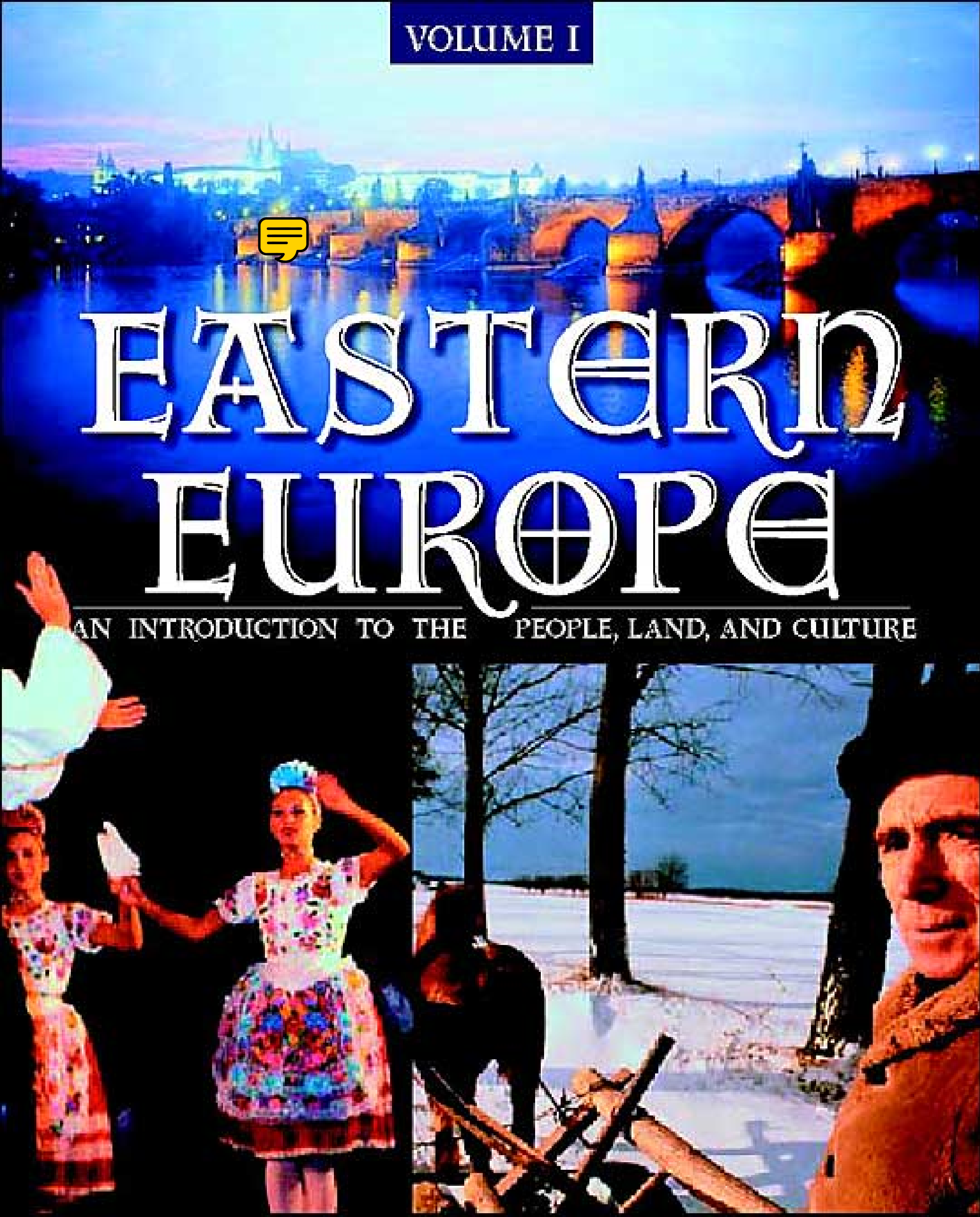
VOLUME I

EASTERN EUROPE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PEOPLE, LAND, AND CULTURE



RICHARD FRUCHT

EASTERN EUROPE

EASTERN EUROPE

An Introduction to the People, Lands, and Culture

VOLUME 1

EDITED BY RICHARD FRUCHT

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PREFACE

In *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999) and *Longitudes and Attitudes* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2002), the award-winning reporter for the *New York Times* Thomas L. Friedman observed that the world has made a remarkable transition during the past quarter century from division to integration. What was once a world of separation, symbolized by the Cold War and "the Wall," evolved, especially with the collapse of the Soviet Union, into a world of globalization and global interconnectedness, symbolized by "the Net." That new reality has led to remarkable changes. Moreover, it is not merely a passing trend; it is a reality that affects every facet of human existence.

Regrettably, however, not everyone has become part of what amounts to a revolution; in some cases, an antimodernism has caused a lag in the developments of the critical trends of democratization and economic change. That gap, epitomized by the difference between the world of the Lexus and that of the olive tree, forms the core of Friedman's analysis of the Middle East, for example. As perceptive as he is of this clash in that region, in many ways Friedman's observations regarding the necessity of seeing the world in a more global and integrated manner are prophetic for many in the West as well. Although Friedman's emphasis is on an antimodernism that creates a gap between the world of the olive tree and the world of the Lexus, preventing interconnectedness from being fully realized, there are other barriers, more subtle perhaps, but no less real, that create gaps in the knowledge of so many areas of the world with which we are so closely linked.

Certainly in the United States, knowledge of other parts of the world is at times regrettably and, some might argue, even dangerously lacking. The events of September 2001 and the actions of a handful of al-Qaeda fanatics are but one example of an inattention to the realities of the post–Cold War world. Despite the fact that the organization of Osama Bin-Laden had long been a sworn enemy of the United States (and others) and his followers had already launched attacks on targets around the globe (including an earlier attempt on New York's World Trade Center), many, if not most, Americans knew very little (if anything) about al-Qaeda, its motives, or its objectives. What is troubling about that limited knowledge is the simple fact that if an organization with such hostile designs on those it opposed could be so overlooked or ignored, what does that say about knowledge of other momentous movements that are not so overtly hostile? In a world that is increasingly global and integrated, such a parochialism is a luxury that one cannot afford.

Although educators have at times been unduly criticized for problems and deficiencies that may be beyond their control, it is legitimate to argue that there are occasions when teaching fails to keep pace with new realities. Language training, for example, hasn't changed much in the United States for decades, even though one can argue that languages critical to the future of commerce and society, such as Japanese, Chinese, or Arabic, are less often taught than other "traditional" languages. Thus the force of tradition outweighs new realities and needs. Such myopia is born out of a curricular process that almost views change as an enemy. Similarly, "Western Civilization" courses, on both the high school and college level, for the most part remain rooted in English and French history, a tunnel-vision approach that not only avoids the developments of globalization or even a global outlook, but also ignores key changes in other parts of Europe as well. Provincialism in a rapidly changing world should only be a style of design or furniture; it cannot afford to be an outlook. In a world of rapid change, curriculum cannot afford to be stagnant.

Such a curriculum, however, especially on the high school level, is often the inevitable by-product of the materials available. When I was asked to direct the Public Education Project for the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in the early 1990s, I had the opportunity to review countless textbooks, and the regional imbalance (overwhelmingly Eurocentric in presentation, with a continued focus on England and France) present in these books was such that it could lead to a global shortsightedness on the part of students. Despite the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the books usually contained more on obscure French kings that on Kosovo. Educators recognized that, and from their input it was clear that they needed, more than anything else, resources to provide background material so that they could bring to their students some knowledge of changes that only a few years earlier had seemed unimaginable.

This need for general resource works led to the publication of *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the Fall of Communism* (Garland, 2000). Its goal was to provide information on the rich histories of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The reception the book received was gratifying, and it has led to this work, which is designed to act in tandem with the information in the *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe* to offer the general reader a broad-based overview of the entire region running from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. In addition, this

book expands the coverage to other areas in the region not addressed in the encyclopedia.

The three volumes of this work cover three groups of countries, each marked by geographical proximity and a general commonality in historical development. The first volume covers the northern tier of states, including Poland and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. The second volume looks at lands that were once part of the Habsburg Empire: Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia. The third volume examines the Balkan states of Serbia and Montenegro, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Greece, lands all once dominated by the Ottoman Empire. Each chapter looks at a single country in terms of its geography and people, history, political development, economy, and culture, as well as the challenges it now faces; each also contains short vignettes that bring out the uniqueness of each country specifically and of the area in general. This structure will allow the reader not only to look at the rich developments in each individual nation, but also to compare those developments to others in the region.

As technology makes the world smaller, and as globalization brings humankind closer together, it is critical that regions once overlooked be not only seen but viewed in a different light. The nations of East Central and Southeastern Europe, that is, "Eastern" Europe, are increasingly a vital part of a new Europe and a new world. What during the Cold War seemed incomprehensible to many, namely, the collapse of totalitarianism and the rise of democracy in these countries, is now a reality all should cherish and help nurture; first, though, it has to be understood. It is the hope that this series may bring that understanding to the general reader.

Putting together this work would have been impossible without the scholarship, dedication, professionalism, and patience of the authors. The words are theirs, but the gratitude is all mine. In addition, I would like to thank a number of students and staff at Northwest Missouri State University who helped with the mountain of work (often computer-related) that a project of this size entails. Chief among them is Patricia Headley, the department secretary, who was not only my computer guru but also someone whose consistent good cheer always kept me going. I would also like to thank Laura Pearl, a talented graduate student in English who filled the role of the "general reader" by pointing out what might make sense to a historian but would not make sense to someone without some background in the region. Other students, including Precious Sanders, Jeff Easton, Mitchell Kline, and Krista Kupfer, provided the legwork that is essential to all such projects. And finally, I would like to thank the staff at ABC-CLIO, especially Alicia Merritt, for keeping faith in the project even when delivery of the manuscript did not match initial projections; Anna Kaltenbach, the production editor, for navigating the manuscript through the various stages; the copy editors, Silvine Farnell and Chrisona Schmidt, for their thoughtful and often painstaking work; Bill Nelson, the cartographer; and the photo editor, Giulia Rossi, for creating such a diverse yet balanced presentation.

And finally there are Sue, my wife, and Kristin, my daughter. Words can never express how important they are, but they know.

Richard Frucht
September 2004

INTRODUCTION

The use of the term "Eastern Europe" to describe the geographical region covered here is standard, but it is nevertheless something of a misnomer. The problem is that it not only makes a geographical distinction between this area and "Western Europe"; it also implies a distinction in development, one that ignores the similarities between Western and Eastern Europe and instead separates the continent into two distinct entities. It even suggests that Eastern Europe is a monolithic entity, failing to distinguish the states of the Balkans from those of the Baltic region. In short, it is an artificial construct that provides a simplistic division in a continent that is far more diverse, yet at the same time more closely linked together, than such a division implies.

Western Europe evokes images of Big Ben and Parliament in London, the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre in Paris, the Coliseum and the Vatican in Rome, the bulls of Pamplona in Spain. Eastern Europe on the other hand brings to mind little more than the "Iron Curtain," war in Kosovo, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, orphanages in Romania, and the gray, bleak images of the Cold War and the Soviet Bloc. Just as colors convey certain connotations to people, so too do the concepts of "Western" and "Eastern" Europe convey very different impressions and mental images. The former is viewed as enlightened, cultured, and progressive; the latter is seen as dark, uncivilized, and static. Western Europe is democratic; Eastern Europe is backward and totalitarian, plagued by the kind of lack of fundamental humanity that leads inevitably to the horrors of Srebrenica.

Some of these stereotypes are not without some degree of justification. Foreign domination—whether German, Habsburg, Ottoman, or Russian (later Soviet)—has left parts of the region in an arrested state of development. All the peoples of the region were for much of the last half-millennium the focus and subjects of others rather than masters of their own destinies. Accordingly, trends found in more favored areas were either delayed or stunted. Albanian nationalism, for example, did not take root until a century after the French Revolution. The economic trends of the West as well as the post-1945 democracy movements (notably capitalism and democracy) are still in their infancy.

But labels are often superficial, and they can blind individuals to reality. Certainly, Tirana would never be confused with Paris. Estonia is not England. At the same time, the Polish-Lithuanian state was at its height the largest empire in Europe. Prague stuns visitors with its beauty no less than Paris; in fact, many remark that Prague is their favorite city in Europe. Budapest strikes people in the same way that Vienna does. The Danube may not be blue, but it does run through four European capitals, not just Vienna (Bratislava, Budapest, and Belgrade being the other three). The painted monasteries in Romania are no less intriguing in their design and use of color than some of the grandiose cathedrals in "the West." The Bulgarian Women's Chorus produces a sound no less stunning than that of the Vienna Boys' Choir. In short, to judge by labels and stereotypes in the end produces little more than myopia.

To dismiss Eastern Europe as backward (or worse, barbaric) is to forget that many of the Jews of Europe were saved during the Inquisition by emigrating to Poland or the lands of the Ottoman Empire. To cite the Magna Carta as the foundation of democracy in England, even though in reality it meant little more than protection for the rights of the nobility, is to ignore the fact that first written constitution in Europe was not found in the "West" but rather in the "East" (Poland). And although backwardness and even barbarity certainly can be found in the recent past in the region, no country in Europe is immune from a past that most would rather forget (the Crusades, the Inquisition, religious wars, the gas chambers of World War II, to name but a few). Myths are comfortable, but they can also be destructive. They can ennoble a people to be sure, but they can also blind them to reality and lead to a lack of understanding.

Eastern Europe is not exotic, and an understanding of it is not an exercise in esoterica. Rather the region has been and will continue to be an integral part of Europe. In one sense Europe became a distinct entity when Christianity, the cultural unifier, spread through the last outposts of the continent. In another sense, it has again become a unified continent with the demise of the last great empire that held sway over so many.

When former president Ronald Reagan passed away in June 2004, the media repeatedly recalled perhaps his most memorable line: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall," a remark made in 1984 as the American president stood in front of the Berlin Wall. In this case the American leader was referring to the concrete and barbed wire barrier behind him erected in the 1960s by the former Soviet Union to seal off its empire from the West. Yet, in many respects, the modern history of Eastern Europe was one of a series of walls, some physical (as in the case of the Iron Curtain), others geographical (all of the nations in the region were under the domination of regional great powers), and, one could argue, even psychological (the at times destructive influence of nationalism that created disruption and violence and has been

a plague in the lands of the former Yugoslavia on numerous occasions in the past century). These walls have often determined not only the fate of the nations of the region but the lives of the inhabitants as well.

The past is the DNA that tells us who we are and who we can be. It is the owners' manual for every country and every people. Without that past there would be no nation and no nationalism. It is that past that provides the markers and lessons for nations and peoples. It gives direction to the present. It provides a bedrock upon which we build our societies. Whether it leads to myths that embody virtues or myths that cover up what we don't wish to acknowledge, it is the shadow that we can never lose. Thus, when each of the nations of East Central and Southeastern Europe was reborn in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries (in some cases twice reborn), the past was the compass directing them to the future.

Nations are a modern concept, but peoples are not. Poland, for example, once a great and influential European state in the Middle Ages, was partitioned in the late eighteenth century, only to rise again, like a phoenix, in 1918. And even when it again fell prey to the domination of outside influences following World War II, it was the people, embodied in Solidarity, the workers' union, who toppled the communist regime. Despite the fact that at one time or another all of the peoples and nations addressed in these volumes were under the rule or direction of a neighboring great power, the force of nationalism never abated.

Nothing is more powerful than an idea. It can inspire, unify, give direction and purpose; it can almost take on a life of its own, even though it may lie dormant for centuries. In his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind), the eighteenth-century German philosopher Johann Herder captured the essence of nationalism in his analysis of the *Volk* (the people). Herder emphasized that a spirit of the nation (which Georg Hegel, the nineteenth-century German philosopher most noted for his development of the concept of the dialectic of history, later termed the *Volkgeist,* or "spirit of the people") existed that transcended politics. From the point of view of Herder and the other German idealist philosophers, peoples developed distinct characteristics based upon time and place (reflecting the *Zeitgeist,* the "spirit of the time"). Societies were therefore organic, and thus each had to be viewed in terms of its own culture and development. Accordingly, each culture not only was distinct but should recognize the distinctiveness of others, as characteristics of one culture would not necessarily be found in another. To ignore that uniqueness, which gives to each Volk a sense of nobility, would be to ignore reality.

For the peoples of Eastern Europe, language, culture, and a shared past (even if that past was mythologized, or in some cases even fabricated), exactly that spirit of the Volk that Herder, Hegel, and others saw as the essence of society, proved to be more powerful and more lasting than any occupying army or dynastic overlordship. And when modern nationalism spread throughout Europe and for that matter the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, culture became the genesis of national revivals.

For centuries, Eastern Europe served as a crossroads, both in terms of trade and in the migrations (and in some cases invasions) of peoples. The former brought prosperity to some parts of the region, notably the northern and central parts of the belt between the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, while the latter left many areas a mosaic of peoples, who in the age of nationalism came to struggle as much with each other for national dominance as they did with their neighbors who dominated them politically. As the great medieval states in the region, from the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dušan to the First and Second Bulgarian Empires, to the Hungarian and Polish-Lithuanian states, fell to stronger neighbors or to internal difficulties, no peoples were left untouched by outsiders. Greece may have been able to remain outside the Soviet orbit in the 1940s, but for centuries it was a key possession of the Ottoman Empire. Poland may have been the largest state of its time, but it fell prey to its avaricious neighbors, the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians. Yet, despite centuries of occupation, in each case the Volk remained.

One of the dominant elements in modernization has been the establishment of modern nations. While the rise of the modern nation-state was late arriving in Eastern Europe, and some in Eastern Europe had failed to experience in the same manner some of the movements, such as the Renaissance or the rise of capitalism, that shaped Western Europe, it was no less affected by the rise of modern nationalism than its Western neighbors. Despite the divergent and, in some cases, the retarded development of the region in regard to many of the trends in the West, the nations of Eastern Europe in the early twenty-first century are again independent members of a suddenly larger Europe.

The story of Eastern Europe, while often written or at least directed by outsiders, is more than a mere tale of struggle. It is also a story of enormous human complexity, one of great achievement as well as great sorrow, one in which the spirit of the Volk has triumphed (even though, admittedly, it has at times, as in the former Yugoslavia, failed to respect the uniqueness of other peoples and cultures). It is a rich story, which will continue to unfold as Eastern Europe becomes more and more an integral part of Europe as a whole (a fact evident in the expansion of the European Union and NATO into areas of the former Soviet Empire). And in order to understand the story of that whole, one must begin with the parts.

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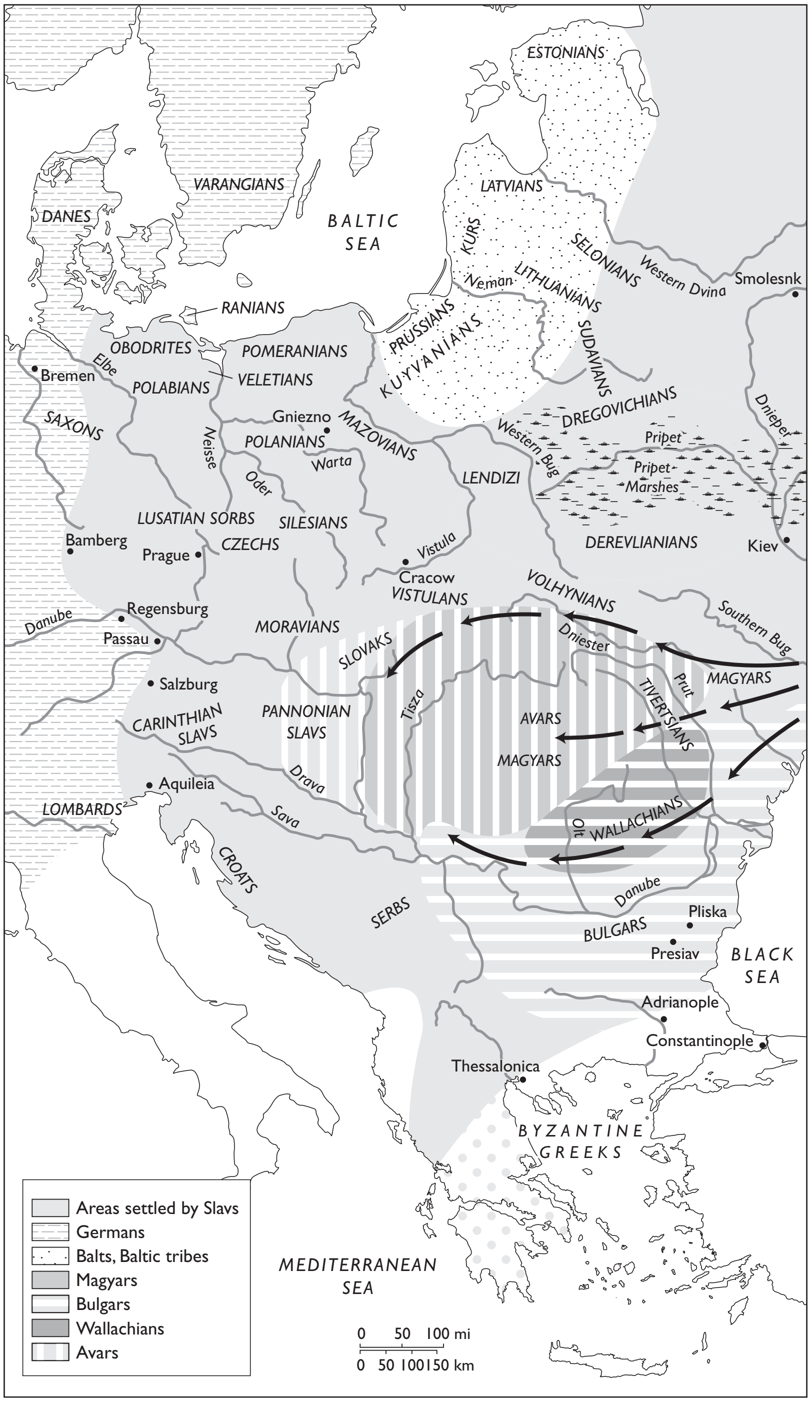
ESTONIANS
VARANGIANS
DANES
BALTIC SEA
LATVIANS
KURS
SELONIANS
LITHUANIANS
Neman
Western Dvina
Smolesnk
RANIANS
PRUSSIANS
KUYVANIANS
SUDAVIANS
OBODRITES
POMERANIANS
Elbe
Bremen
POLABIANS
VELETIANS
DREGOVICHIANS
Dnieper
SAXONS
Gniezno
POLANIANS
MAZOVIANS
Western Bug
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LENDIZI
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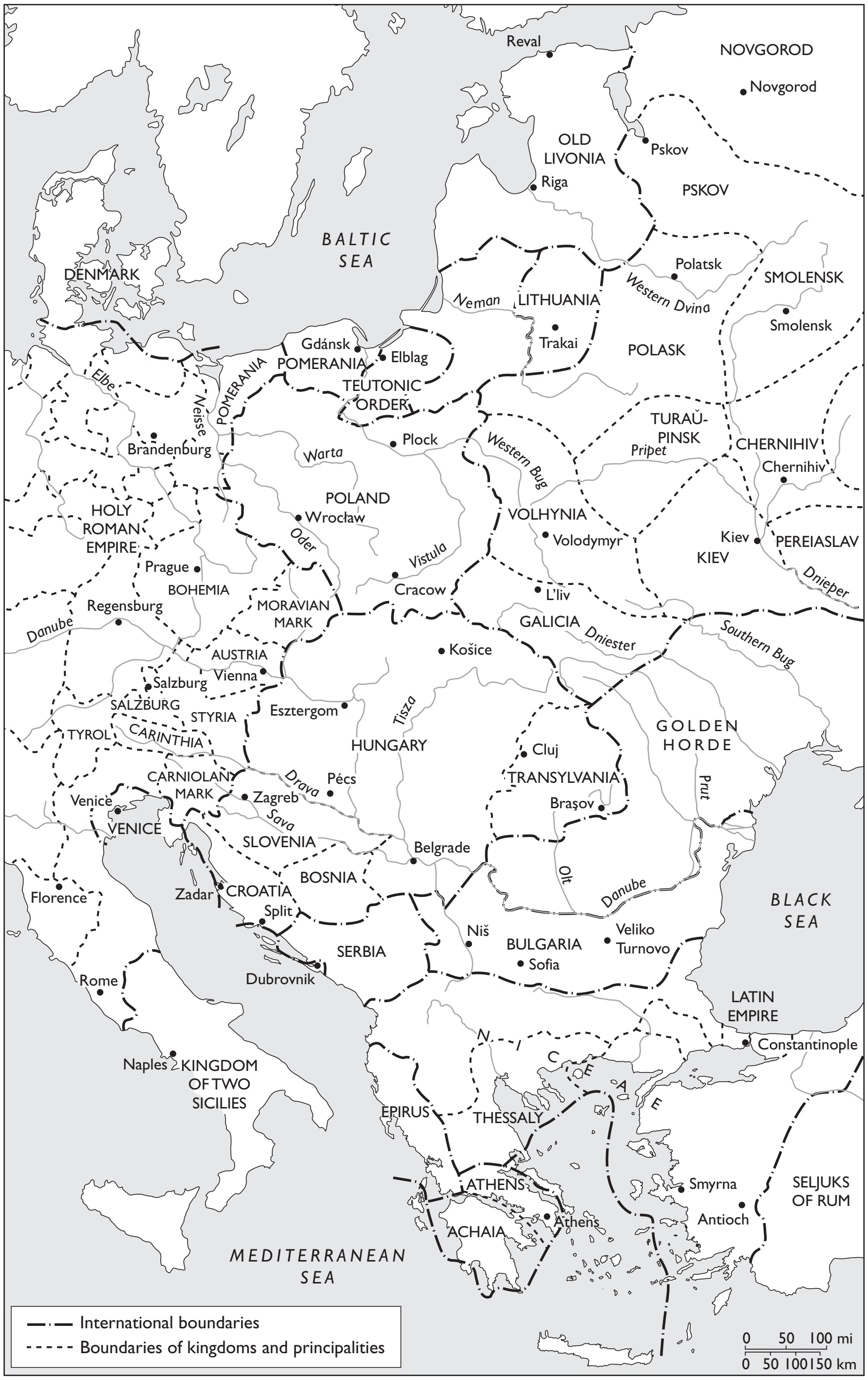
SILESIANS
Bamberg
Prague
CZECHS
Vistula
DEREVLIANIANS
Kiev
Cracow
VISTULANS
VOLHYNIANS
Southern Bug
Regensburg
Danube
Passau
MORAVIANS
Dniester
SLOVAKS
MAGYARS
Salzburg
Prut
CARINTHIAN SLAVS
PANNONIAN SLAVS
Tisza
AVARS
TIVERTSIANS
MAGYARS
Aquileia
Drava
LOMBARDS
Sava
Olt
WALLACHIANS
CROATS
Danube
SERBS
BULGARS
Pliska
Presiav
BLACK SEA
Adrianople
Constantinople
Thessalonica
BYZANTINE GREEKS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Areas settled by Slavs
Germans
Balts, Baltic tribes
Magyars
Bulgars
Wallachians
Avars
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 150 km

The peoples of Eastern Europe in the ninth century.


Reval
NOVGOROD
Novgorod
OLD LIVONIA
Pskov
Riga
PSKOV
BALTIC SEA
Polatsk
SMOLENSK
DENMARK
Neman
LITHUANIA
Western Dvina
Smolensk
Trakai
Gdánsk
Elblag
POMERANIA
POMERANIA
POLASK
TEUTONIC ORDER
Elbe
Neisse
TURAŬ-PINSK
Plock
Western Bug
CHERNIHIV
Brandenburg
Warta
Pripet
Chernihiv
POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Wrocław
VOLHYNIA
Oder
Volodymyr
Kiev
PEREIASLAV
KIEV
Prague
Vistula
BOHEMIA
Cracow
L'liv
Dnieper
MORAVIAN MARK
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Danube
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Dniester
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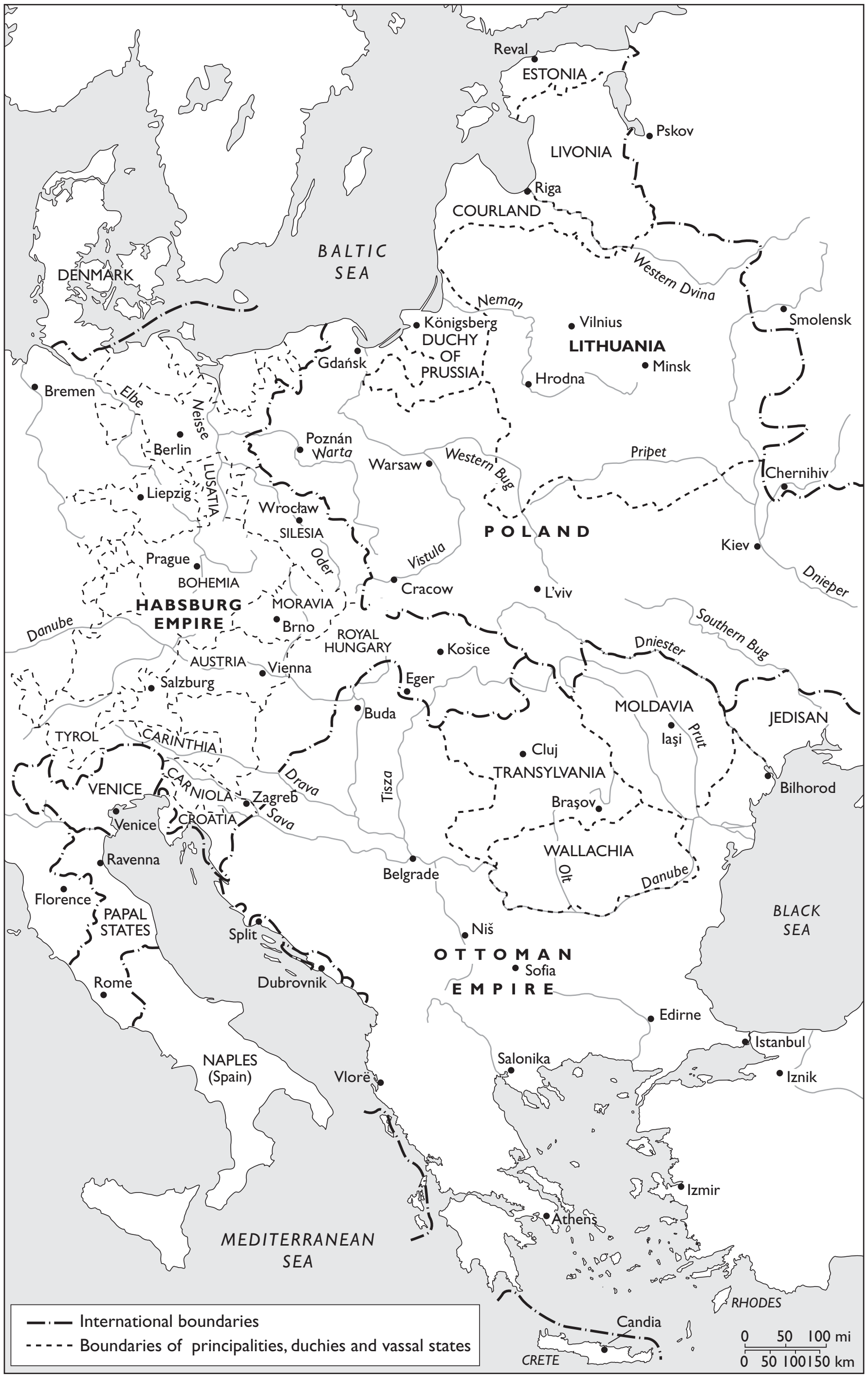
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
EPIRUS
THESSALY
ATHENS
Smyrna
SELJUKS OF RUM
Antioch
ACHAIA
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of kingdoms and principalities
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 150 km

Territorial divisions in Eastern Europe in the thirteenth century (at the time of the Mongols).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Chernihiv
LUSATIA
Liepzig
Wrocław
SILESIA
POLAND
Kiev
Oder
Vistula
Prague
BOHEMIA
Dnieper
Cracow
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MORAVIA
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Brno
ROYAL HUNGARY
Southern Bug
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Košice
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Eger
Salzburg
MOLDAVIA
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Buda
TYROL
CARINTHIA
Prut
Iaşi
Cluj
TRANSYLVANIA
Drava
VENICE
CARNIOLA
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Braşov
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CROATIA
Sava
Ravenna
WALLACHIA
Belgrade
Olt
Danube
Florence
BLACK SEA
PAPAL STATES
Split
Niš
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Sofia
Dubrovnik
Rome
Edirne
Istanbul
NAPLES (Spain)
Salonika
Vlorë
Iznik
Izmir
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RHODES
International boundaries
Boundaries of principalities, duchies and vassal states
Candia
CRETE
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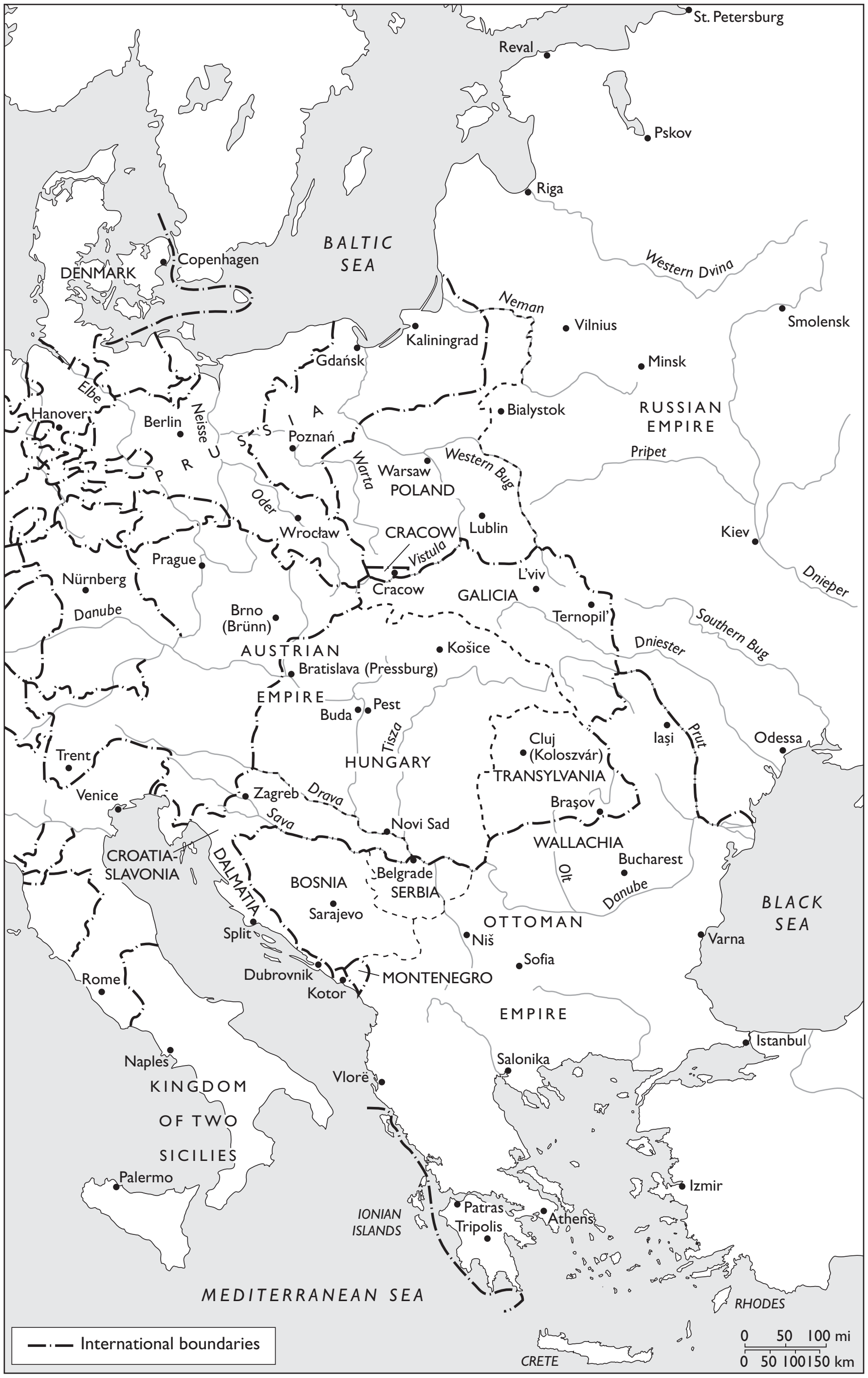
Eastern Europe in the late sixteenth century.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Lublin
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Prague
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Nürnberg
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Ternopil'
Danube
Brno (Brünn)
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Košice
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Brașov
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BOSNIA
Belgrade
SERBIA
Olt
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Sarajevo
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Split
Niš
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Rome
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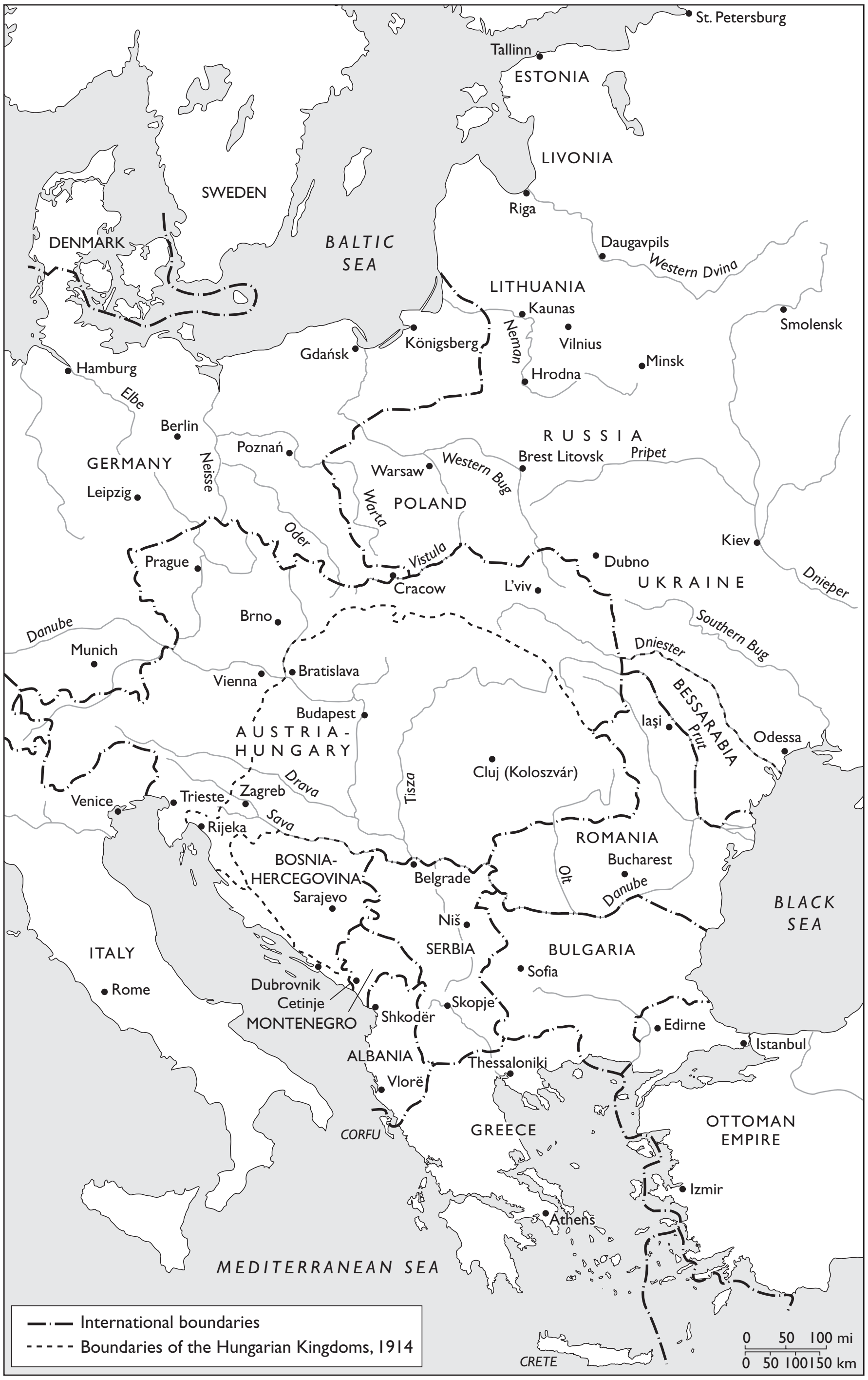
MONTENEGRO
Kotor
Istanbul
Naples
Salonika
Vlorë
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
Izmir
Palermo
IONIAN ISLANDS
Patras
Tripolis
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RHODES
CRETE
International boundaries
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 150 km

Eastern Europe after the Congress of Vienna (1815).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Hamburg
Hrodna
Elbe
Berlin
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Poznań
Brest Litovsk
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Munich
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Vienna
BESSARABIA
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Cluj (Koloszvár)
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Cetinje
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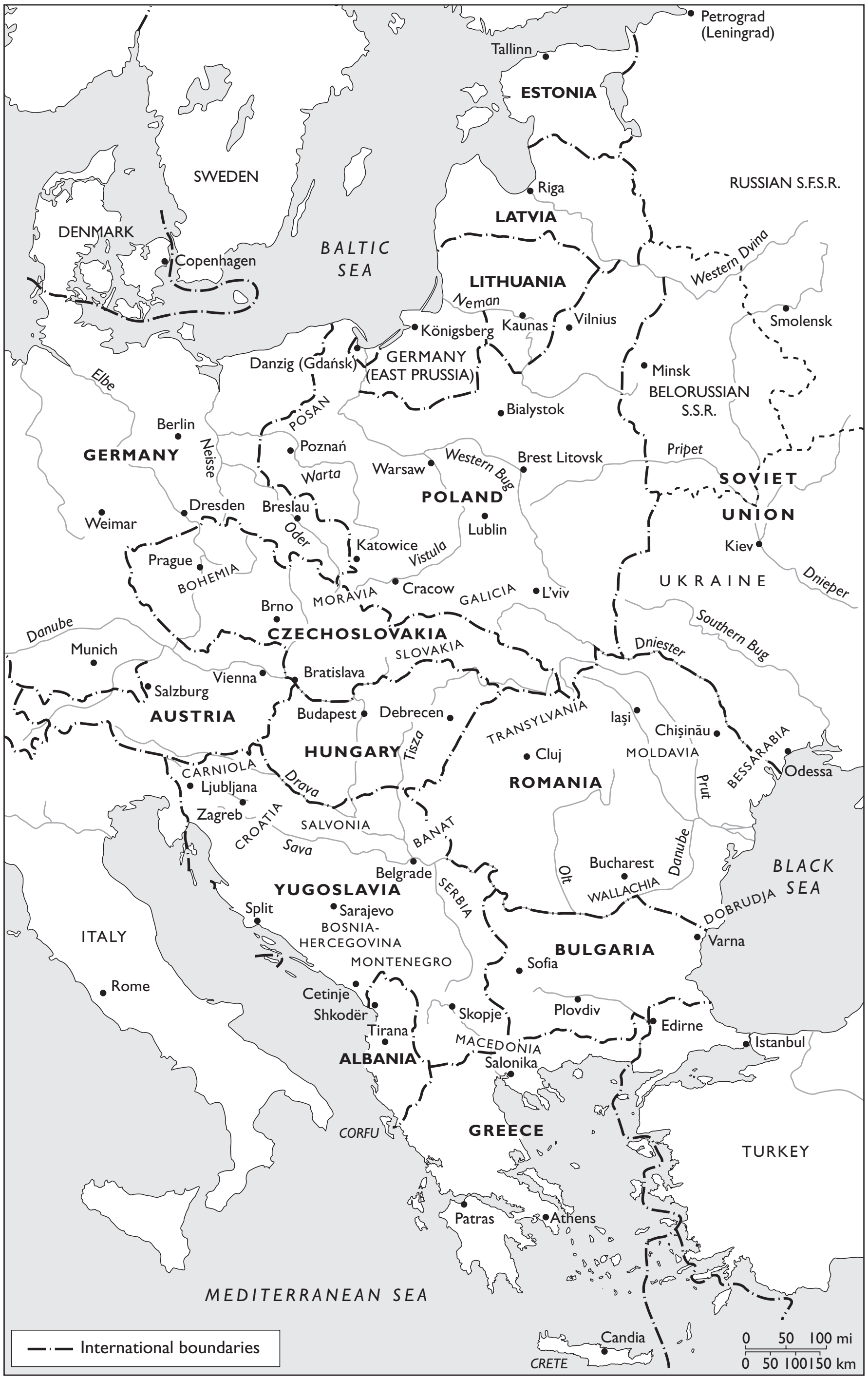
Shkodër
MONTENEGRO
Edirne
Istanbul
ALBANIA
Thessaloniki
Vlorë
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
CORFU
GREECE
Izmir
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of the Hungarian Kingdoms, 1914
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 150 km
CRETE

Eastern Europe in 1914.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LATVIA
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Western Dvina
Neman
Kaunas
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Smolensk
Königsberg
Danzig (Gdańsk)
GERMANY (EAST PRUSSIA)
Minsk
BELORUSSIAN S.S.R.
Elbe
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Bialystok
Berlin
Poznań
GERMANY
Neisse
Warsaw
Western Bug
Brest Litovsk
Pripet
Warta
SOVIET UNION
POLAND
Dresden
Breslau
Lublin
Weimar
Oder
Katowice
Kiev
Prague
Vistula
BOHEMIA
UKRAINE
Dnieper
Cracow
GALICIA
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MORAVIA
Brno
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Danube
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Vienna
Bratislava
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Budapest
Debrecen
TRANSYLVANIA
Chișinău
BESSARABIA
Odessa
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CARNIOLA
ROMANIA
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Ljubljana
Drava
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BANAT
Sava
Bucharest
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Belgrade
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WALLACHIA
YUGOSLAVIA
SERBIA
DOBRUDJA
Split
Sarajevo
ITALY
BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA
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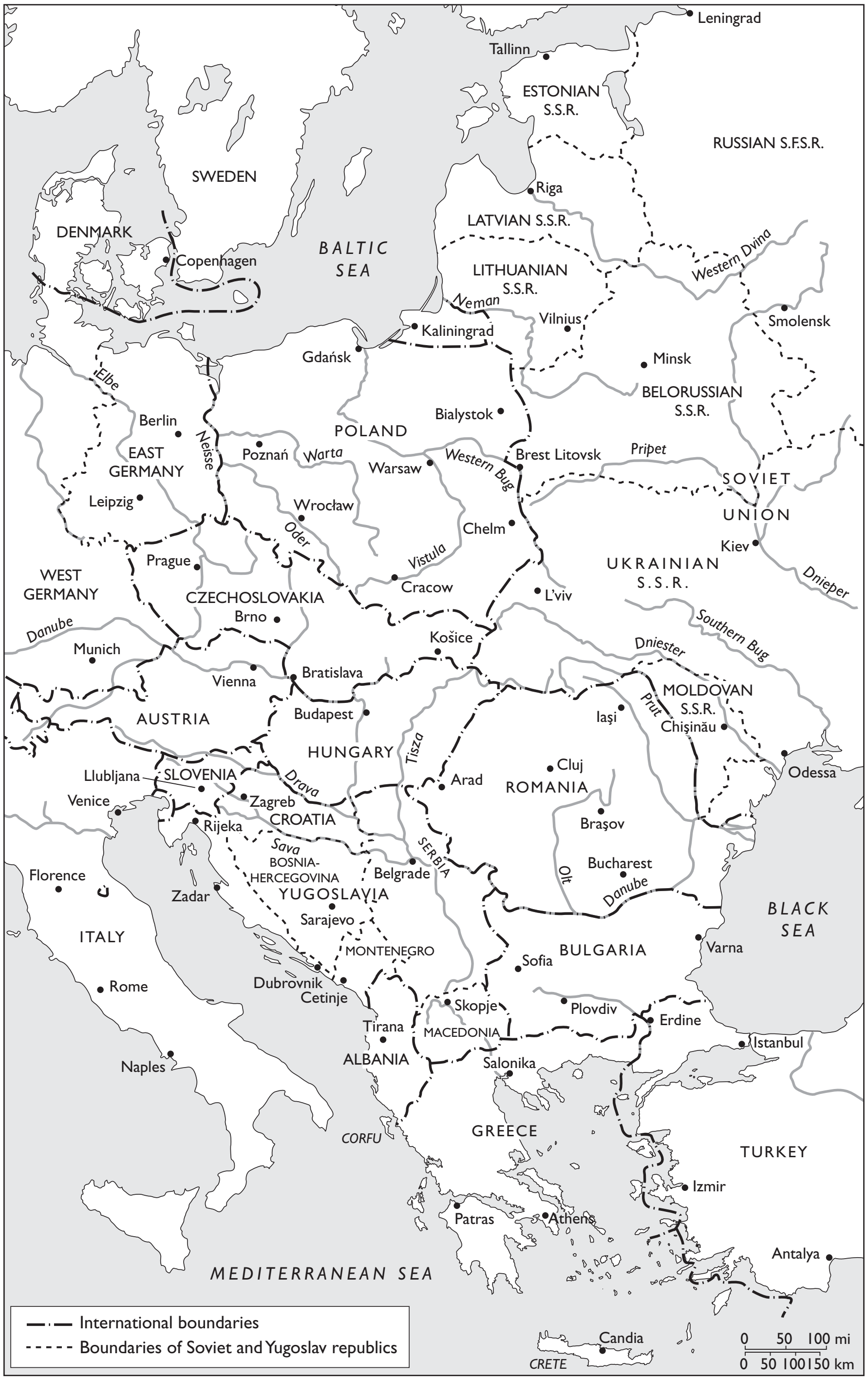
Rome
Cetinje
Shkodër
Skopje
Plovdiv
Edirne
Tirana
Istanbul
MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
Salonika
CORFU
GREECE
TURKEY
Patras
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Candia
CRETE
International boundaries
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 150 km

Eastern Europe between the World Wars.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Tallinn
ESTONIAN S.S.R.
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DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
LITHUANIAN S.S.R.
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BELORUSSIAN S.S.R.
Bialystok
Berlin
POLAND
Neisse
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Warta
EAST GERMANY
Warsaw
Western Bug
Brest Litovsk
Pripet
SOVIET UNION
Leipzig
Wrocław
Oder
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Kiev
WEST GERMANY
Prague
Vistula
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
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Dnieper
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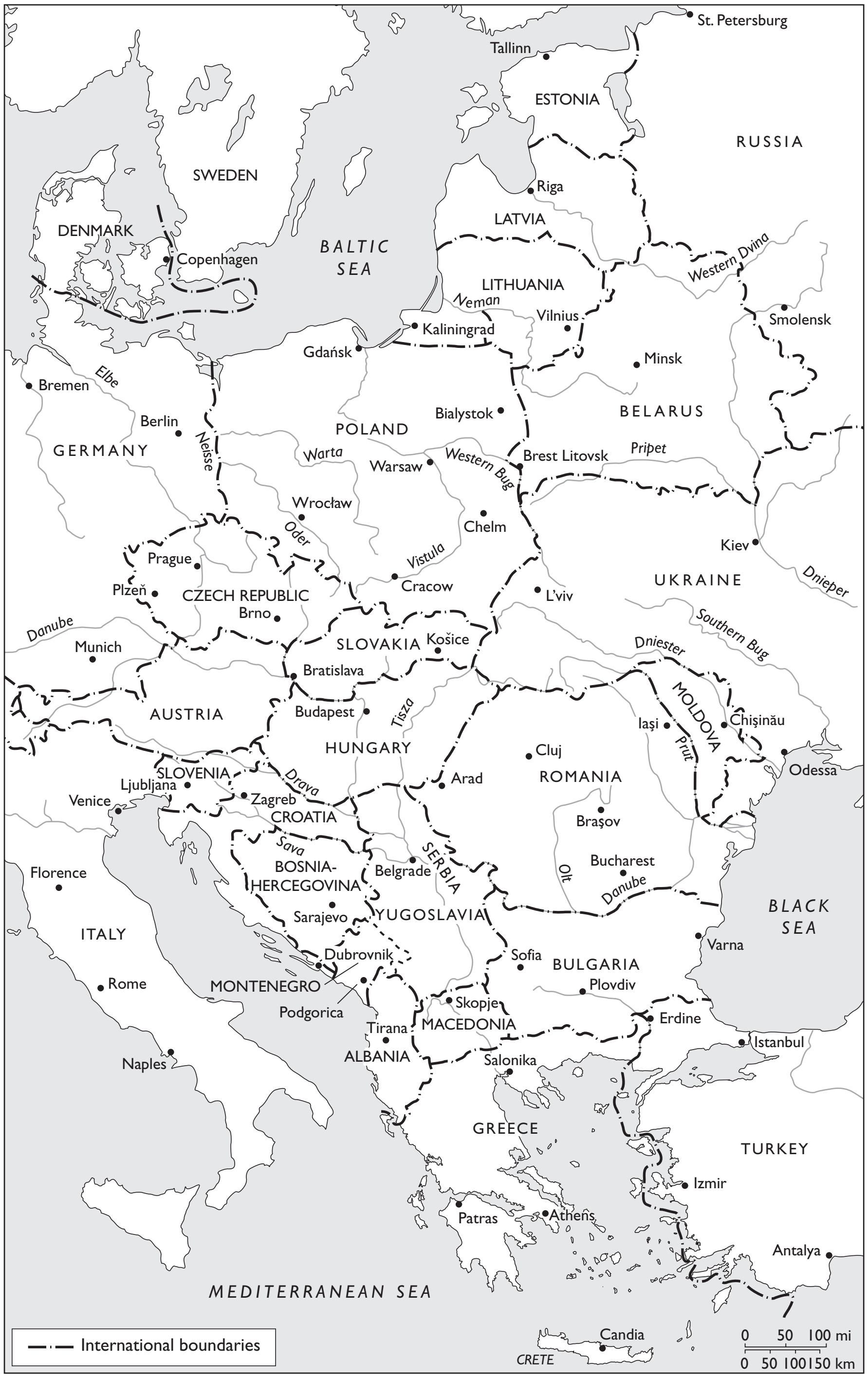
Cetinje
Skopje
Plovdiv
Erdine
Tirana
MACEDONIA
Istanbul
ALBANIA
Naples
Salonika
CORFU
GREECE
TURKEY
Izmir
Patras
Athens
Antalya
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of Soviet and Yugoslav republics
Candia
CRETE
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 150 km

Eastern Europe after World War II.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Warsaw
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Salonika
GREECE
TURKEY
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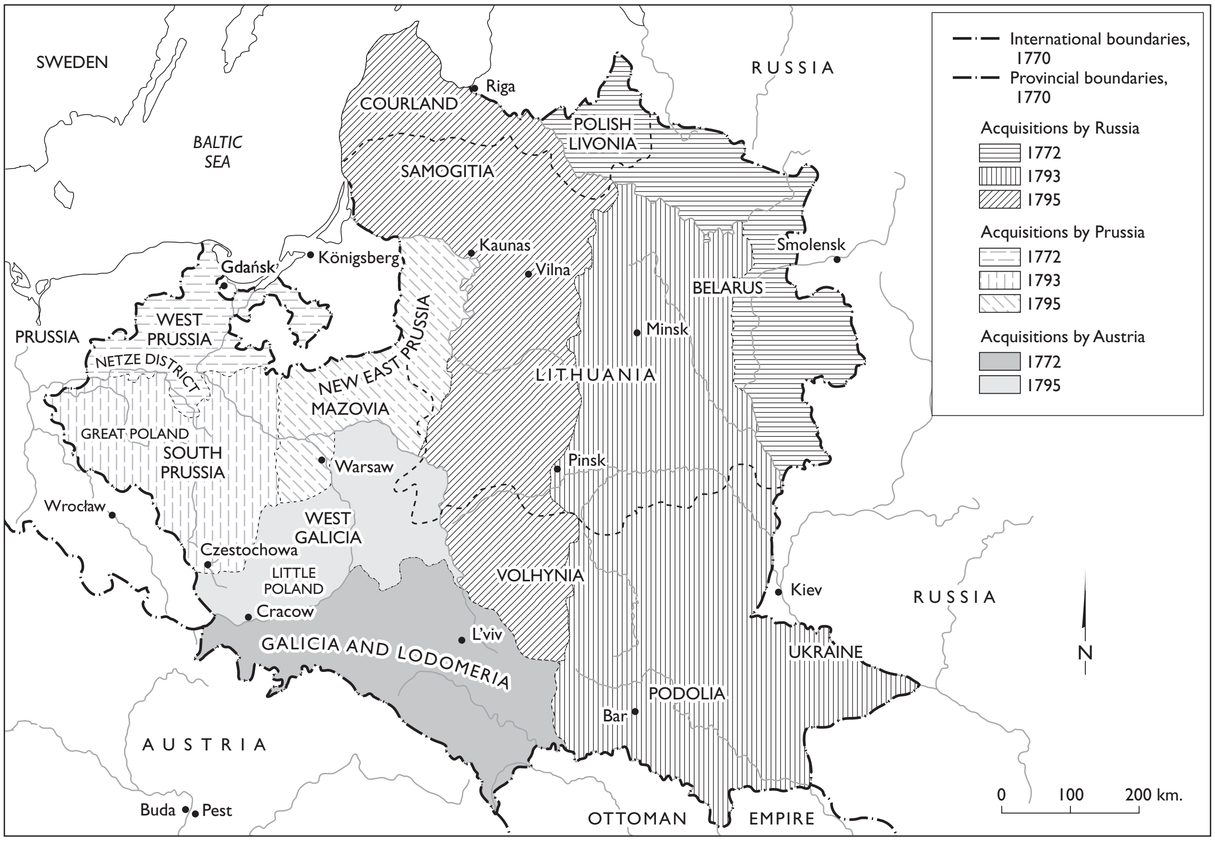
Patras
Athens
Antalya
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Candia
CRETE
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 150 km

Eastern Europe in 2004.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SAMOGITIA
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Vilna
Königsberg
Gdańsk
Smolensk
BELARUS
WEST PRUSSIA
PRUSSIA
NETZE DISTRICT
NEW EAST PRUSSIA
MAZOVIA
Minsk
LITHUANIA
GREAT POLAND
SOUTH PRUSSIA
Warsaw
Pinsk
Wrocław
WEST GALICIA
Czestochowa
LITTLE POLAND
Cracow
VOLHYNIA
Kiev
RUSSIA
GALICIA AND LODOMERIA
L'viv
UKRAINE
N
PODOLIA
Bar
AUSTRIA
Buda
Pest
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
0 100 200 km.
International boundaries, 1770
Provincial boundaries, 1770
Acquisitions by Russia
1772
1793
1795
Acquisitions by Prussia
1772
1793
1795
Acquisitions by Austria
1772
1795

The Partitions of Poland, 1772–1795.

