilík in Honour of His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Peter Brock and H. Gordon Skilling (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 33–52.
14. Josef Jungmann, “O jazyku českém. Rozmlouvání druhé,” *Hlasatel Český* 1, no. 3 (1806): 344.
15. Miroslav Hroch, *Na prahu národní existence: touha a skutečnost* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1999), pp. 228–33.
16. František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě*, p. 8.
17. See Jiří Rak, *Bývali Čechové*, pp. 101–2; and “Rukopisy Královédvorský a Zelenohorský. Dnešní stav poznání,” *Sborník Národního muzea Řada C*, no. 13–14 (1969).
18. Jiří Rak, “Tylova píseň v dobovém politickém kontextu,” in *Locus amoenus—Místo líbezné: Symposium o české hymně, 27. X. 1993*, edited by Jiří K. Kroupa, compiled by Jiří Šubrt (Prague: KLP-Koniasch Latin Press, 1994), pp. 37–40.
19. See Karel Sabina, *Vzpomínky* (Prague: František Borovy, 1937), pp. 20–24.
20. Cited in Pavel Bělina et al., *Dějiny zemí koruny české, II*, p. 81.
21. See Alexander Schwan, “German Liberalism and the National Question in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Nation-Building in Central Europe*, edited by Hagen Schulze (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1987), pp. 73–75, and Jan Křen, *Konfliktní společenství: Češi a Němci* (Prague: Academia, 1990), pp. 26–36.
22. See Jan Heidler, *Čechy a Rakousko v politických brožurách předbřeznových* (Prague: František Řivnáč and Matice česká, 1920); also Křen, *Konfliktní společenství*, pp. 80–82.
23. Karel Havlíček, *Dílo*, vol. 2, edited by Alexander Stich, with a foreword by Alexander Stich (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1986), p. 57.
24. See *ibid.*, pp. 81–83.
25. Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolution, 1848–1851* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press); Arnošt Klima, *Češi a Němci v revoluci, 1848–1849* (Prague: Nebesa, 1994); Stanley Z. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).

26. The following discussion rests on Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848*, and Klima, *Češi a Němci v revoluci, 1848–1849*.

27. See: Křen, *Konfliktní společenství*, pp. 113–14; Otto Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918* (Prague: Svoboda, 1982), pp. 22–29.

28. Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918*, p. 33. See also, C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 322–50.

29. Havlíček, *Dílo*, pp. 143–44.

30. See: Franz Palacký, “Eine Stimme über Österreichs Anschluss an Deutschland,” in *Gedenkblätter: Auswahl von Denkschriften, Aufsätzen und Briefen aus den letzten fünfzig Jahren* (Prague: Tempsky, 1874), pp. 150–52; Jiří Kořalka, *Tschechen im Habsburgerreich und in Europa, 1815–1914: Sozialgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge der neuzeitlichen Nationsbildung und der Nationalitätenfrage in den böhmischen Ländern* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik and R. Oldenbourg, 1991), pp. 29–31; Joseph Frederick Zacek, *Palacký: The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), pp. 24–25.

31. Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918*, p. 37.

32. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, p. 354.

33. See Zdeněk Tobolka, *Politické dějiny československého národa od r. 1848 až do dnešní doby*, vol. 1 (Prague: Československý kompas, n.d.), pp. 51–55.

34. Zdeněk Tobolka, *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848* (Prague: Šimáček, 1901), pp. 51–53.

35. Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918*, pp. 40–41.

36. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks*, pp. 188–89.

37. Among the farsighted who realized the threat was Franz Schuselka. See Franz Schuselka, *Das Revolutionsjahr, März 1848–März 1849* (Vienna: Jasper, Hügel & Manz, 1850), p. 185.

38. See Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848*, p. 286; also Jerome Blum, *Noble Landowners and Agriculture in Austria, 1815–1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1948).

39. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848*, pp. 275–76.

40. Istvan Deak, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848–1849* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

41. Robert Sak, *Rieger: Příběh Čecha devatenáctého věku* (Semily: Město Semily, 1993), p. 103.

42. Andreas Gottsmann, *Der Reichstag von Kremsier und die Regierung Schwarzenberg: die Verfassungsdiskussion des Jahres 1848 im Spannungsfeld zwischen Reaktion und nationaler Frage* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1994).

## CHAPTER 9

1. Alan Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815–1918* (New York and London: Longman, 1989), pp. 101–18; A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809–1918: A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary* (1948; Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 84–85.
2. C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 433–37.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 430–31.
4. Otto Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918*, pp. 81–84.
5. Vladimír Macura, *Český sen*, pp. 119–28.
6. Marcela C. Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918* (Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, 1998), pp. 346–47.
7. Robert A. Kann, *Empire Reform*, vol. 2 of *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), pp. 115–25.
8. See Robert Kann and Zdeněk David, *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*, p. 298.
9. Pavel Cibulka, *Politické programy českých národních stran, 1860–1890* (Prague: Historický Ústav AV ČR, 2000), pp. 45–47.
10. Hugh LeCaine Agnew, “Noble *Natio* and Modern Nation: The Czech Case,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 23 (1992): 50–71.
11. Milan Řepa, *Moravané nebo Češi? Vývoj českého národního vědomí na Moravě v 19. století*, pp. 106–36.
12. See Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, p. 543.
13. Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 562–63.
14. Pavla Vošahlíková, “Vliv Národních listů na utváření českého veřejného mínění ve 2. polovině 19. století,” in *Bratři Grégrové a česká společnost v druhé polovině 19. století*, edited by Pavla Vošahlíková and Milan Řepa (Prague: Dr. Eduard Grégr a syn, 1997), pp. 39–48.
15. Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918*, pp. 293–307.
16. František Palacký, “Idea státu rakouského,” *Národ* II, no. 132 (May 16, 1865).
17. Cibulka, *Politické programy národních stran*, p. 131; Jaroslav Purš, “Tábory v českých zemích v letech 1868–1871 (Příspěvek k problematice národního hnutí),” *Československý časopis historický* 6 (1958): 234–66, 446–70, 661–90.
18. Edmund Bernatzik, ed., *Die österreichischen Verfassungsgesetze mit Erläuterungen* (Vienna: Manz, 1911), pp. 1087–91.
19. Robert A. Kann, *Empire and Nationalities*, vol. 1 of *The Multinational*

*Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), pp. 181–91.

20. Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918*, p. 251.

21. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 583–85; Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918*, pp. 248–57.

22. William Alexander Jenks, *Austria Under the Iron Ring, 1879–1893* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965).

23. Quoted in Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, p. 615.

24. Cibulka, *Politické programy národních stran*, pp. 306–15.

25. This section draws on Kann and David, *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*, pp. 312–18.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 314–15. See also, Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918*, pp. 182–85.

27. This section draws on Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918*, pp. 232–45.

28. See Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 622–23.

29. Istvan Deak, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

30. Vlastislav Lacina, *Hospodářství českých zemí, 1880–1914* (Prague: Historický ústav ČSAV, 1990), p. 22; Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., p. 253.

31. David F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 256.

32. Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918*, pp. 224–27; Lacina, *Hospodářství českých zemí, 1880–1914*, pp. 74–77.

33. Lacina, *Hospodářství českých zemí, 1880–1914*, pp. 69–70.

34. Peter Prokš, ed., *Politické programy Československé a Československé sociálně demokratické strany dělnické, 1878–1948* (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1999), pp. 13–14.

35. See *ibid.*, pp. 20–22.

36. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 631–11.

37. Prokš, *Politické programy strany dělnické*, pp. 26–36.

38. Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., pp. 225–26.

39. Stanley B. Winters, “T. G. Masaryk and Karel Kramář: Long Years of Friendship and Rivalry,” in *Thinker and Politician*, vol. 1 of *T. G. Masaryk (1850–1937)*, edited by Stanley B. Winters (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), pp. 155–56.

40. Karel Sklenář, *Obraz vlasti*, pp. 275–84.

41. Cited in Pavel Bělina et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, II*, p. 137.

42. Pieter Judson, “‘Not Another Square Foot!’: German Liberalism and the Rhetoric of National Ownership in Nineteenth-Century Austria,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 26 (1995): 83–97.

43. Catherine Albrecht, “The Rhetoric of Economic Nationalism in the Boycott Campaigns of the Late Habsburg Monarchy,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 32 (2001): 47–67; Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).

## CHAPTER 10

1. Theodore Mills Kelly, “Czech Radical Nationalism in the Era of Universal Manhood Suffrage, 1907–1914,” Ph. D. diss., George Washington University, 1995.

2. Richard Charmatz, *Das politische Denken in Österreich: Geschichtliche Betrachtungen*, 2d ed. (Vienna: Verlag des Volksbildungshauses Wiener Urania, 1917), p. 70. See also, C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 637–38.

3. See Karen Johnson Freeze, “The Young Progressives: The Czech Student Movement, 1887–1897,” Ph. D. diss., Columbia University, 1974; and Jan Havránek, “Počátky a kořeny pokrokového hnutí studentského na počátku devadestátých let 19. století,” *Acta Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 2, no. 1 (1961): 5–33.

4. Bruce Garver, *The Young Czech Party, 1874–1901, and the Emergence of a Multi-Party System* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 182–86.

5. See Alois Rašín, *Paměti dr. Aloíše Rašína*, 2d ed., compiled by Ladislav Rašín, Memorabilia (Brno: Bonus A, 1994), pp. 67–90. See also, Jan Havránek, “Protirakouské hnutí dělnické mládeže a studentů a události roku 1893,” *Acta Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 2, no. 2 (1961): 21–81, and Jiří Pernes, *Spiklenci proti Jeho Veličenstvu: historie tzv. spiknutí Omladiny v Čechách* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1988).

6. Stanley B. Winters, “T. G. Masaryk and Karel Kramář: Long Years of Friendship and Rivalry,” pp. 161–63.

7. See Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, René Wellek, ed., *The Meaning of Czech History*, translated by Peter Kussi (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974), and Miloš Havelka, ed., *Spor o smyslu českých dějin, 1895–1938* (Prague: Torst, 1995).

8. Otto Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., p. 233.

9. A currency reform in 1892 replaced the gulden with the crown (*Krone*) at the rate of two to one, so the tax hurdle was actually lowered to eight crowns. See Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, p. 671.