POLAND

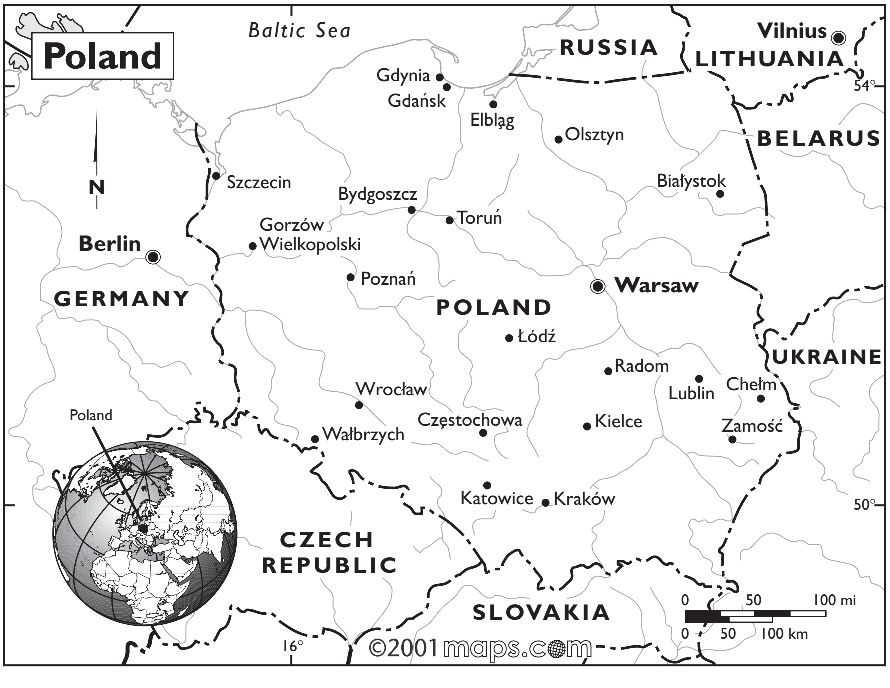
PIOTR WRÓBEL

LAND AND PEOPLE

Poland (Polish: Polska), the ninth biggest state of Europe (after Russia, Ukraine, France, Germany, Spain, Sweden, Finland, and Norway), is located in the center of the continent on the North European Plain, approximately between forty degrees and fifty-five degrees north latitude and fourteen and twenty-four degrees east longitude (the geometrical middle point of Europe is near Warsaw). The territory of Poland (of a roughly circular shape) extends 649 kilometers from south to north and 689 kilometers from west to east and comprises a total of 311,904 square kilometers (including inland waters but excluding the 8,682 square kilometers of Poland's territorial sea).

The frontiers of Poland measure 3,495 kilometers. In the north, the frontier runs along the Baltic Sea coast (1,281 kilometers) and further eastwards across the flat Baltic Sea littoral along the border with Russia's Kaliningrad District (210 kilometers). The frontier then turns to the south and runs along the borders with Lithuania (for a distance of 103 kilometers), with Belarus (416 kilometers), and, partially along the Bug River, with Ukraine (for 529 kilometers). From Poland's southernmost point by Mount Opołonek in the Bieszczady Mountains, the frontier of Poland moves to the northwest along the borders with Slovakia (541 kilometers), following the watershed of the Carpathian Mountains, and with the Czech Republic (790 kilometers), following the watershed of the Sudety Mountains. When the border reaches the Neisse River (Polish: Nysa), it turns to the north and runs along this river and the Oder (Odra) River to the Baltic Sea, bordering Germany (a distance of 467 kilometers).

Poland is a mostly lowland country, open to the east, but in its landscape more akin to Western Europe. More than 70 percent of Poland's territory lies below 200 meters above sea level, and only about 3 percent rises above 500 meters. A narrow strip called the Coastal Lowlands runs along the Baltic shore. An elevated cliff comes close to the sea in several places but, in the regions of the deltas of the Oder and the Vistula Rivers (Wisła), the Central Lowlands extend deeper into the land. Farther to the south, an elevated landscape forms a belt of postglacial morainic ravines and ridges, rising to over 300 meters above sea level in several places. This area, made up of what are referred to as the Pomeranian and Masurian Lakelands, is divided by the broad valley of the Vistula River; it is abundant in picturesque lakes of various origins and sizes. South of the hilly lake region, the Central Lowlands


Poland
Baltic Sea
RUSSIA
Vilnius
LITHUANIA
54°
Gdynia
Gdańsk
Elbląg
Olsztyn
BELARUS
N
Szczecin
Bydgoszcz
Białystok
Toruń
Gorzów
Wielkopolski
Berlin
Poznań
Warsaw
GERMANY
POLAND
Łódź
UKRAINE
Radom
Lublin
Chełm
Wrocław
Poland
Częstochowa
Kielce
Zamość
Wałbrzych
Katowice
Kraków
50°
CZECH REPUBLIC
SLOVAKIA
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 km
16°
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The Podhale region in the Carpathian Mountains. (Courtesy of Piotr Wróbel)

stretch from the Oder to Poland's eastern border. Ice Age glaciers flattened this part of the country completely, and the elevation rarely exceeds 45 meters above sea level. This zone is the Polish heartland and the principal site of agriculture.

The three belts—the Coastal Lowlands, the Lakelands, and the Central Lowlands—belong to the Great European Plain. South of the Great European Plain, the terrain ascends, forming a strip of old mountains and plateaus (or uplands) cut by the Oder and Vistula Rivers into three sections: ranges of mountains called the Sudety, together with their foothills, located west of the Oder; the Silesian, Cracow-Częstochowa, and Little Poland Uplands, situated between the Oder and the Vistula; and the Lublin Plateau and Roztocze Hills, between the Vistula and the River Bug. The Sudety, a part of the larger Bohemian Massif, rise steeply from the foothills and stretches from the western border of Poland to the Moravian Gate in the east. The Sudety are diversified and divided into smaller ridges. The highest of them, the Karkonosze (German: Riesengebirge), rises to 1,602 meters at Mount Śnieżka. The plateaus situated between the Oder and the Vistula form several separate units framed to the north by the slightly higher but old and eroded Góry Świętokrzyskie (Holy Cross Mountains), reaching 612 meters at Łysica Mountain. The Lublin Plateau, limited by the Bug River to the east and the steep Roztocze escarpment to the south, forms a tableland cut by numerous deep ravines.

The next geomorphic region, situated south from the uplands, is called the Subcarpathian Basin. Located between the old mountains and plateaus and the Carpathian Mountains, like a large valley, it stretches from the eastern border of Poland to its southern border in the region of the Moravian Gate. These fertile basins, divided by higher terrain but connected by gates, are linked to the Coastal Lowlands through the outlet of the Vistula valley. To the south, the basins are framed by the arch of the Carpathian Mountains and their foothills. These rugged young mountains rise to an elevation of 2,499 meters at Mount Rysy (the highest point of Poland); they are difficult to cross, and they form the natural southern border of Poland.

In general, Poland's relief, shaped by the actions of Ice Age glaciers, is divided into several parallel east-west zones. The average elevation of the whole country is 173 meters. Located in the middle of the Great North European Plain, Poland is thus widely open to both the east and the west, a fact that has affected her entire history.

Geologically speaking, Poland is located on an important tectonic border dividing Europe into two halves. The border runs diagonally from the northwestern to the southeastern corners of Poland. The country's northeastern part lies on the East European (or Russian) platform, built from old rocks with a thin cover of later sedimentary rocks. The western and southern parts of Poland belong to West European geological formations, with young Alpine folds, including the Carpathians and the Subcarpathian region. These geological conditions are barely visible in the relief of Poland; nevertheless, it is due to them that the more valuable mineral resources lie very deep in the north, whereas in the Sudety and the Uplands these resources are more accessible and have been exploited since the early Middle Ages. Most Polish mineral deposits are located in three regions: Upper Silesia, the southern part of Lower Silesia, and the Świętokrzyskie Mountains area.

For a long time, Poland's most important mineral was black coal of high quality. The Upper Silesian Coal Basin, the Central Sudety region near the town of Wałbrzych, and coal beds on the River Wieprz in Eastern Poland (discovered in 1955) were among the richest black coal deposits in the world. In 1980 Poland was the fourth biggest world black coal producer, with 172 million tons of coal mined in that year alone. Later, black coal mining became less profitable, and now some of the Polish deposits are exhausted. In addition, Poland has less important deposits of brown coal, exploited mostly in the central and the southwestern parts of the country near the towns of Konin and Turoszów, respectively. Poland also has major reserves of peat.

Poland's oil resources are small. Exploited for over a hundred years in the Krosno-Jasło fields in the Carpathians, they are now almost exhausted. New pools have been found on the Baltic coast and in western Poland, but their exploitation is still of a limited and experimental character. The natural gas deposits, mostly in the Subcarpathian Basin, are only slightly richer than the Polish oil fields.

Poland has rich deposits of metal ores, particularly copper (in the Legnica-Głogów Basin) and zinc (in the neighborhood of Bytom, Chrzanów, and Olkusz). Also, lead and nickel are mined in Silesia. Iron ore, exploited chiefly in the regions of Częstochowa and Łęczyca, is inadequate and of poor quality. Sources of other metals offer only insignificant amounts. Poland has large quantities of sulfur, in the region of Tarnobrzeg and Staszów, and of rock salt, mined since the Middle Ages near the towns of Bochnia and Wieliczka and in new centers located in Pomerania and Central Poland. Also, potassium, phosphate rock, and barite are mined in several locations. The Lower Silesian low-grade uranium pitchblende deposits were of great importance during the Cold War in the production of munitions. Large amounts of granite are quarried for the needs of the building industry, mostly in the Sudety Foothills, and smaller amounts of basalt, porphyry, limestone, sandstone, cretaceous marls, hard quartzite, gypsum, magnesite, kaolin, gravel, sand, and clay are obtained in many locations. Several Polish spas offer mineral springs and warm medicinal waters.

Polish soils form a mosaic without clearly marked distinct zones. Over 70 percent of Poland's surface is covered by light-colored, relatively infertile podzol and pseudopodzol, typical of colder climates, and by light sandy glacial soils. Richer brown earth soils and rendzina are concentrated primarily in southern Poland and in the eastern part of the Coastal Lowlands. The fertile loess is located on the banks of most rivers and in the Vistula Delta. The best soils, the chernozems, are to be found only in upland regions in southern and southeastern Poland. Yet, with good management, even the mediocre Polish soils give good yields.

Poland lies nearer to the North Pole than to the Equator, within the cool temperature zone of southern Canada, southern England, Belgium, and Holland. Due to the lack of sizable landform barriers, various masses of air meet over the Polish territories during different seasons: oceanic polar air from the North Atlantic, subtropical air from the Azores area, polar-continental air from Eastern Europe, and warm and dry subtropical continental air from the southeast. As a consequence, Polish weather varies greatly, sometimes from day to day, and the climate ranges from oceanic to continental. Polish winters are either humid and warm, especially in the western part of the country, or clear and frosty, especially in the east. There are six seasons in Poland: snowy winter (one to three months); early spring, alternating wintry and spring weather (one to two months); sunny spring (one to two months); warm summer (two to three months); sunny and dry fall (one to two months); and misty and humid late fall or early winter (one to two months). Mean annual temperatures vary between 6 degrees and 8.5 degrees Celsius. Mean monthly temperatures range from 16.5 degrees and 19 degrees Celsius in July and from 0 degrees to minus 4.5 degrees Celsius in January.

The warmest part of Poland is in its southwestern corner, the coldest, in the region of Suwałki in the northeast. Days with frost range from about 30 in the western lowlands to over 100 in the mountains; snow cover lasts from 40 to 90 days, depending on the region. Recently, however, there have been several winters with barely any snow. The growing period varies from 160 to 220 days per year. The Polish climate is becoming dryer, and the mean precipitation is about 600 millimeters. Climatologists distinguish twenty-one agricultural-climatic regions in Poland; however, it is easier to notice seven climatic belts: Baltic, Lakeland, Central Lowlands, Central Uplands, Carpathian foothills, mountains, and the continental climate along the eastern border of the country.

About 99.7 percent of Poland's territory lies in the catchment basin of the Baltic Sea (53.9 percent of this area belongs to the Vistula drainage basin, 34 percent to the Oder, 11 percent to the direct Baltic basin, and 11 percent to the Niemen River basin). The Vistula and the Oder are the two largest and longest rivers of Poland (1,047 kilometers and 854 kilometers respectively) and, like most other important Polish rivers, rise in the southern mountains. Polish rivers usually have two high waters during the year: in the spring, when the snow melts, and in late June or early July, when it rains in the mountains. Since most Polish rivers are not regulated, catastrophic floods are not uncommon. In the fall, waters are low and, in the winter, they usually freeze. In the Oder drainage basin, the ice lasts usually about one month, in the Bug (a right tributary of the Vistula) drainage area—between sixty and eighty days (from mid-December to mid-March). Rivers in Poland are swollen with storm floods or blocked by ice dams relatively frequently.

There are 9,300 lakes (larger than 2.5 acres, or one hectare) in Poland. They cover about 3,200 square kilometers, which constitutes 1 percent of the total area of the country. Peat bogs cover an additional 13,000 square kilometers, or about 4 percent of Poland. Most Polish lakes are located in the Pomeranian and Masurian Lakelands. At no great distance beneath the plains there are layers of underground water, which can be reached easily by dug wells. Polish territorial sea amounts to 8,682 square kilometers and includes two big bays: the Pomeranian and the Gdańsk.

Poland's organic world belongs to the temperate belt of the northern hemisphere and is not very rich in species. The northeastern limits of the European beech, the silver fir, and the brown oak run across Poland. Pine, oak, beech, and fir are the most common trees in Poland. During the Middle Ages, Poland was a country of forests and swamps, but now woodlands cover only about 27 percent of the country's area. Most Polish forests are divided into four kinds: coniferous, mixed deciduous, alder swamps, and humid woods in river valleys. Mountain, steppe, rock, high-mountain, marsh, and water forests form only small islands. There are twenty-three national parks in Poland with an overall surface of 305,675.5 hectares, almost 1 percent of the country's territory, and 1,354 reserves, covering 141,225 hectares.In zoogeographic terms, Poland belongs to the European–West Siberian province, with 83 species of mammals, 211 of nesting birds, 55 of fish, 17 of amphibians, and 8 species of reptiles. Roe deer, stags, and wild pigs still live in most Polish forests. In the north, some elk can be found, and in the mountain forests of the Tatra and Bieszczady Mountains, brown bears, lynx, and wildcats still appear occasionally. The European bison, wolves, otters, beavers, and other rare animals live mostly in the reserves and national parks. Altogether about 390 species are protected.

Human economic activities have changed the physical characteristics of Poland. Industrialization has threatened the Polish natural environment, and there is severe pollution in several regions, especially in the densely populated Upper Silesian, Łódź, Warsaw, and (to some extent) Mielec-Sandomierz and Sudety areas. These areas constitute an advanced and long-established industrial part of Poland. The regions of Cracow, Częstochowa, Opole, Gdańsk, Szczecin, and Wrocław belong to the newly developed zone, which is seriously polluted because of sulfur dioxide emissions from the coal-fired power plants. Kujavia, Białystok, Lublin, and the Świętokrzyskie Mountains region offer some tradition and potential for industrial growth. The rest of the country, especially the northeastern Białystok and Olsztyn provinces, the central part of the Pomeranian Lakeland, and the districts located along the Belarusian and Ukrainian borders

Pollution in Warsaw. (PhotoDisc)

belong to what is called Poland B, an underdeveloped, backward, and poor region with no prospects for quick improvement. Since the 1999 administrative reform, Poland has been divided into sixteen provinces *(województwa),* which consist of counties *(powiaty),* which in turn are divided into urban and rural districts *(gminy).* There are 308 counties and 2,489 districts in Poland.

In 2003 Poland had 38,622,000 citizens and was the eighth most populous nation in Europe. Poles constitute 5.3 percent of all Europeans and 0.65 percent of the world's population. In the year 2001 the official estimates of Poland's population numbered 38,634,000 people (broken down by age: 0–14 years, 18.39 percent; between 15 and 64 years, 69.17 percent; and over 65 years, 12.44 percent). Females made up 51.4 percent of Poland's population, males, 48.6 percent. In 1995 Poland had 38,620,000 citizens. If the demographic trends and the population growth rate (–0.02 percent in 2002) do not change, Poland will have 33 million citizens in 2050.

During the twentieth century, the population of Poland underwent major changes. According to the 1931 census, Poland's population in its prewar borders numbered 32,107,000. The 1938 estimates gave a figure of 34,849,000, and the estimates of mid-1939 a total of 35,100,000. In addition, about 1.5 million ethnic Poles lived in the states bordering on Poland. During World War II, Poland suffered the largest relative casualties in Europe. The census of 1946 showed 23,930,000 people living within the new borders of Poland. This difference of almost eleven million included the killed, the deported, and those who found themselves beyond the new borders of the state. The official death toll was 6,028,000, which included 644,000 killed during military operations (123,000 soldiers and 521,000 civilians) and 5,384,000 people who lost their lives as a result of the Nazi terror. The data, announced by the communist Polish authorities, did not include the people who died under the Soviets and applied only to the territories within the new Polish borders. The density of population diminished from 83 per square kilometer in 1931 to 77 in 1946. In addition, the territories gained by Poland from Germany in 1945 were inhabited by about 8,900,000 people in 1939. Most of them fled or were killed by the end of the war; about two million were expelled by the Polish communist authorities between 1945 and 1948, and about 1.5 million were classified as autochthonous Poles. Also about 500,000 Ukrainians and Belarusians were transferred to the Soviet Union.

In the late 1940s about two million people were repatriated from the Soviet Union to Poland, mostly from prewar Polish territories and from Germany. The second wave of repatriation took place in 1957–1958, when about 200,000 Poles arrived from the Soviet Union. After the war, the Polish birthrate started growing rapidly and reached 1.9 percent in 1953. Later, the birthrate averaged 1.7 percent from 1955 to 1960, but diminished to 0.9 percent in 1965. In the early 1980s Poland's birthrate of 1.0 percent put Poland behind only Albania, Ireland, and Iceland among European countries. In the late 1990s the birthrate declined again. In 2001 it was estimated to reach 10.2 births per 1,000 population and, with a relatively high death rate, the population growth rate became negative (–0.03 percent). This, in turn, was caused by a relatively low life expectancy (69.26 years for men and 77.82 for women), by a relatively high infant mortality rate (9.39 deaths for 1,000 live births), and by a low total fertility rate (1.37 children born per woman). In 1950 Poland's population reached 25,008,000 (80 persons per square kilometer), in 1960, 29,776,000 (95 per square kilometer), and, in 1970, 32,642,000 (104 per square kilometer). Only in 1978 did Poland return to its prewar population level.

In 1995 the density of population in Poland reached 124 persons per one square kilometer, still lower than in the

Polonia

About one third of the Polish nation lives outside Poland. This phenomenon, known as *Polonia,* or the Polish Diaspora, appeared as a consequence of emigration and changes to the country's borders. Polonia includes all the people who consider themselves Polish, regardless of their place of birth and language.

Emigration from Poland started as early as the seventeenth century. After the partitions of Poland in the late 1700s, a large part of the nation's territory was incorporated into Russia. Most of these lands were never returned to Poland, and the Polish population was forced to live in Russia. A similar situation appeared after 1939 and 1945, when the Soviet Union annexed almost one-half of the prewar Polish state. Economic emigrants, mostly peasants and workers, constantly flowed to both Americas and Western Europe. They were followed by political refugees. The United States attracted the largest group of Poles. The first of them landed in Jamestown in 1608. By the end of World War II, about 6 million Polish people lived in America.

Presently, between 14 and 17 million Poles live outside Poland, in over two dozen countries. The largest Polish population outside of the nation itself resides in the United States and is concentrated in major metropolitan areas such as New York, Detroit, and Chicago. Nearly a million Poles reside in France and Brazil, while Germany is home to 1.5 million. Canada, Belarus, Ukraine, Lithuania, Great Britain, Australia, and Argentina also boast sizable Polish populations. Usually, they establish various Polonia organizations and contribute greatly to the development of their new countries. Frequently, they stay in touch with Polish economic, political, and cultural life. Sometimes, they re-emigrate back to Poland.

most developed Western European countries (Belgium, 334; France, 107; Holland, 378; Germany, 230). Some 61.6 percent of all inhabitants of Poland (23,777,000) lived in towns and cities, and 38.4 percent (14.843,000) in the countryside. In 1931 about 72.6 percent of Poland's population was classified as rural. This shows that the most important postwar demographic change was intense urbanization, prompted by central economic planning and the modernization of Poland. In the early 1950s about 250,000 persons were migrating from rural communities to cities and towns every year. Many cities extended their administrative borders and included suburban communities. In the 1970s about 2 million people moved from the countryside to the towns and, in the 1980s about 1.3 million. In 2002 about 61.8 percent of Poles lived in urban areas and 38.2 percent in the countryside.

Most Polish towns are small or medium-sized. Forty-three cities have populations of more than 100,000 people. Warsaw, the capital and the largest city of Poland, has about 1.7 million inhabitants. The other big cities are Łódź (790,197), Cracow (741,841), Wrocław (633,887), Poznań (573,814), and Gdańsk (456,284).

The catastrophe of World War II changed the social structure of Poland. The Nazis and the Soviets killed or eliminated several ethnic and social groups, such as Jews, landowners, and bourgeoisie. In addition, the occupiers tried to annihilate the Polish elites and decimated the intelligentsia, a class of people with higher education, retaining the ethos of the Polish nobility and a belief in their special responsibility towards Poland, which constituted the core of the most important professions. Those who survived emigrated or lost their social status under the communist authorities, which had two priorities: to create a big working class and to recruit a new intelligentsia from among the peasants and workers that would be obedient to the ruling party. A "new class" of loyal government functionaries was built. The civic society and the autonomy of political and social organizations were destroyed. This social engineering did not bring the expected results. Most members of the new classes rejected the communist ideology. Extended families, circles of friends, and independent networks helped individuals to survive everyday difficulties and to outmaneuver the state apparatus. Many Poles assumed a cynical attitude toward the state, viewed direct and indirect stealing from it as an acceptable behavior, separated "us" (the people) from "them" (the authorities), and, eventually, forced the corrupt and hypocritical communist establishment to abdicate. Nevertheless, a big working class, over two times larger than before World War II, has been formed. Most workers of communist Poland were employed in large state enterprises, heavy industry and mining, usually inefficient and heavily subsidized. Around 1980, about 40 percent of

Gdańsk, Poland. (PhotoDisc)

Poland's working people were employed in industry, 30 percent in agriculture, and 39 percent in the service sector. Most younger workers had some education, and the phenomenon of illiteracy disappeared. Still, after the fall of communism, many Poles did not abandon their pre-1989 skepticism of the elite and their pretensions.

During the communist period, many peasants and workers were recruited into managerial posts, into the state and party apparatus, the army, and the professions. The wartime losses of the intelligentsia were made up, but the intelligentsia partially changed its character. Before 1945, the Polish intelligentsia played a leading role in Poland's fight for independence and for preserving national consciousness. Many members of the intelligentsia maintained the aristocratic values of their ancestors, but at the same time introduced new and progressive ideas to Polish society. After 1945, the communists diversified the class basis of the intelligentsia, promoting peasants and workers and creating for them special preferences in education. In the 1970s and the 1980s the educational preferences became less efficient, and the mobility from the working classes to the intelligentsia slowed. The intelligentsia returned to the traditional pre-1945 values and resumed the role of protector of Polish national identity and sovereignty. In 2000 the labor force in Poland amounted to 17.6 million people, 22.1 percent of them in industry, 27.5 percent in agriculture, and 50.4 percent in services.

Poland is one of the most homogenous countries in Europe, even though before World War II Poland was a typical Central European multinational state and the nation's national minorities constituted about 31 percent of the entire population. The Nazi and Soviet extermination policies and the moving of Polish borders in 1945 changed this completely. Moreover, the Polish communist authorities tried to Polonize the minorities. Today about 97 percent of Polish citizens are ethnically Polish; however, there are still sizable non-Polish ethnic communities in the country. Some German sources estimate the non-Polish population at 2.5 million, or 8 percent of the population.

The largest national minority is probably (Polish national censuses do not ask about nationality) constituted by the Germans. Many people in the former German territories hid their German identity to avoid deportation to destroyed Germany in the late 1940s. Later, however, many Silesians and autochthonous inhabitants of the Masurian Lakeland were bitter over communist policies and changed their national identity. Others declared themselves German to receive help and preferential treatment from the German government. Before 1989, the communist authorities claimed that there were only about 4,000 Germans in Poland. Today, estimates reach 500,000 people, with most living in the Opole region, Upper Silesia, and the northern provinces of the country. After 1989, numerous German organizations, schools, libraries, and political parties appeared in these regions. Special ties with Germany made the Opole region one of the most prosperous areas in Poland. The lifestyle of some Silesian communities is closer to that of Germany than to that of Poland. The German minority has representation in the Polish parliament (the *Sejm*).

The Polish Language

Polish is the official language of Poland and a vernacular of most citizens. Together with Czech and Slovak, it belongs to the West Slavic subgroup of the Slavonic languages, which in turn belongs to the Indo-European languages. Polish began to form in the tenth century, when its development was stimulated by the establishment of the Polish state. The first documents written in Polish come from the fourteenth century, even though Latin remained the language of the state chancery for the next several centuries. In the twentieth century the migrations, moving borders, state-controlled education and mass media homogenized the language, but several local dialects still survive, and some of them, like Kashubian, for example, are sometimes classified as separate languages. Most members of the national minorities in Poland have been bilingual. Polish is an inflected language with seven cases, two numbers, three genders in the singular and two in the plural. Verbs are conjugated by person, tense, mood, voice, and aspect. Unlike other Slavonic languages, Polish has nasal vowels. Polish grammar abounds in rules, and the rules have numerous exceptions. The language is considered difficult to learn.

The Ukrainians, the second largest minority, made up about 14 percent of Poland's population (about 5.5 million people) before World War II, but most of them found themselves in the territories taken by the Soviets in 1945. In addition, thousands of Ukrainians living within the new Polish borders were deported to the Soviet Union in 1945 and 1946, and in 1947 the Polish communist authorities deported most of the remaining Ukrainians from their native Rzeszów and Lublin regions to the former German territories in the north and in the west. Many deportees were widely dispersed and assimilated. After 1989, the Ukrainian minority began rebuilding its social organizations, political parties, schools, and cultural institutions. It received parliamentary representation, recovered a part of the former property of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and revived its activities in the southeastern corner of Poland. Contemporary estimates of the Ukrainian population range from 200,000 to 700,000. Most probably, this community is not larger than 400,000.

Belorussians were also numerous in Poland before the war (about three million in 1939), but most of them lived in the territories taken by the Soviets in 1945. Less assertive of their national identity than the Ukrainians, the Belarusians, to use the current spelling, now mostly live in the eastern part of the Białystok region on the Belarusian border, one of the poorest Polish areas and sparsely populated by peasants. After 1989, the Belarusians also revived their national and political activities. Their community is probably made up of about 300,000 members, but their spokespersons claim as many as 500,000.

The Jewish minority, 3.3 million before 1939, was exterminated during World War II. Only about 300,000 Polish Jews survived the war, mostly in the Soviet Union, but almost all of them left Poland, tormented by memories of the Holocaust and persecuted or harassed by anti-Semites and the communist authorities. About 3,000 people belong to the Jewish religious communities now, and about 30,000 claim Jewish ancestry. In the early 1980s interest in and even fascination with Jewish history and culture appeared among some educated Poles. On the other hand, according to several surveys, many Poles believe that the Jews constitute a threat to Poland and exert too much influence. The Jews have contributed greatly to Polish cultural and political life.

In addition to these four groups, there are several smaller national minorities in Poland: Slovaks (about 25,000), Roma (Gypsies, between 15,000 and 50,000), Lithuanians (about 30,000), Russians (about 10,000), Greeks and Macedonians (about 10,000), and other small communities. In the 1980s Poland became a transit route for illegal migration from the former Soviet Union and Southeastern Europe to the west.

For centuries, Poland has been a predominantly Roman Catholic country, and for most Poles identity is a unique combination of national and religious beliefs. During the era of foreign oppression, the Catholic Church remained for the Poles the primary source of moral values and the last bulwark in the fight for independence and national survival. The establishment of communist power had little effect on the religious practices and feelings of most Poles. The communist authorities did not manage to subjugate the Catholic Church, which preserved its autonomy, became the most powerful independent Polish national organization, and in the 1970s assumed the role of mediator between the regime and the rebellious population. The 1978 election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła as Pope John Paul II contributed greatly to the fall of communism in Poland and all over the world.

According to official Polish statistics, 34,609,000 persons, about 96 percent of the entire population of Poland, belonged to the Roman Catholic Church in 2000. Over 80 percent of them declare that they attend mass regularly. Over 5 million people listen to and support an ultranationalist and conservative radio broadcasting station and propaganda institution called Radio Maryja. The remaining 4 million non–Roman Catholic Poles profess no religion or belong to over forty denominations. The largest among them are the Orthodox Church (numbering about 554,000 people), the Jehovah's Witnesses (123,000), the Ukrainian Catholic Church (110,000), the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession (87,000), and the Old Catholic Churches (50,000). The other Protestant, Muslim, Judaic, and Far Eastern religions have far fewer members. The Christian Churches of Poland cooperate through the Polish Ecumenical Council, founded in 1946 and extended in the late 1970s.

Interior of a church in Lublin, Poland. (Corel Corporation)

HISTORY

Situated on Europe's major east-west passageway, Poland has had a stormy history, and its borders have repeatedly changed. In the mid-sixteenth century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (a federation with neighboring Lithuania) was the largest state of Europe. In the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries Poland did not exist at all; between 1939 and 1989, the country was occupied or controlled by the Third Reich and the Soviet Union; and after 1989, Poland became completely free again. The partitions of Poland (1772–1795) constitute the most important turning point in Polish history: a change from a mostly successful state to foreign occupation and fighting for survival.

PREHISTORY

The Polish state was established gradually in the ninth and tenth centuries, but the prehistory of Poland began when the first human beings appeared between the Vistula and the Oder Rivers about 100,000 years ago. A permanent settlement started there between 8000 and 5500 years B.C.E. The corridor between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea, a part of an open plain stretching from Central Asia to the Northern Sea, served as a passage through which numerous tribes went west and east. The local people defended themselves, building strongholds surrounded by palisades and earth walls. The best preserved of these was constructed by a tribe belonging to the Lusatian Culture near Biskupin in Greater Poland (the traditional name of an area in west-central Poland). Around 400 B.C.E., Scythians and Sarmatians, coming from Asia, destroyed the culture. Simultaneously, Celts were attacking from the west and, at the beginning of our era, Germanic tribes migrated from Scandinavia through today's Poland to the southeastern European steppes. In the fifth century C.E. the Germanic tribes were pushed back across the borders of the Roman Empire by the Huns, who established a state in Central Europe.

The state of the Huns, however, disintegrated quickly, and Central Europe became dominated by the Slavic people. From their original habitat in today's eastern Poland, the Slavs started an unprecedented expansion. Around 500 C.E., they crossed the Danube. In contrast to their Asian enemies, they were not nomads but agrarian people, permanently settling in the newly colonized regions. By the seventh century, the area between today's eastern Germany and Russia proper, and between the Baltic, Black, and Adriatic Seas was Slavicized. Initially, all the Slavs shared the same language and culture, but later local differences developed. In the mid-sixth century, the Slavs were conquered by Asian Avars, who created an Avaro-Slavic empire so powerful that it almost took Constantinople. A Slavic rebellion against the Avars destroyed their empire in the mid-seventh century. A mysterious individual named Samo established the first, short-lived Slavic state, with its center in today's Bohemia. Samo controlled some regions north of the Carpathians. At the beginning of the ninth century, the Greater Moravian Reich was formed. It included today's Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Hungary, Silesia, Little Poland (one of the historical regions of Poland, located in the south around the city of Cracow), and possibly western Ukraine. All these invasions brought to Central Europe new cultural influences and political stimuli.

Numerous Slavic tribes lived north of Greater Moravia. Less influenced by western and southern European cultures and attacked by the Vikings, they developed slowly, were still pagan, and lived in small tribal semi-state organizations. One such organization was established by the Polanie tribe in the Poznań region (*Polanie* means, in Polish, people living on fields or in wood clearings). In the ninth century the Polanie were checked by Greater Moravia, and their state expanded slowly. About 900, however, the Moravian Reich was destroyed by Hungarian forces coming from the southeast. During the resulting short period in which a power vacuum existed north of the Carpathians, better conditions for expansion appeared for the Polanie. Their state started growing faster, even though the Czechs reintegrated most of the former Moravian lands.

PIAST POLAND: TENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The first major written source about Poland was recorded in 965 by a Jewish merchant from Spain, Ibrahim-ibn-Jaqub. He visited Central Europe and wrote about a powerful state, ruled by a man called Mieszko. Mieszko's name appeared later in many documents, but all that is known about his predecessors comes from oral tradition. Some legends indicate that Mieszko's ancestors took over power in the mid-ninth century. Later, Poland's ruling family was called the Piast dynasty. The Polish verb *piastować* means "to cradle in one's arms," and scholars suspect that, as in the Frankish empire, Mieszko's great-grandfather was a court official who rebelled against a tribal chieftain.

Born around 922, Mieszko came to power in 960. Operating from his domain, Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), he conquered Kujavia, Mazovia, and Pomerania. Flanked by Kievan Rus in the east and by the Czech kingdom in the south, he tried to expand westwards, planning to subjugate the territories of the Obodrites, the Slavic tribes living between the Oder and the Elbe Rivers. Both the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and the Czechs shared the same plan. In 937 the Saxons crossed the Elbe and founded the city of Magdeburg. In 961 Emperor Otto I obtained papal support for raising the see of Magdeburg as a missionary bishopric throughout the Slavic lands, including Poland. Christianization from the Holy Roman Empire would mean German political domination and possibly extinction, the eventual fate of the Obodrites and the Baltic Prussians.

Mieszko broke the link between Christianization and Germanization. He forged a political alliance with the Czech king Boleslav and married his daughter Dobrava. She came to Poland with a Christian mission, and in 966 Mieszko accepted Christianity from Bohemia, which had been baptized over a century earlier. The bishopric of Poznań was established directly from Rome and placed outside the Magdeburg jurisdiction. Poland's decision to accept baptism became one of the most important decisions in the nation's entire history.

Poland now joined the family of Latin Christian nations, and accepted their legal, administrative, and cultural patterns. A group of educated foreigners came to Poland. The acceptance of one God eliminated various tribal gods and integrated the country. The new religion was much more sophisticated than the old one; it opened new intellectual horizons to the Poles, offered an ideological support derived from God to the power of princes, and sanctioned a new social structure and a new ruling class. Christianity also offered a more rational view of the world, deeper religious experience, international prestige, and a religious sanction for the conquest of pagan lands.

Mieszko changed his policies by the end of his reign. He took Silesia and Małopolska (Little Poland) from the Czechs. After his death in 992, his son, Bolesław the Brave (Chrobry), was considered a powerful ruler and a major partner of Emperor Otto III, who wanted to unite Europe. Yet after Otto's death, a new German dynasty started a war against Poland. Between 1002 and 1018, Bolesław defended his country and conquered new provinces. In 1018 he invaded Kiev and put his man on its throne. In 1025, shortly before his death, Bolesław was crowned the first king of Poland.

However, Poland was not yet fully integrated. Bolesław's successor, King Mieszko II, was overthrown by a rebellion of the "aborted" tribal chieftains and an anti-Christian pagan reaction. Poland was attacked by its neighbors, divided, and devastated. A German emperor, fearful that chaos could destabilize the entire region, helped to rebuild order and put his vassal, a Piast prince, Casimir the Restorer *(Odnowiciel),* on the throne of the shrunken state. Casimir moved the capital of Poland from the ruined city of Poznań to Cracow and reunited most of the lost provinces. When he died in 1058, his successor, Bolesław the Bold *(Śmiały),* threw off German control and crowned himself king. However, his bold policies provoked an opposition. When he accused the bishop of Cracow, Stanisław, of treason and killed him, an antiroyal rebellion forced Bolesław to leave Poland in 1079. He was replaced by his brother Władysław Herman. Constantly challenged by the magnates, Władysław had to divide the state between himself and his two sons. One of them, Bolesław the Wrymouthed (Krzywousty), proved to be an outstanding and ruthless ruler. He killed his stepbrother Zbigniew after their father's death in 1102, regained Pomerania and Christianized it in 1124–1128, and secured peace along the borders of Poland.

In 1138 Bolesław died, leaving a testament that divided the state between his five sons. The oldest of them received, in addition to his principality, a large territory stretching across Poland and including Cracow. This "seniorial" province was supposed to go to the senior princes in the future and to support their authority over junior rulers. Bolesław tried to prevent civil wars among his heirs, but he turned Poland from a relatively strong state into a conglomeration of weak principalities. The seniorial province was soon divided, and the principle of seniorat was abandoned; the number of principalities was growing, their rulers were involved in fraternal wars, and Poland's neighbors seized some provinces.

Competition between the princes, while politically unfortunate, stimulated the economy. Under Bolesław the Wrymouthed, Poland was about 225,000 square kilometers in size and had about one million subjects, almost five persons per square kilometer. In comparison to Germany (with ten inhabitants per square kilometer) and France (fifteen inhabitants), Poland was an underpopulated and underdeveloped country. Substantial demographic growth and stagnating food production in Western Europe triggered mass migration to the east. Polish princes welcomed new settlers, who brought with them new technology and modes of life, reorganized and developed Polish towns and a market economy, and established new branches of manufacturing. Jewish immigrants especially revitalized trade with foreign countries. Colonization on the basis of German law changed Poland. After 966, individual immigrants—clerics, knights, and merchants—reshaped Polish elites. The German colonization, about 250,000 people strong, brought to Poland large groups of peasants and artisans and changed the entire society.

A strong market, developing culture, growing Polish identity, and one ecclesiastical organization helped to reunite Poland. At the same time, outside threats from the Mongols, the Czechs, the Brandenburgians, and the Teutonic Order (which settled in Prussia in 1226), pushed Poland toward unification. Several local and foreign rulers tried to unite the Polish lands, but Władysław the Elbow-Short (Łokietek) succeeded in doing so. Operating from his tiny principality in Southern Kujavia, Władysław reunited the two principal Polish provinces—Greater and Little Poland—and was crowned king of Poland in 1320. When he died in 1333, nobody questioned the integrity of Poland and the right of Władysław's son, Casimir, to the Polish crown.

Casimir, later called the Great (Wielki), established good relations with several neighbors of Poland, and under his rule Cracow became an important diplomatic center. Casimir won a case against the Teutonic Order at a papal court, recovered some provinces, and signed a peace treaty with the German knights. Cooperating with his cousin, the king of Hungary, Casimir captured the Ruthenian principalities of Galicia and Volhynia. He also codified the law, modernized the administration, built numerous fortifications, and established the University of Cracow in 1364. There was a popular saying that Casimir inherited a Poland made out of wood and bequeathed a nation made of stone. At the same time, when Western Europe was decimated by the Black Death, Poland developed quickly and reached Western levels in its economy and culture.

JAGIELLONIAN POLAND: FOURTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Casimir had no acceptable heir, and due to a dynastic agreement, following his death the crown of Poland went to Louis d'Anjou, the king of Hungary. Louis rarely visited Poland and neglected it. Moreover, it appeared that Louis would not have a male successor either. To placate the Polish opposition and to assure the Polish throne for one of his daughters, Louis gave the gentry privileges, issued in Košice in 1374. The nobles had to keep their castles in repair and were required to perform unpaid military service for defense within the frontiers of Poland, but the land tax was reduced to a symbolic sum of two pence per acre, and only locals could receive official posts in their provinces. The Polish lords fulfilled their part of the deal. After Louis's death in 1382, his daughter Jadwiga was crowned the king (*sic*) of Poland in 1384. Intelligent, well educated, and beautiful, she became very popular. The lords, however, did not accept Jadwiga's fiancé, Wilhelm von Habsburg, as their future comonarch. Neither did they intend to continue the Polish-Hungarian personal union. Instead, they planned a union with Lithuania, which would terminate Lithuanian raids against Poland and would create a power able to stop the expansion of the Teutonic Order. The Poles also hoped that by Christianizing Lithuania, the last pagan state in Europe, they would dominate this large country politically.

The ruler of Lithuania, Jogaila, accepted the Polish offer. He expected the Poles to support him against the Teutonic Knights, Muscovy, and his cousin Vytautas (Witold), who wanted the Lithuanian throne for himself. In 1385 the Polish-Lithuanian personal union was signed. Lithuania accepted Christianity from Poland, and the Lithuanian gentry received Polish coats of arms and the privileges of the Polish nobility. Jogaila was baptized, received a Christian name, and became known as Władysław Jagiełło. In 1386 he married Jadwiga and was crowned king of Poland.

Poland-Lithuania became a great power. In 1410 its armies annihilated the forces of the Teutonic Order at the battle of Grünwald. Jagiełło's son and successor, Władysław of Varna (Warneńczyk, 1434–1444), was also elected king of Hungary, but he was subsequently killed during a war against the Ottoman Empire. His brother and heir, Casimir Jagiellon (Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, 1447–1492), incorporated Gdańsk, Pomerania, and the bishopric of Warmia into Poland after a great victory in the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466) against the Teutonic Knights. The remaining lands of the Teutonic Order, later called Ducal Prussia, became a vassal state of Poland. Casimir's eldest son, Władysław, became king of Bohemia in 1471 and later of Hungary (in 1490). His brothers, John Albert (Jan Olbracht), Alexander Jagiellon (Jagiellończyk), and Sigismund the Old (Zygmunt Stary), were Casimir's successors on the Polish throne (1492–1501, 1501–1506, and 1506–1548, respectively).

Poland-Lithuania was a loose federation. Not only did the two partner states have different official languages and separate armies, laws, and judicial and administrative systems, but the Lithuanian nobles strongly protected their separateness. They did not accept automatically new Polish kings as their grand dukes but elected their own monarchs within the Jagiellonian family. In 1434, when Władysław of Varna succeeded to the Polish throne, the Lithuanians put his brother Casimir Jagiellon on the throne in their capital, Wilno (Vilnius in Lithuanian). Finally, in 1447, after the death of Władysław and a long interregnum, Casimir became the ruler of both federated entities. A similar situation happened in 1492. John Albert became king of Poland, but Alexander took the Lithuanian crown. The latter acquired the Polish throne after the death of his older brother in 1501.

The Polish-Lithuanian state was a complex phenomenon. Polonization of Lithuania progressed slowly, contrary to the belief of most Poles, and in fact was never complete. Populated by many ethnic groups and by adherents of several religions, and located between three growing powers (the Habsburg Empire, Muscovy, and the Ottoman Empire), Poland-Lithuania had to form its own original and efficient political system. It emerged gradually. The Polish nobles received privileges that made their status attractive and allowed them to dominate their state. In the fourteenth century a territorial self-government appeared in Poland. Noblemen established a provincial Council of Landlords, transformed later into dietines *(sejmiki),* to decide about local matters. Beginning in the early fifteenth century, King's Councils met to consult representatives of the dietines. In 1463 a two-chamber parliament was formed, composed of the Senate (upper chamber) and the *Sejm* (lower chamber), whose deputies represented the dietines. The senators were appointed by the monarch from among the highest state officers. They expressed opinions on legislation in the Sejm and discussed foreign policy. The constitution of 1505, known as *Nihil novi* (Nothing new), guaranteed the chamber of deputies that "no new laws shall be made by us [the king] or our successors, without the consent of the councilors and territorial deputies" (Jędruch 391). This law, stipulating that the king had no right to legislate without the approval of the Sejm and the Senate, formally recognized the existence of the two-chamber parliament.

The nobility, which constituted about 8 percent of the entire Polish-Lithuanian population, was the only estate that fully participated in politics. Representatives of towns lost their right to representation in the Sejm in 1505. From that time, only Vilna and Cracow were represented; even they, however, did not have voting rights. Only the upper echelons of the clergy participated in politics. The peasants were degraded to the status of slaves. Poland developed mass production and export of grain and became the breadbasket of Western Europe. The landowners needed cheap labor and reversed a progressing emancipation of peasantry. Most peasants became the property of feudal lords. In the sixteenth century the corvée rose to six or more days a week, and the peasants were subjected to the landowners' jurisdiction.

The power of the gentry was not absolute, however. Kings still preserved significant powers, and the nobility was divided. During the Reformation, many nobles left the Catholic Church and joined Protestant denominations. In the sixteenth century rich nobles grew into an oligarchy, and the middle nobility initiated a political campaign against it, known as the "execution-of-the-law" movement. It asked for equality among the nobles and demanded that the state take back the estates illegally held by magnates whose ancestors had received land in exchange for services that were no longer performed. The nobility also demanded more privileges and insisted on the free election of the king. The execution movement did not, however, reach its goals. The magnates saved their position. Sigismund the Old (1506–1548) was alive when he crowned his son Sigismund II Augustus (Zygmunt August, 1548–1572) king of Poland.

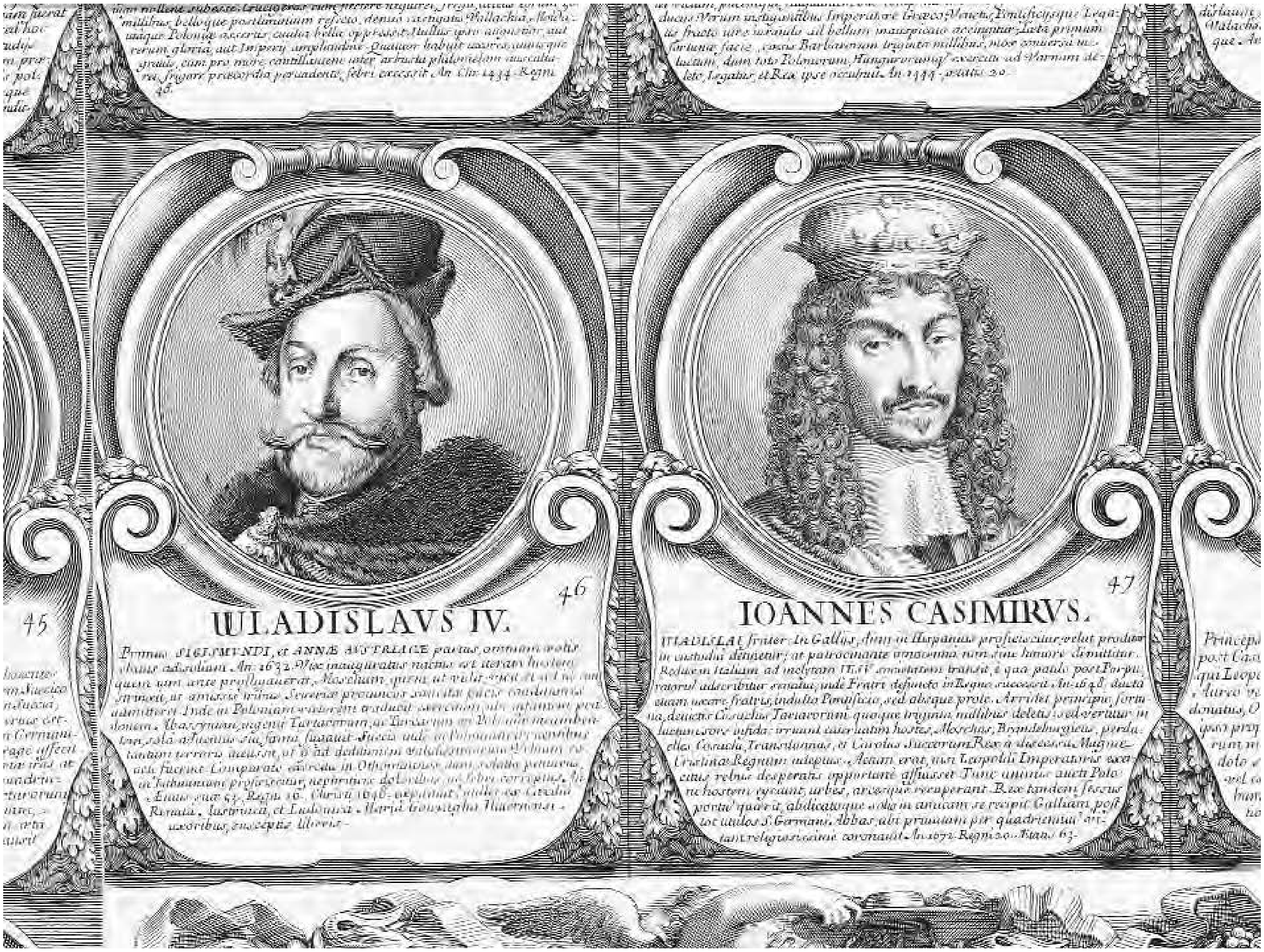
After succeeding to the throne following his father's death, Sigismund II Augustus cautiously supported the "execution movement" and favored religious tolerance. Simultaneously, he was strengthening the state. In 1569 he managed to arrange the Union of Lublin, which replaced a personal union between Poland and Lithuania with a real interstate federal union, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, based on common institutions. Even though the legal systems and administrations remained separate, kings were supposed to be elected jointly, the parliaments were held jointly on Polish territory, and the Commonwealth acted as a single entity in external affairs.

A part of Lithuanian gentry opposed the new union. To break their resistance, the King transferred the Ukrainian provinces from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to Poland, accelerating the process of closer integration of these states. Three years later, Sigismund Augustus died.

THE FIRST ROYAL ELECTIONS: THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

After the death of Sigismund Augustus, the Commonwealth faced a challenge. The Jagiellonian dynasty was extinct. The nobility had to elect a monarch for the first time in completely free elections. This required new procedures, which were now formed ad hoc. The power was taken by an interrex, as the person who took the place of the ruler after the death of the ruler was called. After a short disagreement with Protestant magnates, the archbishop of Gniezno and the primate of Poland took the office. This became a fixed political custom: a primate always performed the function of interrex. The next steps also became a part of the Commonwealth's political system. In the provinces, power was taken by special dietines. In January 1573 the Convocation Sejm gathered to prepare the elections. The deputies decided that every noble would have the right to participate in the elections and would have one vote. Among several candidates to the Polish throne, Henri de Valois (Henryk Walezy), a brother of the King of France, was the most popular. Unfortunately, he had been involved in the massacre of French Protestants on Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572. As a result, Polish Protestants objected and arranged the so-called Warsaw Confederation to protest. Their objections were overcome when the Catholic deputies agreed to adopt a charter that guaranteed absolute religious freedom.

In April 1573 about 50,000 noblemen gathered near Warsaw and elected Henri king of Poland. Before the coronation, he had to sign two sets of documents; these were later endorsed by everyone who came to the throne. The first set, which were accepted every time without alteration and called the Henrician Articles, summarized all the gentry's privileges and stipulated that the king would convene the Sejm every two years, would not name a successor nor marry without Parliament's consent, and would have limited legislative powers and limited authority over *levée-en-masse* (the organization of armed forces based on the principle that each nobleman was obliged to participate in his monarch's war operations), and that sixteen senators would accompany him as permanent advisers. The second set, called Pacta Conventa, contained specific conditions for each king who signed them. Henri promised the nobility an alliance with France and a trade agreement advantageous to Poland. He pledged to build a fleet to stop Russian navigation on the Baltic Sea, to send the Gascon infantry to Poland in a case of war, to pay the debts of Sigismund Augustus, to refill the treasury, and to finance the education of one hundred Polish noblemen in France



Jan II Kazimierz. (Historical Picture Archive/Corbis) and the invitation of foreign scholars to Poland. Henri accepted the conditions in Paris, arrived in Poland, and was crowned in Cracow. A Coronation Sejm closed all the electoral procedures.

Henri spent only four months in Poland, leaving the country secretly to claim the throne of his deceased brother; he did not return. After some confusion, the electoral procedure was repeated in 1575; the nobility split and elected two kings: Stephen Batory, the prince of Transylvania, and Maximilian Habsburg, the German emperor. Eventually Batory, whose party proved to be stronger, won the competition. He had a master plan. In order to liberate his Hungarian fatherland from the Turkish yoke, he intended to establish a great coalition, including the Commonwealth and Muscovy. Polish-Russian relations were poor, though. Moscow wanted to gather all the lands of Kievan Rus, and a state of almost perpetual war was waged on the Lithuanian-Muscovite border for centuries. Batory decided to force Moscow to cooperate. He reformed the Commonwealth army, settled internal problems such as the rebellious policies of Gdańsk, and led three victorious expeditions against Muscovy. The borders of the Commonwealth were pushed to the east, but Batory died in 1586.

After a stormy interregnum and a short civil war (a part of the gentry elected Archduke Maximilian Habsburg), Sigismund Vasa, a son of King John III of Sweden, became king of Poland in 1587. A pious Catholic educated in Germany, Sigismund met with opposition from Polish dissidents (non-Catholic Christians). Moreover, he was pressed by his father to return to Sweden to fight against the Reformation and to take the Swedish throne. Sigismund considered this option and secretly negotiated with the Habsburgs, who were supposed to receive some Polish lands in exchange for their support against the Swedish Lutherans. The scheme failed, and Sigismund faced a humiliating Inquisition Sejm, which exposed the secret negotiations and forbade the king to leave Poland without the permission of Parliament. In 1594 Sigismund was crowned king of Sweden, but he refused to guarantee religious freedom to the Lutheran majority, which then elevated its own leader to the throne in Stockholm. Sigismund tried to recover the throne and, during a civil war, to intimidate the opposition in Sweden into aiding him, ceded some Swedish possessions to Poland. This initiated a long series of Polish-Swedish conflicts in the seventeenth century.

Sigismund's uncompromising Catholicism shaped his policies. Most people in the eastern parts of the Commonwealth were of the Orthodox faith and considered the patriarch of Moscow to be their spiritual leader. Sigismund wanted to change this unfortunate situation. He was personally interested in the reunification of Christianity. Accordingly, the 1596 Union of Brest-Litovsk liquidated the Orthodox Church in Poland. Its leaders, the metropolitan of Kiev and several bishops from the eastern provinces, petitioned Rome for reunion. It was agreed that the Uniates, later called Greek Catholics, could preserve their old Slavonic rites and ceremonies, being obliged only to acknowledge dogmas from Rome and the supremacy of the pope. The union, which was supposed to spread into Russia and the Balkans, took as its pattern the decisions of the Council of Florence, which, for some time, settled the differences between Eastern and Western Christians in 1493. Not all the Orthodox Christians of the Commonwealth accepted the Union, and soon the Orthodox Church reorganized itself.

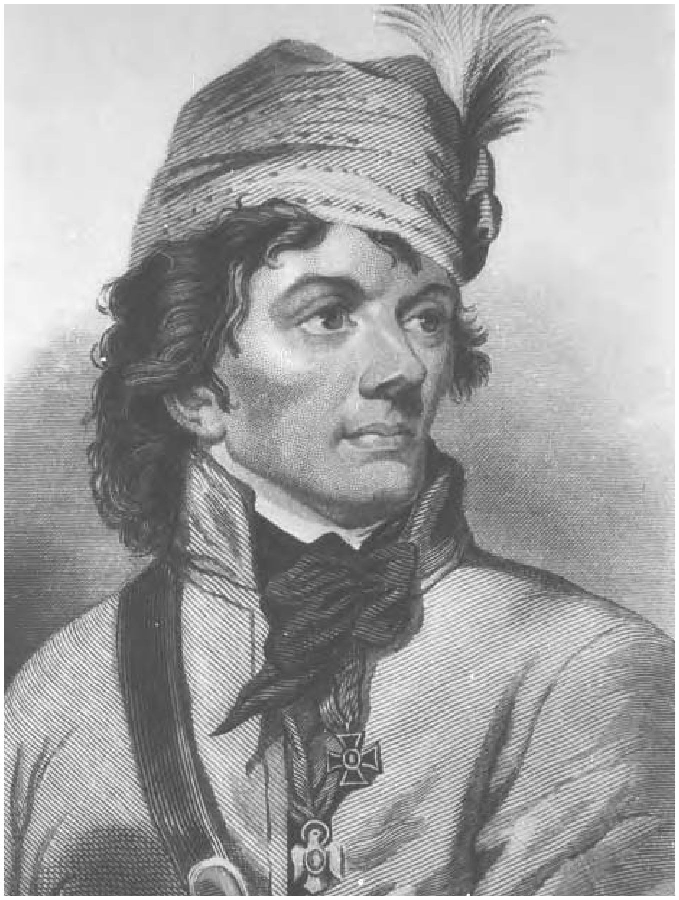
Regardless of the unhappy commencement of Sigismund's reign, the Commonwealth was still a great power. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Polish grain exports to to Western Europe reached their peak. Central Poland did not witness a war for almost three centuries. Culture and scholarship thrived. The Commonwealth became a refuge for political and religious exiles from other countries. The Poles placed a friendly *hospodar* (prince) on the Moldavian throne in 1595, stopped a Swedish invasion with a sensational victory at Kircholm in 1605, and intervened several times in Muscovy. After the extinction of the Rurikid dynasty, the Poles put two usurpers on the throne in Moscow and occupied it for some time. In 1610 Sigismund rejected a compromise Muscovite offer that his son Władysław should convert to Orthodoxy and take the throne in Moscow. After several years of wars in which Muscovy defended itself and its new dynasty, the Romanovs, it signed a truce with the Commonwealth, which was now involved in wars against Sweden.

When Sigismund died in 1632, the nobility unanimously elected his son Władysław. The new king wanted to recover the crown of Sweden as well as reclaim the throne of Muscovy, and fought with both of them with varying degrees of success. His favorite project, however, was a great war with the Turks and the recovery of Southeastern Europe. He began military preparations and reached an agreement with the Cossacks. These rebellious and warrior-like free settlers established a form of self-government on the depopulated steppe between Muscovy, the Commonwealth, and the Turkish possessions north of the Black Sea. Polish nobility, colonizing these areas, tried to abolish Cossack semiautonomy. The Commonwealth registered a small and changing number of Cossacks and paid them for the defense of the southern borders. This attempt to tame the Cossacks led to conflict, and Cossack uprisings broke out every several years. Władysław promised the Cossacks privileges and new lands after a victorious war against the Ottoman Empire. The enthusiasm first felt among the Cossacks at this offer soon turned, however, to disappointment and anger, when the king became ill; the Sejm opposed the war, and various concessions given to the Cossacks were reversed. A personal conflict between a Polish official and one of the Cossack leaders, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, triggered the outbreak of a new uprising in 1648.

The beginning of the Khmelnytsky uprising coincided with the next royal election in Poland. In 1648 Władysław died, and the nobles elected his brother, John Casimir (Jan Kazimierz) king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania. The new monarch tried to reach an agreement with Khmelnytsky, who won several battles against the Poles and established a large Cossack state. When the negotiations failed, John Casimir organized two successful campaigns against the Cossacks.

The king also tried to strengthen royal power, but he faced new challenges. In 1652 a Sejm deputy used the power known as the *liberum veto* for the first time. According to Polish tradition, all nobles were politically equal, and every parliamentary bill had to be passed unanimously. Initially, however, the liberum veto right had been understood differently; after 1652, used more and more frequently, it paralyzed the Polish political system. In 1654 the Cossacks turned to Muscovy for help and signed the Pereiaslav Treaty, which created an autonomous Cossack state as a protectorate of the Muscovite tsar. This, in turn, provoked a new Polish-Russian war. While the Polish army was fighting in the east, the Swedes invaded Poland, starting what was called the Swedish Deluge in 1655. The king, abandoned by most magnates (who now switched their allegiance to Sweden), fled abroad, and the Swedes occupied most of Poland and Lithuania proper.

The abusive Swedish attitude toward the Polish Catholic tradition provoked spontaneous popular resistance. The Swedes were ejected from Poland, and the war was concluded with the Treaty of Oliva in 1660, when John Casimir renounced his rights to the Swedish throne and Northern Livonia (today's Latvia). In the meantime, Poland had to force back a Transylvanian aggression and recognized the full sovereignty of Ducal Prussia in return for its support against Sweden. The long Russian war was concluded in 1667. To accelerate the recovery of the country, the king tried to introduce reforms, but his efforts met with opposition from the magnates. One of them started a mutiny, which defeated the royal army. The king, tired and depressed after the death of the queen, abdicated in 1668 and left for France, where he served as a titular abbot of a monastery until his death.



Portrait of Tadeusz Kościuszko, veteran of the America Revolution and leader of the Polish National Insurrection in 1794. (National Archives)

DECLINE AND PARTITION IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

After the wars of the mid-seventeenth century, the Commonwealth was exhausted. Its population had fallen from 10 million in 1648 to 6 million in 1668. Its economy and towns were in ruin. People did not migrate to the Commonwealth any longer. Groups such as the Jews and several non-Catholic denominations in fact began to leave. The brutalities of the wars and the fact that the aggressors were not Catholic destroyed the previous sense of religious tolerance. The Commonwealth became a confederation of territories controlled by the magnates. In the xenophobic atmosphere dominating the Commonwealth, the nobility did not want to have another foreigner on the throne, and they elected Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki in 1669. The nobles hoped that the new king, a son of a famous conqueror of the Cossacks, Jarema Wiśniowiecki, would be as brave as his father. Unfortunately, Michał Korybut proved to be completely incompetent. In 1672 the Commonwealth was defeated by the Turks, lost three provinces, and had to pay the sultan a yearly tribute. If the king had not died in 1673, the humiliated nobility would probably have forced him to abdicate.

In 1674, after a divided election, one of the best Polish military commanders, Jan Sobieski, was elevated to the throne. He rebuilt the army, signed a treaty with France, and planned to subjugate Prussia and to strengthen the Polish position in the Baltic region. The magnates, however, were more interested in Ukraine. The Commonwealth returned to an anti-Turkish alliance with the Habsburgs. In 1683 a military expedition led by Jan III Sobieski saved Vienna, which had been besieged by the Ottomans. As a result of this new war with the Turks, Poland recovered its three lost southern provinces in 1699. The king, however, died in 1696, disliked by the nobles, who opposed the royal family's plans to introduce a hereditary monarchy in Poland.

Not only was the 1697 royal election divided, but for the first time a candidate from a clear minority became king. Most nobles voted for Prince Conti of France, but the Elector of Saxony, Augustus II Friedrich Wettin, supported by a smaller group of nobility, came to Poland with his army and took power. Saxony was blossoming under his government, and he impressed the Polish nobles by converting from Lutheranism to Catholicism. He had ambitious plans and intended to realize them using Poland as a springboard. Augustus wanted to strengthen royal power in the Commonwealth and to gain Livonia and Courland for his family as a hereditary property. He promised several monarchs various Polish territories in exchange for their support. In 1700 Saxony joined a Russian-Danish anti-Swedish coalition to recover Livonia, taken from Poland by Sweden in the seventeenth century. Formally, the Commonwealth did not participate in the Great Northern War of 1700–1721, but most of its operations took place on Polish territories and devastated them. In 1704 Charles XII of Sweden ejected Augustus from Poland and put the palatine of Poznań, Stanisław Leszczyński, on the Polish throne. In 1706 Augustus, defeated in Saxony, renounced all claims to the throne, but his supporters in the Commonwealth fought together with Russian armies against the Polish supporters of the Swedes and Leszczyński. In 1709 Charles XII suffered a major defeat at Poltava in Ukraine. The Swedes were subsequently driven from the Commonwealth, controlled now by the Russians.

Augustus returned to Poland and tried to ensure his absolute power, which led to a conflict with the nobility. Russia's tsar, Peter the Great, mediated the dispute, dictated a settlement, and forced both sides to accept it in 1717 during the so-called Silence Sejm, when none of its members dared to utter a word. Augustus renounced his absolutist aspirations and sent his Saxon troops back to Saxony; the army of Lithuania was reduced to 6,000 men and that of Poland to 18,000. The nobility was guaranteed its former privileges, including the *liberum veto.* Although Russia took Livonia, its troops stayed in the Commonwealth, which now became a Russian protectorate.

During the Great Northern War, Poland's territories were devastated by the Russian, Swedish, and Saxon armies, which lived off the land. Poor harvests in 1706–1708 and the Great Plague, which raged until 1711, completed the destruction. Lithuania alone lost about one-third of its population.

In 1733 Augustus II was succeeded on the Polish throne by his son, Augustus III. Russian armies intervened against the candidacies of Portuguese Prince Emanuel and Stanisław Leszczyński, and won the War of Polish Succession. The new king rarely visited the Commonwealth, left it in the hands of his favorites, and subordinated Polish interests to the Wettin dynastic interests. Russia, supported by Prussia, in turn guaranteed what was called the Golden Freedom of the Polish nobility.

Growing anarchy and decline marked the Saxon times. The first signs of economic and cultural recovery, however, emerged by the end of this era. After the death of Augustus III in 1763, Tsarina Catherine the Great put Stanisław August Poniatowski on the throne of Poland in 1764. The new king, linked to a powerful *Familia* (magnate faction) gathered around the enlightened and patriotic Czartoryski family, initiated new reforms. These reforms, however, were perceived by the nobility as an attack on its liberties executed by a Russian puppet. After the Russian ambassador to Warsaw kidnapped Polish senators opposing Russian control, conservative and patriotic nobility started an uprising in 1768. Known as the Bar Confederation, since it originated in the small town of Bar in Podolia, it fought against the reforms and foreign interference in Polish internal affairs. At the same time, a popular uprising, the so-called Koliivshchyna rebellion, took place in Polish Ukraine. Taking advantage of the chaos caused by the Bar Confederation, the Ukrainian revolt, and the Turkish-Russian war, Austria incorporated some Polish territories in 1770, a harbinger of what was to follow.

Two years later, on the initiative of Frederick the Great, Prussia, Russia, and Austria organized the first partition of Poland. According to the anti-Polish coalition, the partition was necessary to save the international balance of power, order, and the harmony threatened by "Polish anarchy." Russia annexed poor eastern provinces beyond the Rivers Dvina and Dnepr, altogether comprising 92,000 square kilometers, inhabited by 1.3 million Belarusians. Austria's share was more valuable: a territory known later as Galicia (83,000 square kilometers, populated by 2.65 million people, mostly Poles and Ukrainians). The most precious was the Prussian acquisition: West Prussia (Gdańsk Pomerania), with the Bishopric of Warmia (Ermland). Even though the region was only 36,500 square kilometers and had only 580,000 inhabitants, and the Prussians did not receive the city of Gdańsk, their gain constituted one of the most developed regions of Poland, and its occupation united the two biggest but previously isolated provinces of Prussia: Brandenburg and East Prussia. As a result of the partition, the Commonwealth lost 30 percent of its territory, 37 percent of its population, many important resources, access to the Baltic, and its natural southern border, the Carpathians.

The exhausted Commonwealth could not resist. Most of its inhabitants passively accepted the catastrophe. The political elites, however, saw the partition as a humiliation and a warning. The king and his collaborators managed to transform the Permanent Council, forced upon the monarch by the Russians to limit his power, into an effective and stable government. Slowly and patiently, the government introduced positive changes. In 1773 the Commission of National Education, the first European education ministry, was established, and the entire school system was reformed and modernized. Thanks to royal support, an unprecedented cultural revival took place in the 1770s. All the cautious preparations of the postpartition era bore fruit after 1787, when Russia became involved in another war with Turkey and Poland regained her sovereignty for a short time. The Sejm that gathered in Warsaw in 1788 constituted itself into a Confederation, which eliminated the threat of liberum veto and initiated a period of unprecedented rule by parliament. In 1789 the French Revolution, which stimulated political activities, especially among the Polish burghers, inspired the Sejm. In 1790, in order to complete unfinished legislative projects, the Sejm doubled the number of the deputies after an additional election. On 3 May 1791, after long and meticulous preparations, in a legitimist coup d'état, the Sejm accepted a new constitution, widely regarded as a symbol of hope and an effort to preserve the existence of the Commonwealth.

This first modern European constitution (and the second one in the world, preceded only by the document drawn up in 1787 in the United States) reflected the lessons of the Enlightenment and the French and American Revolutions.

It replaced the elective monarchy with a hereditary constitutional one and offered the throne, surprisingly, to the Wettin dynasty. It eliminated the liberum veto; checked the liberties of the nobility; recognized the sovereignty of the people as the source of all law; guaranteed religious freedom; divided the government into three distinct branches, legislative, executive, and judicial; established a modern government responsible before Parliament; and decided to rebuild the army. This constitution completed the union with Lithuania, creating one government, one administration system, one army, and one treasury for the two parts of the Commonwealth. The townsmen received a number of rights that previously had been enjoyed only by the nobility, such as (limited) rights of participation in the Sejm. On the other hand, the constitution did not give a proper consideration to the Jews and peasants, who were offered only vague promises of the state's legal protection.

The constitution was received enthusiastically in Western Europe, but it alarmed Poland's neighbors. Russia signed a peace treaty with Turkey in May 1792 and sent over 90,000 troops to punish its disobedient vassal. Prussia broke its defensive alliance with Poland and joined the Russian aggression. In a Ukrainian border village of Targowica, a group of Polish conservative pro-Russian magnates organized a confederacy in defense of the Golden Freedom. The untrained Polish army could not stop the Russian troops, which gave the power in Poland to the Targowica people. Those magnates reversed all the changes initiated by the 3 May constitution but were unable to establish a functioning government, and the monarchs of Russia and Prussia decided to partition the Commonwealth again, using as a pretext the theory that the "deadly Revolution that has occurred in France" (Israel 415) had spread into Poland and threatened their countries.

The second partition in 1793 left only a little Polish buffer state of 215,000 square kilometers and 4 million inhabitants. Russia took a huge territory of 250,000 square kilometers and 3 million people. Prussia's acquisition had only 58,000 square kilometers and 1.1 million people, but it linked Prussian Silesia with previously occupied Western Prussia. Poland was in turmoil, ruled by the Targowica magnates, who concentrated on self-enrichment and settling scores with their enemies. Many political refugees escaped abroad, mainly to Saxony and France. The rump Commonwealth remained under the occupation of the Russians, who arrested Polish patriots and started demobilizing the Polish army. In March 1794 one of the regiments resisted. The news about the rebellion triggered successful uprisings in Cracow, Warsaw, and Vilna. General Tadeusz Kościuszko, a celebrated veteran of the American Revolution, was chosen the chief *(Naczelnik)* of the insurrection and defeated a Russian army unit at Racławice on 4 April 1794. Kościuszko tried to start an American style national uprising, but the nobility was against the social changes that would follow it and especially opposed liberation of the peasants. In October 1794, Kościuszko was defeated and imprisoned. In November the Russians took Warsaw, killing about 10,000 civilians during the siege of the city. In January 1795, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, which also sent troops across the Polish border, signed the treaty that decreed the third partition of Poland. Russia again took the largest share, but Prussia occupied central Poland, including Warsaw, which became a dilapidated border town. In November 1795, Stanisław August Poniatowski, who desperately had tried to save his country, abdicated, and in 1798 he died in St. Petersburg. The partitioning powers signed an agreement about "the need to abolish everything, which can recall the memory of the existence of the kingdom of Poland" (Lukowski and Zawadzki 105).

As a consequence of the partitions, the fourth most populous country of Europe (after France, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, and Russia) disappeared from the map. For the first time since the fall of Byzantium, a major European state was annihilated completely. Russia took 62 percent of its area and 45 percent of the population, Prussia 20 percent of the land and 23 percent of the people, and Austria 18 percent of the land and 32 percent of the population. The newly drawn borders did not correspond to any old divisions and divided a mostly agricultural country. Only about 17 percent of its population lived in towns, and there was only one city there: Warsaw, with almost 200,000 inhabitants in 1795. Most peasants were serfs owned by their landlords. The former Commonwealth was a home to the largest Jewish community in the world. About 750,000 Jews constituted almost 10 percent of the entire society and over 75 percent of European Jewry. The most important part of the Polish heritage, however, was the nobility. It also made up about 10 percent of the population and was uniquely diversified: from peasant-like petty noblemen, who owned small farms or had virtually nothing, to powerful magnates, whose estates were larger than some European states. Of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, they were united by a common identity as Polish noblemen who looked down on those primitive Muscovites, greedy Prussian nouveaux riches, and treacherous Austrians.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

While the partitioning powers were dividing the Commonwealth, Polish émigrés in Western Europe started building organizations that were supposed to represent Poland and to prepare the groundwork for its revival. Despite quarreling and fighting each other, they established a network of conspiracies in the country and asked the Western powers, especially revolutionary France, for help.

In 1796 French authorities established a Polish legion to fight against Austria. The march of the legion began with the words "Poland is not yet lost as long as we live"; it later became the Polish national anthem. In 1799 two Polish legions were formed. Altogether, over 25,000 soldiers, mostly peasants and townsmen, served in the legions, which became venues for political education.

At the same time, many Polish nobles had a vision of a reconstructed Polish state in union with Russia. Prince Adam Czartoryski, a personal friend of Tsar Alexander I and the Russian minister of foreign affairs, best represented this orientation.

In 1806 a successful Polish uprising in western Poland followed a spectacular French victory over Prussia, which was forced to sue for peace. Napoleon came to Warsaw and, in 1807, defeated the Russians, who were trying to defend the old international system in Europe. In July 1807 Napoleon met Alexander I and the King of Prussia at Tilsit (on the Niemen River). They established a new order in Eastern Europe. The lands taken by Prussia in the second and the third partitions were now transformed into the Duchy of Warsaw, a small state of 102,000 square kilometers and 2.6 million people. In 1809, after a French victory over Austria, the duchy received the territories grabbed by the Habsburgs during the third partition as well, growing to 155,000 square kilometers and 4.3 million inhabitants. The throne of the duchy was given to King Frederick August of Saxony, who was instated as a hereditary prince. The state received a constitution written by Napoleon, which stipulated that "all citizens are equal before the law." The constitution liberated the peasants but did not give them the right to their land, which, de facto, preserved serfdom. Although Jews received full rights, those guarantees were soon suspended for ten years. In addition, the Napoleonic Civic Code was introduced in the duchy.

In practice, however, the old socioeconomic order was preserved; the duchy was little more than a French vassal state and a military bridgehead in Eastern Europe. Controlled by French generals and residents, the duchy spent two-thirds of its budget on the army, which fought for Napoleon on many fronts, not necessarily "For Your and Our Freedom," as a nineteenth-century slogan of Polish revolutionaries announced. About 100,000 Polish soldiers participated in Napoleon's Russian invasion in 1812. Most of them perished together with the French army. In February 1813 the Russians took Warsaw and established a provisional regime headed by a Russian senator. Polish dreams of a revived Commonwealth disappeared.

The fate of Poland was decided during the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815. After some disagreement within the victorious anti-Napoleonic coalition, the Duchy of Warsaw was divided into three parts. A tiny strip of land near Cracow (1,164 square kilometers) populated by 140,000 inhabitants was transformed into the Republic of Cracow. Supposedly "free, independent, and neutral" but "under the protection" of the partitioning powers, it survived until 1846, when it was incorporated into Austria. The western part of the Duchy of Warsaw (29,000 square kilometers with 1.3 million people) went to Prussia as an autonomous Grand Duchy of Poznań (Posen). It had its own currency and parliament; Polish was an official language in administration and schools. The king of Prussia took the title of Grand Duke of Poznań and was represented there by a Polish vice-regent, Prince Antoni Radziwiłł. The duchy became the breadbasket of Prussia and started developing quickly. Its peasantry was included in the land reforms that had been initiated in Prussia in 1808; the peasants were liberated, but they had to pay for the land given to them during the reform. Consequently, only the richest farmers survived and formed a strong Polish-speaking class. The poor had to migrate to urban centers, which also strengthened the future Polish national movement in the eastern provinces of Prussia.

Most territories of the Duchy of Warsaw were reorganized as the Congress Kingdom of Poland, a small state of 128,000 square kilometers and 3.3 million inhabitants. The kingdom, theoretically independent, was linked by personal union with Russia. Alexander I became its first king, and its constitution was one of the most liberal in Europe, even though serfdom was not abolished. Polish was the only official language. Alexander's brother, Grand Duke Constantine, became the commander in chief of the kingdom's army and the troops in Lithuania. This joint appointment was considered the first step toward the reunification of the Commonwealth under Russian rule. In 1816 Warsaw University was opened, and a modern educational system continued the work of the Commission of National Education. After an initial economic crisis, the authorities in Warsaw started a relatively successful industrialization of the kingdom.

On the other hand, Grand Duke Constantine dominated the imperial lieutenant governor, General Józef Zajączek, and governed the kingdom as a despot. Censorship was introduced, people were imprisoned without trial, the sessions of the Sejm were "delayed," the constitution was disregarded, and a secret police was organized. The Poles argued that the Congress of Vienna gave them certain freedoms that the partitioning powers were not observing and that other states that had signed the Vienna agreements should intervene on behalf of Poland. When this did not happen and a legal opposition was paralyzed, clandestine organizations appeared. One of them, the Cadet Corps in Warsaw, initiated a revolt in November 1830, alarmed by a rumor that Polish troops would be sent to suppress the revolution in Belgium and would be replaced in Poland by the Russian Army. The political establishment of the kingdom was completely surprised by (and unprepared for) the uprising. Moderate leaders, who assumed power, started negotiating with the tsar instead of organizing an offensive against the Russians. The divided national government did not pass reforms to win the support of the peasantry and did not gain any foreign aid. This allowed the Russian army to gain needed time to regroup and crush the insurrection, even though the Poles offered strong resistance at several battles.

The defeat of the November Insurrection of 1830–1831 was followed by severe reprisals. The Polish army, the Sejm and Senate, the University of Warsaw, and many other national institutions were dissolved. Russification began, and the Polish administration came to be controlled centrally from St. Petersburg. Thousands of Polish soldiers were conscripted into the Russian Army, and thousands of people were deported to Siberia. About ten thousand officers, politicians, artists, and professionals, in a movement called the Great Emigration, left Poland for the West, mostly ending up in France, and continued intensive political and cultural activities there. The kingdom was ruled, and terrorized, until 1856 by the man called the prince of Erevan and Warsaw, the commander in chief of the Russian occupying forces, General Ivan Paskevich. His government was so oppressive that even the events of the 1848–1849

Springtime of Nations (commonly known as the revolutions of 1848) did not spread to Russian Poland.

The first positive changes appeared in the Congress Kingdom after Russia lost the Crimean War of 1853–1856 and the "policeman of Europe," Nicholas I, died and was replaced by a new "tsar-reformer," Alexander II, in 1855. Facing numerous international challenges and starting an ambitious reform program, Russian authorities wanted to pacify Poland and sought a modus vivendi with the Poles. After the death of Paskevich, a new plenipotentiary of the tsar, Prince Mikhail Gorchakov, introduced a new, milder government in Poland. Political amnesty was decreed, censorship was relaxed, the archepiscopal seat in Warsaw, vacant for years, was filled, Poles were readmitted to the administration in the western Russian provinces, and a Medical-Surgical Academy and a School of Fine Arts were established in Warsaw.

In 1857 an Agricultural Society was created in Warsaw. It gathered about four thousand members—rich landowners and the heads of the most prominent Polish gentry families. Soon, it became a substitute diet. Chaired by popular aristocrat Andrzej Zamoyski, it debated on the issues most important for the Congress Kingdom, which had changed tremendously by the mid-nineteenth century.

A slow process of industrialization and recovery after the disaster of partitions and the Napoleonic era had already started in the 1820s. In 1851 the Russian-Polish tariff border was abolished. This led to new opportunities for Polish industry, which recaptured the Russian markets. The railroad network was developed, the textile and light industries were modernized, and new iron works and mines were opened. The Crimean War had created a demand for grain, and mass sugar production began. The kingdom's population grew from 4.1 million in 1830 to 4.8 million people in 1860. Warsaw, with 180,000 inhabitants in 1830, grew to a size of 230,000 in 1860. Emancipation and assimilation of the Jews started. Over 50 percent of peasants paid rents and were free of serfdom.

In 1859 the Russians asked the Agricultural Society to prepare a land reform project for the Congress Kingdom. This initiative helped to revive political life in Poland. Public opinion was electrified with the news of the outbreak of war in 1859 between France and Austria and of the unification of Italy. Beginning in 1858, a series of patriotic demonstrations took place in Warsaw. Polish political émigrés abroad intensified their activities and sent their envoys to Poland, where underground organizations appeared. In early 1861, when a plan of agricultural reform in Russia proper was already known, meetings of the Agricultural Society were backed up by huge demonstrations demanding more autonomy for Poland. On 27 February 1861, Russian troops opened fire on the crowds and killed several people, including two members of the Agricultural Society. Its leaders called upon the people to start "moral resistance" and "moral revolution."

In response, the Russians opened negotiations with Count Alexander Wielopolski. A conservative and conciliatory aristocrat who opposed conspiracy and resistance, Wielopolski competed politically with the popular Zamoyski, believing that loyalty toward Russia would be rewarded with autonomy and cultural freedom for the Congress Kingdom. He was appointed a member and later the head of the reestablished Administrative Council of the kingdom. He dissolved the Agricultural Society, tried to diminish the growing tension between Polish society and the Russian occupational apparatus (during a demonstration in April 1862 the Russian troops killed approximately one hundred civilians in Warsaw), and continued his reforms, aimed at the emancipation of the Jews, Polonization of the kingdom's administration, and modernization of its educational system. When the Russians once again introduced military conscription in Congress Poland, he decided to use the draft to smash the conspiracy, especially in Warsaw.

Yet, a day before the levy was to take place, young men escaped from the city to the surrounding woods, and a week later, on 22 January 1863, an underground National Central Committee issued a manifesto. It called the people of Poland, Lithuania, and Ruthenia to arms, announced the establishment of a national government, promised freedom and equality to all the citizens irrespective of religion, proclaimed the peasants to be full owners of the land they cultivated, and offered indemnities to the landlords. During the night of 22/23 January, 6,000 badly armed insurgents attacked eighteen Russian garrisons (holding nearly 100,000 troops). Intensive guerrilla fighting started in the entire kingdom and in the formerly Polish "western gubernias" of Russia (Lithuania, Belorussia, and Ukraine). An underground state was created with its own postal services, finances, secret police, and diplomatic representatives.

France, Austria, and Great Britain sent diplomatic notes to St. Petersburg regarding the situation in Poland. A "Polish Meeting," a large demonstration of support for Poland in July 1863 in London, became a starting point for the organization of the First Working Men International. Unfortunately, the Western powers limited themselves to written protests. The insurgents took no major town, and the National Government could not act openly. The Russians, pressed by the Prussians to crush the uprising as quickly as possible, sent a regular army of 300,000 men to Poland and began a brutal crackdown on the insurgents and the population in general.

The Polish underground was divided; the "Reds" and the "Whites" competed politically and had different plans for the uprising. Initially, there was no supreme command and no coordinated strategy. In the fall of 1863 the Lithuanian insurrection was crushed by the "hangman of Vilna," the governor Mikhail Muravyov. Russian-introduced emancipation of the peasants prompted them to abandon the rebels. In October 1863 a retired professional officer of the Russian Army, Romuald Traugutt, took over the national government as a dictator and revived the uprising, but he was arrested in April 1864 and executed in Warsaw. In May 1864 General Fedor Berg, the commander in chief of the Russian army in Poland and the newly appointed viceroy, announced the end of the campaign, even though the last skirmishes continued until the spring of 1865.

The failure of the January Uprising was followed by harsh retributions. About four hundred insurgents were executed after trials; an unknown number were shot or hanged by the Russian army, and thousands were deported to Siberia. About 1,600 estates in the Congress Poland and 1,800 estates in the western gubernias were confiscated and given to tsarist officials. A contribution of 20 million rubles was forced upon the landowners of the Congress Kingdom of Poland. The name of the kingdom was changed to Vistula Land, which was reduced to a tsarist province; it lost all autonomy and separate administrative institutions. Even the Bank of Poland was transformed into a subsidiary branch of the Imperial Bank. No municipal government existed, no justices were elected, and trials by jury were not permitted. Intensive Russification began. The Warsaw Main School was reshaped into a Russian university. The Uniate Church was abolished completely, the Catholic clergy was harassed, and by 1870 not a single Polish bishopric had a bishop. Anti-Polish feelings were fostered in Russia; Lithuanian and Ukrainian nationalism in turn awakened on the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The land reform of 19 February (2 March) 1864 was supposed to widen an abyss between the gentry and the peasants. The latter received the land they used. All their obligations toward the landlords were liquidated. The villagers enjoyed self-government and were allowed to gather wood for burning from landlords' forests and to use manorial pastures. Landlords were paid compensation in the form of forty-two year amortization bonds, which quickly depreciated. To pay the compensation, the Russian authorities introduced a new land tax on farmers.

The reform was very profitable to the regime, but it simultaneously triggered significant social changes. In the countryside, the peasants, formerly exploited by the gentry, came to be oppressed by the Russian state apparatus. The great latifundia (landed estates) were virtually unaffected, but the middle and petty gentry were ruined. Thousands of noblemen moved to the towns and cities, but there their opportunities were limited. Administrative positions were reserved for Russians, and trade and industry were in the hands of the Jews and Christian bourgeoisie. In addition, a mass of landless peasants moved to the cities, becoming part of a growing proletariat. A new class of intelligentsia also formed, hostile toward the magnates, the peasants, the bourgeoisie, the Jews, and the Russians.

The changes triggered by the land reform contributed to the rapid industrialization that took place in the former Congress Kingdom in the 1870s and 1880s. Russian protectionist policies stimulated the development of textile and metallurgical industries. Railroad construction created a new demand for iron and coal. The value of production grew from 30 million rubles in 1864 to 190 million in 1885, while the number of workers expanded from 80,000 to 150,000. The output of coal grew from 312,000 tons in 1870 to over 3 million tons in 1890. By 1890, industrial production exceeded agricultural production, and foreign investments reached about 39 percent of capital. Warsaw, with 600,000 people in 1890, became one of the largest cities of the empire, and Vistula Land its most advanced part. Its socioeconomic conditions, however, still did not meet Western standards and, in 1897, over 68 percent of the people in the former Congress Kingdom still lived in the countryside.

The failure of the January Uprising and its socioeconomic consequences strongly affected public life. Political pessimism prevailed in Poland. Conspiracy and armed struggle were considered suicidal folly. Positivism became the leading political trend. A reaction against romanticism in literature and politics, it propagated the "heroism of a reasonable life" and a program of "organic work" that was supposed to preserve cultural and material aspects of Polish life through universal education, technological progress, industrial development, and modernization. Positivists fought against the remaining elements of feudalism and supported the emancipation of women, Jews, burghers, and peasants. They praised economic entrepreneurship and emphasized that every citizen of Poland, regardless of his or her national, religious, or social background, could contribute to the development of the country.

Positivists assumed a critical, realistic, practical, and "apolitical" attitude. This stance was exploited by the supporters of Triple Loyalism, a collaboration program with the authorities of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. After a quarter of a century, however, positivism lost its popularity. It did not bring any political results and was rejected by many political émigrés still active in the West and by the young people who had not experienced the January Uprising. In the late 1880s a secret Association of Polish Youth, Zet, was established. Both socialist and nationalist, Zet returned to the idea of freedom fighting, rejected positivism, and maintained that ordinary people better preserved the national tradition than did the upper classes. In 1887 one of the organizers of Zet, Zygmunt Miłkowski, published a booklet "About Active Defense and National Treasury," which argued against passive resistance and supported preparation for active struggle against the occupiers of Poland. That same year, he established the Polish League in Switzerland. The league anticipated a conflict between the great powers, formulated a program of reconstruction for a Polish state within the prepartition borders, stood against social revolution and international socialism, and condemned positivists and conservatives for their loyalty to the powers occupying Poland.

In 1893 the Polish League was transformed into a more active National League, a clandestine organization, led by Roman Dmowski, that penetrated various Polish political camps. The National League also criticized the loyalists, condemned tsarist oppression, called for pressure on Russian authorities, and organized political demonstrations in Warsaw. Dmowski, who had just graduated from the Biology Department of the Russian Warsaw University, published several political writings and soon became an intellectual leader of the Polish nationalistic movement. In 1897 the league was reorganized as the National Democratic Party (Endecja, or Endeks). It established branches in Prussian Poland in 1904 and, in 1905, in Galicia. It published several periodicals, and its program, based on social solidarity, anti-Semitism, and hostility to socialism, was increasingly popular.

At the same time, modern political parties were also established on the political left in the former Congress Kingdom of Poland. In 1881 a young member of the intelligentsia, Ludwik Waryński, organized the first Polish workers' party, Proletariat. Destroyed by the tsarist police two years later, it was succeeded by the Second Proletariat in 1888. Some of its members joined the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) in 1892. Founded in Paris by the Congress of Polish Socialists, it called for Polish independence and establishment of a democratic republic. In 1893 the first PPS groups were organized in Russia and Prussia. A former political deportee to Siberia, Józef Piłsudski, became one of the most important PPS leaders. In the same year, Marxist radical activists, who opposed the pro-independence stand of the PPS program, formed a party known later as the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. Other ethnic groups of Russian-occupied Poland also created their first parties by the end of the nineteenth century. Bund, the General Jewish Workers' Union in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia, was established in 1897 and propagated a radical Marxist and anti-Zionist program.

The development of the Polish nation followed different lines in the Prussian- and Austrian-occupied territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the nineteenth century. The king of Prussia, Frederick William III, kept in mind the two Polish uprisings of 1794 and 1806 and guaranteed Poles the maintenance of the Catholic religion and the Polish national character of the Grand Duchy of Poznań (Posen), which had been attached to his state during the Congress of Vienna. A Polish aristocrat, Prince Antoni Radziwiłł, represented the king in the duchy as its viceroy. The duchy minted its own small coins, and Polish was its official language. In 1823 an agrarian reform was implemented, but only big holdings were enfranchised. Smallholders commonly moved to the towns, strengthening their Polish character. The well-organized, relatively wealthy Polish peasantry became a strong supporter of Polish national ideas. The Prussian bureaucracy, at the same time, opposed the king's Polish policy of compromise and planned to Germanize the duchy.

In 1830 Polish public opinion in the duchy enthusiastically welcomed the outbreak of the November Insurrection, and contingents of Poznań volunteers participated in the uprising. After the revolt, however, Radziwiłł was removed from his position, and a new program of Germanization began. A local insurrection, begun in 1846, failed. The outbreak of the revolutions of 1848 brought a plan for national reorganization of the duchy, but it failed too. Moreover, the 1863 January Insurrection in the Congress Kingdom resulted in close Russian-Prussian cooperation against the Poles. Prussian authorities changed the name of the duchy to the Posen Provinz and incorporated it into the general Prussian administrative system. In 1871 the Poles protested against the incorporation of their lands into united Germany. Bismarck's anti-Polish policy became a part of the *Kulturkampf* (the struggle to subject the Roman Catholic Church, national minorities, and semi-autonomous provinces to strict state control). As a result, the Polish language was gradually withdrawn from schools and administration, and the Polish press and Polish organizations in general were harassed. In 1886 a colonization commission was created to buy Polish lands for German settlers, and several German private and governmental organizations tried to Germanize the Polish provinces completely. The Poles, however, reacted with well-organized economic and cultural activities, which slowly started to turn the tide, shaping the future national character of the Prussian-occupied Polish territories. In this struggle, the National Democratic Party became a dominating Polish political force in Prussian-occupied Poland.

In Austria, the modernization of Polish society progressed at a much slower pace. In 1815 the Habsburgs did not recover all the Polish territories they had taken during the partitions of Poland. They kept the lands incorporated into their empire after the first partition of 1772 and officially called them the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. Cut off from its Polish hinterland by an artificial border and isolated from the old Habsburg lands by the Carpathian Mountains, Galicia stagnated economically, becoming one of the poorest regions in Europe. The monarchs of Austria exploited Galicia economically and treated it as a reservoir of manpower for their army. In 1846, after a failed uprising and a peasant antigentry jacquerie, the Republic of Cracow was incorporated into Galicia. Two years later, during the revolutions of 1848, serfdom was abolished in Galicia, but its semifeudal social structure did not change quickly. To overcome a deep crisis in the Habsburg monarchy in the mid-nineteenth century, Vienna made a Compromise (*Ausgleich*) with the Hungarians that reshaped the structure of the empire in 1867. Under its provisions, Galicia received a broad autonomy. Polish became its official language, and the Polish gentry controlled its government. The province now became a center of Polish culture. The Galician population was about 8 million people at the beginning of the twentieth century and consisted mostly of Poles (45 percent), Ukrainians (45 percent), and Jews (6 percent).

Autonomy led to the creation of a thriving political life in Galicia. Initially, the most influential people were conservative loyalists, but by the end of the nineteenth century, they were losing ground to the Polish Peasant Party (established in 1895), the Polish Social Democratic Party (formed in 1892), and numerous other national minorities' parties. In 1905 a Galician branch of the National Democratic Party was also established in the province and soon dominated local political life.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, therefore, the Poles had no state and were second-class citizens in Germany and Russia. They populated mostly underdeveloped, poor, agrarian territories. The illiteracy rate was high and the countryside overpopulated. The Poles were divided into several antagonistic social classes and were burdened with the memory of the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the eighteenth century as well as the failed national uprisings of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the Poles constituted a relatively large nation of over 30 million people spread across the former Congress Kingdom (12 million), Galicia (8 million), the former Grand Duchy of Poznań (8 million), Pomerania (almost 2 million), Upper Silesia (almost 2 million), East Prussia, Lithuania, Belorussia, and Ukraine (several million). Their demographic growth, 1.3 percent a year, was among the

Józef Piłsudski

Considered by many historians to be the most outstanding Polish politician of the twentieth century, Piłsudski was one of the most important contributors to the reestablishment of the Polish state in 1918. Born in 1867 in a noble family northeast of Vilna, he was raised in the patriotic tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1887 he was arrested by the tsarist police for his contacts with Russian *Narodnik*s (Populists) and sent to Siberia. In 1892 he returned to Vilna and joined the newly established Polish Socialist Party (PPS). Soon, he became one of its most important leaders and the editor-in-chief of the party organ *Robotnik* (The Worker). He commanded the party underground activities during the 1905 revolution in Russia, and after the end of the revolution, in 1908, he moved to Austrian-controlled Galicia. Anticipating the outbreak of World War I, he created there, first secretly and then legally with the support of the Austrian authorities, several paramilitary organizations. After the beginning of the war, they took part in the anti-Russian offensive and were reformed into the Polish Legions.

In 1916, when Germany and Austria established a Polish puppet state, Piłsudski joined its government, but after the March 1917 revolution in Russia, he reversed his strategy, opposed any cooperation with Berlin and Vienna, and was imprisoned by the Germans in the fortress of Magdeburg. Released after the outbreak of the German revolution in early November 1918, he returned to Warsaw, accepted the position of chief of state and commander in chief of the Polish Army, and managed to build a compromise between various political forces fighting for power in Poland.

In 1918–1921 he led the Polish Army during several border wars and managed to finish them in a manner favorable to Poland. In March 1920, during the war against Soviet Russia, Piłsudski became the marshal of Poland. In late 1922 he transmitted his power to the newly elected president, Gabriel Narutowicz. In 1923 he resigned from his last official position of chief of the Polish General Staff and retired from politics.

Soon, however, he gathered around him many political and military leaders who opposed the excesses of the "Parliamentocracy" and criticized chaos and corruption in Poland. On 12 May 1926, Piłsudski started a military coup d'état and after several days of bloody struggle, he established a dictatorship known as *Sanacja.* Initially, the marshal tolerated the opposition, but in 1930 its leadership was arrested, and the regime slid into an unscrupulous authoritarianism. Piłsudski decided personally about all the most important governmental decisions. Disillusioned with the policies of the Western powers towards Germany and East Central Europe, he accepted a principle of equilibrium in the foreign strategy of Poland. It should engage on neither the German nor the Soviet side but should balance between those two powers.

In April 1935 the Sejm, controlled by Sanacja, accepted a new constitution that sanctioned a strong presidential system, de facto a dictatorial political system, in Poland. A month later, Piłsudski died. His political camp partially disintegrated and moved to the right. Despite all his mistakes and shortcomings, Marshal Piłsudski was one of the most charismatic leaders in the entire history of Poland, and his positive contribution to its liberation and development cannot be denied.

highest in Europe. They had developed a sophisticated national elite and a fascinating culture. Several modern political parties mobilized thousands of Poles and coordinated their activities. Polish national consciousness was relatively strong. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was already obvious that German and Russian attempts to denationalize and assimilate the Poles had failed. Several countries in the West, particularly France and the United States, hosted large groups of immigrants from Poland and active Polish political centers that influenced the situation in the country.

Moreover, the Poles had their national Piedmont in autonomous Galicia. Not only did Polish political and cultural life flourish there, but Galicia also became a refuge for Poles escaping from Germany and Russia as well as the center of the Polish national freedom movement. Stimulated by international events, the movement was growing faster at the beginning of the twentieth century than before.

Russia's defeat in the 1904 war with Japan triggered a revolution in the tsarist empire in January 1905. The former Congress Kingdom, one of the most industrialized parts of Russia, became an important center of that revolution. The Polish Socialist Party (PPS), an important coorganizer of the antitsarist resistance, transformed it partly into a national uprising. After the collapse of the revolution and the restoration of tsarist control, thousands of its veterans escaped to Galicia. Piłsudski was one of the most stubborn fighters, but in 1908 he also followed them. Anticipating the outbreak of World War I, he helped to establish in Galicia the nucleus of a future Polish army, the

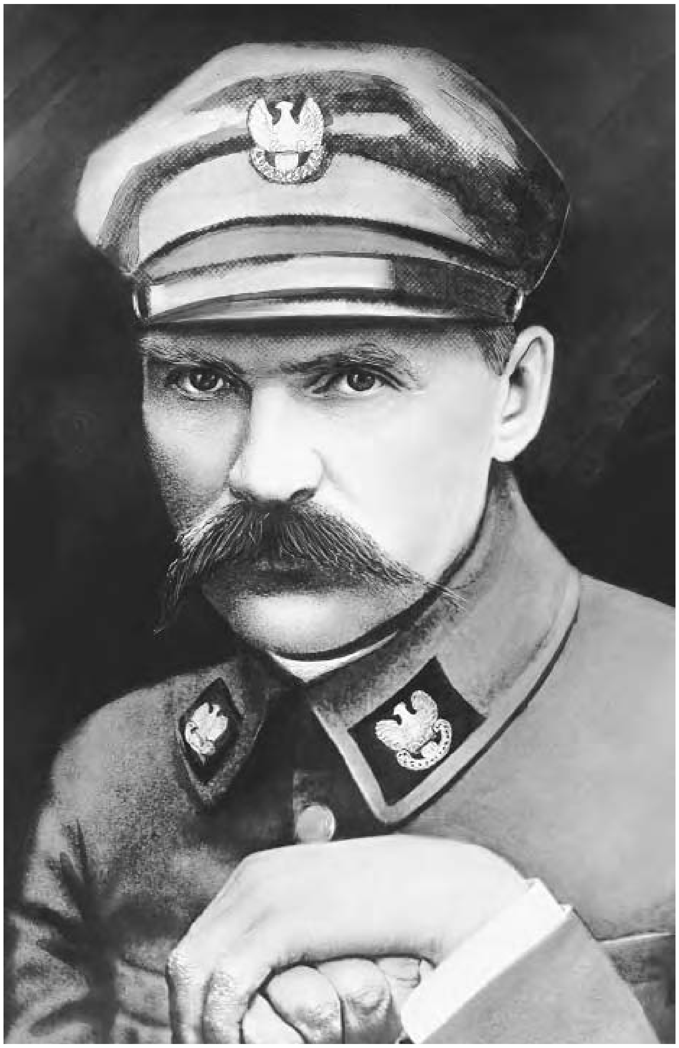
Rifleman Association and the Union of Armed Struggle. In 1912 the Piłsudskiite wing of the PPS helped to form, and became an activating force in, the Temporary Committee of [Polish] Confederated Independence Parties.