10. Peter Prokš, *Politické programy strany dělnické*, p. 45.



11. Cited in Garver, *Young Czech Party*, p. 252.
12. This section rests on Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., pp. 235–38.
13. Josef Harna, ed., *Politické programy českého národního socialismu* (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1998), pp. 36–39.
14. Prokš, *Politické programy strany dělnické*, pp. 50–51; Robert Kann, *Empire and Nationalities*, pp. 155–57.
15. Andrew G. Whiteside, *The Socialism of Fools: Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980), pp. 116–33.
16. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, pp. 133–46.
17. See Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 668–69.
18. Kann, *Empire and Nationalities*, pp. 207–9.
19. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 758–59.
20. The negotiations are covered in detail in William A. Jenks, *The Austrian Electoral Reform of 1907* (1950; New York: Octagon Books, 1974), pp. 27–62.
21. Jan Havránek, *Boj za všeobecné, přímé a rovné hlasovací právo roku 1893*, Rozpravy ČSAV, Řada společenských věd, 74, sešit 2 (Prague: ČSAV, 1964).
22. Comparing machine horsepower per capita: the Czech lands, 60.4 hp; Great Britain, 180.2 hp; Germany, 82.5 hp; France, 51.2 hp; Austro-Hungarian average, 32.2 hp. Russia's figure was 10.1 hp. See Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., p. 231.
23. Marcela Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918*, pp. 190–202.
24. Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., p. 253.
25. Mark Cornwall, "The Struggle on the Czech-German Language Border, 1880–1940," *English Historical Review* 109 (September 1994): 914–30.
26. Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., pp. 256–57; Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918*, p. 126.
27. And not just Czech society: see Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848–1918* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1996).
28. Comparable statistics for other nationalities were: Poles, 40.82; Ukrainians, 23.92; Slovenes, 23.92; Serbs and Croats, 74.14; Romanians, 71.61; Magyars, 56.72. See Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., p. 237.
29. See Hillel J. Kieval, *Languages of Community: The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 181–97, and H. Gordon Skilling, "Masaryk: Permanent Dissenter: The Hilsner Case and Anti-Semitism," *Cross Currents* 8 (1989): 243–60.
30. Scott Spector, *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Kafka's Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000);

Scott Spector, “Německá, židovská a česká identita v Praze. Felix Weltsch a Egon Erwin Kisch,” *Slovanský přehled* 84, no. 1 (1998): 39–46.

31. Katherine David-Fox, “Prague-Vienna, Prague-Berlin: The Hidden Geography of Czech Modernism,” *Slavic Review* 59, no. 4 (2000): 735–60.

32. Stanley B. Winters, “Jan Otto, T. G. Masaryk, and the Czech National Encyclopedia,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 31, no. 4 (1983): 516–42.

33. Milan Hlavačka, *Jubilejní výstava 1891* (Prague: Techkom, 1991); Catherine Albrecht, “Pride in Production: The Jubilee Exhibition of 1891 and Economic Competition Between Czechs and Germans in Bohemia,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 24 (1993): 101–18.

34. Cited in Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918*, pp. 133–34.

35. This section relies on Francis R. Bridge, *The Habsburg Monarchy Among the Great Powers* (New York: Berg, 1991).

36. See Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 785–86, and Arnold Suppan, “Masaryk and the Trials for High Treason Against the South Slavs in 1909,” in *Thinker and Politician*, vol. 1 of *T. G. Masaryk (1850–1937)*, edited by Stanley B. Winters (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), pp. 210–24. Masaryk’s speech is reprinted in Czech translation in Jiří Kovtun, *Slovo má poslanec Masaryk* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1991), pp. 254–71.

37. See R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (1911; New York: H. Fertig, 1969), and Kovtun, *Slovo má poslanec Masaryk*, pp. 279–311.

38. Ladislav Hladký, “T. G. Masaryk a Bosna a Hercegovina: příspěvek k historii českojihoslovanských vztahů,” *Slovanské historické studie* 20 (1994): 33–55.

39. Theodore Mills Kelly, “The Czech National Council and the Slovaks, 1900–1914,” *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 12, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 99–118.

40. Paul Vyšný, *Neo-Slavism and the Czechs, 1898–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

41. Kann, *Multinational Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 187–96.

42. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918*, pp. 810–12.

43. Cited in Milada Paulová, *Dějiny Maffie: Odboj Čechů a Jihoslovanů za světové války, 1914–1918* (Prague: Československá grafická unie, 1937), pp. 205–6.

44. Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918*, p. 588.

45. Efmertová, *České země v letech 1848–1918*, pp. 139–40.

46. See Hans Lemberg, “Masaryk and the Russian Question Against the Background of German and Czech Attitudes to Russia,” in Winters, ed., *Thinker and Politician*, pp. 283–301.

47. Victor S. Mamatey, “The Establishment of the Republic,” in *A History*

of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918–1948, edited by Victor S. Mamatey and Radomír Luža (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 14.

48. Ibid., p. 15.

49. This text was drafted by Czernin. See Urban, *České a slovenské dějiny*, 2d ed., p. 249.

50. Peter Heumos, “‘Kartoffeln her oder es gibt eine Revolution’: Hungarkrawalle, Streiks und Massenproteste in den böhmischen Ländern, 1914–1918,” *Slezský sborník* 97, no. 2 (1999): 81–104.

51. Jan Heidler, 1917, *projevy českých spisovatelů* (Prague: Vesmír, 1921), pp. 75–78.

52. Milada Paulová, *Tajný výbor Maffie a spolupráce s Jihoslovany v letech 1916–1918* (Prague: Academia, 1968), pp. 227–28; Jan Galandauer, “Prohlášení českého svazu z 30. května 1917: Zapomenutá programová revoluce,” *Český časopis historický* 91, no. 4 (1993): 582–93.

53. Robert F. Hopwood, “The Conflict Between Count Czernin and Emperor Charles in 1918,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 4–5 (1968–69): 28–43; Edward P. Kelleher, “Emperor Karl and the Sixtus Affair: Politico-Nationalist Repercussions in the Reich German and Austro-German Camps, and the Disintegration of Habsburg Austria, 1916–1918,” *East European Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (1992): 163–84.

54. Victor S. Mamatey, “The Czecho-Slovak Agreement of Pittsburgh (May 30, 1918) Revisited,” *Kosmas* 2, no. 2 (1983): 41–48; Antonín Klimek, Helena Nováčková, Milada Polišenská, and Ivan Štoviček, eds., *Vznik Československa 1918* (Prague: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 1994), p. 123.

55. Betty Miller Unterberger, *The United States, Revolutionary Russia, and the Rise of Czechoslovakia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

56. Mamatey, “The Establishment of the Republic,” pp. 21–22.

57. Edvard Beneš, *Světová válka a naše revoluce: Vzpomínky a úvahy z boju za svobodu národa, III, Dokumenty* (Prague: Orbis & Čin, 1928), pp. 318–21.

58. Klimek et al., *Vznik Československa 1918*, pp. 245–46.

## CHAPTER 11

1. Josef Korbel, *Twentieth-Century Czechoslovakia: The Meanings of Its History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 82–84; Robert Kann and Zdeněk David, *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*, pp. 325–27.

2. Karel Čapek, *Talks with T. G. Masaryk*, edited by Michael Henry Heim, translated by Dora Round (New Haven, Conn.: Catbird Press, 1995), p. 244.

3. The story that Rašín threw back in the Social-Democrat leader Josef Seliger's face the remark by Windischgärtz in 1848, "I do not negotiate with rebels," is a fabrication. See Jaroslav Valenta, "Legenda o 'rebelech, s nimiž se nevyjednává,'" *Moderní dějiny* 2 (1994): 197–214. See also, Jaroslav Valenta, "Nezdařený pokus o jednání mezi Čechy a Němci na přelomu let 1918–1919," *ibid.* 3 (1995): pp. 229–40.

4. J. W. Breughel, "The Germans in Pre-War Czechoslovakia," in Victor Mamatey and Radomír Luža, eds., *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 168–69.

5. See Rudolf Laun, *Les prétentions des Tchécoslovaques à des territoires allemands* (The Hague: Martin Nijhoff, 1919). See also, Zdeněk Karník, *České země v éře První republiky, díl první, Vznik, budování a zlatá léta republiky (1918–1929)* (Prague: Libri, 2000), pp. 37–44.

6. Peter Pastor, *Hungary Between Wilson and Lenin: The Hungarian Revolution of 1918–1919 and the Big Three* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly, 1976); Jörg Hoensch, "Tschechoslowakismus oder Autonomie. Die Auseinandersetzungen um die Eingliederung der Slowakei in die Tschechoslowakische Republik," in *Das Jahr 1919 in der Tschechoslowakei und in Ostmitteleuropa*, edited by Hans Lemberg and Peter Heumos, *Bad Weisseer Tagungen des Collegium Carolinum*, 17 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1993).

7. Late in 1918, hoping to prevent its inclusion in Czechoslovakia, the city fathers decided to rename it Wilsonov, but Wilson declined and the modern Slovak version, Bratislava, was fixed. It became the Slovak capital on January 16, 1919. See Marián Hronský, "Bratislava či Wilsonov? Město na Dunaji pred trištvrte storočím," *Historická revue* 3, no. 6 (1992): 13–15.

8. Rudolf L. Tökés, *Bela Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic: The Origins and Role of the Communist Party of Hungary in the Revolutions of 1918–1919* (New York: Published for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace by F. A. Praeger, 1967).

9. Zdeněk L. Suda, *Zealots and Rebels: A History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1980), pp. 23–33. See also, Vladislav Zapletál, "K událostem roku 1919," *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis: Historica*, no. 21 (1981): 25–43, and Marián Hronský, "Slovenská republika rád (vojenskopolitická situacia)," *Historie a vojenství* 37, no. 4 (1988): 36–52.

10. Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus, 1848–1948* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 76–102. See also, Victor S. Mamatey, "The Slovaks and Carpatho-Ruthenians," in *The Immigrants' Influence on Wilson's Peace Policies*, edited by Joseph P. O'Grady (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), pp. 239–49.

11. Zbyněk Zeman, *The Life of Edvard Beneš, 1884–1948: Czechoslova-*

*kia in War and Peace*, in collaboration with Antonín Klimek (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 38–46.

12. This section is based on Dagmar Perman, *The Shaping of the Czechoslovak State: Diplomatic History of the Boundaries of Czechoslovakia, 1914–1920* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962).

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 153–55.

14. This section uses Hans Lemberg, “Die Tschechoslowakei im Jahr 1. Der Staatsaufbau, die Liquidierung der Revolution und die Alternativen 1919,” in *Das Jahr 1919 in der Tschechoslowakei un in Ostmitteleuropa*, edited by Hans Lemberg and Peter Heumos (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1993), pp. 225–48; and Václav L. Beneš, “Czechoslovak Democracy and Its Problems, 1918–1920,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 39–98.

15. The text of the constitutional law, 121/1920 Sb., may be found at the Web site of the Parliament of the Czech Republic, “Zákon ze dne 29. února 1920, kterým se uvozuje Ústavní listina Československé republiky,” Electronic Library of the Chamber of Deputies, Czech Republic <<http://www.psp.cz/docs/texts/constitution.1920.html>>.

16. Daniel E. Miller, *Forging Political Compromise: Antonín Švebla and the Czechoslovak Republican Party, 1918–1933* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999).

17. Stanley B. Winters, “Passionate Patriots: Czechoslovak National Democracy in the 1920s,” *East Central Europe/L’Europe du Centre-Est* 18, no. 1 (1991): 55–68.

18. See Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, pp. 113–19.

19. See Ferdinand Peroutka, *Rok 1918*, vol. 1 of *Budování státu: Československá politika v letech popřevratových*, 2d ed. (Prague: František Borový, 1933), pp. 253–55; also Čapek, *Talks with TGM*, pp. 240–49.

20. See Václav L. Beneš, “Czechoslovak Democracy and Its Problems, 1918–1920,” pp. 88–89.

21. F. Gregory Campbell, *Confrontation in Central Europe: Weimar Germany and Czechoslovakia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 208.

22. Zdeněk Kárník, “Ustavení ČSR jako parlamentní demokracie v podmínkách národněpolitické a sociálněpolitické krize střední Evropy (jaro-léto 1920): Události, jejich důsledky a širší souvislosti,” in *Československo 1918–1938: Osudy demokracie ve střední Evropě*, edited by Jaroslav Valenta, Emil Voráček, and Josef Harna (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1999), pp. 90–110; Antonín Klimek, “Počátky parlamentní demokracie v Československu,” in *ibid.*, pp. 111–22.

23. The following paragraphs draw from Vlastislav Lacina, *Zlatá léta československého hospodářství 1918–1929* (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 2000), pp. 28–39.

24. Mark Cornwall, “‘National Reparation?’ The Czech Land Reform and the Sudeten Germans, 1918–38,” *Slavonic and East European Review* 75, no. 2 (1997): pp. 259–80.
25. Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, pp. 38–42.
26. Victor S. Mamatey, “The Development of Czechoslovak Democracy, 1920–1938,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 102–6; Nancy Meriwether Wingfield, “Conflicting Constructions of Memory: Attacks on Statues of Joseph II in the Bohemian Lands After the Great War,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1998): 147–71.
27. Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, pp. 45–49.
28. Karel Sommer, “Zatčení a internace Andreje Hlinky,” *Slezský sborník* 96, no. 2 (1988): 106–18.
29. Lacina, *Zlatá léta*, 82.
30. Eduard Kubů and Jana Šetřilová, “Hrad a Alois Rašin v letech 1922–1923: zápas o deflaci a omluvu legionářům,” *Český časopis historický* 93, no. 3 (1995): 451–69; Vlastislav Lacina, “Měnová politika v prvním desetiletí Československé republiky,” *ibid.* 91, no. 1 (1993): 1–17.
31. Miloš Trapl, “Začlenění římskokatolické církve do české společnosti po roce 1918,” in Valenta, Voráček, and Harna, eds., pp. 145–46.
32. Manfred Alexander, “Proces s Vojtechom Tukom zo spravodajstva nemeckého konzulátu bratislave,” *Historický časopis* 40, no. 5 (1992): 609–24; Carol Skalnik Leff, *National Conflict in Czechoslovakia: The Making and Re-making of a State, 1918–1987* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 82–83.
33. Paul E. Zinner, “Czechoslovakia: The Diplomacy of Edvard Benes,” in *The Diplomats, 1919–1939*, edited by Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 100–122; Zeman, *Beneš*, pp. 59–85.
34. The following relies on Piotr S. Wandycz, “Foreign Policy of Edvard Beneš, 1918–1938,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 216–38.
35. See Campbell, *Confrontation in Central Europe*.
36. Igor Lukes, “Czechoslovak-Soviet Relations from the End of World War I to Adolf Hitler’s Machtergreifung,” *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 5, no. 2 (1994): 248–86.
37. See the indispensable Piotr S. Wandycz, *France and Her Eastern Allies, 1919–1925* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), and Piotr S. Wandycz, *The Twilight of French Eastern Alliances, 1926–1936: French-Czechoslovak-Polish Relations from Locarno to the Remilitarization of the Rhineland* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).
38. Piotr Wandycz, “The Little Entente: Sixty Years Later,” *Slavonic and East European Review* 59, no. 4 (1981): 548–64.

39. Lacina, *Zlatá Léta*, pp. 41–47.
40. Mamatey, “Development of Czechoslovak Democracy,” p. 143.
41. Zora P. Pryor, “Czechoslovak Economic Development in the Interwar Period,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 209–10.
42. Mamatey, “Development of Democracy,” p. 143.
43. See Karl J. Crosby, “Leading Figures of the Hlinka Slovak People’s Party,” *Kosmas* 5, no. 2 (1986): 57–69.
44. Mamatey, “Development of Democracy,” p. 150.
45. Lubomír Slezák, “Sudetští Němci a hospodářství první republiky,” *Moderní dějiny* 2 (1994): 123–41; Ladislav Lipscher, “Beschwerden der Sudenteutschen im wirtschaftlichen Bereich während der ersten tschechoslowakischen Republik,” *Jahrbuch für Zeitgeschichte* (1982–83): 33–57.
46. Ronald M. Smelser, “Nazis Without Hitler: The DNSAP and the First Czechoslovak Republic,” *East Central Europe/L’Europe du Centre-Est* 4, no. 1 (1977): 1–19.
47. Keith Hamilton, “Old Adam and Five Beggars: British Reaction to the Tardieu Plan,” *Revue d’Europe Centrale* 5, no. 2 (1997): 95–115.
48. Igor Lukes, *Czechoslovakia Between Stalin and Hitler: The Diplomacy of Edvard Beneš in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 43–49.
49. Zeman, *Beneš*, pp. 95–116.
50. This section relies on Mamatey, “Development of Democracy,” pp. 152–61.
51. Ronald M. Smelser, “At the Limits of a Mass Movement: The Case of the Sudeten German Party, 1933–1938,” *Bohemia* 17 (1976): 240–66.
52. Norman H. Baynes, ed., *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922–August 1939*, Royal Institute for International Affairs (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 1404–6.
53. Ronald M. Smelser, *The Sudeten Problem, 1933–1938: Volkstumspolitik and the Formulation of Nazi Foreign Policy* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1975), pp. 217–18.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
55. Mamatey, “Development of Democracy,” pp. 160–61.
56. Lukes, *Between Stalin and Hitler*, pp. 125–27.
57. Igor Lukes, “The Czechoslovak Partial Mobilization in May 1938: A Mystery (Almost) Solved,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 4 (1996): 699–720.
58. Baynes, *Speeches of Hitler*, pp. 1488–97.
59. Smelser, *The Sudeten Problem*, p. 225.
60. Joseph Rothschild and Nancy M. Wingfield, *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II*, 3d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 235.

61. F. Gregory Campbell, “Central Europe’s Bastion of Democracy,” *East European Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1977): 171.
62. Breughel, “The Germans in Pre-War Czechoslovakia,” p. 172.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 186–87; Gottfried Schramm, “Tschechen und Deutsche in der ersten Republik,” *Bohemia* 29, no. 2 (1988): 383–90.
64. T. G. Masaryk, *Cesta demokracie I: Soubor projevů za republiky, 1918–1920*, Spisy T. G. Masaryka, 3 (Prague: Čin, 1933), p. 20.
65. T. G. Masaryk, *Cestá demokracie III: projevy, články, rozhovory, 1924–1928*, Spisy T. G. Masaryka, 35 (Prague: Ústav T. G. Masaryka, 1994), pp. 328–29.
66. Karl F. Bahm, “The Inconveniences of Nationality: German Bohemians, the Disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Attempt to Create a ‘Sudeten German’ Identity,” *Nationalities Papers* 27, no. 3 (1999): 375–405.
67. Beneš, “Czechoslovak Democracy and Its Problems, 1918–1920,” p. 41. For the following discussion see Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 132–42.
68. See Vavro Ján Šrobár, *Osvobodené Slovensko: pamäti z rokov 1918–1920* (Prague: Čin, 1928), p. 36.
69. Jozef Faltus and Václav Průcha, *Prehľad hospodárskeho vývoja na Slovensku v rokoch 1918–1945* (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry, 1969).
70. Owen V. Johnson, *Slovakia, 1918–1938: Education and the Making of a Nation* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1985).
71. “Nedotknuteľné piliere padli: Slovenský a český historik hodnotia význam 28. októbra 1918,” *Pravda*, October 27, 1992 (Bratislava).
72. T. G. Masaryk, *Cestá demokracie IV: projevy, články, rozhovory, 1929–1937*, Spisy T. G. Masaryka, 36 (Prague: Ústav T. G. Masaryka, 1997), p. 451.

## CHAPTER 12

1. For a defense of Beneš based on newly available Czechoslovak archives, see Igor Lukes, “Stalin and Beneš at the End of September 1938: New Evidence from the Prague Archives,” *Slavic Review* 52, no. 1 (1993): 28–48; and Igor Lukes, “Stalin and Czechoslovakia in 1938–39: An Autopsy of a Myth,” *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 10, no. 2–3 (1999): 13–47. Joseph Kalvoda, “Munich: Beneš and the Soldiers,” *Ukrainian Quarterly* 47 (1991): 153–69, gives a critical view.
2. Pavel Tigrid, *Kapesní průvodce inteligentí ženy po vlastním osudu*, 2d ed. (Prague: Odeon, 1990).



3. Igor Lukes, *Czechoslovakia Between Stalin and Hitler*, p. 247.
4. This section relies on Keith Eubank, “Munich,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918–1948*, pp. 239–52.
5. Victor S. Mamatey, “The Development of Czechoslovak Democracy,” pp. 162–63; Zbyněk Zeman, *The Life of Edvard Beneš*, pp. 124–27.
6. Lukes, *Between Stalin and Hitler*, pp. 230–31.
7. Ladislav Deák, “Polské územní nároky vůči Slovensku v roku 1938,” *Historický časopis* 39 (1991): 12–27; Eubank, “Munich,” p. 248.
8. Lukes, *Between Stalin and Hitler*, pp. 236–38.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 251–55; Zeman, *Beneš*, pp. 134–37.
10. Cited in Edvard Beneš, *Mnichovské dny. Paměti* (Prague: Svoboda, 1968), p. 346.
11. Cited in Pavel Bělina et al., *Dějiny země koruny české, II*, p. 191.
12. Theodor Procházka, “The Second Republic, 1938–1939,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 256–60.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 261. See also, Zdeněk Štěpánek, “Pěče o utečence z okupovaného pohraničí Moravy a Slezska v letech 1938–1939,” *Časopis Matice moravské* 112 (1993): 43–54.
14. See Procházka, “Second Republic,” pp. 257–58; Juraj Zudel, “Zmeny československo-maďarských hranic v dôsledku viedenskej arbitráže,” *Slovenská archivistika* 26 (1991): 34–43.
15. Jan Gebhart and Jan Kuklík, “Pomnichovská krize a vznik Strany národní jednoty,” *Český časopis historický* 90 (1992): 365–93.
16. Jan Rataj, “O rasový národ: k proměnám nacionalismu v druhé republice,” *Historie a vojenství* 42 (1993): 80–94.
17. An interesting firsthand account is Martin Sokol, “Ako došlo k vyhláseniu Slovenského Štátu? Moje poznámky k marcovým udalostiam 1939,” *Historický časopis* 39 (1991): 323–29. See also, Procházka, “Second Republic,” pp. 264–68.
18. Beneš, *Mnichovské dny. Paměti*, p. 342.
19. The following discussion relies on Gotthold Rhode, “The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, 1939–1945,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 296–321. See also, Tomáš Pasák, *Pod ochranou Říše* (Prague: Práh, 1998).
20. Petr Němec, “Das tschechische Volk und die nationalsozialistische Germanisierung des Raumes,” *Bohemia* 32 (1991): 424–55; Petr Němec, “Die Lage der deutschen Nationalität im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren unter dem Aspekt der ‘Eindeutschung’ dieses Gebiets,” *ibid.*, pp. 39–59.
21. The Czech joke compared the National Community to a cemetery: “Sooner or later everyone ends up in it.” Cited in Rhode, “The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia,” pp. 302–3. See also, Jan Gebhart and Jan Kuklík, “Po-

čátky Národního souručenství v roce 1939,” *Český časopis historický* 91 (1993): 417–41.