Despite their dreams of a future independent state, most Poles of Russia, Austria, and Germany did not expect to recover their state soon and did not participate in the freedom movement. Of the many nations living within the borders of these three empires, however, Poles were among the best prepared to create and rebuild their state.

WORLD WAR I

The outbreak of World War I brought both misfortune and hope to the Poles. In 1914 and 1915 heavy fighting took place on the Polish territories. The Russians occupied most of Galicia and defended the former Congress Kingdom. Hundreds of thousands of Poles were mobilized into the Austrian, Russian, and German armies. The Polish economy was paralyzed, and Polish territories were devastated and exploited economically. As part of their own war efforts, the partitioning powers tried to gain Polish support. Many Poles realized that the situation, one in which Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg were engaged on opposite sides of the front, created new opportunities for the Polish national cause. In August 1914 Polish politicians active in Austria formed the Supreme National Committee. It continued Galician prewar paramilitary preparations and formed the Polish Legions that fought on the side of the Austrian army. In addition, Piłsudski created an underground Polish Military Organization, which fought for an independent Poland. Another group of Polish politicians in Russia believed that only this power would be able to unite all the Polish territories into one autonomous unit. Led by Roman Dmowski, this pro-Russian orientation established the Polish National Committee in November 1914 and tried to form Polish military units within the tsarist army. Only in Germany were there no significant signs of Polish support.

In mid-1915 the Germans and the Austrians pushed the Russians from the Polish territories. The tsarist armies evacuated the most important industrial facilities and a part of the population, which added to the wartime destruction. The German-occupied region was now reorganized as the General Government Warsaw. The Austrians established the General Government Lublin in the southern part of the former Congress Kingdom. Both occupiers mercilessly exploited their territories, removing from Poland everything useful for their own war industries. Poland was supposed to be a part of *Mitteleuropa* (Central Europe), a German-controlled agricultural semi-colony, buying the products of German industry and delivering cheap labor and food. The Germans, however, overestimated their military potential and started experiencing serious problems in 1916. A shortage of "cannon fodder" (troops) was especially pressing, and the Berlin leadership began looking for new soldiers in their occupied territories. German intelligence discovered quickly that the Russian mobilization in the Polish provinces was shallow and that approximately one million soldiers could be taken from these territories. International law, however, prohibited conscription in occupied lands. It was also obvious that men enlisted by force would not be good soldiers. The German and the Austrian authorities nevertheless decided to encourage the Poles to volunteer.



Portrait of Józef Piłsudski, one of the most outstanding Polish political leaders. (Library of Congress)

On 5 November 1916, the emperors of Germany and Austria proclaimed the establishment of a Kingdom of Poland. It was to be formed on the territories of the former Congress Kingdom; its exact borders were to be determined in the future. An army of this "hereditary and constitutional Monarchy" was to be organized under the joint control of the German and Austrian governors-general of occupied Poland. A Polish Provisional Council of State was formed to help the German and Austrian authorities form the *Polnische Wehrmacht* (Polish Armed Forces).

The concept of the kingdom was so vague and the German-Austrian intentions were so clear that a large section of the Polish public opinion ignored the Declaration of 5 November. Yet the so-called activists, coming mainly from Piłsudski's wing of the PPS, the National Union of Workers, the National Union of Peasants, and the landowners' milieus, decided to use this opportunity to start building a Polish state apparatus under Austro-German supervision. The University of Warsaw reopened, and Polish educational network and central state institutions were formed. Piłsudski worked at the Military Department, and his Legionnaires were to be reorganized into new units. The Declaration of 5 November thus destroyed the past solidarity of the partitioning powers with regard to the Polish question. In December 1916 the tsar himself mentioned the idea of a future free Poland in his order to the army.

In the spring of 1917 the Piłsudski political camp started redesigning its strategy. The February Revolution in Russia, which toppled the Romanov dynasty, had changed the international situation. The Provisional Government in St. Petersburg now supported a plan for a sovereign Polish state allied with Russia. The Petrograd Soviet also recognized Poland's right to independence. Poles in Russia started organizing themselves. A Polish Liquidation Committee began to reshape the old tsarist occupational apparatus for Poland into the nucleus of a new administration. A newly established Supreme Polish Military Committee helped to form the First Polish Corps, with over 30 thousand soldiers. Later, the Second and the Third Corps were formed. After the Russian declarations, the Western powers were not bound by any commitments, thus freeing them to form their own Polish policies. The Polish National Committee, which organized in 1914 in Warsaw and moved to St. Petersburg in 1915, was reestablished in Lausanne, Switzerland, after the February Revolution and, in the fall of 1917, it settled in Paris. It was recognized by the Western powers as an official representation of Poland, a de facto Polish government, and political leaders of the Polish Army in France (a force composed of volunteers from America as well as Polish POWs from the German and Austrian armies; it reached about seventy thousand soldiers in 1919).

The Russian Revolution soon turned into a civil war. Piłsudski realized that Russia had ceased to be Poland's main enemy and that there was no need anymore to concentrate on fighting against it. In addition, the United States joined the Entente in April 1917. Collaboration with Germany and Austria became needless and awkward, especially since the Central Powers were implementing the stipulations of the 5 November Declaration very slowly. Piłsudski now convinced the Legionnaires to reject the oath of allegiance to the two emperors. This boycott of the Polnische Wehrmacht irritated the Germans, who interned most Piłsudskiite soldiers. Those who were Austrian citizens were incorporated into the Austrian army. Piłsudski, imprisoned by the Germans, thus became the first Polish leader who fought against all the three partitioning powers during World War I. As a consequence, his legend grew quickly, while his men concentrated on the development of the Polish Military Organization.

The Germans tried to stop the disintegration of the pro–Central Powers political "orientation," and in September 1917 they appointed a Regency Council. It was supposed to exercise power in the half-fictitious Kingdom of Poland and consisted of three conservative politicians: Prince Zdzisław Lubomirski, a philanthropic mayor of Warsaw, Aleksander Kakowski, the archbishop of Warsaw, and Count Józef Ostrowski, a rich landowner. Accompanied by a new Council of State as a semi-parliament and controlled by the German governor-general of Warsaw, Hans von Beseler, the regents limited their activities to education, administration, and justice.

In early 1918 the German Reich signed a peace treaty with Bolshevik Russia and Ukraine (the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk). Ukraine, a German puppet state occupied by the German army, became the breadbasket of the Reich. To strengthen the German-Ukrainian "friendship," Berlin gave Kiev the Chełm Region, a part of the former Congress Kingdom of Poland located on the western side of the River Bug. This triggered a storm among the Poles. The pro-Austrian "orientation" disintegrated, and the Council of State of the Kingdom of Poland proclaimed on 5 November 1916 resigned. A Polish Auxiliary Corps, which had still remained on the Austrian side, mutinied, crossed the front, joined the Polish Second Corps in Russia, and now fought against the Germans. The Polish Military Organization also intensified its activities.

Meanwhile, Poles were encouraged by a series of pronouncements issued by the Entente states declaring an independent Poland to be a part of their wartime goals. In January 1918 President Woodrow Wilson of America devoted to Poland the thirteenth of his famous Fourteen Points: "An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant" (cited Macmillan 496).

After the last unsuccessful German military offensive in the west in the summer of 1918, the Central Powers asked President Wilson for peace on 5 October 1918. Several weeks later, the Habsburg monarchy disintegrated, and a revolution erupted in Germany and within the ranks of its armies in the east. German soldiers did not want to fight for the empire any longer and started returning home. In several Polish towns and cities, including Warsaw, local populations disarmed the German units. On 11 November 1918, a delegation of the new republican German government signed the armistice in Compiègne, northeast of Paris.

INTERWAR POLAND

The rebuilding of the Polish state after World War I was a complicated process. For over 120 years, the Polish lands had been divided into several units with different administrative, judicial, and economic systems. Some parts of Poland had developed considerably, while others were among the most backward regions of Europe. In November 1918 only a small fragment of Polish lands was controlled by the Poles, who themselves were deeply divided. Moreover, there were several centers of Polish authorities in different places competing against each other for power in the still-to-be-organized state.

The Warsaw-based Regency Council, the provisional supreme authority of the German-established Kingdom of Poland, proclaimed the independence of Poland on 7 October 1918. Even though Warsaw was still in the hands of a

German garrison, the regents took over control of the Polnische Wehrmacht, organized a government, and by the beginning of November tried to extend their power outside Warsaw and its region. A National Democratic prime minister, appointed by the regents, established contact with Dmowski's National Committee in Paris, intending to be a diplomatic representative of the Kingdom of Poland. The committee, however, did not recognize the regents and considered itself a Polish government-in-exile.

In Cracow, the Polish members of the Austrian parliament formed a Polish Liquidation Committee. Supported by most Polish parties in Galicia, it became a local government, took over the power from the Habsburg administration, and sent back to Warsaw an official delegated by the regents to govern in Galicia. Yet the Liquidation Committee controlled only the western part of this region. On 1 November 1918, representatives of the Ukrainian parties proclaimed the establishment of the Western Ukrainian Peoples' Republic with a capital in Lvov. Ukrainian soldiers from the Austrian army and from local paramilitary organizations took over the city as well as most towns in eastern Galicia. This triggered a Polish uprising in Lvov, where Ukrainians constituted only about 20 percent of the entire population, an action that led to the 1918–1919 Polish-Ukrainian War. In addition, radical Polish peasants in northern Galicia did not recognize the Liquidation Committee and briefly established the Tarnobrzeg Republic in early November.

In Poznań, which was still a part of the German Reich, the Polish members of the Reichstag and the Prussian Diet met in mid-November. They formed a Supreme Popular Council, which was elected in December. The council established its agencies in Silesia and Gdańsk (Danzig), also held by the Germans. In the mining regions of the former Congress Kingdom, across the border from Silesia, communists attempted to initiate a Bolshevik-like revolution. In the Cieszyn (Teschen) region, the Polish National Council took over power. During the night of 6 November 1918, supporters of Piłsudski and several left-wing parties established a Provisional People's Government of the Republic of Poland in Lublin. Led by an experienced Galician politician, Ignacy Daszyński, it did not recognize other Polish governments and issued a radical manifesto presenting its socialist program. The population of Poland, an impoverished and ruined country, plagued by speculation, disorder, and inflation, was confused and divided.

Many people believe that the situation was saved by Piłsudski. Released from a German prison, he came to Warsaw on November 10. The Lublin Government and the Regency Council subordinated themselves to him. Piłsudski appointed a new central government and declared himself chief of state. He was recognized by the Entente and reached a compromise with the political Right and Dmowski's Committee in Paris. In January 1919 a new compromise government was established, headed by Ignacy Paderewski, a famous musician and a friend of President Wilson. In the same month, a Constituent Assembly was elected through a democratic election organized in all the territories held by the Poles. In February, the assembly accepted a "Small Constitution" that defined the Polish political system and kept Piłsudski as chief of state.

The basic elements of the new state structure were established. Now, Poland had to settle her borders, a difficult task. During the Paris peace conference that began in January 1919, only France supported Poland's territorial claims. To establish those claims, Poland went through a series of devastating wars with most of her neighbors. These local conflicts and a war for survival against Soviet Russia dominated the period from 1918 to 1921. Between November 1918 and July 1919, Poland fought against the Western Ukrainian Peoples' Republic, defeated it, and took over the ethnically mixed territories of Eastern Galicia. On 28 December 1918, a Polish uprising erupted in the German-held but predominantly Polish Poznań region. Within several weeks, the insurgents pushed out the Germans, who continued to resist until February 1919, when, under pressure from the Entente, an armistice was signed. As a result, the region of Poznań remained in Polish hands, even though legally it still belonged to Germany until the Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 handed it officially to Poland. In January 1919 Czechoslovak forces attacked the Cieszyn region and took its western part. In August 1919 an unsuccessful Polish rising started in Silesia.

The most dangerous threat, however, came from the east. The Bolshevik leadership in Russia dreamed of a world revolution and intended to export their revolution to Western Europe. When the Germans started evacuating their armies from the east in November 1918, the Bolsheviks declared the Brest-Litovsk Treaty null and void, and the Red Army followed the Germans in their march westward. In early January 1919 the Soviets took Vilna and declared the establishment of a Soviet Socialist Lithuanian-Belorussian Republic. At the same time, the Poles started their march eastward, taking over the eastern territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that had been evacuated by the Germans. As a result of these two opposing movements, the Polish and Soviet units met south of Vilna in February 1919. Initially, both the Soviets and the Poles concentrated on their other wars, but soon these first skirmishes evolved into a major confrontation. In April 1919 Piłsudski organized a military expedition and removed the Red Army from his native Vilna. In the summer of 1919 the Poles took most of Belorussia, and in May 1920 the Polish army entered Kiev.

It appeared that Marshal Piłsudski had realized his great plan. He believed that small national states had no chance of survival sandwiched between Russia and Germany. Raised in the tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he wanted to form a similar federation, which would be able to resist foreign pressure. Yet such a federation program had many opponents. Polish landlords from the eastern borderlands rejected any idea of Belorussian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian autonomy and wanted their estates, which had been divided by local peasants during the revolution, returned to them. To most Poles, the capturing of a territory by the Polish army meant an automatic incorporation of this territory into the Polish state. A majority of Lithuanian and Ukrainian politicians were also against the idea of any ties with Poland.

In June 1920 the Red Army regrouped and started a major offensive. In early August 1920, the Soviet forces appeared at the gates of Warsaw, formed a Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Poland, and pronounced the establishment of the Polish Socialist Soviet Republic. The Poles answered with a total mobilization of all forces. A coalition Government of National Unity was formed in Warsaw. Volunteers rushed to the army, which grew to almost one million soldiers. France delivered significant military help. During the crucial battle of Warsaw in mid-August 1920, the Soviet front was broken and pushed back. In September the Poles won another major battle on the River Niemen. On 12 October 1920, both sides accepted a cease-fire, and on 18 March 1921 the Riga Peace Treaty was signed in the capital of Latvia. The longest border of interwar Poland was settled by a compromise: significant Polish ethnic islands remained on the non-Polish side of the frontier, and significant non-Polish ethnic islands on the Polish side.

The "Bolshevik War" (also known as the Polish-Soviet War) had several negative international repercussions. The Soviets handed Vilna to Lithuania in the summer of 1920, and a long and bitter conflict between Poland and Lithuania began when the Poles seized the city in October. The near catastrophe of Polish forces in the summer of 1920 encouraged the Germans to initiate strong anti-Polish tactics in Silesia. The Poles answered with a second uprising in August 1920. An Inter-Allied Commission and Western military units were sent to Silesia to maintain order and to prepare a plebiscite (which took place in March 1921). The Germans brought between 100,000 and 200,000 voters by special trains from the interior of Germany, won the plebiscite, and refused to divide Upper Silesia. The Poles answered with the Third Silesian Uprising in May 1921. Eventually, the province was divided between Poland and Germany. Another plebiscite, held in Polish-speaking territories in East Prussia, was lost by the Poles in 1920, and only several small communities were transferred to Poland. The last contestable fragments of the nation's borders were finally accepted by an Ambassadors' Conference arranged by the League of Nations in March 1923.

Poland, with an area of 388,600 square kilometers, became the sixth largest country of Europe. According to the 1921 census, it was populated by 27.2 million people. As in most East Central European states, sizable national minorities lived in Poland. Poles constituted about 69.2 percent of the entire population, "Ruthenians" (mostly Ukrainians) 14.3 percent, Jews 7.8 percent, Belorussians 3.9 percent, Germans 3.9 percent, and "others" 0.8 percent. Most inhabitants of Poland were Roman Catholics (63.8 percent). Greek Catholics constituted 11.2 percent, Orthodox Christians 10.5 percent, Protestant 3.7 percent, Jewish 10.5 percent, and "others" 0.3 percent. Most Polish citizens, over 63 percent, worked in agriculture. Only six cities had more than 100,000 inhabitants: Warsaw 937,000, Łódź 452,000, Lvov 219,000, Cracow 184,000, Poznań 169,000, and Vilna 129,000.

Like most European states, Poland accepted a democratic political system after 1918. The Constitution of 17 March 1921, one of the most democratic supreme laws at the time, proclaimed a republic with a parliamentary-cabinet system of government. A bicameral parliament, elected in universal, secret, direct, equal, and proportional elections, represented the people and dominated the political scene.

Nevertheless, there were problems. The political Right, afraid that Piłsudski would be elected president, managed to limit the powers of this office. Critics of the constitution claimed that it gave too much power to the legislature and too little to the executive. In addition, most citizens of Poland did not have any political experience, and over 33 percent of them were illiterate. Political parties were numerous, small, and not ready to compromise. Badly treated national minorities strengthened the opposition; and the economy was in a bad shape.

Subsequent governments introduced several reforms. They established a strong Polish currency, balanced the budget, prepared an agricultural reform, and started developing an industrial infrastructure. In the mid-1920s, the economy recovered, but the overall situation was still difficult. Strikes and even local worker rebellions destabilized political life, and governments changed frequently. Internationally, the situation worsened. In 1922 the Soviets and the Germans signed a Cooperation Treaty; in 1925 the Western powers guaranteed the western borders of Germany but neglected to issue any such guarantees for its eastern frontier. Also in 1925, Germany started a tariff war with Poland.

Initially, the Polish political scene was balanced between the Right (the National Democracy), the Center (the Polish Peasant Party Piast, the Christian Democracy, and the National Workers' Party), the Left (the Polish Socialist Party, the Polish Peasant Party Liberation), and the national minorities' parties. Gradually, however, the political Right grew stronger. In 1922 radical National Democratic propaganda led to the assassination of the first elected president, Gabriel Narutowicz. The land reform, although accepted by the parliament, was not fully introduced. People became tired of the chaos in administration and corruption in politics. During 1924–1925, the democratic system was becoming increasingly unpopular among a majority of Poles. A popular conviction held that the chaotic situation in Poland needed a strong leader to run the show.

On 12 May 1926, several army regiments, led by generals sympathizing with Piłsudski, entered Warsaw and took control of the city after two days of fighting (in which over three hundred people were killed) with government units. The coup enjoyed strong support from the political Left. On 14 May, the president and the government resigned. The presidency, according to the constitution, passed to the speaker of the parliament, who appointed a temporary premier. New presidential elections were scheduled. Even though the National Assembly did not change after the coup, Piłsudski was elected president. He recognized this as a legal consecration of his intervention, but, to the public's general astonishment, he did not accept the presidency but recommended his friend, a former socialist and a prominent scientist, Ignacy Mościcki, for the post. The National Assembly elected Mościcki.

The Piłsudski coup ended the conflicts that had existed between the Left and the Right and eased the social tensions that had marked the first years of the Second Republic. Similar phenomena were seen in other interwar European states, but in Poland authoritarian goals and tactics were put into effect by the Left rather than the Right. Piłsudski did not intend to become a Polish Mussolini. He meant to tolerate the Sejm, considered himself a democrat, and wanted to return to the chief of state formula of 1918. With his modesty, martial appearance, and ability to combine political realism with dedication to a romantically conceived cause, Piłsudski remained very popular. Some historians call the political system of 1926–1930 a "guided democracy." From 1926 to 1930, the Sejm continued its work, even though Piłsudski himself appointed all the cabinets. They had no majority in the parliament, and the latter, at least initially, did not try to abolish them. The marshal emphasized that he did not plan any revolutionary changes. He intended to strengthen the executive, restore Poland's "moral health," and eliminate corruption, incompetence, administrative disorder, and partisan greed. His regime now took the name of Sanacja (moral sanitation).

The first Sanacja governments eliminated much of the chaos of the previous administrations and achieved some continuity and stability. Also, a large part of the national minorities accepted the coup, hoping that the new authorities would change their attitude toward the non-Polish population. Yet Sanacja did not manage to ease ethnic tensions. Moreover, even though the economy improved, Piłsudski abandoned social reforms, arguing that Poland could not afford them. As a consequence, he lost the support of the Left. Constitutional amendments that eased legislative action and increased the authority of the executive were supported by the Right. In November 1926 a decree was issued restricting the liberty of the press. Brought to power by the Left, Piłsudski was now building support on the Right. He did not have a clear program, and the concept of *Sanacja* had no real content. Overwhelmed by too many assignments, Piłsudski did not have time to attend to several important matters, such as the economy and the army. He regarded military discipline and order as the highest civic virtues and approached politics from the point of view of military tactics and strategy.

After the coup, the Piłsudskiites began assuming leading positions in Poland's governmental system. Frequently, they lacked administrative competence, had no experience running a complex state mechanism, and suffered from many other shortcomings. Imbued with a conspiracy mentality and accustomed to approaching problems from a military point of view, the Piłsudskiite veterans formed an informal and closed ruling group, which initiated a process of militarizing the state.

Piłsudski formally respected the prerogatives of the Sejm, but he planned to reshape the Polish political system and to change the constitution. He intended to do this in a semidemocratic way, and thus needed a majority in the parliament. Piłsudski needed a new political party, one that would unite all his supporters and would win the parliamentary elections. In 1927 several small parties, professional, social, and cultural associations, and numerous opportunists were merged into an umbrella organization called the Non-Party Bloc of Cooperation with the Government (BBWR). The Bloc propagated the slogan of Sanacja and emphasized the "interests of the state" but, in the 1928 elections, it garnered only 28 percent of votes, and thus was unable to achieve a majority in the parliament and to control the legislative process. This failure made the political atmosphere even tenser. The conflict between the Sejm and the marshal worsened. The opposition grew. In December 1926, in an effort to revitalize the Right, Dmowski established a radical Camp for a Greater Poland (OWP). It organized fighting squads and propagandized with authoritarian slogans, borrowing frequently from the Italian fascists' model. In 1928 the OWP helped to reshape the National Democracy into the National Party (SN).

In the fall of 1929 a powerful left-of-center coalition was formed. Called Centrolew, it intended to replace the Piłsudski regime with a democratic government. It capitalized on the growing frustration of the working classes, struggling under the effects of the Great Depression, particularly severe and long lasting in Poland. In 1930 Centrolew organized a Congress for the Defense of the Law and the Freedom of the People and issued an appeal to organize similar demonstrations. They were dispersed by the police. About ninety Centrolew leaders and approximately five thousand people from various parties and opposition organizations were arrested and detained in the fortress of Brest-Litovsk. In the atmosphere of intimidation, parliamentary elections were organized, and the BBWR gained 56 percent of votes. Sanacja was able to implement its laws but could not change the constitution.

The Brest-Litovsk action, the elections of 1930, and the trial of the arrested opposition leaders brought a definitive end to democracy in interwar Poland. A large part of Polish public opinion was outraged by police terror and electoral forgeries, and the support for Sanacja diminished visibly. The opposition, paralyzed in the Sejm, continued its activities elsewhere. Piłsudski abandoned "guided democracy" and ruled in a ruthless way, brutally imposing his will on the nation. In the Sejm, the BBWR passed a far-reaching Enabling Act, making it possible for the government to rule by decree. Limitations of basic freedoms were implemented, and citizens felt more like subjects than partners of the authorities. For his part, Piłsudski focused on the preparation of a new constitution. It went into effect on 23 April 1935. Its introduction violated some provisions of the 1921 constitution, as well as procedural regulations. The new constitution abandoned the liberalism of the Polish constitutional tradition and assumed an elitist, antidemocratic, antiparliamentarian, and authoritarian character.

The new constitution was tailor-made for Piłsudski. However, he died on 12 May 1935, and his premature death constituted another turning point in interwar Polish history. The Piłsudski charisma, which had veiled a hardened and arbitrary authoritarian regime, as well as corruption and governmental malpractice, was gone. The Piłsudski camp now disintegrated into several ambitious cliques, each competing against the other and all moving toward stricter autocracy. Some historians believe that political life in post-1935

Poland occasionally resembled practices to be found in contemporary totalitarian societies.In May 1936 the last interwar Polish government was appointed. Headed by General Felicjan Sławoj-Składkowski, a blind follower of Piłsudski and his minister of the interior from 1926 to 1931, it included two generals and three colonels, and in many ways resembled an army junta. In February 1937 the regime tried to rebuild a government party, the Camp of National Unity (OZN). It was intended to be a hierarchically organized totalitarian movement. OZN stressed the importance of the army and military-like discipline, used Italian fascist slogans and elements of National Democratic programs. Propagating a vision of Poland as a state of Polish Catholics who would "defend their culture," it also emphasized "economic self-sufficiency," excluding Jews and other national minorities.

The continuing economic crisis made the general situation in Poland even worse. The regime met with growing opposition from the Left and the Center. The Peasant Party introduced a new political weapon—the peasant strike. The PPS increased its activities. In 1936 General Władysław Sikorski and Ignacy Paderewski initiated a new movement, the Front Morges, named after Paderewski's Swiss residence. The Front Morges attempted to consolidate the opposition by voicing harsh criticism of Sanacja's authoritarian regime and its risky foreign policy of nonalignment and attempted balance between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. In 1932 a Polish-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact was signed. In 1934 a Polish-German Declaration on the Non-Use of Violence followed and, in the same year, the Polish-Soviet Pact was extended for another ten years. In 1934 Poland rejected a French project of an Eastern Pact, in which France, Germany, the USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia would guarantee East European borders.

The "balanced policy" pursued by Poland worked in the early 1930s, when Soviet-German relations were poor, but collapsed by the end of the decade, when Berlin and Moscow started cooperating. In addition, Polish neutrality was perceived in Europe as a pro-German position, especially in 1938 when Poland participated in the partition of Czechoslovakia (after the Munich conference).

The reign of Sanacja was not, however, entirely negative. It realized several useful goals, especially in terms of economic development. After 1936, a brilliant deputy premier responsible for the economy, Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, introduced some elements of American, German, and Italian economic policies and managed to start an economic boom. Sanacja helped to integrate the country and to strengthen Polish identity. Poland's population grew from 27.2 million in 1921 to 35.1 million in 1939, a growth rate much faster than the European average. During the interwar period, a new generation of young Poles appeared. Educated in Polish schools and highly patriotic, they considered the existence of a Polish state playing an important part in the European international system as an indisputable fact.

WORLD WAR II

By the late 1930s, Germany and Russia had recovered their strength and began to reconstruct their empires. On 23 August 1939, their foreign ministers, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Molotov, signed a pact that divided East Central Europe and Poland into two spheres of influence. Stalin and Hitler decided that Poland should cease to exist once and for all. Thus, on 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland, and seventeen days later the Soviet Union followed suit. Unfortunately, a shortsighted selfishness prevailed in France and Great Britain. They accepted Poland's deadly struggle as a "useful diversion providing breathing space" (Bethell 117) and failed to deliver promised help. The Polish army surrendered after thirty-five days of bloody fighting.

Poland was now partitioned again. Almost 50 percent of its territory was taken by the Soviet Union, 48.4 percent by Nazi Germany, and 1.6 percent by Lithuania. The occupation of Poland by the Germans lasted longer than in any other country (leaving aside a milder occupation of Bohemia) and was the most severe. The Poles were ranked by the Nazis as the second lowest racial group in Europe next to the Jews and the Gypsies. Over 6 million Polish citizens, 3 million Christians and 3 million Jews, were killed during the war, which constituted the largest casualty rate among European states. Millions more were deported to Germany and Russia or left in the territories taken by the Soviet Union after the war. In 1939 Poland had 35.1 million inhabitants; by 1945 only about 23 million remained.

It was not only the Germans who killed Poland's citizens. In fact, the Soviet occupation in 1939 resembled German rule in many respects. The Soviets and the Germans cooperated against the Poles and followed the rule of *divide et impera* (divide and conquer). The first element of this division was the territorial fragmentation of Poland. The Germans partitioned their booty into two segments. The entire

German troops parade through Warsaw, Poland, in September 1939. (National Archives) northwestern part of Poland (as well as a portion of central Poland) was incorporated directly into the Third Reich, becoming an integral part of it. The rest of central and southern Poland was transformed into a colony-like General Government (Generalgouvernement; GG). The Soviets divided their spoils between Soviet Belorussia and Ukraine. A region of Vilna was given to Lithuania, free in 1939 but occupied by the Soviets in 1940.

The population of Poland was divided into several categories on both sides of the Molotov-Ribbentrop line. Both the Soviets and the Germans did their best to deepen the ethnic conflicts in the former Polish territories. The most savage and devastating attack was organized by the invaders against the elite of Polish society. Both the Germans and the Soviets were determined to kill the best and the brightest, and, to a large extent, they succeeded. During World War II, the Polish nation was decapitated: the most promising youth, the most patriotic intelligentsia, and the most outstanding intellectuals perished. During the Katyn massacre in April and May 1940, the Soviets killed 21 university professors, 300 physicians, and hundreds of lawyers, teachers, and engineers. Altogether, during World War II, Poland lost 45 percent of its physicians and dentists (both Christian and Jewish), 57 percent of its lawyers, over 15 percent of its teachers, 40 percent of its university professors, and over 18 percent of its clergy.

The occupiers waged war on Polish culture and did their best to lower the intellectual and moral level of Polish society, to corrupt and demoralize it, and to promote drunkenness and collaboration. Mass deportations were the most efficient Soviet method of de-Polonizing the territories incorporated into the USSR. The deportations started immediately after September 1939 and lasted until the very day of the German attack on the Soviet Union (22 June 1941). Altogether, the Soviets deported over 300,000 people to remote Soviet provinces. Probably about 30 percent of the deportees died in the Soviet Union. A portion of those who survived did not manage to return to Poland or to escape abroad.

A similar deportation and de-Polonization plan was implemented by the Germans. In the winter of 1939–1940 about one million Poles were deported from the territories incorporated into the Reich to the General Government. Thousands of the deportees died during the transportation or immediately after they arrived in the GG. Moreover, the Nazi authorities deported local populations from several attractive regions in the GG, such as the Zamość region, and tried to colonize them with German settlers. More than 200,000 Polish children were kidnapped and taken to the Reich for Germanization.

Both the Germans and the Soviets terrorized Polish society. Prior to 25 October 1939, when the Polish territories

ARBEIT MACHT FREI

Entrance to the Nazi Auschwitz camp. (Corel Corporation) were still under the administration of the German Army, the Wehrmacht executed over 16,000 Poles. The German airforce, participating in the September campaign, deliberately bombed civilian targets and civilians escaping from the burning towns and cities. As early as November 1939, street roundups started in Poland. During the next years, the Germans established in Poland over three hundred labor, concentration, and extermination camps. In April 1940 Heinrich Himmler ordered the establishment of a large concentration camp near Oświęcim, which had been previously incorporated into the Reich and renamed Auschwitz. In June 1940 the first transport of Polish political prisoners was brought to the camp. Soon, Auschwitz acquired its reputation as the harshest camp, where tortures and executions of prisoners defined daily routine. In August 1942 a systematic killing of the Jews began in the gas chambers of the Birkenau section of Auschwitz, making it the main Nazi center of mass extermination of the Jews.

The Soviets also initiated a policy of terror. Frequently, the Red Army shot prisoners of war on the spot. People's militias, established by the new authorities, initiated random retribution against Polish officers, policemen, local officials, judges, and any other employees of the Polish state apparatus. In October 1939 the NKVD forced the local population to "elect" "People's Assemblies" in Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia. Their representatives were sent to Moscow, where they asked the Supreme Soviet to incorporate the eastern Polish provinces into the Soviet Union. From over 6 million Polish citizens (both Jews and Christians) killed during the war, almost 5.4 million died as a direct result of German and Soviet mass terror.

Both the Germans and the Soviets started systematic economic exploitation of the conquered Polish territories. Between 1939 and 1944, the Germans deported about 2 million Poles to the Reich to work in agriculture and industry.

There was one striking difference between the Soviet and the German occupation in Poland: different policies toward the Jews. From the beginning of the war, the Germans started an extermination campaign against the Jews. The first ghettos were organized in October 1939. In November 1940 the large ghetto of Warsaw was sealed. The Jews were tortured, robbed, and starved to death. The Germans encouraged Polish anti-Semites, who participated in various activities directed against the Jews.

In June 1941 the Germans invaded the Soviet Union and occupied all the territories of the prewar Polish state. Now, Poland was divided between the Reich (30.8 percent), the General Government (38.8 percent), and the so-called *Reichskommissariats* (30.3 percent). After their initial victory in Russia, the Germans undertook even crueler policies toward the population of Poland. In 1942 and 1943 most Polish Jews were killed, mostly in Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek, Chełmno, Sobibór, Bełżec, and other extermination camps. Altogether, the Germans exterminated approximately 3 million Jewish citizens of Poland and 3 million Jews brought to occupied Poland from abroad.

In September 1939 most Poles believed that the war was not yet finished, that only the first campaign had been lost. A Polish government in exile was established abroad. Thousands of Polish soldiers escaped from occupied Poland. Polish army units were organized in France and in the Middle East. In 1940 Polish soldiers fought the Germans in Norway, France, and in the skies over England. In 1944 Polish troops took part in the Allied invasion of France. The Second Polish Corps took the German stronghold on Monte Cassino that opened the way to Rome in May 1944. The First Polish Army, organized by the Soviets in 1943, went with the Red Army to Berlin. The Second Polish Army, established by the communists in 1944, stopped the relief of Berlin during the Battle of Bautzen in April 1945. By the end of World War II, the Polish Armed Forces were the fourth largest among the Allies, following the armies of the Soviet Union, America, and the British Commonwealth.

As early as September 1939, the Poles started organizing their underground state and anti-German resistance. Communication between the Polish government in exile and the underground in Poland was established. Polish clandestine political parties, operating under the German occupation, began a process of uniting the armed underground. In 1943 most of it merged into the Home Army (AK). Only a few clandestine military organizations boycotted the unification: National Armed Forces (NSZ) on the radical Right and the People's Guard (GL, later People's Army—AL), representing the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) established underground by communist messengers sent from Moscow. The Home Army numbered 380,000 organized and sworn resistance fighters, the largest anti-German underground army in occupied Europe. The Polish underground state also included a clandestine civilian administration, secret educational institutions, and a justice system. Some of the accomplishments of the Polish resistance made, as General Dwight Eisenhower, the supreme Allied commander in the west, said, a "decisive contribution to the Allied war efforts" (Keegan 111).

After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Polish government in exile and the Soviets signed a mutual assistance and nonaggression pact on 30 July 1941. Despite this outward show of unity, establishing cordial Polish-Soviet relations was not possible. Even though an "amnesty" was offered to the Polish people in the Gulag (the Soviet prison system) and a Polish army was organized in Russia, not all the Polish prisoners were released, and not all of those who were released could join the army. The treaty did result in saving tens of thousands of Polish lives, however, and Poland maintained its status as an ally, allowing the government in exile to continue its activities. Nevertheless, Stalin's government announced with increasing frequency that it was going to deal with "ethnic Poland" only. The Curzon Line, practically identical to the Molotov-Ribbentrop line, appeared more and more often in official Soviet statements as the legal western border of the USSR. A conflict over the Polish army in Russia ended with the evacuation of the Polish troops to Persia, and Soviet-Polish relations deteriorated even further.

On 13 April 1943, Berlin radio announced the discovery of mass graves at Katyn. Moscow called the report a "fabrication by Goebbels' slanderers" (Wróbel 24), but there were so many indications that the officers were indeed executed

The Warsaw Ghetto

Ghettoization of the Jews constituted one of the crucial phases of the Nazi policy aimed at the extermination of European Jewry. Most Jewish ghettos established by the Germans during World War II were located in Polish, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian territories occupied by the Third Reich. The largest European ghetto was formed in Warsaw, where over 370,000 Jews lived before the war (nearly 30 percent of the city's population).

The Germans occupied Warsaw in September 1939, immediately initiated anti-Jewish persecutions, and, in early 1940, began to organize a ghetto in the city. Between April and August 1940, a 3.5 meter wall was built around the so-called *Jüdische Wohnbezirk* (Jewish residential quarter), the northeastern district of Warsaw where much of the prewar Jewish population resided. In November 1940, after an exchange of population between the "Jewish" and "non-Jewish" parts of Warsaw, the ghetto was sealed off. This small area of 73 streets (out of a total of 1,800 streets in the city) became a home to 396,000 Jews, over 30 percent of the city's population. Soon, the Germans started moving Jews from Western Europe to Poland and from the smaller ghettos to the larger ones. In March 1941 over 445,000 Jews lived in the Warsaw Ghetto. The conditions in this densely crowded district worsened. In October 1941 Hans Frank, the German governor general of occupied Poland, decreed that every Jew found outside the ghetto without permission would be executed. The Germans exploited the ghetto population economically and established a daily caloric quota that led to starvation. By mid-1942, over 100,000 people had died in the ghettos of Warsaw and Łódź alone, even though numerous members of the *Judenräte* (Jewish Councils), established by the Germans to administer the ghettos, tried to make ghetto life bearable. In the summer of 1942 most residents of the Warsaw Ghetto were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp and gassed to death.

The Jews answered the Nazi oppression with organized resistance. Among the approximately 60,000 Jews who remained in the ghetto, several underground organizations sprang up. When the Germans attempted to kill the rest of the ghetto's population in January 1943, the Jewish Fighting Organization (ŻOB) and the Jewish Military Union (ŻZW) answered with armed resistance and stopped the German operation. The Germans prepared a new offensive and entered the ghetto on 19 April 1943. The Jewish fighters, some 500 strong, started an insurrection. Street fighting lasted until 24 April. The Germans then withdrew from the Warsaw Ghetto, regrouped, and began to burn and systematically demolish one city block after another. On 8 May, the Germans took the bunker that served as the ŻOB headquarters. Eight days later, SS Major General Jürgen Stroop dynamited the Great Synagogue of Warsaw and declared an end to the uprising. However, small Jewish groups continued to fight in the ruins of the ghetto until mid-August 1943. The last of the groups survived in the ruins until the 1944 Warsaw Uprising.

by the NKVD that the Polish government in exile asked the International Red Cross to investigate. Moscow used this move by the London exiles as a pretext to break its relations with the Polish government. Relations were never resumed. In January 1944 the Red Army crossed the Polish interwar borders and in July 1944 entered Polish ethnic territories west of the Curzon Line. Along with the Soviet military, a Soviet-controlled Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) was established as a de facto government and started administering the Polish communist Piedmont, the Lublin area taken by the Soviets in the summer of 1944.

By the end of 1943, the Polish government in exile and the leaders of the Polish underground state in occupied Poland realized that the question of Poland's eastern borders was beyond their control. They also understood that Poland's postwar independence was in jeopardy. Everywhere in the Soviet-controlled "liberated" territories, Soviet authorities used methods and implemented policies well known to the Polish people from the period 1939–1941.

Polish leaders desperately sought a solution and decided to organize a local uprising behind the German front in order to assist the Soviet offensives. Polish resistance soldiers were to cooperate with the Red Army, help it to break the German lines, and establish a Polish temporary administration. This operation received the cryptonym Tempest; it began in March and April 1944 in former eastern Poland. In July the Polish underground armed forces attacked Vilna, and participated in the capture of Lvov and Lublin. In all these cases, the Soviets cooperated with the Home Army during the fighting. Immediately after the fighting, however, NKVD units disarmed the Poles, merged the soldiers into the Polish communist army or into the Red Army, and arrested the officers. Many of them were executed, and the majority were deported to the Gulag. A Polish underground administration simply could not be tolerated by the Soviets anywhere.

The original plan of Tempest did not foresee any fighting in large cities. It was feared that casualties would be too large. On 29 July 1944, however, Soviet units appeared in

Warsaw's eastern suburbs. The Germans panicked and started evacuating their governing apparatus in Warsaw. The Home Army Command knew about the attempt on Hitler's life earlier that month. The Soviet-sponsored Polish Radio in Moscow constantly called upon the population of Warsaw to fight the Germans alongside the Red Army. The capture of the Polish capital seemed imminent, even though the Germans had managed to recover from the panic and ordered the mobilization of 100,000 young people for work on Warsaw's fortifications. The Wehrmacht was going to reshape the city into a stronghold, which was to stop the Soviet offensive. Therefore, the Home Army commanders believed it was necessary to take Warsaw before a siege could commence. At the same time, the Polish government in exile believed that it was the last opportunity to establish Polish independent authorities in Warsaw.

On 1 August 1944, Warsaw's units of the Home Army attacked the Germans and gained control of most of the city within three days. Only 10 percent of the Polish fighters were armed. The Red Army deliberately stopped its offensive and remained idle. The Soviet Air Force, so active over Warsaw before, disappeared, allowing the Germans to bomb the city without restraint. The Red Army also stopped and disarmed detachments of the Home Army marching to Warsaw, and the Soviet government refused to allow the Western Allies to use Soviet air bases to airlift supplies for the fighting Poles. For their part, the Germans sent fresh units to Warsaw, swelling their forces to 17,000 well-armed men plus artillery, tanks, and planes. On October 2, after sixty-three days of desperate fighting, the Poles surrendered.

The Home Army Command and about 12,000 insurgents were taken as prisoners of war. The Germans deported the remainder of the city's population to various camps and almost completely gutted the city. Over 200,000 civilians died; about 18,000 Home Army soldiers were killed, and another 7,000 were wounded. The main body of the Home Army was eliminated. The best representatives of the Polish youth of Warsaw, almost the entire generation, perished. When the Red Army took the Polish capital in January 1945, it was a gigantic ruin. Over 80 percent of the city's buildings were destroyed. The defeat of the uprising weakened organized resistance in Poland and helped the Soviets establish their political domination over the country.

The disastrous fate of Poland was confirmed during the Yalta conference in February 1945. The conference was the culmination and a catastrophic consummation of wartime strategic decisions of American and British leaders and their policies toward Moscow. In the Polish political vocabulary, the name of Yalta became a symbol of treason and betrayal, and the Yalta conference is considered to be a close copy of the Munich conference. The American president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, accepted the loss of East Central Europe in exchange for a Soviet agreement on his United Nations plan and a Soviet promise to participate in the final stage of anti-Japanese operations. The Western Allies lost Poland and the entire region of East Central Europe—the key to the western parts of the Old Continent and to international stabilization during the postwar era.

The Nazi totalitarian occupation of Poland was now replaced by Soviet totalitarian control. After 1945, the Polish people continued to be deported to the Soviet camps and exterminated. The new oppressors drastically changed the borders of Poland, which lost 20 percent of its prewar area and two major centers of Polish national culture, Vilna and Lvov. The Soviets continued the economic exploitation of Poland and the extermination of the Polish elites.

COMMUNIST PERIOD

According to the official Marxist historiography of the former People's Republic of Poland (PRL), this state was established on 22 July 1944 in Lublin, which had been recently liberated by the Soviets. On that day, the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN), formed on 20 July in the nearby town of Chełm, issued a manifesto announcing that the Polish government in exile was illegal and promising social reforms. In fact, however, the PKWN was organized earlier in Moscow, where the manifesto had already been prepared. The PKWN, frequently called the Lublin Committee, was the de facto government of Poland established by the Soviets to counterbalance the émigré "London government." Most members of the committee had belonged earlier to the Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR and the Central Bureau of the Polish Communists in the USSR. Some came from the Homeland National Council (KRN), a semi-parliament formed by the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) underground in occupied Poland. The PKWN administered the provinces of Rzeszów, Białystok, Lublin, and parts of Warsaw and Kielce, where it introduced land reform and the first communist changes.

The Western powers did not recognize the Lublin Committee and asked the Soviets specifically not to proclaim it the government of Poland. Yet, on 1 January 1945, the committee was transformed into the Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland. Beginning in February 1945, it resided in Warsaw and took over administration of the provinces liberated by the Red Army after January 1945. On 28 June 1945, on the basis of the Yalta agreement, the Provisional Government accepted several Polish émigré politicians from London and the London-oriented underground and was reorganized into the Provisional Government of National Unity (TRJN). It consisted of twenty-one persons, eighteen of whom belonged to communist or communist-controlled organizations. Stanisław Mikołajczyk, the prime minister of the Polish government in exile in the years 1943–1944, was appointed deputy premier of the TRJN. The Western powers recognized the new government and, simultaneously, withdrew their recognition of the government in exile. The latter protested to the Allied governments and continued its activities.

The TRJN, supported by the Soviets, following the decisions of the Potsdam Conference of July–August 1945, took over the former German territories east of the Oder and Neisse (Nysa) Rivers. About four million German inhabitants of these regions were deported to Germany between 1945 and 1947. The Provisional Government of National Unity continued land reform and nationalization

Portrait of Władysław Gomułka, 20th century Polish communist leader. (Library of Congress)

of economic enterprises in Poland. Over one million estate workers and peasants received 6 million hectares of arable land. In 1949 peasants owned 86 percent of it, and the state farms used 9 percent. Large private agricultural enterprises, held before the war mostly by former gentry, disappeared, later causing problems with the food supply. Even though the PKWN manifesto did not mention nationalization, the authorities, through a series of decrees, administrative procedures, and the Industry Nationalization Act of 3 January 1946, took over an absolute majority of all the industrial enterprises. In 1947 most cooperatives were closed, and the government became virtually the only employer outside the agricultural sector. The new authorities were aiming at the elimination of the free market and the introduction of a centrally planned economy. The noncommunist members of the government were increasingly marginalized and intimidated.

The Sovietization of Poland provoked resistance. Many guerrilla units remained in the woods and continued military operations against the new occupation. Out of about 80,000 former Home Army soldiers who continued fighting, about 30,000 belonged to the Freedom and Independence (WiN) organization established in September 1945 in Warsaw. In 1946 guerrilla activities intensified, and many Polish provinces plunged back into war. Simultaneously, noncommunist politicians tried to reestablish their political parties. The largest of them, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), reached a membership of 800,000 in May 1946. It received only three portfolios in the provisional government but aimed at quick elections, hoping to gain a majority vote.

The communist-controlled authorities and their Soviet supervisors answered these challenges with terror. Between 1945 and 1947, about half a million Soviet troops were stationed in Poland (later about 150,000 and, after 1955, about 80,000). They helped the NKVD, the Polish communist-controlled armed forces, the newly organized Citizens' Militia (MO), and the Ministry of Public Security (MBP) to introduce mass repression. Before December 1945, the regime organized 1,576 punitive operations and killed about 3,000 people. Thousands were put into prisons and concentration camps or deported to Siberia. Many veterans of the Home Army and returnees from the West were imprisoned or executed. Already in June 1945, concurrently with the Moscow Conference that established the TRJN, the Soviets arranged a show trial of sixteen leaders of the Polish World War II underground state, kidnapped from Poland to Moscow. Altogether, during the period from 1945 to 1948, about 150,000 Poles were imprisoned by the Soviet authorities.

The communists knew that they would not win the democratic and free parliamentary elections that, according to the Yalta Agreement, were supposed to take place in Poland as soon as possible after the war. Therefore, the regime harassed the opposition, postponed the elections, and staged their rehearsal. On 30 June 1946, a referendum was held. People answered three questions concerning the abolition of the Senate, changes in the economic system, and the new western border of Poland. The regime announced that the referendum results confirmed popular support for the new government. The real outcome, however, validated the worst worries of the regime; it could count on less than one-third of Poland's population. Consequently, the authorities intensified the repression; the elections of 19 January 1946 were held in an atmosphere of terror, and their results were completely falsified. The communist-controlled parties received a great majority of the seats in the new Sejm; the PSL was removed from the government and destroyed. Mikołajczyk and a group of noncommunist leaders escaped abroad, but the underground was exhausted, and the communists achieved hegemony.

The Sovietization of Poland was further accelerated by the development of the Cold War. In 1948 the Three-Year Reconstruction Plan was reformulated, and investments were reallocated to heavy industry. Warsaw was not allowed to participate in the Marshall Plan, which provided American assistance to rebuild Europe.

Poland became a one-party state, and almost all aspects of its life were controlled by the ruling Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR; often referred to as "the Party"), which was purged of what were described as right-wing nationalistic tendencies. Its membership amounted to nearly 10 percent of the entire adult population. Intimidation of the Catholic Church intensified. In 1950 the *nomenklatura* system was introduced—only PZPR members could occupy important administration positions. The Polish Army officer corps was purged and staffed with Soviet citizens. Konstantin Rokossowski, a Soviet marshal, became the marshal of Poland, a

Polish minister of defense, the PZPR Politburo member, and later a deputy premier of Poland. Close economic ties were established between the USSR and Poland, which joined the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in 1949. In 1954 one-third of the Polish adult population was registered on special secret police lists as "criminals and suspects." In 1952 a new constitution, a copy of the 1936 Soviet constitution, was adopted. Poland became a totalitarian state controlled by Moscow.

At the same time, however, the Stalinist system started eroding. The regime did not manage to collectivize agriculture. The Catholic Church survived police pressure. After the death of Stalin in March 1953, a crisis appeared within the leadership of PZPR. A large working class, created by economic changes, was frustrated by its falling standard of living. Inflation and permanent shortages of goods were eliminated by such tricks as an unexpected change of monetary system or the drastic increase of prices. A walkout of the workers of Poznań on 28 June 1956 turned into a mass armed revolt crushed only by a military operation. Władysław Gomułka, the secretary general of the Polish Worker's Party in 1943–1948, arrested for "nationalist deviations," was rehabilitated and appointed first secretary of the Party. Approved by the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, he restored stability in Poland. To achieve this, he approved the dissolution of most collective farms, reached a modus vivendi with the Catholic Church, tolerated more freedom in culture and private life, and made several compromises with Poland's traditions (which seemed antithetical to the communist doctrine of internationalism). Most Soviet "advisers," including Marshal Rokossowski, were sent back to their country, and the economic ties to the Soviet Union were made less unfair to Poland. Many Poles were enthusiastic about the new leader and believed that a new, happier era had begun.

Initial enthusiasm was soon replaced with disappointment. Gomułka, an unsophisticated, ascetic, and traditional communist, did not change essential elements of the system and suppressed "revisionists." No major economic and political reforms were undertaken. Censorship and total police control were quickly rebuilt. The conflict with the Catholic Church returned. The standard of living fell once again, and prospects for the people were grim.

Members of the intelligentsia and professionals began to voice complaints. At the same time, Party factions fought for power and plotted against Gomułka. A nationalistic-communist group within the authorities provoked the March events of 1968—student demonstrations followed by a major crackdown on intellectual opposition and vitriolic anti-Semitic campaigns and purges. Gomułka nevertheless held on to his position. He joined the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 to put down the liberal "Prague Spring" that so frightened the Party hierarchy, and in 1970 normalized relations with the West German government, which accepted the post-1945 Oder-Neisse border. Gomułka considered this his life achievement, but at home he continued to lose credibility, by virtue of his inability to halt the decline of Poland's economy. Shortly before Christmas 1970, his government announced drastic increases in food prices. This announcement triggered riots in the Baltic ports, which were crushed by police and the army. In an atmosphere of a near civil war, Gomułka had a heart attack and was replaced by Edward Gierek, a Party secretary of Silesia and the leader of a "technocratic" Party faction.

Gierek, who had spent his youth in France and Belgium as an immigrant miner from Polish Silesia, represented a different kind of personality than Gomułka had. The first secretary of the Katowice provincial Party organization after 1957, he was considered one of the most powerful and most popular politicians in the country. He believed that Poland needed a Western-oriented modernization program, and he promised to improve the material situation of the people and to reevaluate governmental economic policies. His regime received large loans from the West, and the first years of his decade in power became the most successful period in the entire history of communist Poland. Gierek liberalized cultural policies and opened the borders for most people who wanted to travel or to work abroad. To many of these "tourists," these months or years abroad proved to be very educational, as it opened their eyes to the reality of the world outside the propaganda of the authorities.

Gierek did not change the essential elements of the communist system. As had happened under Gomułka, resources allocated initially to the light and food industries to appease the population returned to heavy industry when the regime felt safe again (thus continuing to adhere to the ideological line). The government tried to regain control over the economy and introduced painful price increases. The workers answered with the rebellion of 1976, suppressed quickly by the regime. The 1975 administrative reform that replaced sixteen big provinces with forty-nine small units weakened the state apparatus. The 1976 amendments to the constitution that defined Poland as a socialist state and the Party as the leading political and social force responsible for the strengthening of Poland's friendship with the USSR proved to be highly unpopular. The intelligentsia, outraged by the regime's incompetence and by brutalities directed against innocent people, began to form various organizations in order to help the persecuted workers and defend Polish cultural achievements. Some of them, such as the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR), became very active and influential. A secret publishing and cultural "second circulation" appeared. In 1978 Cardinal Karol Wojtyła was elected pope and became unquestionably the highest spiritual authority for most Poles. The Gierek government wasted the foreign loans received from the West, and debts began to increase dramatically. The regime was unable to change the course of the economy and was soon almost crushed by the Solidarity revolt of 1980.