22. Miroslav Kárný, “Die Protektoratsregierung und die Verordnungen des Reichsprotectors ber das jüdische Vermögen,” *Judaica Bohemiae* 29 (1993): 54–66.

23. After the war, November 17 was declared International Students’ Day. See Karel Litsch, “K výročí 17. listopadu 1939,” *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 29 (1989): 9–13.

24. Miroslav Kárný, “Die materiellen Grundlagen der Sozialdemagogie in der Protektoratspolitik Heydrichs,” *Historica* 29 (1989): 123–59.

25. Vojtěch Mastný, *The Czechs Under Nazi Rule: The Failure of National Resistance, 1939–1942* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

26. Symbolically, Kubiš was a Czech and Gabčík a Slovak. Radomír Luža, “The Czech Resistance Movement,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 351–54.

27. Unlike similar or even more horrific actions in occupied Poland or the Soviet Union, the Nazis publicized this one widely themselves.

28. Rhode, “The Protectorate,” pp. 313–15.

29. Dana Musilová, “Zásobování a vyživa českého obyvatelstva v podmínkách válečného řízení hospodářství (1939–1945),” *Slezský sborník* 89 (1991): 255–66.

30. Typical examples: Vilém Mathesius, ed., *Od slovanských věrozvěstů k národnímu obrození*, vol. 1 of *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu* (Prague: Evropský literární klub, 1940); Vilém Mathesius, ed., *Obrozený národ a jeho země na fóru evropském a světovém*, vol. 2 of *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu* (1940); and Jan Blahoslav Čapek, gen. ed., *Kde domov můj?: památník věnovany naší vlasti a hymne národa českého* (Prague: Čin, 1940).

31. George F. Kennan, *From Prague After Munich: Diplomatic Papers, 1938–1940* (1968; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 178.

32. Miroslav Kárný, “Lidské ztráty československých židů v letech 1938–1945,” *Český časopis historický* 89 (1991): 410–20.

33. Tomáš Pasák and Robert Kvaček, *JUDr. Emil Hácha* (Prague: Horizont, 1997).

34. Jörg K. Hoensch, “The Slovak Republic, 1939–1945,” in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 271–95, and Yeshayahu Jelinek, *The Parish Republic: Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party*, East European Monographs, 14 (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1976).

35. Hoensch, “Slovak Republic,” pp. 272–73. See also, Ivan Kamenec, *Slovenský stát* (Prague: Anomal, 1992), pp. 25–36.

36. See Jelinek, *Parish Republic*, pp. 93–95; and L’ubomír Lipták, ed., *Politické strany na Slovensku, 1869–1989* (Bratislava: Archa, 1992), p. 223. For

the Salzburg meetings, see L'ubomír Lipták, "Příprava a priebeh salzburských rokovaní roku 1940 medzi predstaviteľmi Nemecka a slovenského štátu," *Historický časopis* 13 (1965): 329–65.

37. Land reform was also directed against Jews. See Samuel Cambel, "Ari-zácia a ďalšie zmeny v pozemkovej držbe na Slovensku do leta 1944," *Historický časopis* 43 (1995): 69–88.

38. See Ivan Kamenec, "Deportácie židovských občanov zo Slovenska roku 1942," in *Tragédia slovenských židov*, edited by Dezider Tóth (Banská Bystrica: DATEI, 1992), pp. 77–100, and Kamenec, *Slovenský štát*, pp. 107–16.

39. Kennan, *From Prague After Munich*, p. 135. See also: L'ubomír Lipták, "Maďarsko v politike slovenského štátu v rokoch 1939–1943," *Historický časopis* 15, no. 1967 (1967): 1–35; and Miroslav Tejchman, "Slovensko-Rumunsko-Chorvátska spolupráce v letech druhé světové války a Maďarsko," *Slovenský přehled* 78 (1992): 158–70.

40. See Hoensch, "Slovak Republic," p. 289. See also, Charles K. Kliment, *Slovenská armáda, 1939–1945* (Plzeň: Mustang, 1996).

41. Bradley F. Abrams, "The Price of Retribution: The Trial of Jozef Tiso," *East European Politics and Societies* 10 (1996): 255–92.

42. Secrétairerie d'État de sa Sainteté, *Le Saint Siège et les victimes de la guerre, Janvier 1944–Juillet 1945*, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs á la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, 10 (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1980), pp. 476–77.

43. See Jan Němeček, "Armadní general Lev Prchala a československý odboj v Polsku," *Historie a vojenství* 43 (1994): 107–32.

44. Luža, "The Czech Resistance Movement," pp. 353–54. See also, Jiří Kocian, "Program obnovy Československa v českém politickém spektru v letech 1939–1945," *Moderní dějiny* 2 (1994): 163–70.

45. Edward Taborsky, "Politics in Exile, 1939–1945," in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 322–42. See also, Harry Hanak, "President Beneš, Britové a budoucnost Československa, 1939–1945," *Historie a vojenství* 44 (1994): 13–39.

46. For Beneš's thinking in 1941, see Detlef Brandes, "Eine verspätete tschechische Alternative zum Münchener 'Diktat.' Edvard Beneš und die sudentendeutsche Frage, 1938–1945," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 42 (1994): 221–41.

47. Wenzel Jaksch, *Europas Weg nach Potsdam: Schuld und Schicksal im Donauraum* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1958).

48. Piotr S. Wandycz, *Czechoslovak-Polish Confederation and the Great Powers, 1940–43*, Indiana University Publications, Slavic and East European Series, 3 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956). See also, Detlef Brandes, "Konfederace nebo východní pakt?" *Slovenský přehled* 78 (1992): 436–48.

49. *Program československé vlády Národní fronty Čechů a Slováků přijatý*

na první schůzi vlády dne 5. dubna 1945 v Košicích (Prague: Ministerstvo informací, 1945).

50. For this section, in addition to other cited works, see Zeman, *Beneš*, pp. 239–59.

51. The full text of this and other key decrees, and a complete list of their titles, may be found on the Czech Parliament's Web page <<http://www.psp.cz/docs/laws/dek>>.

52. Eagle Glassheim, "National Mythologies and Ethnic Cleansing: The Expulsion of Czechoslovak Germans in 1945," *Central European History* 33, no. 4 (2000): 463–86; Tomáš Staněk, *Odsun Němců z Československa 1945–1947* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1991).

53. Karel Kaplan, ed. and comp., *Dva retribuční procesy: komentované dokumenty (1945–1947)* (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny ČSAV, 1992).

54. Zeman, *Beneš*, pp. 260–82.

55. Jan Masaryk remarked, "I went to Moscow as the Foreign Minister of an independent sovereign state; I returned as a lackey of the Soviet government." Cited in Zbyněk Zeman, *The Masaryks: The Making of Czechoslovakia* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), p. 208.

56. Vojtěch Mastný, "Stalin and the Militarization of the Cold War," *International Security* 9, no. 3 (1984): 109–29.

57. This section is based on Karel Kaplan, *Pět kapitol o únoru* (Brno: Doplněk, 1997); and Radomír Luža, "Czechoslovakia Between Democracy and Communism," in Mamatey and Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, pp. 387–415.

## CHAPTER 13

1. Zbyněk Zeman, *The Masaryks: The Making of Czechoslovakia*, pp. 210–13, leans toward suicide, an explanation still hotly rejected by some. See, e.g., Jindřich Grulich, *Smrt Jana Masarkya-nebyla to nešťastná náhoda* (Karvín: Jindřich Grulich, 2001).

2. Ambassador Lawrence A. Steinhardt to Secretary of State, April 30, 1948, in United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948. Volume IV. Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 747–48.

3. See Ladislav Holý, *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation: National Identity and the Post-Communist Transformation of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

4. The following draws from Karel Kaplan, *Zakladatelské období komunistického režimu*, vol. 2 of *Československo v letech 1948–1953* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1991).

5. Zdeněk Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, pp. 224–25; Kaplan, *Zakladatelské období*, pp. 16–23.
6. Cited in Kaplan, *Zakladatelské období*, p. 25.
7. Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, pp. 226–27.
8. Cited in Kaplan, *Zakladatelské období*, p. 42.
9. Carol Skalnik Leff, *The Czech and Slovak Republics: Nation Versus State* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), p. 50.
10. By 1951 purges had reduced the total membership to 1,677,433, a drop of one-third but still 12 percent of the Czechoslovak population. Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, p. 233.
11. Karel Kaplan and Dušan Tomášek, *O cenzuře v Československu v letech 1945–1956: Studie* (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994).
12. Stanley B. Winters, “The Period of Transition from the ČAVU to the ČSAV (1945–1952),” *Historická Olomouc* 9 (1998): 293–308.
13. Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Komunisté dědici velkých tradic českého národa*, 3d ed. (1946; Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1950), p. 46.
14. Karel Kaplan, *K politickým procesům v Československu, 1948–1954: dokumentace komise ÚV KSČ pro rehabilitaci 1968* (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994).
15. Pika was fully rehabilitated in 1968. Before his execution, he vigorously denied the charges in a letter to Gottwald: Věra Brachová, “Dopis generala H. Piky prezidentu Gottwaldovi (I),” *Historie a vojenství* 41, no. 1 (1992): 112–39; Věra Brachová, ed., “Dopis generala H. Piky prezidentu Gottwaldovi (II),” *Historie a vojenství* 41, no. 2 (1992): 115–49.
16. Karel Kaplan, *Sovětský Porádci v Československu, 1949–1956* (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny, 1993).
17. Karel Kaplan, *Stát a církev v Československu v letech 1948–1953* (Brno: Doplněk, 1993); Jaroslav Cuhra, “KSČ, stát a římskokatolická církev (1948–1989),” *Soudobé dějiny* 8, no. 2–3 (2001): 267–80.
18. See Václav Vaško, “Kardinál Beran a jeho zápas s totalitou: Portrét osobnosti,” *Soudobé dějiny* 8, no. 2–3 (2001): 384–408.
19. Karel Kaplan, *Report on the Murder of the General Secretary*, translated by Karel Kovanda (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), provides a study of the trial in English.
20. Karel Kaplan, *Československo v RVHP 1949–1956* (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1995).
21. John P. C. Matthews, *Majales: The Abortive Student Revolt in Czechoslovakia in 1956*, Cold War International History Project Working Papers, 24 (Washington, D.C., 1999) <<http://cwihp.si.edu/publications.htm>>. Majáles parades were held in both Prague and Bratislava.
22. Muriel Blaive, *Promarněná příležitost: Československo rok 1956* (Prague: Prostor, 2001).

23. Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, pp. 283–86.
24. This section draws on Karel Kaplan, *Československo v letech 1952–1966* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1991).
25. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
26. See Carol Skalnik Leff, “Inevitability, Probability, Possibility: The Legacies of the Czech-Slovak Relationship, 1918–1989, and the Disintegration of the State,” in Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger, eds. and trans., *Irreconcilable Differences? Explaining Czechoslovakia’s Dissolution* (Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), p. 33.
27. Kaplan, *Československo v letech 1952–1966*, p. 104.
28. Ota Šik, *Plán a trh za socialismu*, 3d ed. (Prague: Academia, 1967).
29. H. Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia’s Interrupted Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 57–62.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–56.
31. Jaromír Navrátil, comp. and ed., *The Prague Spring 1968: A National Security Archive Documents Reader*, edited by Antonín Benčík, Václav Kural, Marie Michálková, and Jitka Vondrová, translated by Mark Kramer et al. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), pp. 8–10.
32. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, p. 12; Skilling, *Czechoslovakia’s Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 62–72.
33. Karel Kaplan, *Československo v letech 1967–1969* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1991), pp. 9–10. See also, Kieran Williams, *The Prague Spring and Its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 4–20.
34. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 13–17.
35. See Skilling, *Czechoslovakia’s Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 79–82.
36. See Miklós Kun, *Prague Spring—Prague Fall: Blank Spots of 1968* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999), p. 10; also Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 18–19.
37. Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, pp. 319–21.
38. Alexander Dubček, *Hope Dies Last: The Autobiography of Alexander Dubček*, edited and translated by Jiří Hochmann (London: HarperCollins, 1993). See also, William Shawcross, *Dubček*, revised and updated ed. (1970; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990).
39. The Piller Commission report is available in English: Jiří Pelikán, ed., *The Czechoslovak Political Trials, 1950–1954: The Suppressed Report of the Dubček Government’s Commission of Inquiry, 1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971).
40. Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, pp. 67–69; Frank Kaplan, *Winter Into Spring: The Czechoslovak Press and the Reform Movement, 1963–1968* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly, 1977).
41. See the excerpts of the Action Program, in Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 90–94.

42. Suda, *Zealots and Rebels*, pp. 326–31; Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 217–21.
43. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, p. 94.
44. Ota Šik, *The Third Way: Marxist-Leninist Theory and Modern Industrial Society*, translated by Marian Sling (London and New York: Wildwood House and International Arts and Sciences Press, 1976); Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, pp. 20–25.
45. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, p. 94.
46. Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 451–65. See also, Leff, *National Conflict in Czechoslovakia*, pp. 170–76.
47. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 177–81, and Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 546–48. See also, Otakar Rambousek and Ladislav Gruber, comps. and eds., *Zpráva dokumentační komise K 231* (Louvain: Členové dokumentační komise K 231 v exilu, 1973).
48. Citations to “Two Thousand Words” from Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 179–81.
49. Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, pp. 89–91.
50. The phrase comes from *ibid.*; see esp. pp. 29–39, 63–111. For analyses from various perspectives, see Jiří Valenta, *Soviet Intervention in Czechoslovakia, 1968: Anatomy of a Decision*, rev. ed. (1979; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), and Karen Dawisha, *The Kremlin and the Prague Spring* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). See also, Dimitri K. Simes, “The Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia and the Limits of Kremlinology,” *Studies in Comparative Communism* 8 (1975): 174–80.
51. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 37–41; also Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, p. 65.
52. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 42–44; see also, Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, p. 66.
53. Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, p. 66; Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 51–54.
54. Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, pp. 70–71.
55. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 64–72.
56. Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, p. 117.
57. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 324–25.

## CHAPTER 14

1. Philip Windsor and Adam Roberts, *Czechoslovakia 1968: Reform, Repression, and Resistance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 107–11; Karen Dawisha, *The Kremlin and the Prague Spring*, pp. 319–20; Hans Renner, *A History of Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, translated by Evelien Hurst-Buist (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 71–72.

2. Defense Minister Martin Dzúr not only ordered the Czechoslovak People's Army not to resist, he enjoined them to provide "maximum all-round assistance" to the Warsaw Pact troops. See Jaromír Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 411–13.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 414–15.

4. The statement is included in Historický ústav ČSAV, *Sedm pražských dnů, 21.–27. srpen 1968: dokumentace*, edited by Josef Macek (Prague: Academia, 1990), pp. 28–29. The Soviet news agency TASS also published a declaration supposedly issued by these (unnamed) leaders calling on the citizens to rally around the "realistically thinking core" of the party. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–32.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 369. The slogan is pithier in Czech because, thanks to the verb structure, each sentence is actually a single word.

6. Windsor and Roberts, *Czechoslovakia 1968*, pp. 127–28.

7. H. Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 776–80.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 764–72; Jiří Pelikán, ed., *The Secret Vysočany Congress: Proceedings and Documents of the Extraordinary Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 22 August 1968*, translated by George Theiner and Deryck Viney (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971); Historický ústav ČSAV, *Sedm pražských dnů*, pp. 84–87.

9. See Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 460–64.

10. Dubček called it "the greatest political mistake and one that will have tragic consequences." *Ibid.*, pp. 465–68.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 469–71.

12. The text of the agreement is given in *ibid.*, pp. 477–80.

13. Historický ústav ČSAV, *Sedm pražských dnů*, pp. 299–300.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 313–18.

16. Jaroslav A. Piekalkiewicz, *Public Opinion Polling in Czechoslovakia* (New York: Praeger, 1972), pp. 262–64; Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 808–10; Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, pp. 82–83.

17. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 487–88.

18. Pelikán, *Secret Vysočany Conference*, pp. 96–97; Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, p. 87.

19. See Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 506–7.

20. Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 814–15; Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, pp. 88–89.

21. Text of the treaty in Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 533–36.

22. Jozef Zatkuliak, ed., *Federalizácia československého štátu 1968–1970: vznik československej federácie roku 1968* (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1996).



23. See Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 555–60.
24. Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, p. 818; Kieran Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, pp. 183–88.
25. Jiří Lederer, *Jan Palach. Zpráva o životě, činu, a smrti českého studenta* (Prague: Novinář, 1990); Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, pp. 93–94; Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, pp. 188–91.
26. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, pp. 564–70.
27. See *ibid.*, pp. 504–12.
28. Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 820–21; Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, p. 96.
29. Skilling, *Interrupted Revolution*, p. 821; Vladimír V. Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77: A Study of "Normalization" in Czechoslovakia, 1968–1978* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), pp. 99–102.
30. Jiří Pelikán, *Socialist Opposition in Eastern Europe: The Czechoslovak Example*, translated by Marian Sling, V. Tosek, and R. Tosek (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), pp. 117–24.
31. Compare Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, p. 234, with Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, pp. 84–86, and Vladimír V. Kusin, "Hušák's Czechoslovakia and Economic Stagnation," *Problems of Communism* 31 (May-June 1982): 29.
32. Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, pp. 102–6; Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, pp. 99–101.
33. Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, p. 134; Martin Myant, *The Czechoslovak Economy, 1948–1988* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 183.
34. See Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, p. 101; Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, pp. 173–75.
35. Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, p. 101; Sharon L. Wolchik, "The Scientific-Technological Revolution and the Role of Specialist Elites in Policy-Making in Czechoslovakia," in *Domestic Policy in Eastern Europe in the 1980s: Trends and Prospects*, edited by Sharon L. Wolchik and Michael J. Sodaro (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), pp. 111–32.
36. Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, pp. 244–49; Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, pp. 135–39.
37. Komunistická strana Československa, *Poučení z krizového vývoje straně a společnosti po XIII. sjezdu KSČ. Rezoluce k aktuálním otázkám jednoty strany: schváleno na plenárním zasedání ÚV KSČ v prosinci 1970* (Prague: Svoboda, 1988).
38. Williams, *Prague Spring and Its Aftermath*, pp. 248–49; Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, pp. 102–5.
39. Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, p. 105.
40. Sharon L. Wolchik, *Czechoslovakia in Transition: Politics, Economics, and Society* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1991), p. 89.

41. Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, p. 109.
42. Wolchik, *Czechoslovakia in Transition*, pp. 90–91.
43. Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, translated by Michael Henry Heim (New York: Knopf, 1980); Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*, pp. 313–21; Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, pp. 26–29.
44. Kusin, “Husák’s Czechoslovakia,” p. 26.
45. Ibid.
46. See *ibid.*, p. 36.
47. Milan Šimečka, *The Restoration of Order: The Normalization of Czechoslovakia, 1969–1976*, translated by A. G. Bain, with a preface by Zdeněk Mlynář (London: Verso, 1984), pp. 72–79.
48. Václav Havel, “Letter to Dr. Gustáv Husák,” in *Václav Havel: Living in Truth*, edited by Jan Vladislav (London: Faber & Faber, 1986), p. 4.
49. Myant, *Czechoslovak Economy*, pp. 176–85; Judy Batt, *Economic Reform and Political Change in Eastern Europe: A Comparison of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Experiences* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988).
50. *Statistická ročenka Československé socialistické republiky, 1980* (Prague: Státní nakladatelství technické literatury, 1980), p. 538; Kusin, “Husák’s Czechoslovakia,” pp. 27, 31; Jaroslav Krejčí and Pavel Machonin, *Czechoslovakia, 1918–1992: A Laboratory for Social Change* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), pp. 197–98.
51. *Statistická ročenka Československé socialistické republiky 1973* (Prague: Státní nakladatelství technické literatury, 1973), p. 472; *Statistická ročenka Československé socialistické republiky 1982* (Prague: Státní nakladatelství technické literatury, 1982), p. 550.
52. Šimečka, *Restoration of Order*, pp. 137–45; Kusin, “Husák’s Czechoslovakia,” p. 28; Bernard Wheaton and Zdeněk Kavan, *The Velvet Revolution: Czechoslovakia, 1988–1991* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992), p. 9.
53. Krejčí and Machonin, *Czechoslovakia, 1918–1992*, pp. 128, 197–98.
54. Kusin, “Husák’s Czechoslovakia,” p. 31.
55. Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, p. 114.
56. Wolchik, *Czechoslovakia in Transition*, p. 242; Sharon L. Wolchik, “Economic Performance and Political Change in Czechoslovakia,” in *Prospects for Change in Socialist Systems: Challenges and Responses*, edited by Charles J. Bukowski and Mark A. Cichock (New York: Praeger, 1987), pp. 40–42; Jan Vaňous, “East European Economic Slowdown,” *Problems of Communism* 31 (July-August 1982): 1–19.
57. “Soubor opatření ke zdokonalení soustavy plánovitého řízení národního hospodářství po roce 1980,” in *Příloha hospodářských novin* (1980).
58. Ibid; Wolchik, *Czechoslovakia in Transition*, pp. 242–43.
59. Myant, *Czechoslovak Economy*, pp. 209–13.

60. Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, pp. 148–49; Pelikán, *Socialist Opposition*, pp. 117–224.
61. Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, pp. 149–50; Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, pp. 120–21.
62. Pelikán, *Socialist Opposition*, pp. 125–59; Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77*, pp. 156–60.
63. Vladimir V. Kusin, “Dissent in Czechoslovakia After 1968,” in *Dissent in Eastern Europe*, edited by Jane Leftwich Curry (New York: Praeger, 1983), p. 49.
64. Václav Havel, *Disturbing the Peace: A Conversation with Karel Hvížďala*, translated by Paul Wilson (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), pp. 119–21.
65. H. Gordon Skilling, “Independent Currents in Czechoslovakia,” *Problems of Communism* 34 (January-February 1985): 38–40; Kusin, “Dissent in Czechoslovakia,” pp. 53–54.
66. Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 146–48; H. Gordon Skilling, *Charter 77 and Human Rights in Czechoslovakia* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), pp. 7–16.
67. Havel, *Disturbing the Peace*, p. 128.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 132–34; Renner, *Czechoslovakia Since 1945*, pp. 132–33.
69. George Konrád, *Anti-Politics* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984); Gale Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 21–23.
70. Skilling, *Charter 77*, pp. 211–12.
71. Václav Havel, “The Power of the Powerless,” translated by Paul Wilson, in *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*, edited by John Keane (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1985), pp. 64–69.
72. Josef Škvorecký, “Hipness at Dusk,” *Cross Currents* 6 (1987): 53–62; Skilling, “Independent Currents,” pp. 41–43.
73. Skilling, “Independent Currents,” pp. 45–48; John M. Kramer, “Chernobyl’ and Eastern Europe,” *Problems of Communism* 35 (November-December 1986): 40–43; John Kramer, “The Environmental Crisis in Eastern Europe: The Price for Progress.”
74. Jaroslav Cuhra, “KŠČ, stát a římskokatolická církev (1948–1989),” pp. 288–93.
75. Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*, p. 152; Paul Wilson, “Religious Movement in Czechoslovakia: Faith or Fashion?” *Cross Currents: A Yearbook of Central European Culture* 7 (1988): 109–19; Skilling, “Independent Currents,” pp. 43–45.
76. Navrátil, *Prague Spring 1968*, p. 502.
77. Wolchik, *Czechoslovakia in Transition*, pp. 40–41, 245–48; Myant, *Czechoslovak Economy*, pp. 250–56.

78. Both citations from Wheaton and Kavan, *Velvet Revolution*, p. 18.

## CHAPTER 15

1. Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague* (New York: Random House, 1990), p. 78.
2. Bernard Wheaton and Zdeněk Kavan, *The Velvet Revolution: Czechoslovakia, 1988–1991*, pp. 24–30; Gale Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*, pp. 153–54; Sharon Wolchik, *Czechoslovakia in Transition*, pp. 47–49.
3. See Wheaton and Kavan, *Velvet Revolution*, pp. 27–28.
4. Carol Skalnik Leff, *The Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 76–79.
5. The Czechoslovak regime had also named its party-led university for foreign students the University of 17 November. See Edward Taborsky, “Czechoslovakia’s ‘University of November 17th,’” *East Europe* 21, no. 4 (1972): pp. 7–11.
6. Jiří Suk, comp. and ed., *Občanské fórum, listopad—prosinec, 1989. 2. díl—dokumenty* (Prague and Brno: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR and Doplněk, 1998), pp. 13–14.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
8. Jiří Suk, comp. and ed., *Občanské fórum, listopad—prosinec, 1989. 1. díl—události* (Prague and Brno: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR and Doplněk, 1997), pp. 51–52.
9. Wheaton and Kavan, *Velvet Revolution*, p. 70; Suk, *Občanské fórum—dokumenty*, p. 55.
10. Wheaton and Kavan, *Velvet Revolution*, pp. 58–60.
11. Ash, *The Magic Lantern*, pp. 94–96.
12. Wheaton and Kavan, *Velvet Revolution*, pp. 70–72, 79–80.
13. Suk, *Občanské fórum—události*, p. 82.
14. Dragoslav Slejška and Jan Herzmann, *Sondy do veřejného mínění (Jaro 1968, Podzim 1989)* (Prague: Svoboda, 1990), p. 47; Wheaton and Kavan, *Velvet Revolution*, p. 95.
15. Ash, *The Magic Lantern*, pp. 123–25.
16. Tony R. Judt, “Metamorphosis: The Democratic Revolution in Czechoslovakia,” in *Eastern Europe in Revolution*, edited by Ivo Banac (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 99–100.
17. See Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, p. 82. See also, Ash, *The Magic Lantern*, p. 125.
18. Judt, “Metamorphosis,” pp. 100–101.

19. Rasma Karklins and Roger Petersen, “Decision Calculus of Protestors and Regimes: Eastern Europe, 1989,” *Journal of Politics* 55, no. 3 (August 1993): 588–614; Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 82–83.

20. Keith Crawford, *East Central European Politics Today: From Chaos to Stability?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 189–90.

21. Róna-Tas Ákos, “The Selected and the Elected: The Making of the New Parliamentary Elite in Hungary,” *East European Politics and Societies* 5, no. 3 (Fall 1991): pp. 369–72.

22. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 84–85.

23. See *ibid.*, pp. 96–97. See also the analysis of elections, Český statistický úřad, *Volby v ČR, 1990–1999*, online document, 4201–00 <<http://www.czso.cz>>.

24. Český statistický úřad, *Volby v ČR, 1990–1999*, analysis of elections to the ČNR in 1990.

25. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 97–99.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 108–9.

27. Crawford, *East Central European Politics*, pp. 228–30; Robin H. E. Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia: The Velvet Revolution and Beyond* (London and New York: Macmillan and St. Martin’s Press, 2000), pp. 55–57.

28. Zdislav Šulc, “Systemové základy ekonomické transformace,” in *Transformace české společnosti, 1989–1995*, edited by Vlasta Šafaříková (Brno: Doplněk, 1996), pp. 119–21.

29. Ivan Svítek, “Každý bude investovat,” *Respekt*, June 24, 1991, p. 4.

30. jaš, “Nechceme žádné bloky (Velvyslanci Maďarska a Polska k Vísegrádu),” *Lidové noviny*, February 15, 1991, p. 1; Jiří Forejt, “Nejde o nový blok (Náš zpravodaj z třístranného setkání ve Vísegrádu,” *ibid.*, February 16, 1991, p. 1.

31. Bradley F. Abrams, “Morality, Wisdom, and Revision: The Czech Opposition of the 1970s and the Expulsion of the Sudeten Germans,” *East European Politics and Societies* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 234–55.

32. Jiří Ruml, “Předvolební (Každá mince mívá dvě strany),” *Lidové noviny*, January 9, 1990, p. 1.

33. Celestine Bohlen, “Upheaval in the East: 51 Years After Hitler Marched in, Prague Welcomes a German Chief,” *New York Times*, March 16, 1990, p. A1; “West German President Visits on 51st Anniversary of Nazi Invasion,” *Associated Press Wire Reports, International News*, March 15, 1990.

34. Zbyněk Petráček, “Zástupný problém právní kontinuity,” *Respekt*, September 23, 1991, p. 2; Jan Metzger, “Nejasno až do konce: Prezidenti Havel a von Weizsäcker podepíší čs.-německou smlouvu,” *ibid.*, October 7, 1991, p. 3; LN, “Smlouva ČSFR-SRN,” *Lidové noviny*, October 11, 1991, p. 12; ČTK Czechoslovak News Agency, “German Chancellor Stresses Historic Significance of New Treaty,” *CTK National News Wire*, February 26, 1992.

35. British Broadcasting Corporation, “Czech Premier Rejects Sudeten German Call for Commission,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts* EE/1109/B/1 (June 27, 1991); ČTK Czechoslovak News Agency, “ČSFR Threatens to Counter Sudeten Claims with Own from WW Two,” *ČTK National News Wire*, June 11, 1992.

36. Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 112–13; Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 85–86.

37. See two articles by Bohumil Pečinka: “Lustrace stále přítomné,” *Lidové noviny*, February 10, 1995, p. 5; and “Lustrace ovlivnily volby,” *ibid.*, April 2, 1996, p. 2.

38. David Franklin, “A Velvet Purge in Prague: The Exposure of Alleged Secret Police Collaborators Is Threatening Czechoslovakia’s Fragile Democracy,” *The Guardian*, June 5, 1991.

39. Pečinka, “Lustrace stále přítomné”; Catherine Monroy, “Czechoslovakia Asks Whether Its Purge Has Gone Too Far,” *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, March 15, 1992, p. 15.

40. Václav Žák, “The Velvet Divorce—Institutional Foundations,” in *The End of Czechoslovakia*, edited by Jiří Musil (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995), pp. 150–51.

41. Michael Kraus, “The End of Czechoslovakia: International Forces and Factors,” in Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences?*, pp. 200–203.

42. Leff, *National Conflict in Czechoslovakia*, p. 177; Carol Skalník Leff, “Inevitability, Probability, Possibility,” in Kraus and Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences?*, pp. 36–37.

43. Eight electoral districts in the Czech lands sent 101 members to the Chamber of the People and four Slovak districts sent 49 delegates. See Petr Kopecký, “From ‘Velvet Revolution’ to ‘Velvet Split’: Consociational Institutions and the Disintegration of Czechoslovakia,” in Kraus and Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences?*, pp. 73–74.

44. Allison Stanger, “The Price of Velvet: Constitutional Politics and the Demise of the Czechoslovak Federation,” in *ibid.*, p. 143.

45. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 134–35.

46. Ivan Jemelka and Jana Šmídová, “Pozice-kompromisy-shoda? (Mečiar: Pocity jsou zlé, Kučerák: Obavy postupně mizí, Klaus: Republika se nerozpadne, Čalfa: Tři vlády v ofenzivě,” *Lidové noviny*, November 14, 1990, p. 1; Alena Slezáková, “Most přes rozbouřené vody (Na pořadu v parlamentu kompetenční zákon),” *ibid.*, December 11, 1990, p. 1; Alena Slezáková and Martin Daneš, “Pozvání na brynzové halušky (Poslanci Federálního shromáždění schválili kompetenční zákon),” *ibid.*, December 13, 1990, p. 1.

47. Kopecký, “Consociational Institutions,” pp. 76–79.

48. This account relies on Jan Rychlík, “The Possibilities for Czech-Slovak

Compromise, 1989–1992,” in Kraus and Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences?*, pp. 52–57.

49. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, p. 135.

50. Already the previous fall, Čarnogurský said, “in the future Europe we would like to have our own chair and our own star on the European flag.” FBIS, “Interview with Jan Carnogursky,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-90-200 (October 16, 1992): 33–34.

51. Petr Brodský and Eva Koubová, “Státní smlouva,” *Respekt*, May 12, 1991, p. 2; Jiří Kabele, “Od pomlčky ke smlouvě,” *ibid.*, June 3, 1991, p. 2.

52. Milan Zemko, “Domestic and International Aspects of the Czechoslovak State’s Crisis and End,” in Kraus and Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences?*, pp. 247–57; Roman Krasnický, “Bez halušek,” *Lidové noviny*, March 12, 1992, p. 1; rk, “Sbohem volby (Závěrečné setkání předsedů české a slovenské národní rady,” *Lidové noviny*, March 12, 1992, p. 1.

53. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 135–36; Petr Kopecký, “Conso-  
ciational Institutions,” pp. 79–80.

54. jaš et al., “Česko-Slovensko ’92: Vpravo-Vlevo,” *Lidové noviny*, June 8, 1992, p. 1.

55. Rychlík, “The Possibilities for Czech-Slovak Compromise,” pp. 58–64.

56. rk, “Českým premiérem Václav Klaus, slovenským Vladimír Mečiar,” *Lidové noviny*, June 18, 1992, p. 1.

57. Miroslav Macek, “Fragments from the Dividing of Czechoslovakia,” in Kraus and Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences?*, p. 245.

58. LN, “Deklarace SNR o svrchovanosti,” *Lidové noviny*, July 18, 1992, p. 3.

59. Václav Havel, “Hovory z Lán: Hovory devadesáté deváté a zatím poslední,” *ibid.*, July 20, 1992, p. 8. See also, Petr Janyška, Lamper Ivan, and Martin Weiss, “Nebudu druhým Benešem: Rozhovor s Václavem Havlem,” *Respekt*, February 25, 1991, p. 4.

60. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 141–42; Stephen Denyer and Martin Šolc, “Czechoslovakia: What’s in the Divorce Settlement?” *International Financial Law Review* 12, no. 2 (February 1993): 28.

61. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 143–44; Kopecký, “Consocia-  
tional Institutions,” pp. 81–83.

## CHAPTER 16

1. “Tradice humanity a demociacie: Slavnost k obnově českého státu,” *Český deník*, October 26, 1992.

2. “‘Budujeme stát pro sebe’: Václav Klaus na Vyšehrad, 24. 10. 1992,” *ibid.*, October 27, 1992.

3. Otto Urban, “Byli jsme před Československem,” *Lidové noviny*, July 24, 1992.

4. Petr Pithart, “Paradoxy rozchodu: Filozofické a mravné hlediska a evropské paralely,” in *Rozloučení s Československem: Příčiny a důsledky československého rozchodu*, edited by Rüdiger Kipke and Karel Vodička (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1993), pp. 119–20.

5. See Dušan Třeštík, *Češi: Jejich národ, stát, dějiny a pravdy v transformaci. Texty z let 1991–1998* (Brno: Doplněk, 1999), p. 151–84.

6. See Hugh LeCaine Agnew, “Old States, New Identities? The Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Historical Understandings of Statehood,” *Nationalities Papers* 28, no. 4 (2000): 619–50.

7. This section relies on Robin H. E. Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 75–102, and Carol Skalnik Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 186–96, in addition to other cited literature.

8. Silvia Cambie, “Czech Privatization Moves Into High Gear with Second Wave,” *Central European* 4, no. 5 (May 1994): 25 ff.

9. Michal Achremenko, “Po poslední, druhé vlně přišla třetí,” *Lidové noviny*, August 13, 1996, p. 5.

10. Peter Kysel, “Czech Market Takes Pride of Place in European Emerging Markets,” *Central European Emerging Securities Market Supplement* (October 1994), p. 10.

11. FBIS, “Klaus Discusses Mandatory Balanced Budget,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-94-173 (September 5, 1994); FBIS, “Klaus Discusses Economic Successes, Concerns,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-94-231 (December 23, 1994).

12. Pavel Novotný, “Česko v klubu bohatých,” *Lidové noviny*, September 15, 1995, p. 5; am, “The European: Češi vyhráli,” *ibid.*, November 28, 1995, p. 12.

13. Anders Aslund, Peter Boone, and Simon Johnson, “How to Stabilize: Lessons from Post-Communist Countries,” *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, no. 1 (1996): 217–313.

14. The New Democracy Barometer surveys in 1995 (available for searching at the Web site of TARKI, Budapest <<http://rs2.tarki.hu:90/ndb-html>>) showed that 70 percent of the population evaluated the country’s economic performance as positive to some extent, and 87 percent expected better things in five years.

15. “The Czech Republic: Václav Thatcher,” *The Economist* 332, no. 7875 (August 6, 1994): p. 42.

16. Martina Rabenseifnerová, “ČR navštívilo 16,6 miliónů turistů,” *Lidové noviny*, February 16, 1996, p. 6; Martin Poláček, “Praha trumfla Vídeň,” *ibid.*, November 19, 1996, p. 4.



17. Václav Havel and Václav Klaus, Petr Pihart, discussant, “Rival Visions,” *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 1 (1996): 15.
18. Ibid., p. 14.
19. mam, “Sněmovna umožnila vznik obecně prospěšných společností,” *Lidové noviny*, September 29, 1995, p. 3.
20. Bohumil Pečinka, “Rok 1968 náš úřad neabsolutizuje,” *ibid.*, August 7, 1995, p. 16; Radek Adamec, “Brzy se rozhodne o vlastizradě,” *ibid.*, June 29, 1996, p. 3.
21. Bohumil Pečinka, “Lustrace do roku 2000,” *ibid.*, September 28, 1995, p. 1; Vojtěch Cepl and Mark Gillis, “Making Amends After Communism,” *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996): 118–24.
22. Ondřej Neumann, “Aféra Lizner—korupce se nevyhnula ani ‘bezpečné’ kuponovce,” *Lidové noviny*, September 29, 1999, p. 3.
23. Miroslav Korecký, “Stranické peníze—aféry bez konce,” *ibid.*, p. 6.
24. Václav Klaus, “Naše třetí svobodné volby,” *ibid.*, May 25, 1996, p. 8.
25. rep, “Klaus zvítězil, ale nejvíc získal Zeman,” *Mladá fronta dnes*, June 3, 1996, p. 1.
26. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 160–61; FBIS, “Research Detects Polarization Within Society,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-96-062 (January 25, 1995).
27. “End of the Road for the Privatization Ministry,” *Finance East Europe* 6, no. 8 (April 19, 1996): 8; FBIS, “Czech Republic: GDP Growth of 4.4 Percent in 1996 Better Than Forecast,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-97-084 (March 25, 1997).
28. FBIS, “Czech Republic: Klaus Views Economic Prospects for 1997,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-97-012 (January 10, 1997).
29. Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 98–99; FBIS, “Czech Republic: Daily Views Economic Measures Passed by Cabinet 16 Apr,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-97-107 (April 17, 1997); FBIS, “Czech Republic: EU Sets Ultimatum for Abolition of Import Deposits,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-97-206 (July 25, 1997).
30. David Ellerman, “Voucher Privatization with Investment Funds: A Sure Way to Decapitalize Industry,” *Transition Newsletter* 9, no. 6 (November–December 1998): 10–13.
31. Zdislav Šulc, “Systemové základy ekonomické transformace,” pp. 127–40.
32. Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 79–89.
33. Lubomír Mlčoch, “Czech Privatization: A Criticism of Misunderstood Liberalism (Keynote Address),” *Journal of Business Ethics* 17, no. 9–10 (July 1998): 951–59.
34. Cited in Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, p. 76.
35. Ibid., pp. 83–84.

36. Václav Žák, “Na co se soustředit ‘cestou do Evropy,’” *Lidové noviny*, August 7, 1999, p. 10.

37. Steven Saxonberg, “A New Phase in Czech Politics,” *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 1 (1999): 101–2; FBIS, “Czech Republic: Klaus Rejects Criticism from Close Party Colleagues,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-97-276 (October 3, 1997); FBIS, “Czech Republic: Josef Zieleniec Announces His Resignation from Czech ODS,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-98-021 (January 21, 1998).

38. Citations from Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 48–49. See also, rep, “Prezident podrobil odcházející vládu Václava Klause tvrdé kritice,” *Mladá fronta dnes*, December 10, 1997, p. 6.

39. FBIS, “Daily Views Chances, Impact of PM-Designate Tosovsky,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-97-351 (December 19, 1997); FBIS, “Daily Sees June Election Date as Victory for Klaus, CSSD,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-98-013 (January 14, 1998).

40. Saxonberg, “A New Phase in Czech Politics,” pp. 101–2.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 103–4.

42. Michal Klíma, *Kvalita demokracie v České Republice a volební inženýrství* (Prague: Radix, 2001), pp. 20–21.

43. Saxonberg, “A New Phase in Czech Politics,” pp. 106–7.

44. Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 100–101.

45. Jana Frančíková, “Šéf revitalizace: neočekávejte zázraky,” *Mladá fronta dnes*, March 2, 2000, p. 15; Jaroslav Baďura, “Tatra opět vydělává a zvyšuje výrobu,” *ibid.*, November 8, 2000, p. 19; mp, “Revitalizace stála stát přes dvě stě milionů,” *ibid.*, July 18, 2001, p. 4.

46. FBIS, “Prime Minister Zeman claims Czech economy in ‘crisis,’” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-98-335 (December 1, 1998).

47. FBIS, “After a slumber, the privatization of the banks is beginning to gather more momentum,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-98-279 (October 6, 1998); “Czech Economy: Downgraded Banks but Improved Outlook,” *Transition Newsletter* 9, no. 6 (November-December 1998): 10–13.

48. U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, *2001 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Policies: Czech Republic* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 2001), <<http://www.state.gov>>.

49. Valter Komárek, “Lepšího života se vám zachtělo, hlupáckové?” *Lidové noviny*, August 4, 1999, p. 1.

50. Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 119–26.

51. See dub, “Blbá nálada—vděčné téma politických diskusí,” *Lidové noviny*, January 18, 1999, p. 3, and ČTK, “Sofres-Factum: Stav ekonomiky vnímají negativně čtyři lidé z pěti,” *ibid.*, February 8, 1999, p. 2.