Like previous revolts, the national uprising of 1980 was triggered by a rise in the price of food. In August about 80,000 workers were on strike. At the Gdańsk Shipyard, a long time center of antiregime opposition, the striking employees, led by Lech Wałęsa, formulated economic and political demands, and together with representatives from other enterprises, established the Inter-Factory Striking Committee. Advised by a group of intellectuals who came

Lech Wałęsa carried on shoulders by a crowd in front of the Supreme Court after the "yes" sentence in the registration of Peasant Solidarity was declared, ca. 1980. (Bettmann/Corbis)

primarily from Warsaw, it coordinated protests in northeastern Poland. Similar committees appeared in Szczecin and in Silesian Jestrzębie Zdrój. They demanded the legitimization of independent trade unions, the lifting of censorship, the release of political prisoners, the strengthening of the position of the Catholic Church, and changes in government priorities in social welfare.

The regime, going through a crisis after the fall of Gierek, could not resist, and it accepted most of the strikers' demands. On 31 August 1980, the Gdańsk Agreements were signed. They sanctioned the right to strike and to form free trade unions, and several other freedoms previously limited by the regime. Similar agreements were signed in Szczecin and Silesia. In September the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union, Solidarity, the first free labor organization in any communist state, was formed and named Wałęsa as its chairperson. In December a separate union, called Rural Solidarity, was established. By the spring of 1981, Solidarity had 10 million members, most adult citizens of Poland, and was the largest trade union in Europe. Soon, it was radicalized and became a national antitotalitarian independence movement, attracting all Poles who held to a noncommunist worldview. Yet, in contrast to all the previous revolts in communist Poland, Solidarity strictly adhered to a nonviolent strategy, making the situation of the regime even more difficult.

From the start, the government did not have a sincere attitude toward Solidarity; it harassed Solidarity, sought conflicts with it, and tried to stop its development. In the fall of 1980, Soviet troops massed on the border with Poland, and Moscow sent several warning letters to Warsaw embodying the basic principle of the Brezhnev Doctrine (which stated that the Soviet Union had the right to intervene in any state in which "socialism" seemed to be threatened). In 1981 the conflict intensified, even though Solidarity tried to restrain itself. In February 1981 General Wojciech Jaruzelski became the premier, and, in October, he replaced Stanisław Kania as the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Jaruzelski, a professional military man who had joined the communist-controlled Polish Army in the USSR in 1943 and who had served as the minister of defense after 1968, became the most powerful person in Poland. An ambitious, strong follower of the communist regime (but also an intelligent person), he was not able to ease the confrontation with Solidarity, and he began losing control over radical factions in the Party hostile to the democratic opposition. The political conflict faced by Warsaw was paralleled by a deepening economic crisis that made everyday life difficult, a situation that only radicalized the masses even further.

Solidarity aroused enormous enthusiasm among the Poles. They believed that it was a real turning point, that this time, without a war or a bloody uprising, Poland would be able to change at least partially the inflexible, dilapidated, and corrupt system imposed on the country by Stalinist Russia. However, their enthusiasm, hopes, and overwhelming dedication were soon defeated. On 13 December 1981, Jaruzelski announced the imposition of martial law. Normal life was paralyzed, and democratic freedoms were suspended; the army patrolled the streets of Polish towns and cities. About ten thousand people linked to the opposition or simply disliked by local Party leaders were imprisoned or interned in special camps. Universities, schools, live theaters, and movie theaters were temporarily closed. Polish television discontinued its normal programming, and even the telephones ceased to function. People were not allowed to travel freely, and a curfew was introduced. In many factories, workers tried to start occupational strikes, but the army broke their resistance. At the Wujek coal mine in Katowice, the riot police (ZOMO) shot to death nine miners. Jaruzelski became the chief of the junta-like Military Council of National Salvation (WRON). Solidarity, first suspended and then declared illegal, went underground and formed secret structures, headed by the leaders who managed to escape the police.

The regime believed that it had reintroduced "normalization." As a result, martial law was suspended on 13 December 1982 and lifted on 22 July 1983. In November 1982 Wałęsa was released from prison. The underground Solidarity was divided and lost strength during the following years.

In 1985 the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR widened the Polish regime's margin of maneuver, since the hard-line faction within the Party lost Soviet support. In September 1986 almost all the political prisoners were freed. In December 1986 the Prime Minister's Consultation Council, including non-communist experts, intellectuals, and public figures, was formed.

Normal life in the country was, however, still frozen, and the Jaruzelski regime, like its predecessors, was unable to solve the economic problems. The standard of living in Poland deteriorated visibly; food stores were getting emptier, and the lines in front of them much longer. In March 1987 the authorities raised food prices by 10 percent and fuel prices by 40 percent. During the 1 May celebrations, antigovernment demonstrations and clashes with the police took place in many places in Poland. In November 1987 a regime-organized referendum on "Further Reformation of the State and National Economy" failed as a result of a Solidarity-led boycott.

In 1988 price increases caused a new wave of strikes. Some members of the opposition and the authorities came to the conclusion that neither side would be able to win and that their conflict might destroy Poland. The Catholic Church also urged a compromise. On 31 August 1988, Lech Wałęsa met the communist minister of interior, General Czesław Kiszczak. They initiated talks that led to the Round Table Negotiations. Opposed by radical members of the opposition and hard-line communists, the negotiations commenced in February 1989. On April 5, an agreement was signed. It provided for the relegalization of Solidarity and freedom of association. It also stipulated that partially free parliamentary elections would be organized in June 1989.

The communists did not intend to give up power. They hoped that the opposition would not be able to organize an effective electoral campaign during the two months that were left before the elections. The Party further hoped that Solidarity would assume much of the responsibility for the situation in Poland without significant participation in the government. The communists, however, miscalculated. According to the Round Table Agreement, only 35 percent of seats in the Sejm were to be contested during the elections. The Polish United Workers' Party and its allies, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, were to take 65 percent of the uncontested seats, plus whatever portion they won of the contested 35 percent. In addition, the names of thirty-five politicians backed by the communists were placed on an uncontested national list. Finally, a hundred-member Senate was to be established in completely free elections.

The elections of 4 and 18 June 1989 dealt a mortal blow to communist power in Poland. Solidarity took all the contested seats in the Sejm and ninety-nine seats in the Senate, leaving one seat to a rich businessman with a fancy to start a political career who bought most of the votes in his electoral district. Out of the thirty-five candidates on the uncontested national list, thirty-three failed to gain the required 50 percent of the votes and were replaced ad hoc by less well-known candidates. In the aftershock caused by this landslide, Wałęsa managed to convince the Peasant and the Democratic Parties that they should abandon the defeated communist party. As a result of their shift in allegiance, the Party unexpectedly became a minority in the parliament, holding only 38 percent of the seats.

POSTCOMMUNIST POLAND

Since Mikhail Gorbachev had no intention of intervening, the communists could not threaten Polish society with Soviet aggression, and the electoral victory was spectacular. Nevertheless, the democratic opposition played it safe. In August 1989 a Catholic journalist, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, became the first noncommunist prime minister since 1945, but his government included three communists. Moreover, General Jaruzelski was accepted by Solidarity as the president of Poland. In June 1990, when the situation had stabilized, the communist ministers were replaced by Solidarity politicians, and in the fall of 1990 General Jaruzelski resigned under public pressure.

Portrait of Aleksander Kwaśniewski, president of Poland (1995–). (Embassy of the Republic of Poland)

Initially, the Mazowiecki government enjoyed overwhelming support. Soon, however, serious problems arose. The new government inherited an economic catastrophe. Politicians and economists disagreed about the direction of economic transformation. It was not clear whether the new authorities should reform the economy slowly, supporting the poorest sectors of society and subsidizing some branches of industry and agriculture, or whether they should move quickly, changing as much as possible during the initial period of broad social support. Some politicians began to talk about a "third way" between communism and capitalism. Mazowiecki's deputy prime minister and finance minister, Leszek Balcerowicz, wanted to move quickly.

No communist economic system had ever been dismantled before, and Balcerowicz's "shock therapy" included a series of high-risk changes. The population began to feel their effects, as the recession in Poland became even worse. The inflation rate became staggering, and massive unemployment appeared. Mazowiecki's policies were quickly criticized. Especially controversial was his "thick line" policy, which suggested that an individual's communist involvement should be disregarded in the new Poland and that everybody, no matter what his or her position in the communist apparatus had been, should be allowed to participate in political and public life.

In 1990 Mazowiecki decided to participate in the presidential election. His decision contributed to the so-called war at the top, which divided Solidarity. Already in the spring of 1990, a center-right political party, the Center Alliance *(Porozumienie Centrum)* was formed. It supported Wałęsa against the allegedly too liberal Mazowiecki, whose supporters established the Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action (ROAD) and the Forum of Democratic Right (FPD). During the presidential elections held in November 1990, Mazowiecki came in third, with 18 percent of the vote. An émigré entrepreneur, Stanisław Tymiński, took second with 23 percent. Wałęsa received 40 percent of the vote and a week later gained a landslide victory of 74 percent in the second round of elections. Humiliated, Mazowiecki resigned as premier and was replaced by a liberal economist, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. Solidarity, which had largely been responsible for the victory over communism not only in Poland but (as a symbol) throughout East Central Europe as well, was now divided. Mazowiecki's supporters united and formed the Democratic Union. By January 1991, about forty political parties were registered in Poland.

Bielecki continued Mazowiecki's policies and held the office of premier until December 1991, when he resigned after the first truly democratic and completely free parliamentary elections in October of that year. The elections were necessary. The Polish United Workers' Party had ceased to exist in 1990, and most Poles believed that the Sejm elected in June 1989 was not representative and that the Round Table compromise was no longer binding. The October 1991 elections produced a severely fragmented Sejm comprising twenty-nine parties, including the Democratic Left Alliance (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej—SLD), a successor of the communist party. No single party received more than 13 percent of the total vote. A shaky coalition of several center and rightist parties formed the next government under Jan Olszewski, a former opposition activist. The government collapsed after five months of chaotic performance.

The next premier, Hanna Suchocka, a member of Solidarity, after a conflict with a Solidarity trade union, was overthrown by a no-confidence vote in May 1993. President Wałęsa, hoping to save the government, dissolved the parliament, and called for new elections. Held in September 1993, they brought the Solidarity era to an end. Most Polish voters were frustrated with the hardships of the postcommunist transition. As a result, the newly elected parliament was dominated by the political Left (the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party). They formed the first non-Solidarity government since 1989, led by peasant leader Waldemar Pawlak, and later succeeded by postcommunist politicians Józef Oleksy and Włodziemierz Cimoszewicz. The divided political Right lost its parliamentary representation. In addition, a postcommunist candidate and a former minister in the last pre-1989 government, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, won the presidential elections in November 1995, defeating Wałęsa by a narrow margin (51.7 percent to 48.3 percent).

Poland was ruled once again by the people who had lost power in 1989. They had returned to government legally and democratically, but they neither were able nor wanted to restore the pre-1989 system. The Soviet Union no longer existed, Poland was independent, and there was no outside pressure. Polish hard-line communists, disappointed and confused, retired and did not participate in the new administration. The ruling postcommunists styled themselves European social democrats, and true supporters of pluralism and democracy. They had an efficient party apparatus, inherited from the PZPR, and a political team better prepared for political life than the amateurs who had come to power in 1989. They subsidized agriculture and heavy industry and initially enjoyed widespread social support.

Nevertheless, the postcommunists had no new economic program and became hostage to the same problems that had plagued the country since the collapse of the Soviet empire. They did not deliver on their electoral promises and were unable to make the transition any less painful. They slowed down privatization and reforms, which only served to make the situation worse. The Polish Peasant Party was unable to solve the problems of Polish agriculture. Social polarization continued to grow. The old Party apparatus, working now for the postcommunist governments, included thousands of cynical apparatchiks who used old ruling methods and, at the same time, had no sense of measure and displayed no shame in enriching themselves.

In 1996 one of the postcommunist premiers, Oleksy, was accused of being a Russian intelligence agent. The charge was difficult to prove, but a large segment of Polish public opinion was alarmed. The political pendulum swung back. Solidarity overcame its internal crisis and became the nucleus of a right-center coalition—the Solidarity Electoral Alliance (AWS). It included about thirty political parties and cooperated with the Catholic Church. The Democratic Union, renamed the Freedom Union, also gathered some small political groups; it was strengthened and redirected toward a more conservative path by its new leader Balcerowicz. The AWS won the 1997 parliamentary elections, formed a coalition with the Freedom Union, and established a new government led by a Solidarity activist, Professor Jerzy Buzek.

The elections stabilized the political situation in Poland. A new constitution was adopted in 1997. More importantly, the economic situation improved. The shock therapy so hated and derided earlier in the decade had eventually created a basis for steady economic development. Poland's trade had reoriented itself toward the West. Foreign debts were mostly cancelled. The communist economy was dismantled, and the vigorous private sector became the engine of economic expansion.

Encouraged by this success, the new government initiated several reforms. They introduced a new administrative division of the country and new systems of health insurance, old age pensions, and education. Implementation of all these reforms, however, proved to be much more difficult than the government expected. It was also difficult to keep together the forty political parties constituting the Solidarity Electoral Alliance. Some of these parties had mixed feelings about plans to enter into the European Union (EU). Most of the Polish clergy was afraid that integration with Western Europe would threaten the Christian character of Polish society. A radical and xenophobic anti-European and antimodernization Catholic broadcasting station, Radio Maryja, with about 5 million listeners, propagated a theory of an anti-Polish world conspiracy, and created an atmosphere of threat and insecurity.

The conservative and populist leaders in and out of the Solidarity Electoral Alliance frequently attacked Balcerowicz, now the deputy premier and the finance minister. They claimed that he dominated the cabinet and controlled the economy. The opposition charged that the government had been taken over by the Freedom Union in spite of the fact that it was the Solidarity Electoral Alliance that had won significantly more parliamentary seats than the Union. Balcerowicz's economic policy was too radical for the main component of the coalition, the trade union Solidarity. Some of its Sejm representatives voted against governmental reforms. After months of quarreling, the ruling coalition came apart in June 2000. Balcerowicz, the brilliant minister of foreign affairs Bronisław Geremek, and several other Freedom Union ministers left the cabinet. With 186 deputies in the 460-seat Sejm, the Buzek cabinet now became a minority government. It was badly hurt by growing unemployment, other economic problems, and charges of corruption.

The parliamentary elections of September 2001 created a new political situation. The postcommunist Democratic Left Alliance, the Polish Peasant Party, and the Labor Party formed a majority coalition of 256 seats, and Leszek Miller established a new government. The AWS, with only 5.6 percent of the vote, failed to win any seats in the Sejm. Since Aleksander Kwaśniewski was reelected president of Poland in 2000, the Left had returned to power once again.

When Miller became the new premier, Poland's overall situation was complex. On the one hand, in March 1999 Poland had joined NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), considerably improving the country's international situation. Germany, which had already recognized the western borders of Poland in 1990, became the principal sponsor of Poland's entry into European Union. In 1992 Poland applied for full membership of the EU. In 1996 it was admitted to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. In 1998 negotiations with the EU commenced. Poland had dramatically transformed its economy since the fall of communism and after 1994 was among the fastest growing countries in Europe. A new positive image of Poland appeared in the West. In December 2002 Poland concluded the "accession" negotiations regarding its entry into the EU during a conference in Copenhagen. In April 2003 Poland, together with fourteen other candidates, signed the Accession Treaty in Athens. The president of Poland ratified the treaty, after, in June 2003, over 77 percent of Poles said yes to joining the EU in a referendum (with a 59 percent turnout). Poland joined the European Union on 1 May 2004, a symbol of its reincorporation into the mainstream of Europe.

On the other hand, there are still serious problems, especially in the areas of subsidized agriculture, coal mining, and heavy industry. The differences between the private and state sectors contribute to the fact that Poland's trade balance is negative. To some extent, this situation is caused by continued chilly relations with Russia. The political atmosphere in Poland has been additionally poisoned by the screening of the most important politicians and state officials in order to verify whether they cooperated with the secret police before the fall of communism. In addition, economic conditions continued to worsen after 2001, with unemployment reaching 18 percent in 2003. By the end of 2002, the Polish economy was in its worst shape since the early 1990s. In January 2003 Poland was confronted with the "Rywingate," a corruption scandal (so named after the main suspect, a film producer, Lew Rywin) that tainted the premier. In March 2003 disagreements over governmental policies prompted the Peasant Party to leave the coalition. As a result, the Miller cabinet became a minority government, and public opinion polls showed that the government had the support of less than one-quarter of the people.

In the wake of the turmoil of the decade following the collapse of communism, political life has become increasingly less relevant to Polish citizens. Some who have become very rich and many who live better now than before 1989 do not care about elections and the parliament. The poorest have lost any hope they had for the future. Intellectuals and the intelligentsia, disgusted with political scandals and corruption, have withdrawn from politics. Without outstanding leaders and moral role models, most Poles are confused. To many, capitalism—with its eternal fight for a paycheck—is simply boring. Some former pre-1989 opposition activists are bitter; the new Poland is not only different from the communist Polish People's Republic, but also very different from the Poland of their old dreams.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Poland is a democratic multiparty republic with a bicameral parliament. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997, ratified in a popular referendum on 25 May 1997, forms the legal foundation of the Polish political order and defines its basic rules. The nation is the supreme authority in Poland, which is a sovereign and independent state. Its citizens, who must be eighteen years of age or older, elect their representatives to the Sejm and Senate (the two houses of the parliament) during free and universal elections. Parliament makes decisions for the people, who also elect local governments and participate in a public life based on the principle of political pluralism and freedom of association of social organizations. State power is divided between the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary.

The power of legislation is exercised by the bicameral parliament. Its lower chamber, the Sejm, consists of 460 members chosen in universal, equal, secret, and direct ballot for four years (two seats are assigned to ethnic minority parties). The 1997 constitution and the reformed administrative division of 1999 required a revision of the electoral law. Passed in April 2001, the revised electoral law replaced a system in which some deputies were elected nationally with one in which all deputies are elected by voters in their constituencies, and it changed the method of proportional representation used to determine how many deputies would be elected from each party, eliminating the premium for the largest parties.

The new electoral ordinance also stipulated that with the exception of small ethnic parties, only parties receiving at least 5 percent of the total votes and political coalitions receiving at least 8 percent of the total votes can enter the parliament. The Sejm adopts bills, inspects activities of governmental organizations, appoints members of several constitutional bodies, helps to create the government, and can take votes of no confidence in the cabinet or its individual ministers. The Sejm is independent of the Senate and acts in a transparent and permanent way. There is no break between the terms of the out-going and the new Sejm; however, the latter is not obliged to continue the legislative initiatives of its predecessor. The Sejm can introduce martial law.

The upper chamber, the Senate, consists of one hundred senators elected for four years by universal, direct, and secret ballot. The Senate can review, correct, or reject bills adopted by the Sejm. Such bills return to the Sejm and are accepted if an outright majority does not reject them. The Senate approves the appointment or dismissal of several important state officials.

Executive power is carried out by the Council of Ministers, which thus constitutes what is traditionally called the Government, and the president. The latter is the highest representative of the Republic of Poland and the supreme commander of its armed forces, and sustains the observance of the constitution and the security and sovereignty of the state. The president can initiate legislation, issue regulations and orders, dissolve the Sejm, and veto a bill. Elected for five years by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot, the president can serve a maximum of two terms and is answerable only to the State Tribunal. The office of the president, recreated in 1989, has been occupied by Wojciech Jaruzelski (19 July 1989–22 December 1990), Lech Wałęsa (22 December 1990–22 December 1995), and Aleksander Kwaśniewski (since 22 December 1995).

The Government, formed and headed by the prime minister and endorsed by the president and the Sejm, conducts domestic and foreign policies. The Council of Ministers can initiate legislation and can issue regulations. It is obliged to ensure the implementation of the laws, to prepare the state budget, and to execute it. The Government leads and controls the activities of all administrative institutions and is responsible before the Sejm. Individual ministers and the premier are answerable to the State Tribunal. After 1989, the post of the prime minister was occupied by the following politicians: Tadeusz Mazowiecki (24 August 1989–14 December 1990), Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (1 January 1991–5 December 1991), Jan Olszewski (6 December 1991–4 June 1992), Waldemar Pawlak (5 June 1992–8 July 1992), Hanna Suchocka (10 July 1992–18 October 1993), Waldemar Pawlak (18 October 1993–21 March 1995), Józef Oleksy (25 March 1995–1 February 1996), Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz (16 February 1996–17 October 1997), Jerzy Buzek (17 October 1997–19 October 2001), and Leszek Miller (since 19 October 2001).

Judicial authority is executed by the courts (district, provincial, military, administrative, and appeal courts), supervised by the Supreme Court, as well as by the Constitutional Tribunal and the State Tribunal. The Supreme Court, the last resort of appeal, clarifies legal provisions and resolves disputable legal questions. The president of Poland appoints the judges and the first president of the Supreme Court. They are previously selected by the National Judicial Council and the Supreme Court Justice General Assembly. The Constitutional Tribunal, a fully independent body of fifteen judges chosen by the Sejm for nine years, supervises the compatibility of governmental activities and newly accepted laws, decrees, and regulations with the Constitution and international agreements. The State Tribunal examines constitutional liability and criminal cases involving the holders of the highest state offices, such as president of the republic, Government members, the president of the Supreme Court, and heads of central administrative offices. In addition to the Supreme Court and the two tribunals, the rights and freedoms of citizens are protected by the Commissioner for Civil Rights Protection, an office established in 1987. The Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) audits the activities of governmental institutions. All the court decisions can be appealed to the European Court of Justice in Strasbourg.

In 1990 local self-governments were revived, and the 1997 constitution endorsed them as one of the most important principles of the Polish political system. Adult citizens elect these local governments in universal, equal, secret, and direct ballot on all the three levels of the administrative structure: councils in urban municipalities and rural communes, *sejmiki* (little parliaments) in districts and provinces. These assemblies set local by-laws, pass budgets and inspect their execution, set local taxes and fees, and appoint local officials.

Poland has been governed by a coalition cabinet headed by Leszek Miller, the leader of the center-left Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) since the election of September 2001, when a block of the SLD and the Labor Party (UP) received 216 of 460 seats in the Sejm. Led by younger leadership members of the former Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) and consisting mostly of the former PZPR members, the SLD is seen by many people as a postcommunist organization partially responsible for the activities of the 1945–1989 communist regime. In 2001 the SLD-UP coalition was 15 parliamentary seats short of having a majority in the Sejm. Therefore, to strengthen their position, the SLD and the UP, led by Marek Pol (the infrastructure minister), formed a coalition with the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), headed by Jarosław Kalinowski (the deputy premier and agriculture minister) and controlling 42 seats. After the October 2001 elections (with a turnout of 46.3 percent), the opposition was divided into several parliamentary clubs. The Citizens' Platform (PO) had 65 MPs, Self-Defense (Samoobrona) 53 MPs, Law and Justice (PiS) 44 MPs, the League of Polish Families (LPR) 38 MPs, and the German minority 2 MPs.

In March 2003 the Peasant Party (PSL) left the governing coalition, and Poland was led by a minority cabinet. Also, most parties lost some MPs and the (December 2003) division of the Sejm members into parliamentary clubs and groups was slightly different than in 2001: the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) had 191 MPs, the Citizens' Platform (PO) 56, Law and Justice (PiS) 43, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) 37, Self-Defense 31, the League of Polish Families (LPR) 29, the Labor Party (UP) 16, the Democratic People's Party (PLD) 10, the Conservative-Popular Party (SKL) 8, the Polish People's Bloc (PBL) 6, the Polish Reasons of State (PRS) 5, the Catholic National Movement (RKN) 5, the Polish Alliance (PP) 3, and the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland (ROP) 3; seventeen are unaffiliated deputies.

Poland maintains an army of about 175,000 troops. The government intends to limit these forces to 150,000 in 2006. The army relies on general conscription. All adult men are subject to a twelve-month long service. The priorities of the military authorities are modernization of equipment and a further integration with NATO, which plans to move some of its bases to Poland. The Polish Army has participated in several peacekeeping operations, most recently in Iraq, Kosovo, and Lebanon.

Church and state are separate in Poland. The Catholic Church's role in politics is modest, even though, in the first years after the fall of communism, the church was quite visible in public life. This engagement caused some problems, and after the experiences of the 1993 and 1997 electoral campaigns, when the clergy was really involved in political struggle, the church no longer interferes directly in politics.

The establishment of the current political system in Poland followed the fall of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The Round Table Agreement of 1989 started systemic changes in Poland. The office of president was reintroduced. Since, as a part of the compromise between the regime and the democratic opposition, General Wojciech Jaruzelski became the head of state, the presidential power came to be limited and curbed by the parliament. The Senate was restored, and the idea of partially free elections was accepted by the regime. After the electoral victory of Solidarity in June 1989, the complete transformation of the system began. The Little Constitution, accepted by the Sejm on 1 August 1991 and ratified in October 1992, defined new roles for the president, the premier, and the parliament.

Lech Wałęsa, a dominating personality and the dynamic leader of Solidarity, elected president by direct elections in 1990, did not want to accept the 1989 presidential limitations. In addition, a strong president was necessary to push reforms through the parliament. The Little Constitution increased the authority of the president to such an extent that some deputies were afraid that the head of state would be able to dominate the government. According to the new principles, the president could submit a candidate for premier to the Sejm, and he approved the premier's choice of ministers, approved all the important military and national security appointments, and helped to select the ministers of defense, foreign affairs, and internal affairs. To accelerate the reforms, the Little Constitution gave special powers to the government, which could issue decrees with the force of law if the cabinet had the support of an absolute majority

Lech Wałęsa

One of the most important founders of Solidarity and the president of Poland from 1990 to 1995, Wałęsa became a symbol of the changes that started in 1980 and led to the redemocratization of Poland after 1989. Born to a poor peasant family in north central Poland in 1943, he graduated from a secondary vocational school and worked as an electrician for a state agriculture machinery center. In 1967 he moved to Gdańsk and was hired at the Lenin Shipyard. He participated in the December 1970 uprising of the Gdańsk and Gdynia workers and was elected chairman of a workshop strike committee. Dismissed from work in 1976 and involved in an underground free trade movement, he changed jobs frequently or was unemployed and harassed by the police.

In early August 1980 the workers striking in the Gdańsk Shipyard demanded the reinstatement of Wałęsa. He joined the strike and became its leader. He managed to convince his colleagues to form the Inter-Factory Strike Committee and to fight for trade union pluralism and the political rights of the workers. On 31 August 1980, after several days of negotiations between the communist authorities and the Strike Committee led by Wałęsa, the latter signed the Gdańsk Agreement with the government. The workers received the right to strike and to form independent trade unions. Wałęsa became the hero of the hour and was elected chairman of the National Coordinating Commission of the newly founded Solidarity trade union.

Wałęsa developed Solidarity's national organization, which soon gathered 10 million members, and his prestige as a symbolic leader of the democratic opposition grew. After the imposition of martial law in December 1981, Wałęsa was interned and remained imprisoned until November 1982. In October 1983 he received the Nobel Peace Prize. He maintained contacts with the underground Solidarity and in 1988 reemerged as one of the most important politicians in Poland. In 1989 he was a dominating figure during the Round Table Negotiations and formed a noncommunist majority in the Sejm after the June 1989 elections. Wałęsa's closest adviser, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, became the first noncommunist prime minister in Poland since 1945. However, a disagreement between Wałęsa and Mazowiecki triggered a war at the top and the disintegration of Solidarity. In 1990 Wałęsa won the presidential elections in Poland against Mazowiecki and a maverick candidate, Stanisław Tymiński.

Wałęsa's presidency was not perfect. He became involved in several conflicts with the Sejm and the leading politicians. Before the 1993 parliamentary elections, Wałęsa established a new party, the Non-Party Bloc for Supporting the Reforms (BBWR). The Bloc received only sixteen seats in the Sejm and two seats in the Senate. The elections were won by a postcommunist coalition. During the 1995 presidential elections, Wałęsa was defeated by a former communist minister, Aleksander Kwaśniewski. In 1997 Wałęsa established the Christian Democratic Party of the Third Republic, which did not manage to play an important role in Polish politics. In the 2000 presidential elections, Wałęsa won only about 1 percent of the popular vote. Although he had become politically marginalized, his previous contribution to the redemocratization of Poland is undeniable, and Wałęsa remains a historical and political figure of the highest importance.

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of the Sejm. Only elections, constitutional amendments, the state budget, and civil and political liberties were protected from the force of decree.

The Little Constitution was a step forward, but the functions of the president and the premier were still not completely clear, and both of them tried to extend their power. The president especially argued that the Sejm held too much power and dominated the political system. In fact, the parliament was rather slow, devoting much time to secondary matters, while urgent and fundamental issues, such as privatization, electoral law, the role of the prosecutor general, and financial and penal law were still unsolved. This was caused, among other things, by the limited political qualifications of the deputies, most of whom did not have any political experience; out of 460 MPs, only 16 were economists, and only 22 were lawyers. In addition, the Sejm was divided into many parliamentary clubs, and Polish party geography was changing quickly.

Between 1989 and 2001, three parliamentary and three presidential elections took place in Poland. The Poles elected their presidents in 1990 (Lech Wałęsa), 1995 (Aleksander Kwaśniewski), and 2000 (Aleksander Kwaśniewski), and the Sejms in 1991, 1993, and 1997. Among the 29 parties that entered the Sejm after the elections of 1991 (with a 43 percent turnout), the following parties had the largest representations: the Democratic Union (UD) 62 MPs, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) 60, the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) 51, the Catholic Electoral Action (KAW) 50, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) 50, the Center Alliance (PC) 44, the People's Democratic Congress (KLD) 37, the Peasant Movement 28, Solidarity 27, and the Polish Party of Beer Lovers 16. Before the 1993 parliamentary elections (which had a 51 percent turnout), a new electoral law introduced a 5 percent threshold for the participating parties. As a consequence, only six of them received parliamentary seats: the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) 171 seats, the Peasant Party (PSL) 132, the Democratic Union (UD) 74, the Labor Party (UP) 41, the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) 22, and the Non-Party Block for Support of the Reforms (BBWR) 16. Two seats went to the German minority, and four to independent politicians. This division facilitated the comeback of the postcommunist government that ruled until 1997.

The parliamentary elections of 1997 brought dramatic changes, even though the turnout was again low (48 percent). Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS) received 201 seats, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) 164, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) 27, the Freedom Union (UW) 60, the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland (ROP) 6, and the German minority 2.

The electoral results reflected a pendulum effect in Polish politics after 1989: the Solidarity era of 1989–1993 was followed by the return of the postcommunist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) to power in 1993, followed by a Solidarity period of 1997–2001 and then another SLD comeback in 2001. It is also striking that the role of the intelligentsia and intellectuals in politics and in public life has been gradually diminishing. Some sociologists claim that the Polish intelligentsia is disappearing. The powerful Democratic Union (later, after mergers with other similar but smaller parties, renamed the Union of Freedom and supported primarily by the intelligentsia) dominated the political scene in the early 1990s but did not manage to enter parliament in 2001. Also Solidarity, divided and compromised, ceased to be an important political factor, and several representatives of political "folklore," such as the Polish Party of Beer Lovers, disappeared completely in the new environment of a stabilized democratic system.

POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN POLAND BEFORE 1989

Before the fall of communism, Poland was a Soviet satellite, and the country's political system reflected this situation. In theory, the 1952 constitution, patterned directly on the Soviet constitution and amended in 1976, guaranteed democratic freedoms, named the people of Poland the sovereign source of power, and established a system that, allegedly, expressed "the interests and the will of the working people." The Polish People's Republic (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa—PRL), according to the 1952 constitution, was a "People's Democracy," a transition form from "bourgeois democracy" to the Soviet form of communism. In practice, however, the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza—PZPR) acted as the directing force, and its leadership, supervised by the Soviet government, constituted the policy-making center of the state. The parliament was arranged in such a way that it had to rubber-stamp PZPR decisions and to give ex post facto approval of governmental measures. The goal of these measures was to build a new social system and to eliminate those classes of society that were seen as living by exploiting workers and peasants. During some periods, the Sejm was allowed a greater scope for debate and activity, but it never received power to make policy.

The Polish governmental structure was also modeled on the Soviet system. The structure was highly centralized and controlled by the PZPR Politburo. Its decisions were executed by the Council of State and the Council of Ministers. The Council of State (a collective head of state) was elected by the Sejm from among its members and included not only Party functionaries but also the highest governmental officers who did not belong to the PZPR. The council issued decrees during the intervals between the sessions of the Sejm and controlled local provincial, city, district, and communal councils. The council called elections to the Sejm and convoked it, appointed several civilian and military officials, ratified international treaties, could declare war or martial law, and performed other functions of a head of state. Frequently, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, Sejm sessions were very brief; the Council acted as the main legislative body, and its decrees were automatically approved by the parliament.

The Council of Ministers, subordinated to and controlled by the Party leadership, was the decision-making and ruling center of the administration. It coordinated the activities of particular ministries and state institutions, prepared economic plans, and supervised local people's councils. According to the constitution, the government was elected by the Sejm, or by the Council of State when the parliament was not in session. In practice, however, the ministers and the premier were appointed by the Party leadership, which had special organs duplicating and paralleling the state institutions. The 1976 constitution amendments stipulated that Poland was a socialist state and that the PZPR was the leading political force in the construction of socialism. Another amendment declared a perpetual Polish-Soviet alliance, which made any action to abandon the alliance illegal and any Soviet intervention to preserve the alliance constitutional.

The PZPR structure was highly centralized and undemocratic; the Party leadership was formed not during free elections by Party members, even though this was the official theory, but by appointments and selections. This led to serious succession problems when particular First or General Secretaries died or were unable to work. The central organs of the Party—the Political Bureau, the Party Secretariat, and the Central Committee—supervised the work of provincial, city, and local PZPR committees. The nomenklatura system, which, as described above, meant that only PZPR members could occupy important administration positions, guaranteed PZPR control over all important offices and appointments, establishing a list of positions that could be occupied only by trusted PZPRmembers. Also the entire judicial system, the Central Planning Commission, the regional administration, and the command of the armed forces were parts of the nomenklatura.

Strict censorship, various other forms of diffusion and control of public information, and extensive security services—the secret political police, the so-called Citizens' Militia (Milicja Obywatelska—MO), the Motorized Detachments of the Citizens' Militia (ZOMO), and several other organs of the Ministry of Interior—assured the internal security of the Polish one-party state.

POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN POLAND BEFORE 1945

During World War II, Poland was occupied by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The occupiers destroyed most of the prewar political institutions. Some of them were reconstructed underground. The legal continuation of the interwar Polish Second Republic was executed by the government in exile and the National Council (Rada Narodowa) established in 1939 in France (and later re-formed in London after the fall of France in 1940) and recognized by most states of the anti-Nazi coalition.

Before World War II, Poland was formally a parliamentary democracy. The Constitution of March 1921, one of the most progressive constitutions of the interwar period, gave Poland a democratic representative government. According to the 1922 electoral law, members of the Sejm were elected by universal franchise on the basis of proportional representation. In addition, a special national list guaranteed parliamentary representation to small parties. Nevertheless, the reality of the situation after World War I was that the newly rebuilt Polish state consisted of several regions that had belonged to three different empires before 1918, and the political scene was fragmented and chaotic. It was difficult to form a ruling majority; and the governments changed frequently. With no political experience among most citizens, a weak president, and a stalemate in the Sejm, the political system did not function properly. The 1926 military coup d'état of Marshal Józef Piłsudski introduced an authoritarian dictatorship in Poland. Initially, the dictator tolerated the parliament and tried to preserve a façade of democracy, but after 1930 even the so-called controlled democracy disappeared, and the entire power was solely in the hands of Piłsudski and his assistants. They imposed a new constitution in 1935, which guaranteed an authoritarian system. After the death of Piłsudski in 1935, his successors went even further to the right and experimented with elements of totalitarianism.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Poland is located in the heart of Europe, and as a consequence Polish culture has been nurtured by many different traditions. German, French, and Italian influences have been particularly strong and Poland, unlike its eastern neighbors, was deeply immersed in the most important European spiritual movements, such as Renaissance humanism, the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, the Enlightenment, and romanticism. Therefore, even before the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, Polish cultural identity had been strong, and in the nineteenth century it helped the Poles to survive an era of foreign occupation and denationalization. Moreover, even though Poland is located on the periphery of European Latin culture, Polish contributions to Western civilization have been significant. Poland has been a home to many artists, scholars, writers, musicians, and entertainers of the highest international caliber. Some of them initiated new artistic trends and schools of thought, or created patterns exported to other countries; some even became so well known around the world (for example, Nicolaus Copernicus, the opera singer Ada Sari, Artur Rubinstein, and Fryderyk Chopin) that many people do not identify them as Polish—and indeed Chopin is usually referred to by the French version of his first name (Frédéric) and even called a French composer, though at his death Polish soil was strewn on his grave.

Long before the establishment of the Polish state in the tenth century, the territories of the future Poland were populated by innovative and creative people. It appears that eastern Poland constituted the cradle of the Slavic ethnic group, a place where it was formed and started developing an original Slavic culture of earth and timber strongholds and a distinctive religion. Nevertheless, the common Slavic elements, existing mostly in language, literature, and folklore, are rather weak in Polish culture, which was transformed by the adoption of Roman Catholic Christianity. As early as the tenth and the eleventh centuries, after the baptism of Poland in 966, the first Romanesque buildings were erected there. Beginning in the twelfth century, *palatia* and churches were decorated with stone sculptures in Poland. Two columns in the monastic church of the Norbertine nuns in Strzelno, covered with rich relief, and the cast bronze door from the Gniezno Cathedral are outstanding examples of Romanesque art.

After Poland became a part of Western civilization, Latin was accepted as the language of state administration and was used in Polish literature until the sixteenth century. In the early Middle Ages, when Latin was the only Polish literary language, monks and priests produced a number of saint's lives, annals, and chronicles. *Chronicon,* written in about 1115 by a Benedictine monk known only as Gallus Anonymous, and the *Annales seu cronicae inclyti Regni Poloniae* (Yearbooks of the Famous Kingdom of Poland), finished in 1480 by Bishop Jan Długosz, introduced Polish history to Europe. The earliest example of Polish prose was *Kazania świętokrzyskie* (Sermons of the Holy Cross), written at the end of the thirteenth century. The oldest surviving Polish text of poetry is a song called "Bogurodzica" (Mother of God), composed in the fourteenth century and accepted as a medieval equivalent of a national anthem.

In the thirteenth century Gothic became the dominant artistic style in Poland, and the face of Polish towns was altered by the influx of settlers coming from Western Europe. One of them, Veit Stoss from Nuremberg, known in Poland as Wit Stwosz (1447–1533), spent about twenty years in Cracow and created there many sculptures. His wooden altar in the spectacular Gothic Church of Holy Mary ranks as one of the most outstanding objects of that kind in Europe. Between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, thousands of Gothic buildings were constructed in Poland (and many of them have survived). Most of them were churches, but some, such as Collegium Maius in Cracow, tenement houses in the "old towns" of Poland, and military structures of the Teutonic Order in Pomerania and former East Prussia, are reminders of the atmosphere of medieval

Redbrick walls of Malbork Castle. (Corel Corporation)

lay life. The redbrick castle of Malbork, the former headquarters of the Teutonic Knights, is one of the most impressive objects of its kind in Europe. Many Gothic buildings were decorated with stone and wooden sculptures as well as paintings. The union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in turn brought eastern influences into Poland. Gothic chapels with Byzantine decoration inside in Cracow and Lublin belong to the most unusual masterpieces of medieval art.

By the end of the Gothic era, the first works of secular literature appeared in Poland. In 1551 Marcin Bielski completed the first general history in Polish, *Kronika wszystkiego świata* (Chronicle of the Whole World). Jędrzej Gałka (fl. ca. 1449), a follower of Jan Hus and John Wycliffe, wrote a song called *Pieśń o Wiklefie* (Wycliffe Song) and *Rozmowa mistrza Polikarpa ze śmiercią* (Dialogue between Master Polycarp and Death), a poem criticizing the papacy. Students of the University of Cracow, established in 1364 and later called the Jagiellonian University, wrote love letters and fictional stories, such as *Powiastki polsko-włoskie* (Polish-Italian Stories). Also, poems depicting customs, such as *Pieśń o chlebowym stole* (Song about a Plentiful Table), recording political events, such as *Wiersz o zabiciu Andrzeja Tęczyńskiego* (A Poem on the Assassination of Andrzej Tęczyński), or satirical pieces, such as *Satyra na leniwych chłopów* (Satire on the Lazy Peasants), appeared. A growing number of religious writings were published, including *Raj duszny* (Paradise of the Soul) written in Polish by Biernat of Lublin (1465–1530), one of the founding fathers of literature in the Polish language.

In the first years of the sixteenth century the Renaissance in its Tuscan Italian form appeared in Poland. The arcaded galleries of the Royal Wawel Castle and the Sigismund Chapel in Cracow, built for Sigismund the Old (1467–1548), belong to the most outstanding masterpieces of Renaissance art north of the Alps. Also Cracow's Sukiennice (Cloth Hall), burghers' houses in Gdańsk and Kazimierz on the Vistula, and many tombs, town halls, and other objects represent the Renaissance style, frequently overlapping with Gothic. In the 1580s Jan Zamoyski, the chancellor of Poland and one of the richest men in Europe, built for himself the entire town of Zamość, an exquisite Italian masterpiece of urban planning.

The Renaissance also initiated the golden age of Polish literature. New literary trends were brought to Poland by diplomats representing foreign courts, Poles who studied abroad, and Western humanists, such as Fillipo Buonaccorsi, known in Poland as Kallimach (1437–1496), and Conrad Celtis (1459–1508), who settled in Poland. Initially, the new tendencies and the medieval literary tradition overlapped, and the resulting cultural heterogeneity was accepted as one of the characteristic features of the Renaissance. The fast development of printing made books popular and accessible.

Wawel Castle

This large conglomeration of historical buildings, located on a hill overlooking the Vistula River, is considered by most Poles their national shrine and a symbol of the Polish statehood. The first stronghold on the Wawel Hill was built in the ninth century by the Vistulians (Wiślanie) tribe. The fort became a capital of their state, which was incorporated into the Greater Moravian Reich, the Czech Kingdom, and, in the 990s, into Poland. In 1000 Wawel, together with the borough that rose around it, was called Kraków (Cracow) and became the see of a bishopric. In the 1040s the capital of Poland was moved to Cracow, and Wawel was developed as the residence and the coronation place of the Polish monarchs.

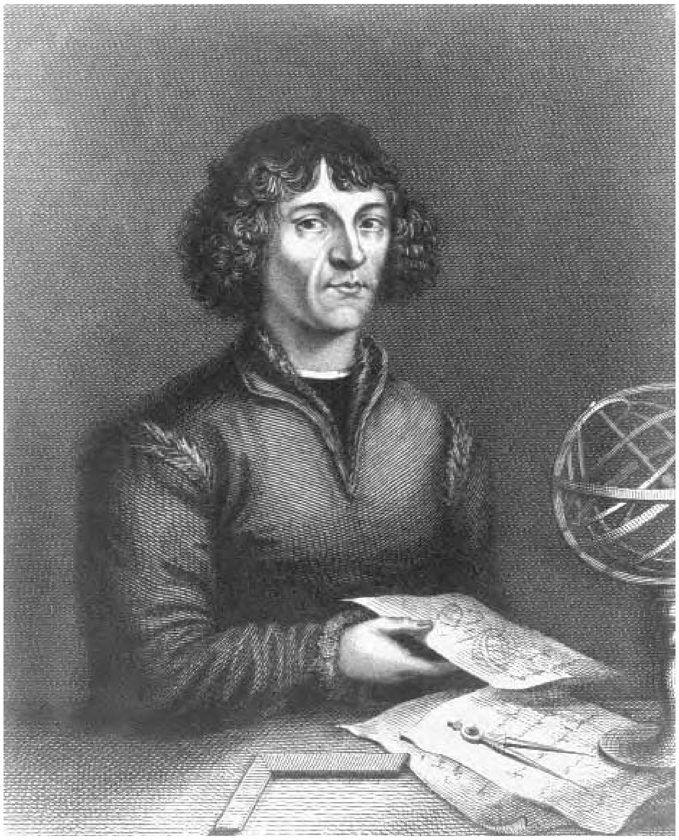
Cracow became the most important cultural center in Poland, and Wawel was extended and rebuilt many times. It is the largest and oldest conglomeration of pre-Romanesque and Romanesque stone structures in Poland. King Casimir the Great (Kazimierz Wielki) erected several new Gothic structures and strong fortifications on the hill in the fourteenth century, and King Sigismund the Old (Zygmunt Stary) rearranged his royal residence in the Renaissance style at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Starting with the early seventeenth century, when the capital of Poland was moved to Warsaw, Wawel began to decline. It was partially destroyed and looted during the Swedish invasion of 1655 and the 1700–1721 Great Northern War. After the third partition of Poland, Cracow was occupied by the Austrians, who looted Wawel and turned it into military barracks. Reconstructed after World War I, Wawel became a residence of the Nazi governor general of occupied Poland, Hans Frank, during World War II. The Germans looted a large part of Wawel's treasures.

After 1945, Wawel was restored again and belongs now among the most impressive European historical objects north of the Carpathians. For centuries, the old Wawel Cathedral has been a burial place of Polish kings and outstanding leaders such as Tadeusz Kościuszko, Adam Mickiewicz, and Marshal Józef Piłsudski.

Several Poles participated in the Renaissance cult of ancient Roman poetry. Others started translating and adapting foreign works. Some authors took part in the intellectual debate triggered by the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. But the most important phenomenon for the development of Polish literature was the appearance of a group of poets writing in Polish. The most outstanding representative of their first generation was Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569), a courtier, a politician, and a Protestant activist. He wrote light verse and little jokes, but also serious works. His satirical *Krótka rozprawa między Panem, Wójtem a Plebanem* (Short Conversation between a Squire, a Bailiff, and a Parson) included a critique of the king and supported the political demands of the middle gentry. Rej adapted The Psalms of David and wrote dramas, philosophical treaties, epigrams, polemics, and didactic works in rich Polish.

Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584), probably the most outstanding Polish poet of the pre-Partition period, represented the second generation of Polish Renaissance humanists. Extensively educated in Poland and Italy, he served as one of the royal secretaries in Cracow and then became a wealthy landowner. Although he started by writing Latin poetry in Italy, he became a master of the Polish language. He was also active as a translator and playwright and influenced generations of Polish writers and poets. After Rej and Kochanowski, Polish literature became a national literature, reflecting all aspects of Polish life.

The cultural interchange between Poland and Italy resulted in the appearance of the greatest of Polish scholars: Mikołaj Kopernik (Nicolaus Copernicus). Educated in Cracow, Bologna, and Padua, Kopernik returned to Poland in 1503 and was active as a physician, administrator, economist, and translator of the Greek Byzantine poetry. His real pas-



Portrait of sixteenth-century Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus. (Library of Congress) sion, however, was astronomy, and his discoveries in this field became a watershed in our knowledge of the universe. His *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres) challenged the entire medieval worldview. No longer could the Earth be considered the center of the universe; together with other planets, it moves around the sun.

The Renaissance triggered an unprecedented development in Polish music. Like other segments of Polish culture, the original Slavic tunes were transformed by the arrival of Christianity. By the end of the fourteenth century, music was taught at the Cracow Academy, and Poles were used to organ music played in churches; however, there are few traces of original music written in Poland in the Middle Ages. During the sixteenth century, several outstanding Polish musicians appeared, such as Marcin Leopolita, a court composer of Sigismund the Old, and Mikołaj Gomułka. Polish composers, influenced primarily by Italian music, wrote both sacral and secular music, introduced new instruments, and achieved renown throughout Europe.

In the last years of the sixteenth century, the baroque style appeared in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Soon baroque became so popular that it was considered a Polish national style, neatly fitting in the gentry's Sarmatian (so-called) culture (Polish nobles believed that, unlike the Slavic peasants, they were of Iranian Sarmatian origin, and their ancestors had come from Asia and subjugated the local population). Sarmatian culture borrowed many elements from Turkey and the Orthodox East. Many older objects were rebuilt in the baroque style, which was sponsored by the new Counter-Reformation order, the Jesuits.

The construction of the first Polish baroque church, the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Cracow, started in 1597, only fourteen years after the completion of the first baroque building, the Il Gesu Church in Rome, which served as a prototype for further baroque ecclesiastical projects throughout Europe. This fact reflects the position Poland occupied on the cultural map of Europe in the early modern era. A number of Polish magnates constructed spectacular baroque residences, such as the buildings of the same type as the Lubomirskis' *palazzo in fortezza* found in Łańcut and Wiśnicz, the Koniecpolski Palace in Warsaw, or the palace of the Cracow bishop in Kielce. Tylman of Gameren (1632–1706), one of the most outstanding architects of his era, although originally from Holland, built late-baroque palaces for the Lubomirskis and the Krasińskis, important noble families, in Warsaw. Also, middle and petty gentry built their manors in the baroque style. All these residences and churches were richly decorated. Several uniquely Polish types of baroque art were developed, such as the coffin portrait used to represent the dead person during the funeral.

The baroque, so congenial to the Polish gentry's spirit, also influenced the development of Polish literature. The metaphysical religious poetry of Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński (1550–1581) expressed the search for the meaning of the human existence. Jan Andrzej Morsztyn (1621–1693), the greatest representative of baroque poetry in Poland and an outstanding translator from French and Latin, wrote about the richness and beauty of the world and praised love as the highest value. Krzysztof Opaliński (1609–1655) composed political satires, and Wespazjan Kochowski (1633–1700) wrote about the wars with the Turks. Other poets specialized in pastorals, romances, love songs, and above all, religious poetry. Many noblemen, among them Jan Chryzostom Pasek (1636–1701), wrote diaries and memoirs. Anonymous playwrights authored numerous satiric comedies, commenting on contemporary events and popular cultural trends.

Copernicus

Mikołaj Kopernik, known in the West as Nicolaus Copernicus, the most outstanding Polish astronomer, was born in 1473 in the town of Frombork (in German, Frauenburg), east of Gdańsk. Educated in Cracow, Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, he returned to Poland in 1503 and served his uncle, the bishop of Warmia, Lucas Watzenrode, as secretary and physician. In 1510 Kopernik settled as a canon in Frombork. During the 1520–1521 wars with the Teutonic Order, Kopernik led a defense of the Polish-held Olsztyn castle.

In Frombork, where he spent most of his life, Kopernik conducted his astronomical observations and wrote his main works, including a summary of his theory that the earth revolved around its axis and, together with the other planets, around the sun. Due to the revolutionary character of this theory, which conflicted with the official teaching of the Catholic Church, Kopernik, a priest, did not dare to publish his work, and it circulated in a manuscript. Kopernik also translated Greek poetry and studied economics, authored a currency reform, and formulated an economic law, later known as Gresham's law, based on the observation that coins of less intrinsic value will displace coins of greater intrinsic value.

Eventually, encouraged by other scholars, he published an extract of his work on astronomy. The complete version was published in 1543 by a German scholar, Georg Joachim von Lauchen, in Nuremberg, as *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres). Kopernik's heliocentric theory caused a revolution in human thought, marking a major step in human knowledge of the universe. The earth ceased to be considered the center of the universe and the focal point of creation. It is believed that, under attack by other scholars and church authorities, Kopernik was presented with the Nuremberg edition of his work on the last day of his life.

Polish music also achieved the highest level of mastery during the baroque era, participating in and reflecting the changes in European music. Moreover, beginning in the seventeenth century, Poland was invaded by English traveling theaters, playing mostly Shakespeare, and by Italian commedia dell'arte companies. Both invasions strongly influenced the development of the Polish theater, which previously had been limited mostly to religious performances. In the 1630s the first permanent theaters appeared in Poland and became an important component of Polish culture. Even toward the end of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when literary production declined, the theater still developed, sponsored by the new Saxon dynasty and the rich magnates.

The first Saxon monarch on the Polish throne, Augustus II, tried to reform the Polish political system in the spirit of enlightened absolutism, following the examples set by other great monarchs of Europe. Groups of Italian and Saxon architects and artists now became active in Poland. They erected a spectacular Saxon Palace and the Saxon Axis in Warsaw. During the reign of Augustus III in the mid-eighteenth century, architects and artists moved into a rococo phase. Many residences and churches were rebuilt and received new French rococo decoration after 1730. Several huge axial park-and-palace complexes were built for the magnates. These rich patrons also supported a number of painters, who produced mostly portraits and religious scenes. Some of them specialized in church interiors. The late baroque and rococo eras also saw a blossoming of timber architecture. Many wooden churches, imitating earlier brick structures, were built in Poland, and wooden synagogues and mosques became a uniquely Polish-Lithuanian phenomenon.