52. Jan Kubita and Miroslav Korecký, “Zemanova vláda vyhlásila boj proti korupci,” *ibid.*, February 18, 1999, p. 2.

53. Ondřej Neumann, “Lidí ochotných upláctet je o třetinu méně než před rokem,” *ibid.*, October 1, 1999, p. 5.

54. Ondřej Neumann, “Česko je na tom s úplatky podobně jako Maďarsko a Polsko,” *ibid.*, October 27, 1999, p. 4. For the 2001 survey, see Transparency International, “New Index Highlights Worldwide Corruption Crisis, Says Transparency International,” press release (2001) <<http://www.transparency.org/cpi/2001/cpi2001.html>>.

55. Jeffrey M. Jordan, “Patronage and Corruption in the Czech Republic (Part 1),” *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 4, no. 4 (February 20, 2002) <<http://www.rferl.org>>; Jeffrey M. Jordan, “Patronage and Corruption in the Czech Republic (Part 2),” *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 4, no. 5 (March 6, 2002) <<http://www.rferl.org>>.

56. Roman Krasnický and Ondřej Bílek, “Lustrace jsou evergreenem české politiky,” *Mladá fronta dnes*, October 26, 2000, p. 4; *obi*, “Lustrace platí dál,” *ibid.*, November 29, 2003, p. 3.

57. Petra Breyerová, “Lustration is Alive, but Kicking in a New Way,” *Wall Street Journal Europe*, June 15, 2001, p. 9; British Broadcasting Corporation, “Czech Parliament Passes Civil Service Bill—no Jobs for Life,” *BBC Monitoring*, March 12, 2002, ČTK News Agency.

58. This section uses Josef Kalvoda, “The Gypsies of Czechoslovakia,” *Nationalities Papers* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 269–96; Zoltan Barany, “Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Postcommunist Politics and Societies,” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 321–44; and Zoltan Barany, “Orphans of Transition: Gypsies in Eastern Europe,” *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 3 (1998): 142–56.

59. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, p. 170.

60. U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Czech Republic, 2001* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. State Department, 2001) <<http://www.state.gov>>.

61. Barany, “Orphans of Transition,” p. 147; Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 116–19.

62. Jindřich Šidlo, “Romové nejsou úplně tvárný národ,” *Respekt*, February 28, 2000, p. 17. See also: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Czech Republic, 2001*; Pavel Barša, “Nacionalismus, nebo integrace? Romská emancipace a její historické paralely,” in *Národnostní politika v postkomunistických zemích*, edited by Břetislav Dančák and Petr Fiala (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, Mezinárodní politologický ústav, 2000), pp. 306–13.

63. FBIS, “Daily Lists Illegally Operating ‘Neo-Nazi’ Groups,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-97-240 (August 28, 1997); FBIS, “Daily Lists Legally Operating ‘Extremist’ Organizations,” *ibid.*; Magnus Bennett, “Czech Officials Vow Crackdown After Neo-Nazis Rock Near Prague,” *Jerusalem Post*,

April 17, 2001, p. 11; Miroslav Mareš, “Pravicový extremismus a romská menšina v České republice,” in *Národnostní politika v postkomunistických zemích*, edited by Břetislav Dančák and Petr Fiala (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, Mezinárodní politologický ústav, 2000), pp. 94–123.

64. Josef Bouška, “Jednotni zvítězíme,” *Respekt*, April 23, 2001, p. 6.

65. Research shows similarities in Slovak attitudes to the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. See gas, “Pruzum: soužití s Romy se zlepšuje,” *Lidové noviny*, August 17, 1999, p. 4.

66. Wolchik, *Czechoslovakia in Transition*, pp. 201–3; Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 198–200; Marianne A. Ferber, “Czech Women in Transition,” *Monthly Labor Review* 117, no. 11 (November 1994): 32 ff.

67. Steven Saxonberg, “Women in East European Parliaments,” *Journal of Democracy* 11, no. 2 (April 2000): 145–58.

68. rep, “Prezident podrobil odcházející vládu Václava Klause tvrdé kritice.”

69. Marc Morjé Howard, “The Weakness of Post-Communist Civil Society,” *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 1 (January 2002): 159.

70. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Czech Republic, 2001*.

71. Martina Macková, “Haken: Občanská společnost? Jsme na cestě,” *Mladá fronta dnes*, April 17, 2002, p. 3.

72. Václav Drbohlav, “Blbá nálada,” *Lidové noviny*, January 26, 1999, p. 11.

73. “Člověk by se měl radovat,” *Respekt*, July 2, 2001, p. 14.

74. gas, “Spokojenost s členstvím v NATO klésá,” *Lidové noviny*, May 25, 1999, p. 2.

75. This section draws on Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 240–72.

76. nel, “Cesta otevřená (ČSFR a Rada Evropy),” *Lidové noviny*, January 12, 1991, p. 2.

77. Vilém Holán, “Mrtví jsou cenou za obnovenou čest,” *ibid.*, August 26, 1995, p. 12.

78. Alexandra Procházková and Michael Hä, “Sněmovna schválila vojenskou misi,” *ibid.*, December 9, 1995, p. 1.

79. Petr Janyška, “Střední Evropa do NATO,” *Respekt*, October 14, 1991, p. 3.

80. “Partnerství pro mír má rozhodně smysl,” *Lidové noviny*, August 23, 1994, p. 7; Jana Blažková, “Krok na cestě k alianci,” *ibid.*, October 13, 1994, p. 7.

81. FBIS, “Lobkowicz Views Approval of Republic’s NATO Accession,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-98-106 (April 16, 1997); FBIS, “Daily Views Tasks Awaiting Republic Before NATO Entry,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-97-191 (July 10, 1997).

82. Václav Havel, “Idea NATO nepatří na smetiště dějin,” *Lidové noviny*, June 22, 1996, p. 5.

83. “Speech by the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Milos Zeman, Brussels, March 16, 1999,” online document (1999) <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech.htm>>.

84. Petr Janyška, “Naše nejdůležitější dohoda: Dokument o asociaci parafován,” *Respekt*, February 12, 1991, p. 2.

85. Miroslav Korecký, “‘Návrat do Evropy’ byl zatím ve stínu diskuse o NATO,” *Lidové noviny*, January 13, 1999, p. 3.

86. In this section I draw from Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 254–69.

87. Elena Iankova, *Governed by Accession? Hard and Soft Pillars of Europeanization in Central and Eastern Europe*, East European Studies Occasional Papers, 60 (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, 2001), pp. 8–10.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

89. Commission of the European Communities, *2001 Regular Report on the Czech Republic’s Progress Towards Accession* (Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, 2001), pp. 3–5, 108–15; Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, p. 255.

90. Howard J. Wiarda, *The Politics of European Enlargement: NATO, the EU, and the New U.S.–European Relationship*, East European Studies Occasional Papers, 67 (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2002), pp. 14–15.

91. Leff, *Czech and Slovak Republics*, 204–5, 258–59; Jeffrey D. Pierson, “Changing Czech Energy Policy,” *The OECD Observer*, no. 191 (December–January 1994): 35 ff.

92. See two articles by Marek Kerles: “Rozhodnutí o dostavbě vzdaluje Česko od vstupu do Evropské unie, tvrdí Vídeň,” *Lidové noviny*, May 14, 1999, p. 3; and “Temelín: Rakušané hrozí vetem v EU,” *ibid.*, September 21, 1999, p. 6.

93. Kate Connolly, “Haider Plays Nuclear Power Games,” *The Guardian*, January 16, 2002; FBIS, “Czech Foreign Minister Views Austrian Anti-Temelin Petition, Zeman’s Statements,” *Daily Reports, Western Europe* FBIS-WEU-2002-0124 (January 23, 2002).

94. Commission of the European Communities, *2001 Progress Towards Accession*, pp. 70–73.

95. Timothy W. Ryback, “Dateline Sudetenland: Hostages to History,” *Foreign Policy* 105 (Winter 1996): 162–64.

96. Andrew Strohlein, *The Failure of a New History: Czechs and the Czech-German Declaration* (Telford, Shropshire: Central Europe Review, 2000) <<http://www.ce-review.org>>.

97. FBIS, “Zeman, Kavan Reject German Politicians’ Criticism,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EU-98-218 (August 6, 1998); FBIS, “Daily: New Foreign Minister’s First Foreign Trip ‘Fiasco,’” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EU-98-219 (August 7, 1998).

98. Jolyon Naegele, “End Note: Postwar Decrees Haunt Czech Relations with Berlin, Vienna,” *RFE/RL (Un)Civil Societies* 3, no. 8 (February 20, 2002) <<http://www.rferl.org>>; Marek Švehla and Eliška Bártová, “Dekrety se trhají,” *Respekt*, March 4, 2002, p. 13.

99. FBIS, “EU not Interested in Linking Czech’s Accession to Postwar Decrees—Spokesman,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-2002-0225 (February 25, 2002); FBIS, “Text of Czech Premier’s European Commissioner’s Joint Press Release,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-2002-0411 (April 11, 2002).

100. “Russian President Supports Prague on Benes Decrees Issue,” *RFE/RL Newsline*, April 18, 2002 <<http://www.rferl.org>>; FBIS, “Slovak, Czech Ministers Agree on Rejecting Abolition of Postwar Decrees,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-2002-0513 (May 13, 2002).

101. See the Czech foreign ministry’s Web site at <<http://www.mfa.cz/decrees>>.

102. FBIS, “Candidate for German Chancellor Urges Czechs to Annul Postwar Decrees,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-2002-0519 (May 19, 2002); FBIS, “German Government Backs Unconditional Czech EU Entry—Minister,” *Daily Reports, Eastern Europe* FBIS-EEU-2002-0518 (May 18, 2002).

103. Jiří Večerník, “Špatně servírována hostina,” *Mladá fronta dnes*, August 16, 2001, p. 2.

104. Jan Herzmann, “Co přinesou Klausovy výroky o Evropské unii?” *ibid.*, June 16, 2000, p. 6; Roman Krasnický, “Do EU chtějí nejvíc ty země, o které Evropa nemá zájem,” *ibid.*, November 8, 2000, p. 6.

105. Zbigniew Krzysztyniak, “Threatening Tradition,” *The Warsaw Voice*, January 28, 2001.

106. Večerník, “Špatně servírována hostina,” p. 2. See also Holý, *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation: National Identity and the Post-Communist Transformation of Society*, pp. 141–56.

107. Vladimír Macura, *Český sen*, p. 63, and Karel Hvizd’ala, “Václav Klaus: moderní manažer z 19. století,” *Mladá fronta dnes*, July 14, 2000, p. 7.

108. Macura, *Český sen*, pp. 75–77.

109. Herzmann, “Co přinesou Klausovy výroky o Evropské unii?” p. 6.

110. Kateřina Šafaříková, “Češi do Evropy nechtějí,” *Respekt*, May 28, 2001, p. 2.