The fine arts and culture in general revived in Poland after 1764 under the patronage of a new king, Stanisław August Poniatowski. He invited artists from abroad and began organizing such modern institutions as the National Museum and the Academy of Art. The baroque style was gradually replaced by classical tendencies. The king rebuilt his residences in Warsaw, the Royal Castle and the Łazienki Palace. "Picturesque" landscape parks, a style adopted from England, became popular in Poland. Among several outstanding painters active in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at that time, there were three special artists. Marcello Bacciarelli (1731–1818), an Italian who had become a Polish citizen, who painted many portraits of the king and prominent Poles, became the director of royal buildings and, after the opening of Warsaw University in 1816, the first dean of the Fine Arts Department. Bernardo Bellotto, called Canaletto (1721–1780), another Italian sponsored by the king, painted numerous Warsaw landscapes and scenes of everyday life; his paintings are an excellent source of historical information, and they made possible the reconstruction of the Old Town in Warsaw after 1945 as it was in the eighteenth century. Thirdly, Jean-Pierre Norblin (1745–1830), a French painter, draftsman, engraver, and a court artist of the Czartoryski family, depicted the world of the Polish gentry.

The results of the royal sponsorship and encouragement were especially visible in literature and related branches of culture. In 1765 the National Theater was founded in Warsaw. This stimulated further development of drama. Several playwrights, such as Franciszek Bohomolec (1720–1784), Wojciech Bogusławski (1757–1829), and Franciszek Zabłocki (1752–1821), wrote comic operas, political dramas, and adaptations of Western plays. These theatrical performances constituted a part of the royal program of "Enlightenment of Sarmatians" and reflected political life in the country, especially during the Great Sejm of 1788–1792 (which attempted to deal with the disintegration of the Polish state). A generation of outstanding actors appeared in Poland. Many magnates' theaters were active in this movement, and the first public theaters were established in Lublin (1778), Lvov (1780), Cracow (1781), Poznań (1783), and Vilna (1785).

The royal cultural campaign was supported by a number of outstanding writers. Bishop Adam Naruszewicz (1733–1796), a personal friend of King Stanisław August, helped him to organize the so-called Thursday dinners, which gathered the top intellectuals at the royal court. Naruszewicz published articles in the newly established and numerous Polish periodicals and taught in the newly organized schools, such as the Collegium Nobilium and the Knights School. He wrote poetry, translated foreign and classical authors and, encouraged by the king, authored a monumental *History of the Polish Nation from the Times of Its Conversion to Christianity.* Bishop Ignacy Krasicki (1735–1801), another associate of the monarch, established an official press organ called *Monitor,* wrote satirical poems commenting on contemporary political life, edited an encyclopedia, and published the first Polish modern novel, *Przypadki Mikołaja Doświadczyńskiego* (The Adventures of Nicholas Tryall).

The 1780s brought the European fashion of sentimentalism to Poland and saw the blossoming of political writing. Journalism became a separate profession. Poets devoted their works to revolutionary ideas. A Commission of National Education, the first European ministry of education, established in 1773, founded a network of modern schools with a new educational program. Graduates of these schools participated in the rapidly growing and modernizing public and cultural life.

The loss of Polish independence at the end of the eighteenth century brought a halt to this impressive growth of Polish culture and introduced important changes into it. The sponsorship previously offered by Polish state institutions disappeared. The territories occupied by Russia, Prussia, and Austria were exposed to the artistic tendencies of these powers (which tried to change the cultural profiles of their newly acquired territories). In response, Polish artists were obliged by Polish society to sustain a patriotic awareness and, if possible, resistance against foreign domination. Before the 1863 January Uprising, Polish cultural life was dominated by romanticism, even though in the visual arts classical forms survived until the mid-nineteenth century, when, in architecture, they were gradually replaced by historical styles (neo-Renaissance, neo-Gothic, and neobaroque). Around the year 1900, Polish architecture developed under the influence of technical inventions, such as steel constructions and prefabricated elements, even though numerous artists tried to create a national style. Simultaneously, Secession, also known as Art Nouveau or Jugendstil, became very popular, especially in Cracow and Lvov, which became the main centers of Polish cultural and artistic life.

The romantic period is considered the greatest in Polish literature. Romanticism replaced Polish late classicism, which lacked freshness and authenticity. The "youngs" (romantics) opposed the "olds" (classicists) and rejected the spirit of conciliation, post-Enlightenment conformism, and rationalism. Instead, the romantics propagated exaltation, patriotism, unconstrained creative imagination, heroism, and a return to old traditions. Their works, frequently pessimistic and bitter, were saturated with tragedy, mystical faith, symbols, hidden truths, and references to ancient beliefs, spirits, and superstitions. They were strongly influenced by Western romanticism, but they added the strength of their faith in the possibility of restoring Poland and continued the patriotic trend initiated by émigré soldier-poets in the Polish Legions of the Napoleonic army. One of them, Józef Wybicki (1747–1822), a politician, publicist, and playwright, wrote the famous "Dąbrowski's Mazurka" ("Mazurek Dąbrowskiego"), which later became the Polish national anthem.

Romanticism produced a galaxy of Polish poets and writers, but the most outstanding of them was Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), considered by most Poles their national prophet. His *Ballady i romance* (Ballads and Romances), published in 1822, heralded the era of romanticism in Poland by drawing on Polish and Lithuanian folklore and history. His greatest achievement, *Pan Tadeusz* (1834), is revered as a national epic; it became a bible for Polish émigrés.

After the defeat of the 1830–1831 November Uprising, the most outstanding Polish poets and writers were active in exile. Three of them especially inspired the next several generations of Polish poets. Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849), a playwright and symbolist poet, reached beyond the borders of romanticism, developing his own mystical doctrine, a visionary interpretation of history, and technical virtuosity especially visible in his lyrical poems, considered by many the finest Polish lyrical poetry. His plays, still staged in Poland, laid the foundations of the Polish tragic drama. They deal with Polish history and contemporary discussions led by the members of the Great Emigration, discussed above. Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–1859) wrote novels modeled on those of Walter Scott and influenced by George Gordon Byron's narrative poems, as well as dramas. One of his works, *Nieboska Komedia* (Undivine Comedy), presented a dark, gloomy picture of the future European revolution, a conflict between the aristocracy and the disinherited masses. Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821–1883), who was a poet, painter, and sculptor, wrote lyrical and epic

Adam Mickiewicz

One of the most outstanding Polish poets and the founder of Polish romanticism, Mickiewicz is considered by most Poles their national prophet and sage. He made major contributions to the development of Polish language, culture, and national consciousness. Born in 1798 into an impoverished Polish noble family in the eastern part of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he studied at the University of Vilna, the most important Polish institution of higher learning at his time. After 1819, he taught in a high school in Kaunas (Kowno). Arrested in 1823 for a participation in a secret student organization, he was deported to Russia. He lived in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Odessa, and befriended the most outstanding Russian writers and intellectuals.

In 1829 he left Russia and, after an unsuccessful attempt to join the 1830–1831 uprising in Poland against the Russians, he settled in Paris, the main center of Polish political life in the mid-nineteenth century. He taught Latin literature at the College of Lausanne and held the first chair of Slavic literatures at the Collège de France. In 1848 he organized a Polish Legion in Italy to fight against Austria. Later, he edited an international socialist paper, *La Tribune des Peuples.* He died in 1855 in Constantinople, where he was trying to establish Polish and Jewish Legions to fight against Russia during the Crimean War. He was buried in Paris, but in 1890 his body was transferred to the Royal Crypt of the Wawel Castle in Cracow, the Polish national shrine.

Mickiewicz opened the era of romanticism in Poland with his first book of poetry, *Ballads and Romances,* in 1822. A year later, this debut was followed by the second volume, which contained a historical poem *Grażyna: A Lithuanian Tale* and two parts of *Forefathers' Eve (Dziady),* a drama based on Lithuanian folklore. Mickiewicz continued publishing in Russia and in Paris, where he wrote numerous political articles and a mystical interpretation of Polish history in Biblical prose, *Books of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrims.* His greatest achievement, however, was a sentimental novel in verse, *Master Thaddeus (Pan Tadeusz).* Completed in 1834, it recalled historical events in Lithuania in 1811–1812 and portrayed the unique culture of Polish gentry society. *Pan Tadeusz* became a bible of all Polish émigrés and is revered as the Polish national epic. Other works of Mickiewicz as well constitute a source of artistic and spiritual inspiration for Polish writers, politicians, and intellectuals.

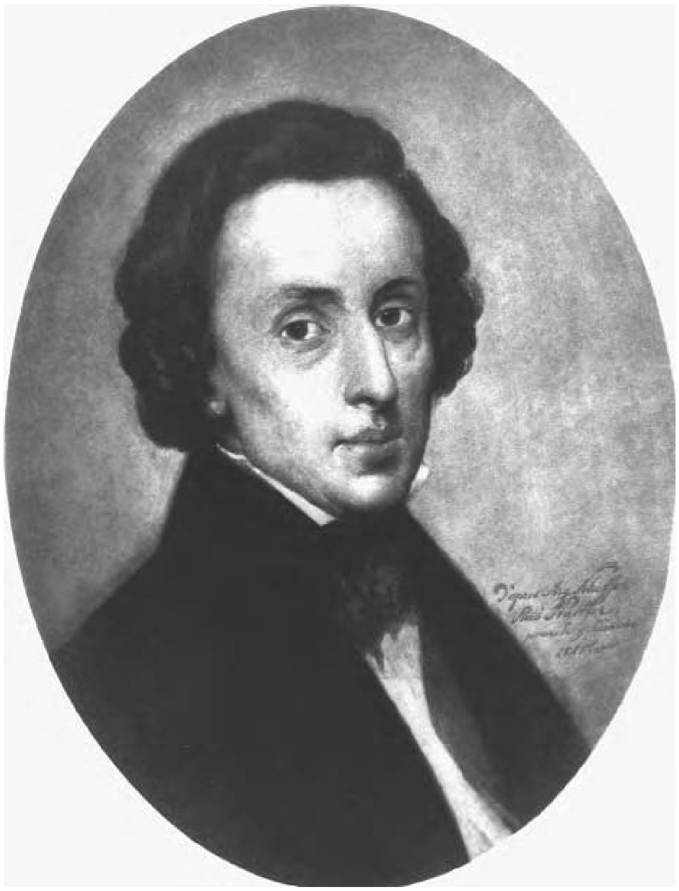
poetry, politically involved, deeply philosophical, and probably the most original among the romantic poets.

The torch of national spirit was also carried by romantic prose writers. Zygmunt Miłkowski (1824–1915), also known as Teodor Tomasz Jeż, and Józef Kraszewski (1812–1887) wrote historical novels, Maurycy Mochnacki (1803–1834) specialized in literary criticism and political pamphlets, and Joachim Lelewel (1786–1861) became one of the fathers of modern Polish historiography. Some romantics used Belorussian and Ukrainian folklore motifs and contributed to the development of literatures of these nations. Others concentrated on radical revolutionary ideas. Aleksander Fredro (1793–1876), one of the most outstanding Polish comic playwrights and author of over thirty comedies, rejected romanticism even though he was active during the romantic era. He reached back to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment tradition, and the Nobel Prize–winning poet Czesław Miłosz in his *History of Polish Literature* called him "the last writer of the old *Respublica*" (Miłosz 250).

The classicists also lost the war against the romantics in painting. The new artistic current concentrated on the country's past and nature, monuments, and folklore. Inspired by the French romantics, Polish painters gave an unprecedented prominence to national and historic themes and appealed to national consciousness; Artur Grottger (1837–1867), for example, painted two great series, *Polonia* (1863) and *Lithuania* (1865), devoted to the 1863 January Insurrection and depicting the fight for Polish freedom and its martyrs. Later, this trend reached its zenith in the painting of Cracow's artist Jan Matejko (1838–1893), whose realistic historical iconography presented an interpretation of the entire history of Poland. The revolutionary and national tones also sounded in Polish romantic music. Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872), the most representative opera and song composer of the Polish nineteenth-century national school, composed several operas devoted to popular romantic subjects.

Yet nothing that Polish composers produced in this period could compare to the unique work and genius of Fryderyk Chopin (1810–1849). Involved with the avant-garde of European romanticism, he represented the clearest example of this trend in music. Polish folk music belonged among the most important sources of his inspiration. Chopin was the greatest composer that Poland ever produced and, together with Beethoven, revolutionized Western music.

The defeat of the 1863 January Uprising, the last outburst of political romanticism in Poland, triggered profound changes in Polish culture. Positivism, one of the main European philosophical currents initiated in the 1840s, played a role in Poland rather in literary and sociopolitical movements than in scholarly and philosophical activities. It took shape as a reaction against romanticism, emphasizing the cultivation of a critical, realistic, and practical attitude, and on the economic and educational foundations of political programs. Positivists rejected the ideology of national uprisings and advocated the development of economic, educational, and cultural activities, similar to the "organic work" initiated in Prussian-occupied Poland that had already taken place in the first half of the nineteenth century. Positivism fought against the remaining elements of feudalism, propagating activities that would help to overcome the backwardness of the Polish nation, and supporting the emancipation of women, Jews, burghers, and peasants. Thus positivist literature, realistic and at the same time tendentious, created a new kind of protagonist, a bearer of the banner of civilization and a social worker.



Portrait of nineteenth-century Polish composer Fryderyk Chopin. (Library of Congress)

The best representative of this program was Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910), a publisher, bookseller, publicist, and writer. Most of her novels, devoted to women's emancipation, the peasant question, and the Jewish problem, had a strongly didactic character. Bolesław Prus (1847–1912) represented a more sophisticated version of positivism, and his *Lalka* (A Doll) is frequently considered one of the best Polish novels. Also his *Faraon* (The Pharaoh), based on ancient Egyptian history and discussing timeless problems of political power, belongs among the most interesting products of the Polish literature. For twenty years, Prus wrote regular essays for the Warsaw newspapers and periodicals. Other writers also worked as journalists, and periodicals became a popular and important means of disseminating and discussing new ideas. Some of the most famous Polish novels were printed in installments in the press. The *Trilogy* of Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916), one of the most popular

Fryderyk Chopin

The most outstanding Polish composer and a renowned pianist, Fryderyk Chopin has become a symbol of Polish music. Born in 1810 in Żelazowa Wola near Warsaw in the family of a French tutor who settled in Poland during the Napoleonic period and married a Polish wife, Chopin was a child prodigy, composing and performing from his early childhood. He studied music in the Warsaw Main School of Music. In 1830 he left Warsaw and settled in Paris a year later. In 1837 he became the friend and lover of the French writer and feminist George Sand and produced his best works at her residence in Nohant. From his early years Chopin suffered from the tuberculosis that led to his death in 1849 in Paris. He is buried in the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, but his heart is enshrined in the Holy Cross Church in Warsaw.

As a young man, Chopin became familiar with the folk music in his native region of Mazovia in Central Poland, an influence that was reflected later in his music. Before 1830, he composed under the influence of early romantic music. In Western Europe, Chopin kept in touch with the most outstanding musicians, writers, and artists and became involved with the avant-garde of romanticism. His works, composed mostly for the piano, displayed national and romantic characteristics. After, 1839, in his late period, Chopin introduced elements of the postromantic style to his music, which was emotional and pure in form, and combined the tradition of European piano music with Polish folk and national music. Chopin's genius greatly influenced the further development of music.

Polish writers, was first published as a newspaper series. In 1905 Sienkiewicz received the Nobel Prize for literature for his *Quo Vadis?* a novel on early Christianity under Nero; it was his most popular work abroad. Positivism also produced two important poets: a reflective lyricist, Adam Asnyk (1838–1897), and Maria Konopnicka (1842–1910), an author of lyric poems and short stories devoted to the life of the poor and oppressed people.

Many Polish writers of the second half of the nineteenth century wrote for theaters. The Warsaw National Theater played an important political role after the partitions of Poland. After the failure of the 1830–1831 November Uprising, the word "National" was removed from its name and, in the 1850s, it was merged with other theaters active in the capital of Poland into a state-controlled institution called the Warsaw Governmental Theaters (WGT). Its president, nominated by the tsar, censored its repertoire, and many Western authors, including Shakespeare, were banned.

The situation improved in the late 1860s, and several great stars, such as Helena Modrzejewska (1840–1909), appeared on the stages of the WGT. Still, its repertoire and the quality of production did not match the artistic level of the actors. Permanent theaters were also active in other cities, and, particularly in autonomous Austrian-controlled Galicia, in Lvov and Cracow, the theatrical life was much more interesting than in Russian-occupied Poland.

Tsarist oppression also slowed the development of Polish academic life in Russian-occupied Poland. Many scholars moved to Galicia or to Western Europe. Some of them, such as Maria Curie-Skłodowska (1867–1934), a physicist and the 1911 recipient of the Nobel Prize for Chemistry, made spectacular careers there.

Galicia, administered by Poles and enjoying many freedoms, including the right to use Polish as the official language, became a source of a new trend in Polish culture. Sometimes called Young Poland, it was a form of modernism, or neoromanticism, and it transformed all branches of Polish culture. The adherents of the new trend wanted to liberate art and literature from the constraints of social and national service, defended the independence of art, and propagated the idea of art for art's sake. Like other cultural movements of this era, such as Young Germany, Young Scandinavia, or Young Belgium, Young Poland reached back to romanticism, rejected positivism and realism, despised bourgeois values and the bourgeois way of life, and moved toward aestheticism and decadentism, emphasizing intuition and the vital forces of life. Polish writers and artists were particularly influenced by German culture. The works of Arthur Schopenhauer, Frederick Nietzsche, Gerhart Hauptmann, and others were translated into Polish and published in many copies. Some Polish writers, such as Stanisław Przybyszewski (1868–1927), were popular both in Poland and Germany.

Polish music also caught up with Europe in the first decade of the twentieth century, when the Young Polish Composers Publishing Company was established in Berlin and the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra was organized. Europe venerated the great pianist Ignacy Paderewski (1860–1941) and the greatest harpsichordist of her time, Wanda Landowska (1879–1959). Several outstanding composers, such as Karol Szymanowski (1882–1937), Mieczysław Karłowicz (1876–1909), Ludomir Różycki (1884–1935), and Grzegorz Fitelberg (1879–1953), who were active at that time made important contributions to the history of Polish and European music.

In the arts, the Young Poles developed new techniques, such as lithography or typography. It was in literature, however, that the new trend was most successful. Kazimierz Tetmajer (1865–1940) wrote nostalgic poems and other works devoted to his native Tatra Mountains region. Jan Kasprowicz (1860–1926) authored religious works and composed poetry depicting the world of Polish peasants. Tadeusz Miciński (1873–1918) became a forerunner of expressionism and surrealism. Władysław Reymont (1867–1925) published essays, short stories, and historical novels. In 1924 he re-

Portrait of Maria Curie-Skłodowska, Polish physicist who discovered radioactivity around the turn of the twentieth century. (Library of Congress)

ceived a Nobel Prize in literature for his huge novel *Chłopi* (The Peasants), written in 1904–1908. Stefan Żeromski (1864–1925) became one of the most popular Polish writers; Stanisław Brzozowski (1878–1911) distinguished himself as a literary critic, and Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907) was a great visionary playwright, a gifted poet, and an outstanding painter.

In 1914 the development of Polish culture was interrupted again. World War I is remembered in Poland with mixed feelings. On the one hand, it brought unprecedented destruction, suffering, and casualties. In four years, hundreds of thousands of Poles fought in the armies of Austria, Germany, and Russia, and the Muses were mostly silent. On the other hand, however, the war resulted in the restoration of an independent Polish state. After a long foreign domination, the regained freedom stimulated an eruption of cultural life. In literature, the first postwar decade was dominated by lyric poetry. The tone was set by the young group of "Skamander" poets, such as Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz (1894–1980), Julian Lechoń (1899–1956), Antoni Słonimski (1895–1976), Julian Tuwin (1894–1953), and Kazimierz Wierzyński (1894–1969). They published their own monthly and contributed to numerous periodicals, but they did not have a common theoretical program beyond the desire to reflect contemporary life and to emphasize its fullness and vitality. They abandoned national "martyrology" and combined lyrical expression with satire, irony, and absurd humor. Other interwar poets represented a variety of trends. The so-called avant-garde group, including Tadeusz Peiper (1891–1969), Czesław Miłosz (b. 1911), Julian Przyboś (1901–1970), and Jalu Kurek (1904–1983), was influenced by such movements as futurism, expressionism, and surrealism.

In the second decade of the interwar period, the novel and other prose forms moved to the foreground, with such outstanding authors as Zofia Nałkowska (1884–1954), Julian Kaden-Bandrowski (1885–1944), Zofia Kossak-Szczucka (1890–1968), Maria Dąbrowska (1889–1965), Teodor Parnicki (1908–1988), Stanisław Witkiewicz (1885–1939), and Bruno Szulz (1892–1942). Their rich work represented a galaxy of motifs and genres, from the historical novel, through drama, literary criticism, realistic tendencies, modernism and anti-modernism, to experiments and multiform vanguard trends. They belonged to various literary groups and writers' professional organizations and contributed to numerous periodicals.

Interwar Polish musical, theatrical, and artistic activities were equally extensive. National artistic institutions were revived and supported by the state. National minorities contributed widely to Poland's cultural life. Close contacts with foreign writers and artists were established. The most current French influences were felt, especially in painting and architecture. Polish universities developed the arts and sciences. A cinema industry appeared in Poland and developed quickly; cabaret theaters and operettas became very popular; Polish bookstores were full of books translated from foreign languages. It seemed that Polish culture was trying to make full use of the opportunities created by freedom.

Unfortunately, this creative period lasted barely twenty years. World War II surpassed all the tragic experiences of the Poles and was not just a simple interruption in the cultural development of the country. According to the Bureau of War Reparations, Poland lost 38 percent of its assets, as compared with the 1.5 percent and 0.8 percent lost by France and Great Britain respectively. Two great cultural centers, Lvov and Vilna, were incorporated into the Soviet Union and de-Polonized. The Soviets and the Nazis tried to exterminate the elites of the Polish nation, and indeed the casualties of Polish culture were enormous. The Grand Theater in Warsaw, for example, destroyed during the war, was not reopened until 1965.

After 1945, gradually but quickly, the cultural profile of the country was changed by the communists and their Soviet sponsors. In 1948 the Communist Party introduced the new literature and art of socialist realism. Many writers and artists accepted Marxist-Leninist theories; however, some ceased writing and painting altogether or emigrated, like Miłosz, who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1980. Even musicians had to abandon their artistic integrity and visions, labeled now by the authorities as formalistic, decadent, and alien to the great socialist era.

After 1956, thanks to the thaw that followed the death of Stalin, cultural life started to recover. Writers began to settle accounts with Stalinism and, frequently, their own fascination with communism. Some émigré writers, such as Witold Gombrowicz (1904–1969), were allowed to publish in Poland or, like Melchior Wańkowicz (1892–1974) and Stanisław Cat-Mackiewicz (1896–1966), returned to Poland. Censorship was relaxed, and new literary forms appeared at the hand of writers such as Stanisław Lem (b. 1921), an outstanding science fiction writer, and Leszek Kołakowski (b. 1927), a master of philosophical essays. Poetry blossomed with such poets as Zbigniew Herbert (1924–1998) and Wisława Szymborska (b. 1923), the winner of the 1996 Nobel Prize in Literature. The early 1960s brought the golden age of Polish drama, developed by Sławomir Mrożek (b. 1930), Stanisław Grochowiak (1939–1976), and Tadeusz Różewicz (b. 1921), among others. The late 1960s and the 1970s, however, were not good to the literature. Censorship once again became oppressive. The crackdown that followed the student demonstrations of 1968 decimated the literary milieu, and afterwards many authors published their works through underground publications. The imposition of martial law divided literary society; it started recovering in the late 1980s, but faced new challenges after the fall of communism. During the economic transformation there was no money to subsidize the writers, and most citizens of Poland could not afford to buy books.

The post-Stalinist relaxation and the collapse of the Stalinist system of artistic control brought a dramatic change in music and the fine arts as well. Outstanding new composers, such as Krzysztof Penderecki (b. 1933) and Henryk Górecki (1933–2003), appeared and soon gained worldwide fame. Visual artists, who had found a narrow margin of freedom under Stalin initiating the Polish school of poster art, broke their isolation from the West and caught up with its contemporary artistic tendencies. Władysław Hasior (b. 1928) formed his first provocative and poetic assemblages in 1957. Tadeusz Kantor (1915–1990) arranged his first exhibition in 1965.

Today, Polish artists are still shaking off the legacy of communism and are looking for a new place in a free market democracy. Yet, with two laureates of the Nobel Prize for Literature, many outstanding artists active in the country and abroad, and with a vibrant artistic life in Poland, contemporary Polish culture is certainly an interesting phenomenon.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In 2000, Poland's economic transformation after the end of communism seemed an unqualified success, earning it only praise for its thorough reforms. *The Economist,* for example, usually moderate and cautious in its approach, spoke glowingly in its 29 April 2000 issue:

> The Chicago-sized skyscrapers punching skyward along John Paul Avenue confirm Warsaw's place as the undisputed business capital of Central and Eastern Europe. This city is now the continent's second-largest building site after Berlin, yet, back in 1990, its dominance seemed unlikely. . . . Foreign and local bankers say that investors in Warsaw can get their money back, and more, in seven years or so. Put it into Paris or Berlin and it could take 20 years. The Poles' rollicking economy, which has grown by nearly a third in the past five years, is now almost four times as big as Ukraine's, over three times Hungary's and nearly three times the Czech Republic's. And the prospect of early entry into the European Union should tempt more foreign businessmen to set up shop in Poland—with the advantage of much lower costs, especially of labor, than elsewhere in the Union. According to a poll of international businessmen conducted by A.T. Kearney, an American consulting company, Poland may, in the next three years, become the world's fifth largest recipient of foreign direct investment—after the United States, Britain, China, and Brazil. Poland's foreign investment agency says it expects some $12 billion to flow in this year, compared with last year's estimated record of $8 billion. That, according to UN figures, would give Poland roughly 40 percent of last year's total foreign direct investment in the entire swathe of Europe, including Russia itself, that was once controlled by the Soviet Union. More buildings seem destined to sweep the sky in Warsaw. (49)

Unfortunately, in 2000, the Polish economy began to regress. The growth in GDP (gross domestic product), still high in 1998 and 1999 (over 6 percent), fell to 4.1 percent in 2000, 1.1 percent in 2001, and 1.5 percent in 2002. Poland's agriculture remains inefficient. It is handicapped by structural problems, lack of investments, and a surplus of labor. The government is closing subsidized state-owned enterprises, such as coal mines and steel mills. In the overpopulated industrial regions, where these companies are located, there are no new jobs for heavy industry workers, and in January 2003 the unemployment rate in Poland reached 18.7 percent. Foreign investments are concentrated in the richest parts of Poland, while underdeveloped provinces have stagnated. Mass social protests and the policies of the ruling Democratic Left Alliance, dominated by the post-communist Social Democratic Party, have slowed down the privatization and restructuring process of Polish industry. In 2001, the private sector produced over 75 percent of the GDP and employed over 70 percent of working Poles. It is expected that by 2005 the ownership structure of the Polish economy will resemble the Economic Union structure, with public ownership limited to about 15 percent.

Bottlenecks also exist in fiscal and monetary policies. The budget deficit, at 2 percent in 1999, amounted to about 4.1 percent of the GDP in 2002 and is expected to rise to over 5 percent in 2004. There has been a tension between the government, which has demanded that the interest rates be cut sharply, and the Monetary Policy Council, which resists pressures for a relaxation in the monetary policy. Reforms in health care, education, the pension system, and the state administration, initiated in 1999, proved to be very expensive and caused serious fiscal pressures.

The overall picture is not, however, entirely dark. The weakening of the Polish economy has been part of a world trend: the average world GDP growth sank to 3.4 percent in 2000, 1.5 percent in 2001, and 1.5 percent in 2002. In Germany, one of the strongest economies of the world, the GDP growth is even slower: 3 percent in 2000, 0.6 percent in 2001, and 1.2 percent in 2002. Despite these facts, consumer spending in Poland was still growing by over 2 percent in 2001. The Polish currency—the zloty—has been relatively strong (3.8 zloty per U.S. dollar in December 2003, 3.98 in December 2002, 4.01 in December 2001, and 3.47 in 1998), and net exports have been rising. Consumer price inflation has fallen faster than expected, to 1.6 percent in July 2002 and below 1 percent four months later.

Poland is an attractive country for foreign investment. By the end of 2000, over 850 companies from 35 countries had started activities in Poland. In 2000 the value of investments from the European Union reached 67 percent of the Union's total investments in the former communist bloc (compared with 47 percent in 1993). Between 1990 and 2000, foreign investments in Poland increased from 100 million to almost 40 billion dollars, which represents about a third of the total for Central and Eastern Europe. Among the investors are such well-known companies as Isuzu, Toyota, Estée Lauder, and Flextronics. Moreover, entry into the European Union constitutes a stimulating economic factor and a great opportunity for Poland. The country has adjusted its laws and institutions to the European Union regulations, and the EU is the main trade partner of Poland (70 percent of its exports and 60 percent of its imports in 2002). Poland has become the largest eastern trade partner of Germany and managed to escape the consequences of the collapse of the Russian economy in 1998, mostly due to the fact that Polish exchange with the countries of the former Soviet Union had been reduced to only about 7 percent of Poland's international trade.

BANK HANDLOWY W WARSZAWIE S.A.

The Handlowy Bank in Warsaw. (Frank Ossenbrink/Corbis Sygma)

The Polish government plans to return to 5 percent annual GDP growth in 2004, to activate the labor market, and to increase employment. Using European funds, the authorities are developing and modernizing infrastructure, especially communication, roads, and the rail network. Investments in the construction industry should ease housing problems. The government continues to work on the restructuring of brown coal mining, as well as the energy, steel, chemical, and defense sectors. Radical reforms are necessary in agriculture to improve its profitability, to strengthen its competitiveness, to energize economic activities in rural areas, and to adapt Polish agriculture to EU standards. The government's positive expectations are based, among other things, on the fact that Polish firms and managers now have the skills and instincts of their Western counterparts. The Polish sense of strong individualism and respect for entrepreneurship, the spirit of free enterprise and private initiative, subdued under the communist system, survived, and thus it could be reactivated under better conditions.

THE POLISH ECONOMY BEFORE WORLD WAR II

The economic strategy imposed on Poland by the Soviets failed for numerous reasons, such as the destruction of World War II and the fact that Poland was a relatively poor and mostly underdeveloped country before 1939. This, in turn, was a legacy of the nineteenth century, when Polish territories were divided among Russia, Austria, and Prussia and belonged to several administrative units. While most European countries were building modern economies and infrastructures, the Polish provinces were integrated into several different political and economic systems, exploited, and deliberately kept underdeveloped, or were destroyed during national uprisings.

Galicia, Austrian-occupied southern Poland, was in the worst shape. It stagnated long before the partitions. Initially, after the partitions, the Austrian authorities did not intend to keep Galicia and wanted to exchange it for another territory somewhere in Central Europe. Therefore, Vienna did not invest in Galicia but overtaxed it, exploiting it and overburdening it with a monstrous bureaucracy and large border garrisons. Cut off from its hinterland in central Poland, this poverty-stricken region was isolated from other Habsburg lands by the Carpathian Mountains. As late as 1890, over 77 percent of the Galician population worked in agriculture and only 9 percent in industry. In 1867–1871 Galicia enjoyed autonomy, but power remained in the hands of the gentry, who owned over 42 percent of the arable land and 90.5 percent of the forests.

In 1880 about 77 percent of the Galician population were illiterate. The province constituted 26.1 percent of the entire territory of the Austrian part of the Habsburg Empire and was inhabited by 26.9 percent of its population. Simultaneously, however, Galicia had only 9.2 percent of Austrian industrial enterprises. According to the famous book *Galician Misery in Numbers,* published by Stanisław Szczepanowski in 1888, the food consumption of an average Galicianer constituted about 50 percent of an average European's diet, and his work capacity about 25 percent. Approximately 50,000 people died annually of starvation in Galicia. At the beginning of the twentieth century, poverty in Galicia became less severe, primarily due to the exploitation of coal, salt, and oil. Coal mining also developed in the Grand Duchy of Cieszyn Silesia, which constituted a separate province, smaller but much richer than Galicia.

The economic situation in Russian Poland was even more complex. Initially, the Congress Kingdom of Poland was underdeveloped and predominantly agricultural. The army took 50 percent of its revenue, and the kingdom almost went bankrupt when its grain market collapsed after 1815. In the 1820s new taxes, monopolies, and economic institutions, such as the Bank of Poland and the Land Credit Society, were introduced. The government sold state estates and received foreign loans. A slow process of industrialization began, and the kingdom recovered from the disasters of the partitions and the Napoleonic period. The 1830–1831 uprising stopped these changes and brought negative economic consequences. Recovery returned in the 1850s, when Poland recaptured Russian markets, started developing railroads, opened new iron works and coal mines, modernized the textile and light industries, and initiated mass sugar production.

In the 1860s there were 75,000 industrial workers among the 4.8 million inhabitants of the kingdom. Urbanization and industrialization accelerated after 1863, even though the failure of the January Uprising was followed by severe anti-Polish persecutions, and the kingdom was abolished and the area incorporated directly into Russia. After the emancipation of the peasants in 1864, a significant portion of the population moved to the towns and cities of Poland. In the 1870s and the 1880s an industrial revolution took place there. Between 1882 and 1914, Warsaw, the third biggest city of the Russian Empire, grew from 382,000 to 884,000 inhabitants. New industrial centers appeared, such as the Łódź textile region, the metallurgical center in Warsaw, and the Dąbrowa coal basin. The value of production grew from 30 million rubles in 1864 to 228 million in 1890. Investments from Western Europe grew rapidly, and the former Congress Kingdom became the most advanced part of the Russian Empire.

This picture contrasted sharply with the situation in what were called the western *gubernias,* the eastern provinces of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which were incorporated directly into Russia after the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century. They remained almost exclusively agricultural. Industry existed only in Białystok and Vilna. In some parts of the western gubernias, poverty and backwardness were worse than in Galicia.

Prussian-occupied Poland developed more evenly. Greater Poland (Wielkopolska) became the breadbasket of Northern Prussia and Berlin. In contrast with the situation in the areas controlled by Russia and Austria, emancipation of the peasants in Prussia did not create small inefficient farms. The land ownership structure was optimal: medium-sized gentry estates and relatively large and economically strong peasant holdings. Smallholders commonly moved to the towns, where small local industry developed. A similar situation was found in Gdańsk Pomerania, while Silesia (which did not belong to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but was predominantly Polish) became one of the most industrialized regions of Europe.

After 1918, the government of the reborn Polish state faced the enormous task of integrating all of these regions into one economy. New currency, banking, communication, and transportation systems had to be established. The damages of World War I and the 1919–1921 Polish-Soviet War had to be repaired. In 1919 Poland's industrial production reached 30 percent of the 1913 level. Over 65 percent of Poland's citizens still worked in agriculture. Most farms in the south and the east were unproductive dwarf holdings. Industry was poorly distributed, private investment capital was small, the level of literacy low, and the demographic growth high.

In spite of all these handicaps, the government succeeded in several fields. The Baltic port and city of Gdynia was built; the Central Industrial Region, involving a fifth of Polish area and population, was created; a modern armament industry was built from scratch; and Warsaw became a center of new high-technology production. At the same time, however, agriculture still lagged behind. The Polish economy was hard hit by the Great Depression, and several branches of the industry had not achieved the 1913 level of production by 1939.

THE COMMUNIST ECONOMY

The post-1989 economic situation of Poland is difficult to understand without basic information about the communist era. As Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki put it in their *Concise History of Poland,* "The forty-five-year period of communist rule in Poland cannot be simply dismissed as one in which nothing constructive or beneficial was achieved" (280). Most scholars agree, however, that the Polish economy was mismanaged and misdeveloped by the communist regime. It imposed on Poland a utopian economic strategy in a time of deep postwar crisis. During World War II, most Polish towns were damaged or destroyed, with destruction reaching over 80 percent. About

42 percent of all Polish farms were also destroyed, and most farmers lost at least part of their livestock. Banks and finances did not exist. The Polish population was reduced from 35 to 24 million and did not return to prewar levels until 1975. Both the Germans and the Soviets deliberately exterminated Polish elites and professional classes. The newly acquired western territories were initially treated by the Red Army as occupied areas and were heavily looted. Poland was among the most damaged territories of postwar Europe. In addition, unlike the Western countries, the nation received only very limited help, and that was far outweighed by the Soviet exploitation of the country after 1945.

The Polish economic system during the communist seizure of power in 1945–1948 resembled the Soviet New Economic Policy of 1921–1928. In January 1946 a radical nationalization bill was passed. In 1947 the private sector of industry was reduced to 20 percent of production and 10 percent of labor, and a Three-Year Plan for postwar reconstruction was introduced. Within a year, industrial production reached 70 percent of the prewar level. In 1944 and 1945 land reform was introduced. Large farms and land estates were divided into small lots and redistributed among masses of peasants. Agriculture recovered quickly, and by 1948 Poland was able to export foodstuffs. In 1949 agricultural production reached 91 percent of prewar levels.

However, these more benign economic policies were changed during the Stalinist period after 1948. Collectivization of agriculture was initiated. As a result, serious problems with food supplies started, and Poland ceased to export foodstuffs. In addition, Warsaw was forced by Moscow to reject Western aid and to join the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) in 1949. The Polish economy became tied to the Soviet one and suffered substantial losses by selling commodities to the USSR below market prices. During the Six-Year Plan of 1950–1955, Poland adopted the Soviet model of industrialization, and introduced both the command economy and extensive bureaucratization. Private industry and trade were virtually liquidated. Most investments were allocated to heavy industry and armaments production. The consumer goods industry and services were neglected, and living conditions deteriorated. The Six-Year Plan, which resembled the Soviet Five-Year Plan of 1928–1932, increased several times under the pressure of the Cold War. The planning process, however, was never based on adequate statistics.

The growing burden imposed on the people led to the rebellion of 1956, which brought economic changes. Collectivization of agriculture was abandoned, and the peasants reverted to individual farming. Compulsory foodstuffs deliveries were reduced, and agricultural production begun to grow. The 1956–1960 Five-Year Plan transferred more investments to consumer goods, services, and construction. The state administration of industry was simplified and decentralized, workers' councils were established as a form of self-management, and planning and management reforms were initiated. After a couple of years, however, when the Gomułka regime had secured its control over society, the so-called Polish economic model was abandoned; management experiments were given up; workers' self-management was reduced to a minimum, and only some changes introduced after 1956 survived. Investments in heavy industry started growing again. Serious new problems were caused by a demographic explosion, a growing technological gap between the Western and the Communist camps, low labor productivity, insufficient reserves, supply shortages, mismanagement, insufficient investment and financial control, and a lack of a long-term economic strategy. Social frustration also grew, and the government's "retail price reform" triggered a rebellion in December 1970.

In response to the frustration, the new Gierek regime withdrew price increases and promised new reforms. The Five-Year Plan of 1971–1975 reallocated significant resources to the consumer goods industry and housing. Standards of living improved, and real wages increased. At the same time, several spectacular projects, such as the new coal-mining Lublin region, the Gdańsk Northern Port, the huge Huta Katowice steel plant, and the development of the car industry, were completed. Gierek's success, however, was based on large-scale borrowing from the West. New investments extended the previously planned investments by 31 percent. In 1971–1980 Poland bought 452 licenses. Even though most of them were imported from the West, some of them were of no economic importance or were even useless. The government planned to discharge the debt to the West by selling the licensed products, but Polish industries produced commodities that were worse than their Western equivalents and could not compete in the international marketplace. These problems were worsened by the recession in the West.

Gierek responded by borrowing more money. Investments and wages were growing much faster than industrial output. In 1976 the regime tried to restore market equilibrium by raising food prices, which triggered a new rebellion. The authorities curbed imports and the rate of investments. The economy began to decline, raw materials and food shortages appeared, and a black market thrived. Deteriorating living standards led to strikes and the establishment of Solidarity, the workers' trade union, in 1980. During the political crisis of 1980–1981, industrial stoppages, rising wages, and a shortened working week contributed to Poland's accelerating economic deterioration. Martial law and the economic modifications introduced by the Jaruzelski regime met with stiff social resistance. In 1988 both the authorities and the democratic opposition realized that Poland was sliding down toward a social catastrophe and that a political compromise was necessary.

CHANGES AFTER 1989

The economic problems faced by Poland after the fall of communism were unavoidable. In 1989 the first post-1945 sovereign Polish government inherited a very difficult situation characterized by hyperinflation (over 500 percent in 1990), an enormous foreign debt, hidden unemployment, inefficient industries, and a backward agricultural sector. To improve this situation, Poland moved from the command economy to the free market. In January 1990 the Bal-

Farmer and horse plowing cropland. (David Turnley/Corbis)

cerowicz Plan, also known as "shock therapy," was introduced. The government ended strict price controls, introduced tight monetary policies, started privatization, incorporated Poland into the global economy, and gained the support of the Western powers and the International Monetary Fund, which led to a debt restructuring advantageous to Poland.

The transition from the communist economy to a free market one was implemented harshly and rapidly without any educational or propaganda campaign. Initially, Western powers invested little in Poland. The strategy, designed by then finance minister Leszek Balcerowicz, included several new elements, such as the liberalization of domestic prices, rising imports, a tightening of enterprises' pay structures and of financial policy, the introduction of interest rates above the rate of inflation, the stabilization of the zloty against the dollar, and the introduction of zloty exchangeability. The banking and credit systems were reformed, and new capital and labor markets were created. In July 1990 the Sejm accepted privatization laws. In July 1991 the parliament introduced the income tax for private persons and, in 1992, the value added tax (VAT). Initially, the sudden introduction of free market principles generated a recession, but the recession was followed by an accelerating recovery. The shock therapy stimulated domestic competition. The private sector became the principal agent of economic growth. The budget deficit was drastically reduced; perhaps more importantly, inflation dropped to 43 percent in 1992 and continued to fall. Foreign creditors reduced Poland's debt by 50 percent; the Warsaw Stock Exchange was opened in 1991, and the fully convertible zloty was denominated in 1995. The Polish economy stabilized, opened to the world, and in a relatively short time became one of the most dynamically developing economies of Europe. Between 1990 and 1998, average annual real growth in Polish gross domestic product amounted to 4.4 percent, which was the best result in Central Europe.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

Despite the heady days that followed the collapse of the Soviet empire and the return of true independence to Poland, over a decade later, even given the tremendous progress in many areas of society, Poland's transition from a Soviet bloc state to a European one continues to confront numerous challenges.

Poland's entry into the European Union (EU) in 2004 constitutes the most serious challenge to the entire Polish society. Poland has to adjust her laws and political and economic realities to Western European standards. In many fields, this adjustment will be a difficult operation. Some parts of Poland will be the poorest regions in the EU, and Poland's eastern border will be the eastern border of the united Europe.

Poland's agriculture is the most challenging issue, one that constituted a particularly difficult topic in the EU talks. About 27 percent of the Polish population works in or is maintained by agriculture (and contributes only 3.4 percent to the GDP), as compared with between 2 and 4 percent of the population in the most developed countries. Most Polish farms are small, lack modern equipment, and are barely able to produce for the market. They are destined to lose the competition against Western producers. Numerous Polish peasants will have to abandon their farms and join the army of unemployed. It appears that nobody in Poland has a solution to this problem. Populist and peasant politicians try to defend the traditional agriculture or manipulate this issue to win the votes of the threatened and immobile Polish peasants. Supporters of the free market economy and European integration are often accused of killing the Polish peasantry. A terrible choice has appeared: to modernize and quickly develop the country or to defend and maintain unproductive peasants.

Frequently, people do not realize that the situation in the agriculture is another burden inherited from years of communism. Immediately after World War II, in 1944 and 1945, the Communists, backed by the Red Army, introduced a radical land reform in Poland. The reform was motivated by political rather than economic reasons. The newly established communist authorities badly needed popular support. They did not have it in the Polish cities. Therefore, they were looking for this support in the countryside. The communists bribed the peasantry, dividing the estates of the landed gentry and the big farms of the so-called kulaks, the wealthy peasant farmers, and giving the land to the poor peasants. The communists did not worry about the economic consequences of this reform, because they intended to collectivize Polish agriculture anyway. In fact, however, they did not manage to collectivize agriculture, and Poland was left with antiquated, inefficient, nonmechanized small farms. In some parts of Poland, especially in former German territory in the west and in the north, where the Polish peasantry did not live before the war, the communist authorities established large state agricultural farms. Today, these regions constitute an area of economic and social disaster. The state agricultural farms went bankrupt, leaving their employees without work and on welfare. In some regions unemployment reaches thirty percent.

At the same time, the state will not be able to subsidize heavy industry and coal mining in the long run. Poland still remains one of the world's largest coal producers, but the coal sector provides only 3.7 percent of total industry sales. A similar situation exists in the steel industry, and in 1992 government consultants recommended the closure of half of the country's twenty-five steelworks by 2002. This has not happened, since, as in the agriculture, there are no new jobs for coal miners and steel mills workers. Therefore, the state is forced to subsidize these unproductive enterprises, which makes the state budget even tighter.

An extremely tight budget has painful consequences. The economy in Poland is divided into two parts: the private sector and the state sector. The private sector thrives: its employees earn good wages and live better every day. Simultaneously, however, the people who receive their salaries from the state budget are frequently grossly underpaid. Physicians, nurses, teachers, policemen, and clerks earn less in a month than a relatively modest businessman earns in one day. Sometimes, a university professor receives a paycheck several times smaller than his wife, who might work as a secretary in a private enterprise. As a consequence of all these problems, there is a great deal of frustration in Poland. Strikes, protest demonstrations, and blockades of railways and roads are almost an everyday occurrence.

The Polish health service is also going through a crisis, and the major healthcare reform initiated in 1999 has been unpopular. Hospitals, like schools, universities, theaters, public transportation, police, and other institutions maintained by the state budget, work poorly and are in bad shape.

Some Polish cities have changed so much that they are unrecognizable to someone who left them ten years ago. At the same time, however, little provincial towns and workers' districts in large cities have not changed at all; Polish standards of living are low, and life expectancy at birth in 2001 was 70.2 years for males and 78.4 years for females, compared with an EU average of 75.3 and 81.4 years, respectively. The birthrate fell sharply in the 1990s, and the fertility rate is continuing to decline.

Poland's economic situation is also affected by bad relations with Russia. In January 2002 the Polish government expelled nine Russian diplomats for spying. In February, young Polish anarchists, protesting against the war in Chechnya, broke into the Russian consulate in Poznań, tore up a Russian flag, and covered the walls of the building with swastikas. The Russians recalled their ambassador from Poland and commented on the incident in Poznań in a manner that recalled the Soviet phraseology of the Brezhnev era. Poles are also afraid that the union of Russia and Belarus might have negative consequences for them. However, the biggest Polish fear is that Russia will "unite" with Ukraine too. Poland considers this country a strategic partner, but Polish businessmen are afraid to invest there because, exactly as is the case with Russia, they think it is too risky. Both Russia and Ukraine are afraid that with Poland entering the European Union the eastern border of Poland will become the "Belgian curtain," leaving them out of Europe. Poland has already introduced a visa regime for travelers from its non-EU neighbors. The Kaliningrad region constitutes a problem, since after the EU enlargement (including the Baltic states), the area will be a Russian enclave within the EU. The Russian authorities have asked Poland and Lithuania for special transit rights to access Kaliningrad, but the request has been rejected.

In addition to the challenges facing the overall economy, Poland faces numerous other problems. Violent crime has risen sharply since the fall of communism, and organized crime has appeared. Unemployment is especially prevalent among young people who, because of lack of housing as well as unemployment, find it difficult to start families. Finally, the infrastructure (from railroads to the road network) continues to impede economic development; most of the nation's transportation needs a major upgrade, which would require both time and the allocation of scarce resources.

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CHRONOLOGY

180,000 B.C.E.	earliest traces of men on the territories of future Poland.
4000–1800 B.C.E.	Neolithic cultures.
2500 B.C.E.	Beginnings of agriculture.
1800–400 B.C.E.	Bronze Age.
600	First Iron Age cultures appear.
ca. 550 B.C.E.	Construction of the Biskupin stronghold.
ca. 500 B.C.E.	Invasion of Asian Scythians.
ca. 400 B.C.E.	Celtic tribes appear north of the Carpathians.
100–200 C.E.	Migration of Germanic tribes.
400–460	Rise and fall of the empire of the Huns in Central Europe.
550–750 C.E.	Asian Avars control Central Europe.
ca. 820 C.E.	Establishment of the Greater Moravian Reich (which included a part of Polish lands).
ca. 830–1370	Piast dynasty in Poland.
ca. 830	Piast dynasty takes power in the tribal state of Polanie in the region of Poznań.
966	Prince Mieszko I accepts baptism and introduces Christianity to his state.
990s	Silesia and the region of Cracow are incorporated into Poland.
1025	Bolesław the Brave (Chrobry) becomes the first king of Poland.
1138	Bolesław the Wrymouthed (Krzywousty) divides Poland among his sons.
1100–1400	The so-called German colonization in Poland.
1226	Teutonic Order is settled in Prussia.
1241	Mongols invade Poland.
1306–1333	Reign of Władysław the Elbow-Short (Łokietek) and reunification of Poland.
1340s	Polish conquest of Red Ruthenia (Halych Principality).
1370	Death of Casimir the Great (Kazimierz Wielki), the last Piast king of Poland.
1370–1385	Reign of Louis d'Anjou of Hungary and his daughter Jadwiga.
1385–1572	The Jagiellonian dynasty in Poland.
1385	Union of Krevo: personal union between Poland and Lithuania.
1410	King Władysław Jagiełło defeats the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Grünwald.
1454–1466	Thirteen Years' War and incorporation of Royal Prussia (the Gdańsk region), formerly controlled by the Teutonic Order, into Poland.
1493	Establishment of a bicameral parliament (Sejm and Senate).
1500s	Renaissance and Reformation in Poland.
1525	Secularization of the Teutonic Order state and its homage to Poland.
1529	Incorporation of Mazovia into the Polish kingdom.
1561	Incorporation of Livonia (today's Latvia) into Poland.
1564	Jesuits arrive in Poland; beginning of Counter-Reformation.
1569	Union of Lublin: closer union between Poland and Lithuania and transfer of Ukraine from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the Polish kingdom.
1572	Death of Sigismund II Augustus, the last Jagiellonian on the Polish throne.
1573–1795	The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.
1573	First royal election; Henri de Valois elected.
1596	Union of Brest and the establishment of the Uniate Church.
1605	Polish intervention in Moscow.
1617	Beginning of Swedish wars.
1620	Beginning of Turkish wars.
1648–1657	Chmielnicki (Khmelnytskyi) uprising in Ukraine.
1652	*Liberum veto* used for the first time.
1655–1660	"The Deluge": Swedish invasion of Poland.
1665–1667	Civil war is triggered by the rebellion of Jerzy Lubomirski.
1683	Siege and Battle of Vienna.
1700–1721	Great Northern War.

1704–1710	Stanisław Leszczyński put on the Polish throne by the Swedes.
1717	Silent Parliament; beginning of the Russian protectorate over Poland.
1733–1735	War of Polish Succession.
1768–1772	Bar Confederation: the first anti-Russian uprising.
1772	First partition of Poland.
1788–1792	Four Years' Parliament (Sejm).
1791	Constitution of 3 May, the first European constitution.
1793	Second partition of Poland.
1794	Kościuszko's Uprising.
1795	Third partition of Poland.
1795–1918	The Period of Partitions.
1797	Establishment of the Polish Legion in French Service.
1807	Establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw.
1815	Congress of Vienna: Congress Kingdom of Poland, Grand Duchy of Poznań, and Republic of Cracow are formed.
1830–1831	November Uprising against Russia.
1846	Anti-Austrian uprising in Cracow and jacquerie in Austrian-occupied Galicia.
1848	Anti-Prussian uprising in the Poznań region, the end of the Grand Duchy of Poznań, and the emancipation of the peasants in Galicia.
1863–1864	Anti-Russian January Uprising.
1864	Emancipation of the peasants in Russian-occupied Poland.
1867	Broad political and cultural autonomy is established in Galicia.
1905	Outbreak of revolution in Russia and the former Congress Kingdom.
1914	Beginning of World War I and the establishment of the "Piłsudski Legions."
1915	German-Austrian occupation of the former Russian Poland.
1916	German-Austrian restoration of a puppet Polish kingdom.
1917	Revolutions in and collapse of Russia.
1918	Western powers recognize Poland as an independent state; the collapse of Germany and Austria and the end of World War I.
1918–1939	The Second Polish Republic.
1918–1921	Border wars against Ukraine, Germany, Soviet Russia, Lithuania, and Czechoslovakia.
1920	Battle of Warsaw and the expulsion of the Red Army from Poland.
1921	Peace treaty with Soviet Russia and the March Constitution.
1919, 1920, 1921	Anti-German Silesian uprisings.
1926	Coup d'état of Joseph Piłsudski and the beginning of his dictatorship.
1932	Non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union.
1934	Non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany.
1935	Acceptance of the authoritarian April Constitution and the death of Piłsudski.
1939	British Guarantee for Poland, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and the Nazi-Soviet invasion of Poland.
1939–1945	World War II.
1939	German and Soviet occupations of Poland.
1940	Closing of the ghetto of Warsaw and most other ghettos in Poland; the Soviets execute almost thirty thousand Polish officers at Katyn and other locations.
1941	Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union; the establishment of diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Polish government in exile in London.
1942	Systematic killing of the Jews starts in Auschwitz.
1943	Soviet Union breaks diplomatic relations with the Polish government in exile; the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.
1944	Warsaw Uprising; the Soviets eject the Germans from eastern Poland and establish a communist puppet state.
1945–1989	Polish People's Republic.
1945	Western powers recognize the Provisional Government of National Unity in Soviet-occupied Poland.
1947	First postwar parliamentary elections and the establishment of a communist-dominated Sejm.
1948	Forced unification of the Polish political left by the communists; beginning of the collectivization and the Stalinist period.
1949	Poland becomes a member of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon); Stalinist purges in the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR).
1952	Stalinist constitution accepted by the Sejm.
1953	Stefan Wyszyński, the primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, is arrested.
1955	Warsaw Treaty is signed.
1956	Workers uprising in Poznań and the beginning of de-Stalinization in Poland; Władysław Gomułka becomes the first secretary of the PZPR.
1964	Intellectuals protest against the cultural policies of the regime.
1966	Celebrations of the millennium of Christianity in Poland.
1968	"March events": students' riots and anti-Semitic campaign.
1970	"December events": workers' uprising in Gdańsk and Gdynia; Gomułka is replaced

	by Edward Gierek as first secretary of the PZPR.
1976	"June events": workers' riots in Radom, Ursus, and elsewhere.
1978	Cardinal Karol Wojtyła is elected as Pope John Paul II.
1980	Establishment of Solidarity and the beginning of the Solidarity period.
1981	Martial law is implemented; the beginning of the Jaruzelski regime.
1984	Secret police murders Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko.
1988	New wave of strikes forces the regime to talk to the opposition.
1989	Round Table Negotiations.
post-1989	Redemocratization and the Third Republic.
1989	Solidarity wins the first postwar partially free parliamentary elections and the first noncommunist government, headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is formed.
1990	Lech Wałęsa wins the presidential elections.
1990	First fully free parliamentary elections; twenty-nine parties enter the Sejm. The Balcerowicz Plan, also known as shock therapy, is introduced in Polish economy.
1993	Postcommunist Left wins the parliamentary elections.
1995	Aleksander Kwaśniewski, a former communist minister, defeats Lech Wałęsa in the presidential elections.
1997	Solidarity Electoral Alliance (AWS) wins the parliamentary elections and establishes new government.
1999	Poland enters NATO.
2000	Solidarity-led governing coalition collapses, and the AWS cabinet becomes a minority government; Aleksander Kwaśniewski is reelected president of Poland.
2001	Postcommunist Left wins parliamentary elections and returns to power.
2004	Poland joins the European Union.

ESTONIA

MEL HUANG

LAND AND PEOPLE

Estonia is one of the most fascinating countries in Europe for many different reasons. Populated by a population not speaking an Indo-European language, advantageously located at the center of a busy trading Baltic Sea, disadvantageously located at a point coveted by regional powers, the small nation has been a significant—though underexamined—focal point of the continent's history.

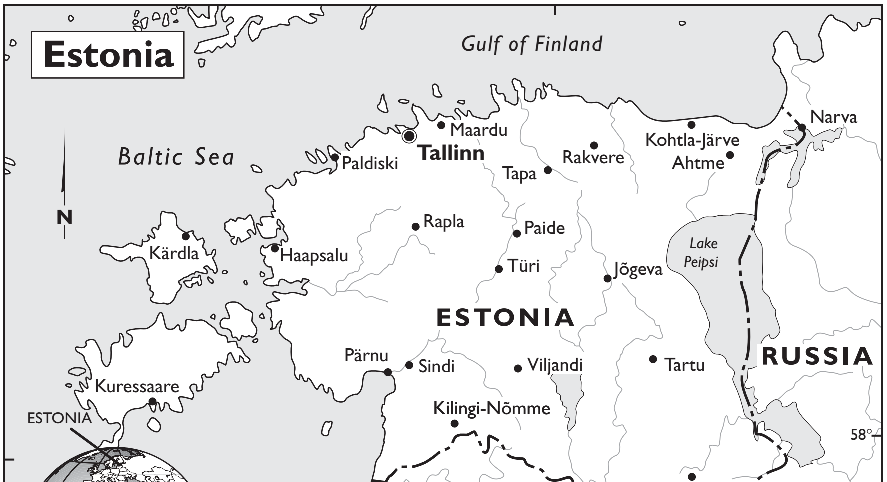
Lying at an attractive location on the northeastern coast of the Baltic Sea, Estonia rests at a spot naturally fitting a role as a conduit of land-based and sea-based trade in the region. The country is surrounded by the Baltic Sea to its north and west, while the Russian Federation lies to the east across a population border remarkably stable over the centuries, and Latvia lies to the south.

Directly across the Gulf of Finland to the country's north is Finland, the Finno-Ugric kin of Estonia. The short distance between Estonia and Finland, in both geographical and kinship terms, proved to be a vital link throughout the centuries of the chaotic and often unpleasant history of the region. The capitals of the two countries—Tallinn, in Estonia, and Helsinki, in Finland—are in fact separated by only 85 kilometers, one of the closest pairs of capitals anywhere in the world. Numerous ferries and hydrofoils travel the short distance, as well as scheduled flights on airplanes and helicopters for the over 3 million individuals that travel between the two cities annually.

From Tallinn, Latvia's capital Riga is 307 kilometers away, while Russia's St. Petersburg is 395 kilometers away, all linked by major air, road, and rail networks. Sweden's capital Stockholm, 405 kilometers from the capital, is served by normal air and overnight ferry services. The close proximity to large metropolitan areas in neighboring states makes Tallinn a natural hub for transit and travel.

The modern Estonian state is 45,227 square kilometers, a little smaller than the size of a combined Vermont and New Hampshire in the United States or a bit larger than the Netherlands or Denmark. It shares lengthy land borders, totaling 676.8 kilometers, with the Russian Federation and Latvia, as well as maritime borders totaling 768.6 kilometers with Finland, Latvia, and the Russian Federation.

Estonia lies between 57°30'34" and 59°49'12" north latitude, placing it further north than Juneau, Alaska, at about the same latitude


Estonia
Gulf of Finland
Baltic Sea
N
Narva
Maardu
Tallinn
Paldiski
Rakvere
Kohtla-Järve
Ahtme
Tapa
Rapla
Paide
Kärdla
Haapsalu
Türi
Jõgeva
Lake Peipsi
ESTONIA
RUSSIA
Pärnu
Sindi
Viljandi
Tartu
Kuressaare
Kilingi-Nõmme
58°
ESTONIA
Valga
Võru
LATVIA
0
50
100 mi
0
50
100 km
26°
©2001 maps.com

A view of Tallinn's Old Town from Toompea. (Courtesy of Rein Linask)

as the southern tip of Greenland. This northern location brings significant differences in day lengths; for example in the summer, sunlight in the north lasts over eighteen hours a day and in the winter about six hours. However, despite its northern location, its coastal location keeps temperatures mild, and most of its ports do not fully freeze in the winter. The average temperature in 1999 was minus 1.9 degrees Celsius (28.5 degrees Fahrenheit) in January and plus 18.8 degrees Celsius (66 degrees Fahrenheit) in July, while the precipitation in 1999 was 640 millimeters.

The territory of Estonia is rather flat. In fact the highest point in the country is Suur Munamägi (The Great Egg Hill), which only rises 318 meters above sea level—the highest hill in the entire Baltic region. Over 60 percent of Estonia is at an elevation of 0–50 meters above sea level. Earth movements also mean that the northwestern part of the country is rising by about 2.5 millimeters annually.

Inland water accounts for about 6 percent of Estonia's inland territory, or about 2,830 square kilometers. Though many rivers flow through Estonia, most are small in size. The longest rivers are the Pärnu, at 144 kilometers, the Kasari, at 112 kilometers, and the Emajõgi (literally "Mother River") at 101 kilometers. Estonia also features many pockets of inland water, including about 1,500 natural, meteor-created, and man-made lakes. The largest are the Võrtsjärv at 270 square kilometers, in the south of the country, and Lake Peipsi at 3,555 square kilometers (the fifth largest freshwater lake in Europe), on the border with the Russian Federation (only about half the lake is in Estonian territory). Lake Peipsi has formed a natural boundary between the Estonians and the Russians for centuries, which can be seen in the Russian name for the lake: Chudskoye ozero (Lake Chudski, the term *chud* being an ancient Russian term for Estonians).

One of Estonia's most fascinating features is its many islands, mostly on its western coast. Numbering over 1,500 and accounting for about 10 percent of the country's territory, the different-sized islands hold many different treasures. The two largest islands, Saaremaa at 2,673 square kilometers and Hiiumaa at 980 square kilometers are also popular holiday resorts and retreats, boasting the famous fourteenth-century Bishop's Castle in Kuressaare (the main city on Saaremaa) and the Kõpu Lighthouse (at the northern tip of Hiiumaa), the third oldest continuously functioning lighthouse in the world. Many of the islands also preserve strong local traditions, especially the two most distant and least inhabited islands, the 11.54 square kilometers Ruhnu (population 60) and the 16.4 square kilometers Kihnu (population 513), which even have their own Web sites. Some of the islands also boast strong ties to Sweden, as

A field of Lupine in southeastern Estonia, with a traditional Estonian farmhouse in the background. (Courtesy of Rein Linask)

Swedes have inhabited them for many centuries. Some of the smaller, uninhabited islands serve as nature reserves and have restricted public access for that purpose.

Estonians identify closely with the land; they show the closeness of their relationship with nature in the way they care for the land. Over 80 percent of Estonia's territory is rural or natural territory, ranging from grasslands to farmland and from forests to inland water.

Forests make up some 45 percent of Estonian territory, or just over 20,000 square kilometers. Ironically, due to Soviet agriculture policy, many people abandoned farming, and forests reclaimed the land, more than doubling the forested areas since 1940. There are records of 87 native and about 500 introduced species in the forests. The most common trees found in forests include Scots pine (41 percent), silver and downy birch (28 percent), and Norwegian spruce (23 percent). About a third of the large forested areas are under protection, giving naturalists some of the best examples of primeval forests anywhere in Europe. Forests play a major role in the economy as well, as wood and wood products accounted for 14.5 percent of exports in 1999.

Other natural areas in Estonia include meadowlands, marshes, and bogs. In the meadowlands there exist a wide variety of flora, while in some bog areas the peat thickness reaches seven meters. Peat is also used widely as an energy source, especially in rural areas. The Soomaa (literally Bogland) National Park in the western part of the country has some of the most fascinating examples of bog and peat in Europe. Some 20 percent of Estonian territory can be considered marshland and swamp forests.

Estonia has a rich variety of fauna, totaling over 12,000 different species. Over 11,500 species of invertebrates—including 10,000 documented insects—and 488 vertebrate creatures exist in Estonia today. For example, there are eleven species of amphibians, with some, such as the green toad and crested newt, under protection.

In different bodies of water around Estonia live different types of aquatic creatures, and these bodies of water are usually rich in fish stock. There are some 65 species of fresh and saltwater fish in Estonian waters. Lake Peipsi on the eastern border boasts large numbers of whitefish and a local specialty, the Peipsi smelt, a favorite delicacy when dried and salted. In the southern Võrtsjärv there are large numbers of pike perch and eels, both local delicacies. In the Baltic Sea there are large populations of herring, sprats, and flounder, as well as various shellfish and other aquatic treasures. Estonian waters actually account for 1 percent of the world's fish catch.

There are also a great variety of birds in Estonia, both indigenous and migratory. There are 333 different bird species recorded, and two-thirds of them breed in Estonia. Various resident species include the magpie, black grouse, seagulls, and, of course, the ever present pigeon. Some of the swamplands and isolated islands serve as home for many species, including the golden eagle and the osprey, as well as various ducks and owls. The national bird is the barn swallow, which is depicted on the back of the 500-kroon banknote.

There are 64 species of mammals recorded in Estonia, including the reintroduced red deer and European beaver. Some, however, such as the flying squirrel and European mink, are in danger of extinction. Many of the mammals live in the forests, such as elk (nearly 10,000), deer (30,000), wild boar (11,000), beaver (10,000), lynxes (1000), bears (600), and wolves (200). It is quite common to hear on the news of wildlife, such as a giant elk, wandering into town—sometimes into apartment buildings!

With the wide diversity of species, conservation has been a major part of Estonian thinking for decades. The first nature conservation zone was created on the island of Saaremaa in 1910, and in 1938 the Estonian parliament passed a landmark nature protection law (although it was never put fully into force due to the 1940 Soviet invasion). Today more than 10 percent of Estonia is under some form of protection.

Though not blessed with abundant resources, Estonia does boast large amounts of rocks and minerals, which have played a role in the architecture and economy of the people for centuries. The most common stone found in Estonia is limestone, the national stone. Much of the coastal cliffs are of limestone, with some of the most picturesque cliffs (especially at Ontika) dropping sharply down fifty meters to the Gulf of Finland. There is also a large supply of dolomite, with the best supplies found on the island of Saaremaa.

Estonia does boast a large quantity of oil shale in its northeast. Though burning at a relatively low caloric value (compared to coal or other fossil fuels), the large oil shale supply in Estonia keeps the country self-sufficient in generating electricity. There is also a significant supply of phosphorite and other minerals.

With the urbanization of society in the past century, the size of the agricultural sector has declined. For instance, in 2000 the share of agriculture in Estonia's gross domestic product (GDP) was only 3.3 percent, compared with about 15 percent a decade ago.

In Estonia there are about 12,000 square kilometers of arable land, alongside nearly 3,000 square kilometers of natural grassland, making agricultural land total about 14,300 square kilometers. There are also approximately 12,000 farms in production, with about 6 percent of the population employed in the agriculture sector.

Some of the most important crops are cereals and legumes (over 700,000 tons), potatoes (over 470,000 tons), and vegetables (about 53,000 tons). Other major agricultural products include milk (almost 630,000 tons), meat (about 52,000 tons), eggs (over 250 million), wool (71 tons), and honey (334 tons). There is also a healthy number of livestock: cattle (over 250,000), pigs (over 300,000), sheep and goats (over 32,000), and various poultry (almost 2.4 million).

Generally, Estonia's agricultural sector sustains the country, but trade in agricultural products also account for a part of consumed goods. Only about 7.4 percent of exports and 9.2 percent of imports (in January–August 2001) involved the agriculture sector. The main export items in that period include canned fish (22.7 percent), condensed milk (12.7 percent), fish fillet (11.4 percent), and frozen fish (11.4 percent), while the main imported agricultural goods include tobacco products (5 percent), poultry (4.5 percent), pork (4.1 percent), and sugar (4.1 percent).

Due to high competition in the agricultural sector, as well as the growing European integration process, there has been much encouragement for less traditional farming, such as organic farming, apiculture, and fish farming.

The population of the country, due to various figures such as emigration and a low birthrate, continues to fall. From data taken in the 2000 national census, the total population of Estonia is only 1,356,931. This is a considerable drop from the previous census, taken in 1989, which showed a population of 1,565,622. The 2000 census showed that the birthrate was 9.56 per 1000 inhabitants, compared to a mortality rate of 13.46 per 1000 inhabitants.

Estonia is increasingly becoming an urban society, as the population balance between urban and rural continues to swing further in favor of the former. In 2000 some 69.12 percent of inhabitants lived in urban areas. The capital city of Tallinn, on the northern coast, is the largest city, with 399,850 residents, or 29.25 percent of the national population. This is followed by the southeastern university city of Tartu at 101,240, the northeastern industrial city Narva at 68,538, another northeastern industrial town, Kohtla-Järve, at 47,484 and the southwestern resort town of Pärnu at 44,978 inhabitants. The population density as a whole is about 30 inhabitants per square kilometer. The country is divided into fifteen counties, as well as seven cities.

As for the ethnic breakdown, ethnic Estonians comprise 67.9 percent of the population, followed by Russians at 25.6 percent, Ukrainians at 2.1 percent, Belarusians at 1.2 percent, and Finns at 0.9 percent. The demographic balance between the indigenous and nonindigenous population was at one time a threat to the survival of the Estonian nation. The chart of population balance over the years indicates the massive change caused by Soviet policy of importing Russian-speaking workers following World War II.

Estonia is also a relatively young country, with just over a third of the population 25 or under. The life expectancy of children born in 1999 is 70.82 (65.35 for males, 76.09 for females). The gender balance favors females by about a 54–46 ratio.

One of the most unusual things about Estonians is their language, a member of the Finno-Ugric family. Estonian, like Finnish, sits on the Finnic side of the branch, and Hungarian lies on the Ugric side, the two branches being distantly related. The Finno-Ugric languages are not related to Indo-European languages, though centuries of coexistence have allowed for many loan words and structures to be interchanged between the two families.

Among the various Finno-Ugric speaking peoples, only Estonians, Finns, and Hungarians have reached statehood.

Table 1

Censuses	*1922*	*1934*	*1959*	*1970*	*1979*	*1989*	*2000*
Total	1,107 million	1,126 million	1,197 million	1,356 million	1,466 million	1,566 million	1,357 million
Ethnic Estonians	970 million	993 million	893 million	925 million	948 million	963 million	921 million
Percentage	87.7%	87.7%	74.6%	68.2%	64.7%	61.5%	67.9%

Other large Finno-Ugric peoples generally live in northern Scandinavia (such as the Sami), or in the Russian Federation (including the Komi, Udmurt, and Mari, among others). Many of them are dying out due to assimilation—very much the problem in Finno-Ugric areas in the Russian Federation due to linguistic Russification.

One of the smallest remaining Finno-Ugric groups is the Livonians, once a dominant group in present-day Latvia. Only a handful of people speak Livonian today, though Estonia has made efforts to help keep the kindred language alive.

The few thousand Setu people, living on both sides of the Estonian-Russian border around the Russian border town of Pechory (Petseri in Estonian, formerly a part of Estonia), are closely related to the Estonians. Most linguists consider the Setu language a distinct language, though it is related to the Võru dialect of Estonian. The Setu people are of Orthodox background, since for most of their history—unlike the Estonians—they have been under Russian rule.

As members of a small nation, Estonians have always excelled at languages. Most Estonians speak several foreign languages. Estonians can understand Finnish due to its closeness to Estonian, and Russian was a mandatory subject at school during the Soviet years. With most of today's television programs coming from Hollywood, most Estonians—especially the younger generation—speak English as well. One advantage for modern Estonians in learning languages is that most foreign-language programs are not voice-dubbed into Estonian; rather, Estonia follows the Nordic practice of subtitling the programs and keeping all the voices in the programs' original language. This is drastically different from other nearby countries such as Latvia, Russia, and Germany, which still overdub the voices into the local language.

Religion still plays a significant role in the life of Estonia, though as in the rest of Northern Europe, its role is diminishing. During the five-decade Soviet occupation, religion was severely discouraged by the occupying powers. Many of the most beautiful churches in Estonia, some over 600 years old, were turned into museums, storage units, or even "museums" celebrating atheism. However, since the restoration of independence in 1991, the faithful have once again been allowed to actively practice religion with no fear of government retribution.

The Roman Catholic Church gained its major footholds at the start of the thirteenth century in the Baltic lands, as both clerics and warriors forced the natives to convert by the sword. Since the Reformation in the sixteenth century, however, the Lutheran Church has played the most important role in the country's spiritual life. In 2000 there were about 180,000 official members of the Estonian Lutheran Church. Some other Protestant denominations have also grown, including Baptists and Methodists, and a small number of Catholic believers have remained. These denominations boast official membership of between 1,000 and 5,000.

There is also a community of so-called Old Believers, those who fled Russia in the seventeenth century following reforms to the Russian Orthodox Church; these Old Believers numbered about 5,000 in the year 2000. In fact, the Baltic lands served as a sanctuary for the Old Believers for centuries, with the strongest communities existing in Estonia and neighboring Latvia.

There are also many followers of Orthodoxy in Estonia not limited to particular ethnic groups. Like the Finns, many Estonians converted to Russian Orthodoxy in the nineteenth century after promises of preferential treatment by their Russian rulers. In 1920 the Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church (EAÕK) was established and recognized by the Russian Orthodox Church. Three years later the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople issued a *tomos* (an ecclesiastical edict) bringing the EAÕK under Constantinople, but with extensive autonomy. About 20 percent of the population in 1941 identified themselves with the Orthodox faith, including Estonia's first president, Konstantin Päts (1938–1940).

When the Soviet Union invaded and took control of all aspects of daily life in 1944, the EAÕK leadership fled to Sweden and set up the church in exile. The following year officials from the Moscow-based church dismissed those EAÕK officials who had remained in Estonia and placed Estonia's Orthodox followers under Moscow's authority.

Following the 1991 restoration of independence, the EAÕK returned and reregistered itself in 1993 as the legal successor of the Interwar EAÕK; in 1996 the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos I restored the 1923 tomos, bringing the Estonian church back under the authority of officials in Constantinople. Patriarch Aleksius II of the Russian (Moscow) Orthodox Church, himself originally from Estonia, issued a tomos in 1993 placing the Estonian Orthodox Church under Moscow. This caused a split in the church, even though in 1996 Moscow and Constantinople agreed that each parish in Estonia could choose which church to follow. About 18,000 followers chose the EAÕK (under Constantinople), and the rest stayed with the Estonian Orthodox Church (under Moscow).

Islam has also grown in recent years to become one of the largest religions in Estonia. An estimated 10,000 in Estonia are believers in Islam at some level; most having come from

The Estonian Language

There are just over one million Estonian speakers around the world. Outside the country, Estonian speakers live in especially large numbers in Sweden, Canada, the United States, and Australia, most of them having fled the Soviet takeover in the 1940s.

Estonian is rich in vowels, with a limited number of consonant phonemes in use. The vowels are the standard *a, e, i, o, u,* as well as four others: *ä, ö, ü,* and *õ.* Most words are stressed on the first syllable, except a few rare cases of commonly used words (such as *aitäh,* "thanks," where the stress is on the second syllable) or borrowed words (such as *probleem,* "problem"). Lengthening of both vowels and consonants is a major aspect of the language; compare *kus* (where) to *kuus* (six), or even *maja* (house) to *majja* (into the house).

Like all Finno-Ugric languages, Estonian is a highly inflected language. Instead of the reliance on prepositions seen in most modern Indo-European languages, Estonian relies on case endings, fourteen of them to be precise (for example: "church" *(kirik),* "of the church" *(kiriku),* "in the church" *(kirikus),* "into the church" *(kirikusse),* and "from the church" *(kirikust).* Thus the fourteen case endings are not as intimidating as they might sound, since they simply replace prepositions. Verb forms are also much simpler than most other languages, and there is actually no proper future tense in the language.

A common book of prayers with explanatory texts in Estonian, Latvian, and Livonian, published in Lübeck in 1525, is believed to be the first printed matter in Estonian. The first true Estonian book was a compilation of Lutheran catechisms with parallel texts in the south Estonian dialect and Low German printed in 1535. Only fragments of this historic text, compiled by Pastor Simon Wanradt and translator Johann Koell, remain. The first print shops opened in Tartu in 1631 and in Tallinn in 1635, and the number of books published in Estonian reached about forty during the century.

Ironically, the southern dialect is closer to Finnish than the northern. However, the north Estonian dialect was established as the standardized version of the language. Many regional dialects are still spoken today, the most distinct being that of the people of the southeastern Võru region.

Estonian and Finnish are very closely related and are to some extent mutually intelligible. However, due to both sound and grammatical changes, it is much easier for Estonians to understand Finnish than vice versa. Look, for example, at the numbers one through ten in the following table. They are given in Estonian, Finnish, and Hungarian to show the family likeness in the Finno-Ugrian languages, in English and German to show the contrast with the Germanic Indo-European languages, in Lithuanian as an example of a Baltic Indo-European language, and in Polish as an example of a Slavic Indo-European language:

(continues)

Muslim parts of the former Soviet Union, such as Azerbaijan and Central Asia, during the period of Soviet occupation.

With total freedom of religion, other groups have since become active. There are growing numbers of other Christian denominations, such as the Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses, and Buddhism is also attracting new believers. The Dalai Lama makes frequent visits to Estonia, citing Pühajärv (Holy Lake) in the southern resort town of Otepää as an inspirational site.

The Jewish community in Estonia was small (about 3,000) but very active during the 1920s and 1930s, and international Jewish leaders praised Estonia's policy toward its Jewish community during this period. Unfortunately, during the Nazi occupation of 1941–1944, the small Jewish community was essentially wiped out. Today, the Jewish community is back up to about 3,000, including some of the best-known individuals in the country, such as the highly respected semiotics professor Yuri Lotman, the world-famous conductor Eri Klas, and the media professor and former broadcasting chief Hagi Shein.

Under Soviet occupation, even the displaying of the Estonian flag or the singing of the Estonian national anthem resulted in arrest or even deportation to Siberia. Therefore Estonians feel very passionately about their national symbols. Many are depicted on Estonia's currency, the kroon (crown).

The national flag is a tricolor of even horizontal stripes of blue, black, and white. The flag originated actually as the symbol of a university student fraternity, the Estonian Students Union (EÜS), which was consecrated in Otepää on 4 July 1884. It was adopted as the national flag on 21 November 1918, nine months after the country's declaration of independence.

The country's coat of arms is a golden shield background with three blue lions, flanked by golden oak branches. The coat of arms, adopted on 25 June 1925, was actually derived from the old city coat of arms for the capital, Tallinn. The oldest imprint of this coat of arms dates back to 1294, when it was given to Tallinn by the Danish king, Valdemar II. The lion design resembles that on the coat of arms of the English national football squad.

The Estonian Language *(continued)*

English	*Estonian*	*Finnish*	*German*	*Hungarian*	*Lithuanian*	*Polish*
one	üks	yksi	eins	egy	vienas	jeden
two	kaks	kaksi	zwei	kettő	du	dwa
three	kolm	kolme	drei	három	trys	trzy
four	neli	neljä	vier	négy	keturi	cztery
five	viis	viisi	fünf	öt	penki	pięć
six	kuus	kuusi	sechs	hat	šeši	sześć
seven	seitse	seitsemän	sieben	hét	septyni	siedem
eight	kaheksa	kahdeksan	acht	nyolc	aštuoni	osiem
nine	üheksa	yhdeksän	neun	kilenc	devyni	dziewięć
ten	kümme	kymmenen	zehn	tíz	dešimt	dziesięć

The similarities between Estonian and Finnish are clearly visible, and the difference between them and the Indo-European languages is easily noticeable. But what happens commonly is that Estonian words tend to have one syllable less, since Finnish words generally need to end in vowels (or *n* or *s*). The following may serve as examples:

English	*Estonian*	*Finnish*
day	päev	päivä
island	saar	saari
land	maa	maa
man	mees	mies
port	sadam	satama
sauna	saun	sauna
sea	meri	meri
telephone	telefon	puhelin

The last example also shows how Estonian tends to borrow more words than the ultra-conservative Finnish. English words like "show" have penetrated the language despite breaking numerous Estonian spelling rules; some tried to make that word fit with the alternate spelling *šou,* but this looks quite odd even in Estonian.

One other peculiarity that Estonia and Finland share (aside from their unique languages and cultures) is the same melody for their national anthems. The melody was written by Finnish-German Fredrik Pacius in 1843, and became the Estonian anthem following the 1918 declaration of independence. The words to "Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm" (My Native Land, My Joy and Delight) were written by beloved Estonian poet Johann Voldemar Jannsen and put into the song for the first of the celebrated Estonian song festivals in 1869.

Other unofficial symbols of the country, aside from those mentioned above, include the national bird (the barn swallow), the national flower (the purple-blue cornflower), the national tree (the oak), the national rock (limestone), and others.

HISTORY

The history of Estonia is long and complicated, and the understanding of it is key to understanding the Estonian people. For centuries the Estonians languished under foreign domination, ranging from Germanic crusaders to expansionist Sweden, from Russia (trying to transform the country into Russia's "window to the West" to the Nazis (who saw it as *Lebensraum*), from resurgent Poland-Lithuania to the Soviet empire. During only about 4 percent of the past 800 years have Estonians enjoyed their independence.

The continuing saga of foreign domination shaped the Estonian nation through the centuries, both positively and negatively. The remarkable thing is that despite over 700 years of foreign domination (and, at times, active suppression), the Estonians kept their national identity alive and well. It is with this baggage, however, that Estonians today remain fiercely independent-minded and proud of their achievements.

This history of foreign domination is perhaps why Estonia's return to Europe is so remarkable. In 2004 Estonia rejoined the Western world fully by joining NATO and becoming a full member of the European Union. Locked into a secure Europe, Estonia can now place its full attention on exploring the future—something it has never had the luxury of doing in the last eight centuries.

The Cornflower—Estonia's national flower. (Courtesy of Rein Linask)

THE ANCIENT ERA (PRE-HISTORY TO 1200)

Most experts believe that the regional thaw in the ninth millennium B.C.E. created hospitable conditions for human settlements in the territory of modern-day Estonia. The warmer climate allowed forests to appear and wildlife to inhabit the region, which eventually led to human settlements. Archaeological discoveries place the earliest settlements at about 7500 B.C.E.

Several sites belonging to the so-called Kunda culture, named after the town near which a major discovery was made, have been discovered, including the earliest find in Pulli. There is no consensus regarding the exact origins of the Paleolithic (ca. 7500–4000) inhabitants of Estonia, though most believe they originated from somewhere in the south.

Closer in origin to modern-day Estonians were the inhabitants in the Neolithic period (ca. 4000–2500). The people of this era are classified in two separate groups, which most experts believe combined to form modern-day Estonians. The first group, believed to be from the east, is classified as the comb-pottery culture, named for the distinctive décor on earthenware discovered from excavations. These settlers are also thought to have brought with them among other things the Finno-Ugric language, the precursor of languages like Estonian and Finnish. The second group, arriving in the late Neolithic period, is called the boat-ax people, from the shape of the ax-heads discovered from archeological digs. Items related to the boat-ax people are found further south, and they are believed to be the primary ancestors of modern-day Balts, the Latvians and Lithuanians.

The absence of tin and copper (components of bronze) makes it difficult to distinguish the Bronze Age (ca. 2500–500 B.C.E.) when considering Estonia; rather, many ancient historians and archaeologists examine the period as one of transition from hunting and gathering and fishing to agriculture. The bronze items originating in this period that have been found were imported, though most items from this era remain stone-based. Despite that, this era remains important, as the transition to agriculture also saw the construction of fortified settlements. That also meant a sharper settlement pattern, which split the forefathers of the Estonians, north of the Daugava River (bisecting modern-day Latvia), and the ancestors of the Latvians and Lithuanians in the south. The so-called Pre-Roman Iron Age (ca. 500 B.C.E. to 1) saw some importing of crude iron tools, but there was no sharp change in society.

Though evidence hints at an earlier modest start to iron smelting, the Roman Iron Age (ca. 1 to 400 C.E.) saw the gradual replacement of stone with iron in Estonia. Though the supply was limited, iron ore was found in bogs, and smelting and forging activities increased. This activity also increased foreign contacts and trade, as indicated by Roman and other ancient coins found in archaeological digs. Even the Roman historian Tacitus spoke of the people living on the Baltic coast as "Aestii" (probably based on the Estonian name for Estonia, "Eesti," though experts remain uncertain).

The Middle Iron Age (ca. 400–800) represented a more chaotic era, with mass movements of peoples throughout the region, upsetting trade patterns established in the previous era. A large number of fortresses were built during this era to deal with land invasions from Slavs and maritime raids from Scandinavian Vikings. Viking chroniclers depicted major confrontations in Estonia, where even some Scandinavian kings fell in battle.

The Late Iron Age (ca. 800–1200) saw the continuation of armed conflicts, but also the revitalization of commerce. Slavic forces increased their raids into Estonia starting in the second millennium, and the area around Tartu fell several times to invading armies. These raids forced Estonians into building some larger fortifications, and some of their ruins remain standing today. Chroniclers also noted the activities of raids into Scandinavia by Estonian Vikings; one significant attack by Estonians (and likely other inhabitants of the eastern Baltic coast) sacked the key Swedish town of Sigtuna in 1187.

Prior to the medieval period, there was no centralized administration in Estonia. The main unit of administration was the *kihelkond* (parish), a loose grouping of villages led by an elder. Increasingly, loose groupings of parishes formed a *maakond* (region), though their consolidation was fragmented and haphazard. Though some of the regions cooperated with each other, the lack of a unified organization hindered joint resistance to attack, thus leading to the centuries of foreign occupation.

FOREIGN POWERS TAKE HOLD (1201–1238)

Increasing trade activities with German merchants during the Late Iron Age also brought pagan Estonians to the attention of Christian preachers. The first serious attempt to preach to the inhabitants of the eastern Baltic coast came around 1184, with the arrival of the Augustinian monk Meinhard, who was also ordained the Bishop of Livonia two years later. Meinhard was successful in baptizing Livonians (Finno-Ugric kin of the Estonians) and Lettgallians (a Baltic tribe that later formed the core of the Latvian people). However, attempts to baptize Estonians failed during that period. Meinhard's successor Berthold attempted a crusade in 1198 but was killed in the early campaign.

In many respects therefore, the real beginning of the period did not come until the arrival of the canon of Bremen, Albert, who was named as the third bishop of Livonia. Albert, along with a powerful army of crusaders, founded the city of Riga in 1201 on the site of a small Livonian fishing village. A crusading order, the Order of the Brethren of the Sword, was created the year after with the goal of forcibly converting the pagans. In 1204 Pope Innocent III confirmed the order in its crusading mission and the first serious invasion into Estonian lands happened in 1208. Much of what we know from this era comes from Henry of Livonia, whose chronicles are the best-known records from this era.

The order, along with their Livonian and Lettgallian allies, launched a series of attacks into southern Estonian regions. Slavic raids from the east exacerbated the situation in Estonian lands, especially when the Slavs cooperated with the order. The Estonians, for their part, counterattacked into both Slavic and order territory, which led to a three-year armistice with the order in 1211. However, as the armistice ended, the order (as well as their allies) resumed their attacks on the ground and by sea.

By 1215 some southern regions had fallen to the order, and people were forced to undergo baptism. Although Estonians continued to fight back, partly by working with their own Slavic allies, the Battle of St. Matthew's Day on 21 September 1217 saw the biggest setback for Estonian forces. The large army, led by a southern parish leader, Lembitu, the same inspirational leader who had succeeded in several victories against both the order and Slavs, failed in this crucial battle. Lembitu and thousands fell in the battle, and it marked a major turning point in the period.

Though victorious in the battle, Bishop Albert turned to the Danish kingdom for assistance in 1218, an appeal to which Pope Honorius III gave his blessing. The Danish king, Valdemar II, led the attack on northern Estonia, defeating the Estonian forces in June 1219 at the northern fort of Lindanise. Danish folklore tells of how the failing Danish forces were inspired by a red banner with a white cross falling from Heaven, which rallied them to victory; the symbol, the *Dannebrog,* later became Denmark's flag. The Danes built a fortress in Lindanise, which later became known in Estonian as Tallinn (*Taani* means "Danish" and *linn* means "fortress").

By 1220, mainland Estonia was effectively conquered, as the Danes held the northern part of Estonia and the Germans held the southern half. However, seeing the opportunity, Sweden, under youthful King Johan (Sverkersson), launched an attack on the western part of Estonia. His initial victory was, however, short-lived, as a military contingent from the island of Saaremaa decimated the Swedish invading force soon after.

The same Saaremaa force, encouraged by their victory in repelling Danish intentions on their island, led a major revolt across mainland Estonia. Beginning in 1222, the various Estonian regions pooled their military strength, and the counterrevolt began to reap results. By 1223, their combined forces, led by the islanders, had liberated most of Estonia. Only Tallinn remained fully under foreign control, and conquest of that key fortress remained elusive.

With the momentum of the revolt lost, foreign reinforcements began to take back lands liberated. By 1224, the last part of the mainland still under Estonian control, the fortress at Tartu, fell after the third siege undertaken by the order. And, in the winter of 1227, a huge army from the order invaded Saaremaa, successfully taking the island. All Estonian lands fell under foreign rule.

Freeing up its forces in the north, the order pursued further attacks in the south. However, the 1236 Battle of Saule (near modern-day Šiauliai in Lithuania) against the Lithuanians and their allies dealt the Order of the Brethren of the Sword a mortal blow. The weakened order was forced to seek help from the Teutonic Order based in Prussia, becoming in the end simply the Livonian branch of the entire Teutonic Order (and better known from this point onward as the Livonian Order).

Despite its weakened status, the order, now the Livonian Order, continued its aggressive activities. Even before this time, conflict between the order and the ecclesiastic power, which was divided into two bishoprics (with the order's territory bisecting them), had been common. Conflicts also erupted between the order and Danish holdings, a quarrel that even papal envoys failed to help mediate. In the end, the Treaty of Stensby, signed in 1238, ended the disputes, setting the border between the two foreign powers. The lands held by Denmark became known as Estland (Estonia) and the lands held by Germans—both religious and military—became known as Livland (Livonia). Though this one conflict was resolved, the coming era brought continual conflicts that plagued the Estonian territories for centuries.

OLD LIVONIA (1238–1561)

Conflicts were common in the Middle Ages. Uprisings by Estonians against their overlords happened often, and the Livonian Order and their religious counterparts also fought over control of territory. In the meantime, feudalism came to Estonia, as German landowners acquired lands that evolved into manor estates. Urban centers also developed with the immigration of German merchants and the granting of city rights to Tallinn (1248) and Tartu (1262), among others. Some of the architectural gems of both cities originate from this period.

One important development of this period was the growth of trade within the Hanseatic League, an innovative grouping promoting trade in the Baltic Sea region. Tallinn joined the Hanseatic League in the late thirteenth century, becoming one of the most important Hansa towns over the centuries; later Tallinn served as a major point in the trade route from London to Lübeck and Novgorod. Tartu played a major role in the trade route to Pskov, and Viljandi and Pärnu also joined the trading league. The league declined in influence in the sixteenth century, but the trade routes continued despite the league's slump. Many guilds also developed, especially in Tallinn, where some twenty maintained their trade beyond this period.

The Livonian Order, however, faced a continual decline in its power, with some spectacular defeats. The defeat in 1242 on the ice of Lake Peipsi by Alexander Nevsky did establish the lake and the Narva River as the effective border between the Western powers and the Slavs. The order also suffered badly at the 1260 Battle of Durbe. Despite these major defeats, the order also picked on their ecclesiastic partners in conquest, which led to several civil wars between the Germans that lasted into the fourteenth century.

The most significant event of the period came on 23 April 1343, St. George's Day, when a spontaneous revolt began near Tallinn and spread throughout the region. The Estonians manage to win control over most of the region around Tallinn, and then the revolt spread to other regions. Success was fleeting. The order retaliated and eventually won back all the lost territories, even in formerly Danish-held lands. The last of the lost territories—the island of Saaremaa—was retaken in 1345.

Though the St. George's Day Uprising failed, it did leave a lasting mark on Estonia. The Danish crown felt the cost of holding onto this territory to be too great; therefore, in 1346 Denmark sold its Estonian holdings to the Teutonic Order for a reported 19,000 silver Cologne marks. In the following year the master of the Livonian Order was put in control. The entire German-controlled territory was known as Old Livonia.

The Livonian Order suddenly became the ruler of most of Estonian lands, and it thus grew much more powerful than the two bishoprics. The order naturally took advantage of this situation and frequently attacked the bishoprics. Although a conference in Danzig (Gdańsk) in 1397 helped mediate the situation between the order and the ecclesiastic powers in the region, the balance established there held for only a short time, as the historic 1410 Battle of Grünwald saw the combined Lithuanian-Polish army decimate the Teutonic Order, neutralizing the Teutonic Knights as a regional power. The Livonian Order, as a branch of the Teutonic Order, suffered similarly, and the religious powers regained much of their power in the region.

Rapid expansionism all but ended for the order, not just from its weakened status but also from the final conversion of Lithuania and Samogitia (the Lithuanian highlands) in the early fifteenth century. Some normalcy developed in the region, as administrative units were organized. In the 1420s regional assemblies (*Landtage* in German) began meeting, as an early provincial government began to develop.

However, peace did not last, especially with occasional skirmishes with the Slavs from the east. The conflicts intensified with the rise of Muscovy, which began uniting the Slavic lands into what was to become the Russian Empire. The raids increased in frequency, but Moscow could not hold onto its territorial gains for any real length of time. The order, on the other hand, also claimed a few victories of its own, including the 1502 victory at the Battle of Lake Smolina. This battle resulted in a tense peace in the region for a short time, before Moscow's ambitions again led to full-scale war.

Shortly thereafter, another challenge to the power of the rulers of Estonia appeared, this time in the form of the Reformation, which reached the Estonian lands soon after it began in the West (arriving via Riga in 1523). While both the order and the ecclesiastical powers in the Baltic states remained steadfastly loyal to the Roman Church, urban centers increasingly shifted toward Protestantism. This split led to violence against Catholics and the Catholic Church. (Ironically, as religious violence spread, so too did culture, as this era also saw the first known printed text in Estonian, a book of Lutheran catechisms printed in 1535. There may have been earlier works in the early part of the sixteenth century, but no proof survives.)

At the same time, Moscow's territorial aspirations led to a new set of conflicts. Moscow's ruler, Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) looked at expansion toward the Baltic Sea, where his empire already bordered Estonia and other German territory in the Baltics; the Livonian Wars (1558–1583) began on 22 January 1558, as Russian forces invaded and crippled the already weak defenses of the order. The attack led to a full invasion campaign in the spring, with the key trading town and fortress of Narva falling in May. Tartu fell in July, marking the total collapse of the bishopric based in the southern Estonian city. A counter-campaign in 1559 by the order failed to push the Russians out of Tartu. Sensing the worst, the bishop based in Haapsalu chose to sell his bishopric to King Frederik II of Denmark for 30,000 thalers. Frederik II gave the territory to his young brother Duke Magnus, who landed with an army on Saaremaa in 1560.

The order's army attempted to attack the invading Russian forces, but was summarily defeated. The order's tenuous hold on power slipped further as Estonians revolted throughout the country. Despite reinforcements from Poland-Lithuania in 1560—effectively the overlords over the order since their collapse a century ago—the order's life span was limited. A devastating defeat near Härgmäe in 1560 marked the order's swan song.

Meanwhile, another power, the Swedish kingdom under King Erik XIV, entered the fray in 1561. Supported by many nobles in Tallinn, the Swedish army landed and took the city. By the summer, Sweden gained control over all of the northern part of the Estonian lands. The withered order now collapsed completely, as the master of the Livonian

Order and the archbishop of Riga both swore full allegiance to the Polish-Lithuanian crown, an action that marked the end of Old Livonia after more than three centuries of German control.

THE RISE OF SWEDEN (1561–1699)

Old Livonia was gone, but the wars continued. The Estonian lands were still divided between Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland-Lithuania, and the four states continued to war over the ruins of Old Livonia. The Nordic War (1563–1570) erupted between Sweden and Denmark, and the conflict extended into their Baltic holdings. Poland-Lithuania had allied itself with Denmark, thus adding an extra dimension to the conflict. In 1568 a revolt in Sweden saw the installment of Johan III, the brother-in-law of the Polish king, Sigismund II Augustus, as king. Poland-Lithuania in 1569 also restructured and formed a commonwealth, replacing the dynastic union that had ruled both countries for almost two hundred years. With this change in regional dynamics, a peace was concluded in 1570 between Sweden and Denmark. However, this peace did not mark the end of the conflicts. Duke Magnus, who had a falling out with his brother, King Frederik II of Denmark, continued to assert his powers by attempting to form alliances with other powers, including Ivan the Terrible of Russia. Though Magnus failed in his earlier attempts to form an alliance, which angered his Russian overlord, by 1576 he (along with his Russian and Tatar allies) had taken control of a vast majority of Estonian lands. Poland-Lithuania was driven out of the region, while Swedish forces were confined to the area around Tallinn. Although some peasant attacks on Russian forces, especially one led by Estonian peasant Ivo Schenkenberg, succeeded in slowing the Russians, Russia had become the most significant power in the land.

Once Duke Magnus outlived his usefulness, Ivan the Terrible removed him from the picture. However, this change also coincided with the rise of Stephen Batory as the new king of Poland-Lithuania in the late 1570s, and the new king attacked the Russian forces, inaugurating a new phase of the war and adding a dimension to it. Sweden took advantage of Russia's second front by pushing out from Tallinn. By 1581, Sweden had recovered all of its lost northern Estonian lands, and carried the fighting into Russian territory. The two-front fighting cost Ivan the Terrible his conquests, and he concluded a truce with Poland in 1582, ceding the southern part of Old Livonia (including southern Estonian lands) to Poland-Lithuania. A year later the Livonian Wars formally ended with a peace treaty between Russia and Sweden, a treaty by which Sweden made substantial gains in Russian territory.

Although the Estonian lands were divided into three empires at the Livonian Wars' conclusion, stability was short-lived. Sweden controlled the north, Poland-Lithuania the south, and Denmark the island of Saaremaa. The inevitable conflict among the three broke out in 1600, as the Swedish king, Karl IX, advanced to take territory from Poland-Lithuania. War raged on and off well into the reign of the new Swedish King Gustav II Adolf (Gustavus Adolphus, crowned in 1611), as the new king took Riga in 1621 and Tartu in 1625. Poland-Lithuania sued for peace, and the Treaty of Altmark handed all territories north of the Daugava River to Sweden.

Sweden and Denmark, the competing Nordic powers, also went to war in 1643. After two years of fighting, the Brömsebro Treaty was signed, in which Denmark ceded Saaremaa to Sweden. The year 1645 thus saw Estonian territories reunited under a single ruler, the crown of Sweden. Peace did not last long; Russia invaded in 1656 to try to reclaim lands lost during the Livonian Wars. Although the forces of Tsar Alexei I managed to take Tartu, they could not hold their initial gains, and the previous status quo was reaffirmed by a 1661 armistice. For the moment, Sweden controlled a land that had known little but struggle and war for decades.

Swedish rule came to be known as the "good old Swedish days" for many Estonians, as it represented some relaxation of the powers of the local nobility, even if the status of the peasants (as serfs) was not equal with that of their counterparts in Sweden proper (as freed peasants). Though later the Swedish crown moved to nationalize lands given earlier to Swedish nobles in order to refill the emptied royal coffers, they also began taking estates away from the German nobles. This policy led to one major factor in the Swedish Empire's later downfall in the Baltics, as the landed nobility resented the seizures and excessive taxation policy.

The Baltics became a major part of the Swedish Empire, as Riga became the largest city in the Empire. Narva was to become a "second capital" for the empire as well. Swedish rule also firmly established the Lutheran Church as the dominant religion. A gymnasium, or institution of secondary education, was founded in Tartu in 1630 by the Swedish governor-general, Johan Skytte; two years later it was transformed into Academia Gustaviana (Gustav Academy), a full-fledged university named for King Gustav II Adolf. This university, later known as Tartu University, became the second institution of higher education in the Swedish Empire. The same decade also saw an increase in number of books, as printing presses began working in Tallinn and Tartu.

RUSSIA'S WINDOW TO THE WEST (1699–1869)

In 1689 Peter the Great came to the throne of Russia. Unlike many of his predecessors, Peter looked to be an active part of Europe. However, Russia had little direct access to Western Europe, and Peter now sought to open a window to the West along the Baltic coast. The Great Northern War ensued.

The 1699 signing of an anti-Swedish pact by Peter the Great, Denmark's Frederik IV, and Poland's Augustus II led to the roots of a series of regional conflicts, better known as the Great Northern War. The war broke out on 12 February 1700, when troops from Saxony, the home of Poland's Augustus II, attacked Riga. The Saxon-Polish force pushed from the south, and the Russians attacked from the east, though Denmark sued for peace after Sweden placed Copenhagen under siege early in the conflict. The Swedish king, Karl (Charles) XII, brought his army to Estonia and met the Russian army at the Battle of Narva in November 1700. Despite being severely outnumbered, the Swedish army routed the Russians. However, the Russians were not completely defeated; a major victory at Erastvere in the same winter severely damaged Swedish defenses.

Swedish defeats mounted into 1702, as the Russians mercilessly plundered Estonian lands and boasted about it, as seen in letters from commanders at the front. A large Swedish fleet went down in May 1704, unable to control the waterway blocking Russia's renewed attempts to take Narva. By late summer, both Narva and Tartu were under Peter the Great's control. This line held for a few years, as the war quieted on Estonian territory. But by 1708 warfare flared up again, and the Swedes suffered another defeat at Vinni, the last large battle on Estonian soil. The rest of the Swedish army was decimated at the Battle of Poltava in June 1709, giving Peter domination of the region.

City after city continued to surrender to the Russian army, with Tallinn's capitulation on 29 September 1710 signaling the end of the campaign. The nobility in Estonia happily recognized Russian domination according to terms of the surrender, as they hoped to regain the powers they had lost under Swedish rule. The war however had proved to be costly. Plague had devastated Estonia, and there had also been a prewar famine; it is estimated that over 100,000 people died on Estonian soil during the period. The 1721 Treaty of Nystadt (Uusikaupunki) brought an end to the Great Northern War, giving Russia control of Sweden's Baltic lands. Warfare continued to flare up, including failed Swedish campaigns in 1741–1743 and in 1788–1790, but that did not change the Estonian situation. Russia now controlled Estonia as its window to the west.

The former domination of the German landlords returned with Russian control, as the wealthy German barons had openly supported Russia's Baltic aims in response to Sweden's attempt to curb their influence. The seizure of manorial property by the Swedish crown had come back to haunt them during the Baltic conflict, and Russia began returning lands to manor estates. The rights given to peasants were also curbed, much to the nobility's delight.

With Germans in control of the region, the manorial estates expanded their activities throughout the Russian period. Small industries even began to develop on some estates, including a large paper mill in Räpina, which started up in 1734. Though at times St. Petersburg challenged their powers, the German nobility increased their influence during this period.

At the same time, however, education for the masses did improve. Though the first printed text in Estonia had appeared two centuries earlier, the 1739 publication of the first full translation of the Bible into Estonian helped increase literacy. The first Estonian newspaper, *Tarto maa rahwa Näddali-Leht* (Tartu County People's Weekly Paper [in the southern dialect]), was published in 1806, though it was the appearance of *Eesti Postimees* (The Estonian Courier) in 1864 that really launched the Estonian media. In the early 1800s educational reform also took place, creating a basic framework for primary education. The first compulsory schooling system was launched in 1854, and became universal in Estonian lands within twenty-five years. Education was extended to girls in the 1850s.

Many Germans, imbued with the belief in nationalism of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder and the ideals of German romanticism, also took up the cause of the Estonians, forming groups to study everything Estonian. The entrance of some Estonians into higher education also enlarged the body of material devoted to Estonia. In 1838 the Estonian Learned Society was founded at Tartu University by Friedrich Robert Faehlmann, who devoted himself to collecting folktales. This foundation also led to the formation of the Estonian Literary Society in 1842, to foster Estonian literature. A colleague of Faehlmann, Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, helped turn the collected tales into what became Estonia's national epic, *Kalevipoeg* (Son of Kalev), which was published in full in 1863. Even in other fields Tartu University excelled, boasting world-renowned scientists such as the astronomer Wilhelm Struve (who pioneered the study of binary star systems) and biologist Ernst von Baer (the founder of embryology).

The condition of the peasants improved a little as time went on. St. Petersburg viewed the Baltic lands as an experimental territory, and actually abolished serfdom in 1816 in Estonia and 1819 in Livonia. Though officially freed from serfdom, the peasants were still restricted by the estate owners over arable land. Sometimes this led to peasant uprisings, including a major insurrection in Otepää in September 1841. Some peasants also converted to Orthodoxy, believing they would gain advantage from the tsar, but that was wishful thinking.

However, Tsar Alexander II, who freed all the serfs in Russia and is remembered as a liberal, also allowed for local administrative control to be enacted in Russia's Baltic holdings. In 1866 permission was granted to create a parish council system—much like the rural self-governing idea of centuries ago—giving power to the people and not just estate owners.

NATIONAL AWAKENING (1869–1917)

There are many symbols that can be used to mark the beginning of Estonia's national awakening, but none better than the first National Song Festival, held in Tartu in 1869. The hundreds that participated (with an audience of over 10,000) sang many foreign songs, but also began the trend of singing patriotic Estonian songs. One of the songs performed that day was "Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm" (My Fatherland, My Joy and Delight), written by Johann Voldemar Jannsen to music by German-Finnish composer Fredrik Pacius; this song later became Estonia's national anthem (and, it should be noted, the tune is ironically also the Finnish national anthem). Many speeches were made that day, turning the festival into an early national rally, introducing many faces that were to lead Estonia's national awakening in the direction of a movement for national independence in the decades to come. The song festival began a tradition in Estonia, and they have been held regularly ever since.

Johann Voldemar Jannsen became one of the first leaders of the national movement for his role in organizing the first

The Song Festivals

Throughout history Estonian culture has been under threat by foreign invaders and occupiers, but Estonians have managed to retain and even strengthen their culture despite pressures against it. One of the key institutions in the retention of Estonian culture since the national awakening in the latter part of the 1800s has been the national song festival. Throughout their history the song festivals have given Estonians a venue to celebrate their culture, especially their language and songs, even during the darkest periods of tsarist or Soviet repression.

The first National Song Festival was organized by the Vanemuine Cultural Society, the brainchild of the prominent Jannsen family (led by patriarch Johann Voldemar Jannsen and his daughter Lydia Koidula), and took several years of planning. The Jannsens also fought against opposition among other Estonian activists, who argued that the song festival tradition was too German in style. Nevertheless, the very first song festival was held 18–20 June 1869 in Tartu. An estimated 15,000–20,000 people attended this groundbreaking event to sing the few Estonian patriotic songs already composed and to hear passionate speeches on the state and future of Estonian culture. This event proved to be a major turning point in Estonia's history, as the celebration of Estonian culture evolved into a political struggle.

The song festivals were held on several more occasions in the nineteenth century: in 1879, 1880, 1891, 1894, and 1896. Tallinn hosted its first national song festival in 1880 and took over as the regular site by 1896, symbolizing the gradual shift of the country's focal point from education-centered Tartu to politically centered Tallinn. The 1910 song festival also featured an entire Estonian program, marking the maturity of the national movement in just a few decades.

Interrupted by war and the establishment of national independence, the song festival tradition was revived in independent Estonia in 1923 and scheduled to take place every five years. The popularity of the festivals continued to grow as the nation prospered under independence; an estimated 100,000 attended in 1938.

Soviet occupation in 1940 disrupted the tradition for a short period, but the tradition returned in 1947, albeit under the careful and watchful eyes of the Soviets. Soviet officials attempted to turn the events into propaganda sessions, but the collective emotions of the gatherings, often numbering more than 100,000 individuals, kept the passion of Estonian culture alive. Composer Gustav Ernesaks, for the 1947 festival, premiered his version of the Lydia Koidula poem "Mu isamaa on minu arm" (My Homeland is My Love), which has become an unofficial anthem since that day. The song festivals from 1950 to 1980 were held every five years, in addition to a special 1969 centennial festival.

The singing tradition of Estonians played a major part in the restoration of independence in the process so aptly called the Singing Revolution. Many of the mass gatherings and protests featured song, many of them sung for decades in the song festivals. The September 1988 "Eestimaa laul" (Song of Estonia) gathering was the focal point of the entire revolution, as hundreds of thousands of Estonians took part in the collective song for freedom. The national song festival in the summer of 1990 finally allowed its organizers and participants to express a half-century of pent-up emotions on the eve of the restoration of freedom.

Even after the restoration of Estonian independence the song festival tradition has continued, just as it did during the period of independence during the interwar years. Though the numbers in attendance have dropped somewhat since the heyday of the Singing Revolution, nevertheless a substantial percentage of the Estonian nation (about one out of every ten Estonians in the world) attends the festivals. Clearly, the national song festivals symbolize the continuity and the resilience of Estonian culture despite the centuries of foreign assault and occupation, and it continues to serve as the protector of this much cherished part of every Estonian's life.

song festival and his founding of newspapers, including *Eesti Postimees* in 1864. The entire Jannsen family played a major role in organizing cultural events, with the daughter of the patriarch, Lydia Koidula, becoming the most loved woman poet in Estonia.

The increase in interest in and output of Estonian literature also led to the founding of the Estonian Society of Literati in 1872. This group helped to craft a compromise spelling system that has remained much the same to this day, and continued to promote Estonian literature.

Meanwhile, the manorial estates continued to increase their role in industry, especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The largest company of the time (also the largest cotton works in Europe), the Krenholm textiles factory, was launched in Narva in 1858. Other large industries included the Dvigatel wagon carriage factory in

Tallinn and the Waldhof cellulose factory in Pärnu. This increase in trade and manufacturing accelerated the process of urbanization, as city dwellers tripled from the 1860s to the 1890s. The first railway, linking the port of Paldiski to St. Petersburg (via both Tallinn and Narva), was completed in 1870, and the network soon expanded to other cities.

However, the assassination of Tsar Alexander II and rise of his son, Alexander III, in 1881 marked a major change in policy toward the Baltics. A period of Russification ensued, with the imposition of Russian as the language of education in 1887. Despite this language regulation, many private academies, such as the Hugo Treffner Gymnasium, became preparatory schools for Tartu University. Eventually the Russification efforts eased (especially after the death of Alexander III in 1894), and the first Estonian daily, *Postimees* (The Courier) hit the streets in 1891.

Newspapers also provided voices for nationalism. Jaan Tõnisson made his earliest marks as *Postimees* editor. The nationalist paper, based in Tartu, pursued a more anti-German line than others. Tõnisson also founded the first local Estonian banking institution, the Estonian Loan and Savings Cooperative. His rival at this point, destined to remain a rival for the next half-century, was the Tallinn-based lawyer Konstantin Päts, who launched a rival paper, *Teataja* (The Herald) in 1901.

The turn of the century witnessed remarkable accomplishments politically, as Estonian and Latvian deputies in the Valga town council in 1901 took power for the first time; Valga became the first Baltic town to gain local control. This step was followed in 1904 by an Estonian-Russian coalition in Tallinn, making Jaan Poska the first Estonian mayor of Tallinn.

The social democracy movement also grew in Estonia in the very early years of the twentieth century, fueled by rapid urbanization. The 9 January 1905 massacre of peaceful demonstrators in St. Petersburg, which touched off the Revolution of 1905 throughout Russian territory, saw major strikes in Estonian cities. The protests continued, and bloodshed soon followed. On 16 October, the military killed 94 protestors and injured over 200 more. Similar events throughout the empire pushed Tsar Nicholas II to issue a decree (the October Manifesto) aimed at creating a constitutional monarchy and establishing a parliament, the Duma. Five deputies from Estonia (four Estonian, one Russian) were elected to the body in 1906. However, the parliament proved to have little power and subsequent Dumas were manipulated by the crown so that the national groups lost seats.

Nevertheless, Estonian political movements continued to develop. Jaan Tõnisson founded the Estonian National Progressive Party, while the social democrats founded the Estonian Social Democratic Workers Community (apart from the main Russian party). At the same time, various uprisings also occurred, though they were put down. The tsar's government reacted by declaring martial law and executing many protestors. Many political leaders also faced execution, and many fled, among them Konstantin Päts. Martial law remained in force until 1908.

The years before the outbreak of World War I therefore remained tense, as the Dumas had little power, and the situation in Europe deteriorated. It was the changing situation in Europe that finally brought the Estonians the chance to win their independence.

WINNING INDEPENDENCE (1917–1920)

World War I and the ensuing collapse of the tsarist regime proved pivotal in the history of Estonia. The unpopular war played a major role in the downfall of Tsar Nicholas II, and many of his radical rivals campaigned on a slogan of peace. The Baltic region became a major battleground during the Great War and the ensuing conflicts, which led to the (re)creation of five states on Russia's west—Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland.

The February 1917 Revolution in Russia soon spread into the Baltics, and by early March, protests and strikes paralyzed Estonian cities, especially Tallinn. However, calm returned soon after, as the Russian provisional government on 6 March appointed Jaan Poska, the mayor of Tallinn, as the commissar of the Estonian province. With an Estonian appointed to govern Estonian lands, nationalists began to ask for more autonomy from Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg). It worked to a point, as the provisional government on 30 March allowed for the merger of the northern part of the Livonian province into Estonia, uniting all of Estonian lands (except for some border areas, such as Narva) under one administration.

Poska's provincial government allowed many Estonians political power for the first time, and Estonian was established as the official language of the province. The commissar also called for elections to the Maapäev (Landtag, or diet). This first election to an Estonian body was held in May despite left wing agitation, which forced Poska to flee Tallinn at one point. The Maapäev, which convened in July, became Estonia's first national assembly.

As Russia's war against the Germans collapsed, Russian soldiers continued their retreat through Estonia. However, Estonia escaped much of the fighting early on due to its geographic position. It was not until September 1917 that German forces reached Estonian lands, taking the islands first. The Bolshevik October Revolution added to the chaos, as communist agents attempted to take power from the Maapäev. Though the Bolsheviks ordered the dissolution of the assembly and government, the Maapäev asserted itself as the official power in Estonia and declared sovereignty.

By February 1918, German forces decided to take Estonia once and for all, assuming control of most of the territory within weeks. During the German campaign, the leaders of the Maapäev-mandated provisional government on 19 February formed the Päästekomitee (Salvation Committee), composed of Konstantin Konik, Konstantin Päts, and Jüri Vilms, to officially express Estonia's independence. In the period between the Russian retreat and the German advance, many of the towns were taken over by voluntary military groups called Omakaitse (Self-Defense), and the Tallinn Omakaitse gained control from the Bolsheviks on 23 February. On 24 February 1918, the Päästekomitee officially proclaimed independence, forming a provisional government headed by Konstantin Päts. Though German forces

Konstantin Päts

Among the myriad of Estonian historical figures, the one individual who stands out is Konstantin Päts, considered to be the "grand old man" of Estonian independence. The controversial first president of Estonia played the most influential role in Estonian society in the first half of the twentieth century, ranging from his leadership in declaring independence in February 1918 to his acquiescence to Soviet military basing demands in 1939.

Päts was born in 1874 near Pärnu and later studied law at Tartu University. The young lawyer soon played an active role in the political scene of what was then the Estonian province of the Russian Empire. Advocating economic and political empowerment for Estonians, Päts founded the Tallinn newspaper *Teataja* (The Herald) in 1901 as a political vehicle. Postitions taken by the paper during the 1905 Russian Revolution turned Päts into a revolutionary in the eyes of the tsarist government, and Päts fled abroad for some time to escape a death sentence. When Päts returned in the latter days of the Russian Empire, he was jailed.

Päts was appointed as the chairman of the clandestine Päästekomitee (Salvation Committee), as the Bolsheviks attempted to curtail Estonia's hard-won autonomy. This committee on 24 February 1918 declared Estonian independence, and this act became the basis of the Estonian state. Subsequently, Päts was interned in a German prison camp until the opportunity opened to properly exercise the declaration of independence, following the collapse of the German Second Reich in November 1918.

Though Päts lost the early battles on forging the constitution and land reform laws, the creation of a landowning class by the latter in fact made his Farmers Assembly the most prominent during the era of parliamentary democracy. The Farmers Assembly played a major role in most of the era's ruling coalitions, and Päts served as Riigivanem ("State Elder," or de facto prime minister) seven times between 1918 and 1934.

On the other hand, Päts is also remembered for engineering a palace coup, on 12 March 1934, that ended liberal democracy in Estonia. For the remaining six years of Estonia's de facto independence Päts served as the country's authoritarian leader, albeit a mild one. There were no major repression campaigns, though Päts did for a period imprison or silence his opponents and critics. In 1938 Päts created the post of president, and he became the first officeholder. Though he is praised for uniting the country after several years of divisive politics and helping to restore Estonia's economic health, he is also blamed for giving in to Soviet demands for military bases and eventual occupation.

With the occupation of Estonia by the Soviet Union in June 1940, a rump parliament dismissed Päts. Although technically still president, he was arrested by the Soviets and deported at the end of July to Ufa in the Urals; he died in a psychiatric hospital in Tver in 1956.

The return and reburial of his remains in Tallinn in 1990 served as a symbolic moment on the eve of the restoration of Estonia's independence, though his role during the years before occupation, especially his giving in to Soviet demands, have remained sources of contention. Nevertheless, Konstantin Päts symbolizes the Estonian state during the interwar period, making him easily the most significant historical figure in the country.

moved into Tallinn that same day, independence had nevertheless officially been declared.

By 3 March 1918, German forces took all of Estonian territory; on the same day war-weary Russia signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with Germany ending its involvement in World War I. Now with the Germans in control, the provisional government was crushed. Most of Estonia's leaders were arrested and imprisoned, while the deputy head of the provisional government, Jüri Vilms, was shot near Helsinki.

The Allies naturally opposed the events in the Baltics, and on 3 May 1918 Estonia's lobbying efforts paid off with de facto recognition of its independence by France, Italy, and the United Kingdom. The Germans, however, went ahead with trying to create a Baltic Duchy of Estonian and Latvian lands, and the German nobility elected a *Landesrat* (state council); Kaiser Wilhelm II recognized the duchy in September. This new entity was short-lived, as the kaiser was deposed in November; the provisional government reassembled in Tallinn on 11 November.

Unfortunately, trouble came from another direction, as the Bolsheviks chose to abrogate their treaty obligations with Germany and invade the Baltics. The Bolsheviks invaded from the northeast and southeast, beginning the Estonian War of Independence on 28 November 1918. The German forces were retreating, and the Kaitseliit (Defense League), created from the various regional groupings of Omakaitse, was ill equipped to defend Estonia; Narva fell quickly. The volunteers could not hold off the Russians, so the provisional government ordered full mobilization in December. However, by 21 December, the Bolsheviks took Tartu, holding half the country and threatening the rest. They also formed a Soviet authority based in Narva and caused widespread terror; the most infamous of their acts was the brutal murder of eighteen innocent prisoners, including the Orthodox Bishop Platon (who was later canonized).

However, the tide began to turn at the end of the year. Mobilization proceeded, and the Estonian army by January reached an estimated 13,000. Guerrilla warfare now shifted to a centralized command with the establishment of Johan Laidoner, a former tsarist officer, as commander-in-chief. The Estonian navy was established, and its leader, Johan Pitka, successfully attacked the Bolsheviks from the rear. Finnish volunteers also arrived at the end of the year, joined by other Scandinavians in the early part of 1919.

The Estonian counterattack began on 6 January 1919 with resounding success, taking Tartu on 14 January and Narva on 19 January. The Bolsheviks continued to retreat into Russia and Latvia, and the southern towns of Valga and Võru were liberated on 1 February. Though in the following few months Bolshevik forces broke through the line a few times, they were unable to occupy and hold Estonian territory. Estonian forces actually took the Russian city of Pskov in May and transferred it to their temporary allies in the White Russian monarchist forces.

With most of the country liberated and the battle lines stable, the provisional government called for the election to the Asutav Kogu (Constituent Assembly) on 5–7 April. The body met for the first time on 23 April 1919, with the democratic left wing taking a 65 percent majority of the 120 assembly seats. Socialist Party leader August Rei was elected the assembly's chairman, and his victory led to some key early legislation and to the constitution itself.

Unfortunately, warfare was far from over, and trouble came this time from the south, as German adventurers, called the Baltische Landeswehr ("Baltic Brigade") overthrew the Latvian provisional government of Kārlis Ulmanis in April. The plans of the Landeswehr leaders were to rebuild German control of the Baltic, and Estonian leaders decided to act preemptively. Clashes between the Landeswehr and Estonian forces began in early June (Latvian forces also played a role in the offensive, but it was Estonian-led). The decisive battle took place in Cēsis (Wenden in German, Võnnu in Estonian), and the Estonian military, led by Ernst Põdder, defeated the Germans on 23 June, the day still celebrated today as Estonia's Victory Day. The Estonians pursued the Germans all the way to the edge of Riga, helping to restore the Ulmanis government to power.

The White Russian forces meanwhile continued their war against the Bolsheviks, dragging the Estonians into the unwanted conflict. In October the White forces reached the outskirts of Petrograd, but failed to take the imperial capital and were eventually forced back to Estonia. The Allies finally gave up in December and withdrew their support for the Russian White forces, relieving Estonia of the major burden of aiding the anti-Bolshevik forces.

By this point, the Constituent Assembly had made significant strides in its work, including the passage of a radical land reform bill on 10 October. Over a thousand manor estates covering over 2 million hectares (over 96 percent of all estate lands), mostly owned by German nobles, were nationalized and redistributed to applicants. Over fifty thousand new homestead farms were created from this ambitious but controversial (especially when examining the minute level of compensation for the owners) program. A new currency, the mark, was also introduced in 1919, though it proved less than stable.

While the assembly was making progress in creating a new Estonian state, warfare continued to rage, as German and Russian adventurers once again occupied parts of Latvia, causing Estonian forces to help once again. Bolsheviks also pushed toward Narva again, and some of the bloodiest battles of the War of Independence were fought in defense of Narva. The Bolsheviks could not take Narva, and after a year of fighting the two sides signed an armistice at the end of 1919.

Negotiations for a permanent peace commenced fully in Tartu, headed by former provincial governor Jaan Poska. The lengthy talks resulted in a full annulment of Estonian debts to Russia and the awarding of 15 million gold rubles, as well as small strips of territory in the northeast and southeast. In the Tartu Peace Treaty, signed on 2 February 1920, Russia pledged to "give up forever" all sovereign rights Russia had in Estonia. The document has been called Estonia's birth certificate, as it was the first de jure recognition of the new state. The signing of the Tartu Peace Treaty marked the end of the War of Independence; the process of state building could thus commence fully.

ERA OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY (1920–1934)

Finally in 1920 Estonia enjoyed the fruits of its struggle, as conflicts with all other combatants came to an end. Though the process of state building had begun earlier, Estonian officials could now move to create the structures of an independent state.

The Constituent Assembly adopted a new constitution on 15 June 1920, and it went into effect on 21 December 1920. The left-wing majority in the assembly helped to draft a very liberal constitution, one that kept most of the power in the hands of the 100-seat Riigikogu (State Assembly) and away from any one individual. In fact, there was no head of state per se; that role was held by the Riigivanem (State Elder), who also led the cabinet. While that might sound quite powerful, the Riigivanem in fact had very little power and acted at the whim of the parliament. The Left wanted to prevent the possibility of the rise of a strongman (but ironically it caused that exact outcome fourteen years later). Suffrage was granted to all men and women over the age of twenty.

Elections to the First Riigikogu were held in November 1920, and their results differed significantly from that of the Constituent Assembly. With many former left-leaning peasants now landowners and smallholders, radicalism had succeeded and so had lost its raison d'être. The right wing, embodied in the Farmers Assembly, gained 21 seats in the new assembly. The large Labor Party also shifted notably toward the center, leaving the left wing with just 29 out of 100 seats (a communist front organization won five seats). Konstantin Päts, the hero of the independence declaration and leader of the Farmers Assembly, thus became the first prime minister of a parliamentary Estonia on 25 January 1921.

On the foreign front, the Allied Supreme Council eventually offered de jure recognition of Estonia and Latvia on 21 January 1921, and Estonia joined the League of Nations on 22 September 1922. The United States was the last of the major powers to recognize Estonia, doing so in July 1922, marking the full international acceptance of an independent Estonia.

Relations with the other Baltic states were lukewarm, as each faced their own problems. Lithuania and Poland remained on the brink of war over the Polish seizure of Vilnius, and Finland sought to distance itself from its southern neighbors. The most important diplomatic accomplishment of this period was the conclusion of a major bilateral treaty with Latvia, including a defensive alliance, concluded on 1 November 1923. A mild trilateral cooperation agreement was also made with Latvia and Lithuania in 1934, but the agreement turned out to be weak.

Early on, the building of the national economy proved difficult, exacerbated by the Soviet Union closing its markets to Estonian goods at the end of 1922 (partly in response to crackdowns against communist agitators). Insolvency spread across the country by 1923, pushing the central bank to continue to print money, which in turn caused major inflation. By early 1924, most of the 15 million gold rubles paid by Russia was gone. In the spring, however, austerity measures and trade control helped stabilize the situation, and the economy finally began to grow.

There was little stability on the political front as well. The small National Christian Party was incensed at the parliament's plan to remove religious teaching from schools and managed to put the issue to a public referendum. The 1923 referendum dealt a defeat to the parliament, thus causing early elections. Elections to the Second Riigikogu were held in May 1923, marking a further shift to the right. The Farmers, alongside the Homesteaders, won 27 seats, while the socialist groups dropped to a total of 20 (though 10 seats were taken by communist front members).

Despite peace with the Soviets, there was always fear of subversive activities by Bolsheviks. These activities by agitators led to crackdowns, including the execution of the communist Viktor Kingissepp on 3 May 1922; the Soviets responded angrily, renaming a border town after the "martyr." However, Estonian fears came true on 1 December 1924, when an estimated three hundred communists attempted a coup d'état. About two dozen people were killed by the communists, including Transport Minister Karl Kark, but the revolt was quickly put down in hours by General Laidoner. The role of Moscow was apparent, with a massing of troops at the border and the approach of a naval fleet, but the failure of the coup prevented any escalation. However, the psyche of Estonia was shaken. Many communists were jailed or executed for their roles in the coup attempt, while the Kaitseliit (Defense League) was recreated as an armed civilian national guard force. A "rainbow coalition" of the Right, Center, and Left was formed under Jüri Jaakson of the National Center Party, a coalition that lasted for nearly a year.

The mid-1920s was an otherwise productive period. The ambitious cultural self-governing law for minorities gave minority groups extensive autonomy in education and organizational matters, a program that earned Estonia widespread praise and honor in the 1927 Jerusalem Golden Book for its progressiveness. And in 1925 the *Kultuurkapital* (the Cultural Endowment Fund) was introduced to offer state funding to expanding culture.

Elections to the Third Riigikogu were held in May 1926, which featured a mild continuation of the left-to-right trend. The socialist groups consolidated into a Socialist Workers Party, winning 24 seats, one less than in the former parliament. The center lost more ground to the two right-wing parties, which took 37 total seats.

One of the problems in the early years was the unstable currency, the mark. In 1927, as a result of the initiative of finance minister Leo Sepp, Estonia gained a substantial loan from Britain (mediated by the League of Nations) and restructured the monetary system. A new currency, the *kroon* (crown), was introduced on 1 January 1928, exchanged for 100 marks and pegged to the Swedish *krona* (crown).

The elections to the Fourth Riigikogu were held in May 1929, which saw very little change from the previous parliament. Both the left and the right gained only one extra seat from the center, but this meant that the body remained rather fractured and unable to deal with the increasing problems faced by the country.

The looming global economic depression also struck in 1929, and Estonia's economy teetered. The tremendous political disputes in the Riigikogu in dealing with the crisis did little to solve the problems, and the public came to see the parliament as hopelessly ineffective. Radicalism grew in many circles, especially among veterans of the War of Independence. The Central League of Veterans of the Estonian War of Independence (*Eesti vabadussõjalaste keskliit*) was formed in 1929 as an umbrella organization for veterans, and it expressed concern that Estonia's hard-won independence was being squandered by senseless bickering between political parties. Over time, the group radicalized, becoming known as the League of Veterans of the Estonian War of Independence (*Eesti vabadussõjalaste liit*), and became overtly political—though not necessarily within the system. The league did not run for offices; instead it pushed for a new constitution that would create a powerful chief executive and diminish the power of the parliament and the political parties.

At first, the effect of the league's campaign caused smaller political groupings to consolidate. In 1931 the two right-wing parties merged into the Agrarian Union, while various centrist forces merged into the National Center Party. However, the party mergers did little to improve the situation in the May 1932 elections to the Fifth Riigikogu, as the divisions among the three groupings increased. The government did, however, heed the warnings from the League of Veterans and drafted a new constitution that took into account some of the veterans' ideas. However, the veterans saw it as a watered-down version of what they wanted, and campaigned against it alongside the Socialists. The draft constitution was put to a referendum on 13–15 August 1932, and failed by a slim margin; only 49.2 percent of voters supported the draft.

The League of Veterans attempted to introduce their own draft constitution, but the parliamentarians beat them to it. The second draft constitution faced a referendum, and with loud campaigning by the League of Veterans against it, in the referendum of 10–12 June 1933 the second draft constitution was soundly defeated, with only 32.7 percent of voters in support. The league's protests increased, including one incident in Tartu that caused Riigivanem Jaan Tõnisson to declare martial law, curbing political activities. The popularity of Tõnisson also diminished, as his government in June devalued the kroon by 35 percent, a necessary but wildly unpopular move. The League of Veterans' draft constitution did face a referendum on 14–16 October 1933, and it won by a large margin (72.7 percent in support). Tõnisson lifted the state of emergency and resigned, and Konstantin Päts on 21 October 1933 became the caretaker leader until the new presidential elections mandated by the new constitution could be held.

The transition period saw the arrangement for elections under the new League of Veterans' constitution, with the focus on the race for the position of all-powerful president. The path to power for the League of Veterans seemed certain, as it scored major victories in local elections in most cities in January 1934. The titular leader of the veterans, retired general Andres Larka, was seen as the clear frontrunner of the race. Caretaker premier Päts and former commander in chief retired general Johan Laidoner were both put forward by the Right, while Socialist leader August Rei led the Left. There was little possibility, however, of the League of Veterans not winning the scheduled April 1934 elections, an outcome that was expected to lead to the end of parliamentary democracy in Estonia.

THE ERA OF SILENCE (1934–1939)

The last years of the independent Estonian republic became known as the era of silence, as parliamentary democracy was replaced by mild authoritarianism. Though many, especially the left wing, had feared that the League of Veterans would pursue just such a move, it turned out to be someone else who actually ended parliamentary democracy, someone who had been the living symbol of the independence declaration—Konstantin Päts.

The League of Veterans' constitution included a provision on transition, which essentially gave the caretaker premier the powers allotted to the powerful president. Using this provision, Päts acted, on 12 March 1934. Having already ascertained the support of the military, Päts named his close colleague General Johan Laidoner as commander in chief for a third time. Quickly members of the Kaitseliit national guards and cadets from the military academy took control of central Tallinn and apprehended members of the League of Veterans. Päts then suspended the elections and disbanded the league, arresting several hundred of its members. The civil service was purged of elements sympathetic to the League of Veterans as well. Karl Einbund, also of the Farmers Union, became the third member of the "triumvirate" after being named deputy premier.

The original six-month state of emergency was extended in September by a year, thus postponing all elections. The Riigikogu reconvened in the autumn and began criticizing the extended state of emergency. Einbund reacted by canceling the 2 October 1934 session of parliament, and it was never recalled again.

Though the Päts regime did not prove to be a harsh dictatorship, it did exhibit mild authoritarian characteristics. A tinge of nationalism also became evident, with the formation in 1935 of a national patriotic organization, Isamaaliit (Fatherland Union). A campaign was launched also to "Estonianize" German-sounding surnames, with deputy premier Karl Einbund taking the lead; he changed his name to Kaarel Eenpalu. By the summer of 1935, Päts gained control over all aspects of society, and felt safe enough to start releasing members of the League of Veterans from jail.

However, increasing agitation by the league and other opposition caused another crackdown in December, as alleged coup plotters were arrested at a meeting. A wave of arrests followed, which sent 133 people to jail, further consolidating the position of Päts. In that same year former Riigivanem Jaan Tõnisson, the main political rival of Päts since the turn of the century, had his beloved newspaper *Postimees* taken from him for statements against the regime.

Wanting to give some legitimacy to his regime, Päts announced that a new constitution was needed to bring the country back to a state of normalcy. A February 1936 referendum called on the people to give Päts the power to assemble a new constituent assembly aimed at drafting a new constitution. The referendum was successful (with 75.4 percent of voters in support), and Päts called for elections to the assembly in December 1936. The opposition boycotted the elections, as fair campaigning was not allowed; thus Isamaaliit candidates took complete control of the assembly. It began meeting in February 1937, drafting a constitution giving significant powers to a newly created president and limited power to a new bicameral legislature (an eighty-seat lower house elected by direct mandate and a forty-seat appointed upper house).

The 1938 Constitution went into force on 1 January 1938, and elections to the lower house were held in February 1938. The opposition won a significant number of votes even without campaigning, but took only sixteen seats. There was no election for the president, as Päts was the only candidate, making him the first president of Estonia in April 1938. Kaarel Eenpalu became prime minister.

Little changed following this period, as the state remained effectively an authoritarian one. However, Päts felt comfortable enough with the situation to grant wide-ranging amnesty to political prisoners from both the left and right. The opposition to Päts remained weak, as the country stood united, entering a period of deep anxiety and eventually facing the loss of its much cherished independence.

THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE (1939–1944)

The international situation in the late 1930s caused Estonians to fear the worst. Relations with both regional powers—the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany—deteriorated as the rhetoric of both sides intensified. Ominous signs affecting Lithuania signaled an international catastrophe: Poland forced Lithuania to restore diplomatic relations upon the threat of war on 17 March 1938, and Germany forced the transfer of the Klaipėda region (Memelland in German) on 20 March 1938 (just days after marching into Czechoslovakia).

Nevertheless, the signing of the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty on 23 August 1939 stunned Estonia as much as it did the rest of the world. The two ideological and geographic enemies sealed the agreement (known popularly as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, after the two foreign ministers), creating fear in the other states of the region. Their fear was justified, as secret protocols in the pact divided the region between Germany and the Soviet Union, creating spheres of conquest; Estonia ended up in the Soviet sphere under the secret protocol. Though this fact was never confirmed at the time, Estonian and other Baltic officials feared the worst, especially as German forces rolled into Poland on 1 September 1939.

During the middle of September, a Polish submarine, the *Orzeł* (Eagle), drifted into Tallinn. Estonia, which had beforehand declared itself neutral, was obliged to quarantine the submarine. However, as the Soviet Union itself invaded Poland on 17 September, the sympathies of Estonians were clearly evident as the *Orzeł* "escaped" the following day. This incident gave Moscow a basis for charging Estonia with violating its neutrality.

Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov proposed a mutual assistance pact with Estonia on 24 September. The pact involved the basing of Soviet naval forces in Estonia. Molotov hinted that if the deal were refused, force would be used. Using false propaganda about the attack of a Soviet ship in Estonian waters, Moscow further demanded the basing of 35,000 troops—more than twice the number in the Estonian military—to support the naval units. The deal was signed on 28 September after Estonian officials painfully agreed to the ultimatum (though the number of Soviet troops was limited to 25,000 under a supplementary protocol), attempting to avert a destructive war.

Though the Soviets guaranteed observation of the country's territorial integrity and respect for the sovereignty of Estonia, the influx of Red Army troops on 18 October 1939 painted a different picture, one that became even more clear as Hitler called all ethnic Germans back to the Reich on 7 October. Many then suspected the truth, that the Soviets and Nazis had colluded to divide the countries of the area between them.

Lithuania and Latvia also acquiesced to the Soviet demands for bases, but Finland did not. Therefore Moscow began its war against Finland, the so-called Winter War, in November 1940. Soviet forces violated the agreement with Estonia by launching attacks from its Estonian bases, which was most painful for Estonians, as they saw their ethnic kin bombed from their bases.

Soviet foreign commissar Vyacheslav Molotov signs the German-Soviet nonaggression pact in Moscow on 23 August 1939. (National Technical Information Service)

As the Nazis rolled through Europe, international attention focused away from the Baltics. Using this opportunity, Molotov and other Soviet officials intensified their anti-Baltic rhetoric and laid unfounded accusations of violations of the basing agreements. Lithuania was the first to get the final ultimatum from Moscow to form a sympathetic government on 14 June 1940; Estonia got theirs two days later. The government had no choice but to acquiesce without firing a shot, since the occupation was already a fait accompli, with 25,000 Soviet troops in the country. On 17 June, more Soviet forces crossed into Estonia, raising the number of occupying forces to about 80,000. The same day, General Laidoner signed a decree passing control of Estonia's communications to Moscow, and ordering the disarming of the people, including the national guards, the Kaitseliit.

Soviet officials and troops took part in public protests in Tallinn and other towns, attempting to suggest a homegrown revolution; however, there was little local support for the Soviets. Nevertheless, a "friendly" government headed by the left-wing academic Johannes Vares, known by his pseudonym "Barbarus," was installed on 21 June 1940 by the Soviet envoy, Andrei Zhdanov. Rigged one-candidate elections were called for early July, with the communist-front Estonian Working People's Union winning 92.9 percent of the votes. The rump parliament subsequently met on 21 July to ask to join the USSR, presenting the decision two days later; Moscow "accepted" the "application" on 6 August, finalizing the incorporation.

The governing system was changed to fit the Soviet model, and the people endured the painful collectivization and nationalization of private property. Moscow also imposed an unfair exchange rate in abolishing the kroon, and mass censorship began. Moscow also began deporting high-ranking civil and military officials, as well as the intelligentsia, most of whom were shot within a short time. The entire military leadership was essentially sent to their deaths, while President Päts was put into a mental institution in Russia.

In 1941, the level of repression by the NKVD, the predecessor of the KGB, increased sharply. With a looming conflict with Germany, the Soviets stepped up the "ethnic cleansing" of Estonia and the other Baltic countries. The focal point of the major deportations of innocents—many of them women, children, and the elderly—was 14 June 1941, when at least 10,000 Estonians were deported to the USSR. Within a year, the Soviets had been responsible for tens of thousands of deaths, executions, deportations, and incarcerations. Therefore when Germany attacked the USSR in 1941, many Estonians and other victim nations of Moscow (ranging from Ukrainians to Chechens) saw Germany as an agent of liberation that could drive out the murderous Red Army and NKVD.

On 7 July 1941, the German military reached the Estonian border from the south as Operation Barbarossa struck the Soviet Union. The Germans did not at first pursue full occupation, as they saw Leningrad as their target; however, that did not prevent Soviet agents from pursuing a scorched-earth policy throughout Estonia, leading to thousands more deaths. Many Estonians also took to the forest to fight the Soviets, calling themselves *metsavennad* (forest brothers).

The failure of the German Wehrmacht to take Leningrad caused the Germans to turn their attention to Estonia. By late August, Tallinn fell, and the Germans took the Estonian islands in September and October. The Nazi occupation period had begun, and for most Estonians, having seen the brutality of the Soviet occupation, the Germans were a welcome sight.

However, that feeling was short-lived, as the Germans gave little indication of supporting the restoration of Estonian independence. Estonia effectively became another province of Nazi Germany, a part of their *Lebensraum* (living space). Repression continued for Estonians and non-Estonians alike, including the opening of several concentration camps. An estimated 125,000 people died in the camps, including thousands of Estonians; however, most were Soviet prisoners of war and Jews from occupied lands. The only things the occupying Germans restored were military units they could use, such as the Omakaitse. However, many Estonians continued to fight as guerrillas against all occupation forces, and others chose to go to Finland to fight the Soviets.

At the same time, on the Soviet side, thousands of Estonians chose also to fight against the Germans. And with Germany forcibly mobilizing Estonian men, the horrific scenario of Estonians fighting Estonians occurred. By 1944, the German attack stalled, and the Soviets pushed back into Estonia. The Soviet Air Force bombed historic Narva in early March, followed by other cities throughout Estonia, including Tallinn and Tartu. The Germans were unable to stem the tide of the Soviets, though many Estonians continued to fight on against the Red Army. By the summer, the Soviets were certain to take control of Estonia.

During this period, some of the political leaders of the country who had evaded deportation and remained in the country formed a National Committee of the Republic of Estonia. The last prime minister of the country, Jüri Uluots, acted as president and appointed Otto Tief as acting prime minister; they declared the restoration of independence on 18 September 1944. That lasted only a few days, however, as the Soviets took Tallinn. Uluots escaped to Sweden, but most other leaders of the interim national government fell into Soviet hands and were executed. The Soviets soon took over the entire country, sealing the country's fate for a half century.

SOVIET OCCUPATION (1944–1985)

When the Soviet army returned in the late summer of 1944, Estonians had no illusions about what would happen, remembering the brutality during the first yearlong occupation. Estonia received very little help from overseas, as the occupation became de facto for most countries. Though most of the world, including great powers like the United States and Great Britain, did not recognize the Soviet annexation and continued to recognize the independence of Estonia and the other Baltic countries, it was clear that the occupation was not going to end by international pressure. Certainly the de jure recognition of Estonia's independence had limited meaning, as most of Estonia's diplomatic representatives were denied access to the Allied meetings. The perceived sellout of Central and Eastern Europe at Yalta ended most hopes for international support.

Many Estonians took to the forests and waged a guerrilla campaign against Soviet interests. Many well-known partisans became heroes, sabotaging Soviet equipment and robbing Soviet treasuries. The battles by the forest brothers, as they were known, continued into the 1950s, despite a crackdown by Soviet authorities and infiltration by agents. Foreign intelligence services, such as Britain's SIS, played a role in supporting the forest brothers, but they were infiltrated as well. Some estimate the number of fighters in the forests at over 10,000, usually working in small bands of 50 men.

The Soviets resumed the repression of 1940–1941, deporting tens of thousands more people to Russia. Forced collectivization of rural lands also proved to be most difficult for Estonian farmers, and their resistance led to the shocking deportation of over 20,000 people—mostly children and women—on the evening of 26 March 1949 to Siberia as retribution. The private sector disappeared in 1947 with the final nationalization programs, and the 26 March deportations broke the opposition to completing

Estonian Population Percentage

Ethnicity	*1922*	*1934*	*1959*	*1970*	*1979*	*1989*	*2000*
Estonians	87.7	88.7	74.6	68.2	64.7	61.5	67.9
Russians	8.2	8.2	20.1	24.6	27.9	30.3	25.6

collectivization of agricultural land. By late 1951, about 95 percent of farms were collectivized, and production fell to lows that were worse than those of wartime.

In the 1940s and 1950s policies of mass industrialization were pursued by Moscow. This had the added effect of diluting Estonia's population, thanks to the importation of workers from other parts of the USSR. As these newcomers spoke no Estonian and were not encouraged to learn the language, a major national divide began to occur.

Moreover, the governing system was formed much like those in other Soviet lands, with a Supreme Soviet as a pseudo legislature and the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet as a pseudo head of republic. A committee of ministers acted as a republican government, with its chairman serving as the governmental leader. Most of the leaders were "Yestonians"—Estonians who had grown up in Russia (Russians tend to pronounce an initial letter *e* with a palatal *y* sound, leading to the nickname).

The repression continued until the death of Stalin in 1953; his passing helped to bring a thaw in the situation in Estonia, allowing, for example, the return of deportees to Estonia and an attempt to give an amnesty to the remaining forest brothers. Some 30,000 deportees returned to Estonia following the thaw, and most forest brothers gave up their struggle when they saw the lack of international reaction to the Budapest uprising of 1956. A few forest brothers, though, managed to hide out into the 1970s; the last of them, August Sabe, killed himself in 1978 after failing to evade his pursuers.

The thaw lasted into the 1970s, when Brezhnev launched further new programs of Russification and Sovietization. The use of Russian was promoted, while that of Estonian was discouraged; education, especially higher education, insisted on the use of the Russian language.

The Helsinki process, begun in 1975, was formulated to reduce tension between the West and the Soviet bloc by promoting dialogue aimed at reducing potential conflicts. The forum created, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE, later the OSCE), became a turning point in the history of the region. Spurred by the protest of various groups in the United States, Washington refused to yield to Soviet insistence on recognizing the incorporation of the Baltic states into the USSR. The Helsinki process also allowed for "Helsinki groups" to start up throughout the Soviet bloc, including Estonia. Later a group of forty-five dissidents from the three Baltic countries sent a letter to various governments such as the Soviet Union, the two Germanies, and the United Nations, calling for international recognition of the nature of the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact on the fate of the Baltic states and condemnation of its impact on the region. This action, known as the Baltic Appeal, led to a 1983 decision by the European Parliament to adopt a resolution calling for the restoration of Baltic independence. These kinds of appeals, as well as the hosting in Tallinn of yachting events in the 1980 Summer Olympics, alerted a number of foreigners as to Estonia's situation.

Estonians also could watch Finnish TV and listen to Finnish radio, thus making them more open to the world than many within the USSR itself, a critical factor as the Soviet empire imploded during the 1980s. Former president Lennart Meri used to joke that only in Estonia did people know that Lech Wałęsa (leader of Poland's Solidarity movement) had a moustache.

The first real protests in Estonia came from the generation born after the start of the thaw. Reacting to heavy-handed police actions after a September 1980 concert by the legendary punk group Propeller, the youth took to the streets on 1 October. Though this protest was put down quickly, it indicated the discontent among Estonia's youth. It also resulted in the so-called letter of forty—signed by forty well-known intellectuals—to the Soviet media highlighting social problems. Although the authorities cracked down on the forty, the letter was circulated widely underground.

THE SINGING REVOLUTION (1985–1991)

The entire process of restoring Estonia's independence has been dubbed the Singing Revolution, from the role singing played in demonstrating the will of the Estonian nation to become free again. The rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow began the restructuring of Soviet power throughout the USSR, allowing for the first time real dialogue. His glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) gave Estonians tools to begin the process of independence.

Before this period, many of the public protests or campaigns had been met by brutal suppression by the security services. However, the catalyst for what turned into national protests came in late 1986, when plans were unveiled to extensively mine phosphates in Kabala-Toolse. By the start of 1987, campaigners began organizing protests against what was seen as an environmental disaster. This first public expression of anger over Soviet policy evolved into a more political protest, as the number of public gatherings quickly expanded. In August 1987 a small group of activists formed the Estonian Group for Publicizing the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which organized a political gathering at Tallinn's Hirvepark on 23 August 1987—the forty-eighth anniversary of the infamous deal.

The public gathers in the streets of Tallinn to commemorate Independence Day, 24 February 1990. (Bernard Bisson/Corbis Sygma)

By this time, talk of some form of economic sovereignty had begun. The breakthrough came in an article published in September 1987, calling for an independent economy for Estonia, written by Siim Kallas, Tiit Made, Mikk Titma, and Edgar Savisaar. The plan was called Isemajandav Eesti (Self-Management Estonia), or IME (which in Estonian means "miracle").

An increasing number of public expressions of anger over Estonia's hijacked history led to the formation of the Estonian Heritage Society in late 1987. Many of the 1988 public gatherings were scheduled to mark important dates: the Tartu Peace Treaty anniversary (2 February), Independence Day (24 February), the anniversary of the 1949 deportations (26 March), among others. It was at one of these gatherings that the banned blue-black-white national flag was used for the first time since the occupation began. The authorities attempted to confront the public at times, but they failed to deter public gatherings. A popular television program introduced the entire idea of forming an organization to support Soviet reforms, and in a short period the Estonian Popular Front for the Support of Perestroika became one of the largest public groups in the country.

By June, the Popular Front had organized large-scale rallies, putting significant pressure on the government. Moscow noticed the situation as well, and on 16 June sacked Karl Vaino as the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party and replaced him with a moderate, Vaino Väljas. The Popular Front celebrated this success with a major rally attended by some 150,000 people in Tallinn, with the national flag waving unrestricted. By August, the Estonian National Independence Party was founded, with the goal of restoring Estonia's independence.

The singing aspect of the Singing Revolution took off with the rally Eestimaa Laul (Estonian Song) on 11 September, with over 300,000 in attendance. Many of the songs sung evoked national passions, some from the large repertoire of the various song festivals and others written by pop and rock stars using the poetry of Estonia's best-known historic poets.

Opposition to the Estonian movement gathered in the form of the International Movement of the Workers of the Estonian SSR and the Joint Soviet of Workers Collectives, both in mid-1988. These groups, mostly composed of Soviet-era immigrants and Russian speakers, protested to keep Estonia part of the Soviet empire.

As the Popular Front continued to grow, it absorbed many communists as well. This caused many other groups to push further, calling for the restoration of independence, though the Popular Front remained the largest public group. The Popular Front at first pushed only for autonomy, but eventually warmed to the idea of a restoration of independence after autonomy was rejected outright by an increasingly alarmed Moscow.

Moscow's attempts to calm the waters angered Estonians, and on 16 November 1988, the Supreme Soviet in Tallinn voted for a declaration of sovereignty (258 for, 1 against, 5 abstained), asserting that Estonian laws superseded Soviet all-union laws. Moscow responded with harsh warnings and verbal rebukes for Estonia's leaders. The Supreme Soviet followed up by passing on 18 January 1989 a language law making Estonian the official language, and marked Independence Day on 24 February by raising the national flag on the Pikk Hermann tower, something not seen since 1940. The most dramatic moment in the protests came on 23 August 1989, the fiftieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, when about two million people joined hands from Tallinn to Riga to Vilnius, forming the Baltic human chain. Though at first Soviet officials denounced the protest chain, by the end of 1989 officials yielded to pressure and admitted to the secret pact for the first time.

Not willing to take things slowly, activists from various groups calling for restoration of independence formed the Committee of Citizens in 1989. The group began registering those people who were citizens of the Republic of Estonia (before the occupation began in 1940) and their descendants. Nearly 900,000 citizens were registered during a short period. Then a second parliamentary body in Estonia, the Congress of Estonia, was elected, this one by only registered citizens (with a turnout of about 590,000 citizens, or about 98 percent) of Estonia, in February 1990. The leadership of the Congress of Estonia, the Estonian Committee, was chaired by long-time dissident Tunne Kelam.

Even before that election took place, the Estonian Communist Party was splitting into two, with one side pro-Estonia, the other pro-Moscow. In the March 1990 elections to the Supreme Soviet, the pro-Estonia side won clearly in the first even partially free elections in decades. The Popular Front's Edgar Savisaar was elected head of the government, while Arnold Rüütel remained chairman of the legislative body. On 30 March, the government quickly proclaimed a period of transition to independence and restored all the symbols of the Republic of Estonia. Moscow reacted angrily to this, with Gorbachev "rescinding" the order from Moscow. Anti-independence protestors tried to storm the parliament in May, but Popular Front supporters defended the building and prevented a bloody confrontation. (Russian-speaking workers, however, embarked on a series of strikes that damaged the economy.)

Seeing the imminent collapse of the USSR, Moscow called for a referendum on the future of the USSR. However, the Baltic countries instead held a preemptive referendum on the question, "do you want the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Estonia?" Over 77 percent voted in favor. The Moscow-backed referendum was boycotted by most of the Estonian public, with turnout of less than a quarter of eligible voters.

The restoration of independence finally came as chaos descended upon Moscow itself. The coup by hard-liners on 19 August (which eventually led to the fall of Gorbachev) gave the Supreme Council the opportunity to declare immediate restoration of independence on 20 August. Estonia was once again free.

INDEPENDENCE

As the coup collapsed in Moscow, the issue of the independence of the Baltic states was firmly outside of Moscow's control. The Estonian government received its first de jure recognition of the restoration of independence on 22 August from Iceland, followed within days by a host of countries, including the European Community and most of Europe; surprisingly the United States was again late in recognizing the independence of Estonia, only doing so on 2 September. Sweden opened the first embassy in Tallinn on 29 August. The USSR itself recognized the Baltic countries on 6 September, and the three countries joined the UN on 17 September.

A constituent assembly composed of thirty elected members of the Supreme Council and thirty from the Congress of Estonia met for the first time on 13 September. A draft constitution was completed by the end of 1991, and after some polishing, the constitution passed a national referendum on 28 June 1992. The 1992 Constitution, which came into force on 3 July, stipulated that the country should be a parliamentary republic.

Elections to the Sixth Riigikogu were held on 20 September, at which the center-right won 51 of the 101 seats. On the same day, the first round of the presidential election was also held, with Supreme Council Chairman Arnold Rüütel taking the most votes, though he failed to gain a majority, receiving only 41.8 percent of the vote. Rüütel thus entered a parliamentary runoff with the ambassador to Finland, Lennart Meri, the previous foreign minister and well-respected documentary filmmaker. The parliament's center-right orientation facilitated the election of Meri over the left-wing Rüütel by a 59 to 31 vote. The young 32-year-old center-right historian Mart Laar became prime minister.

The governing system was solidified after the Riigikogu elections by the dissolution of both the Congress of Estonia and the government in exile. The third branch of government was complete with the first session of the Supreme Court in Tartu in May 1993, with Rait Maruste presiding as its chief justice.

The central bank, re-created on 1 January 1990, benefited from the return of Estonia's gold from safekeeping abroad. The central bank's governor, Siim Kallas (of IME fame) turned the gold into a large foreign currency reserve and reintroduced the kroon on 20 June 1992. The currency, introduced despite warnings from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), was more than fully backed by the foreign currency reserve and pegged strictly to the German mark, at a ratio of one mark to eight kroon. This monetary stability became the backbone of Estonia's economic development.

The main problem of the newly restored state was the presence of a large contingent of the Red Army. Tens of thousands of Russian troops remained after the restoration

Lennart Meri, former president (1992–2001). (Patrick Robert/Corbis Sygma)

of independence, despite international organizations and various countries calling for their withdrawal as soon as possible. Continuous international pressure, especially by the U.S. Congress, eventually led to an agreement, signed by Lennart Meri and his Russian counterpart, Boris Yeltsin, in July 1994. The last Russian troops left Estonia on 31 August 1994.

A series of scandals over arms acquisitions from Israel and the sale of Soviet rubles led to the resignation of Prime Minister Laar, and a minority government, led by Andres Tarand, held power until the next scheduled elections in March 1995. The Seventh Riigikogu elections gave the center a significant victory, with a coalition comprised of centrist and rural forces winning 41 seats. Most of Estonia's foundational policies, however, were not changed, despite the change in political orientation of the government. Lennart Meri won reelection on 20 September 1996 in a special Electoral College, as no candidate received sufficient votes in the parliament. Arnold Rüütel again lost in the runoff to the now-popular Meri.

The government pushed hard for Estonia's membership in international organizations, especially NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the EU (European Union). Estonia first joined the Council of Europe, the continent-wide human rights body, taking the organization's chair in 1996 for a six-month period. Estonia also joined the World Trade Organization in late 1999. Estonia's reforms were finally rewarded in 1997 when Estonia was named among the leading contenders for EU membership.

In 2002 Estonia received invitations from both the European Union and NATO to become an official member. NATO membership is seen as the culmination of a long search for real security, and the raising of Estonia's tricolor at NATO Headquarters in 2004 means the end of the security vacuum in the region. However, membership in NATO also means additional responsibilities placed on Estonia, and the country has made significant contributions to peacekeeping efforts in various hotspots, ranging from the Balkans to Iraq.

The Sinking of the Ferry *Estonia*

Estonian history has been plagued by various tragic events, most notably the mass deportations of thousands of Estonians to Siberia in the 1940s. The most tragic of those events not linked to foreign occupation or war occurred on the stormy evening of 28 September 1994, when the ferry *Estonia* sank en route between Tallinn and Stockholm. The accident claimed the lives of 851 individuals.

In a country of approximately 1.5 million people, nearly everyone knew someone who died on the ferry. Some towns were hit especially hard. The country lost its most beloved rock singer. But everyone in Estonia has a personal tragic story connected to this accident. Every year the anniversary date of 28 September has become a tragic reminder of one of the worst maritime disasters in history.

The tragedy has been shrouded in controversy, as rumors and conspiracy theories continue to spread regarding the cause of the ferry's sinking. The many half-baked theories about explosions aboard the ferry fail to disappear, despite an international commission's findings that the bow door caused the sinking of the roll-on, roll-off ferry. Some adherents of the theories have gone so far as to make an illegal diving expedition to the wreck, an act considered a violation of sepulcher by nearly all regional countries, which have jointly declared the wreck a mass grave.

Though at the time the sinking affected the numerous shipping lanes in the Baltic Sea between the Nordic countries and Estonia, the route has since recovered and gained in strength. Tallinn has become one of the busiest ports in Europe, especially for tourism. After all, it was Ernest Hemingway who wrote that you could find at least one Estonian at every port in the world. The memories of the ferry's sinking remain and still evoke deep sadness among Estonians (and of course Swedes, who lost the most people in that tragedy); however, the love of the sea and maritime navigation continues to characterize Estonia and its people.

Estonia's joining of the European Union in mid-2004 is perhaps more important in many respects, as it impacts nearly everything from agriculture to travel. With a strong 66.83 percent majority in the referendum on joining the EU in September 2003, Estonians said a loud "jah!" to returning fully to the Western world and becoming part of Europe and its governing machinery.

Politically, the country has remained on the center-right in recent years. The country swung back to the right for the Eighth Riigikogu elections on 7 March 1999, when a three-party center-right coalition won just over a majority of seats. Mart Laar returned to the post of prime minister, holding it for nearly three years before resigning in January 2002 after the coalition collapsed. Siim Kallas, the "father of the kroon," became prime minister in late January, working in a coalition with his former IME partner Edgar Savisaar. Part of the pressure on the coalition came with the August-September 2001 presidential election, as the coalition failed to elect one of their candidates. In a runoff at the Electoral College, three-time candidate Arnold Rüütel, in a shocking surprise, won his job back as head of state after a decade. The Ninth Riigikogu elections in 2003 returned a slightly more centrist three-party coalition, with Juhan Parts becoming prime minister but continuing a similar liberal policy.

Though the history of Estonia is quite complicated and often difficult to follow, the basic aspects are clear—centuries of foreign domination and an independence that is highly cherished and treasured. The understanding of the difficult history faced by this small nation helps to explain many modern issues there, ranging from the search for "hard" security guarantees to the stringent application of the language law (designed to ensure that Estonian remains the only official language of the country, and to ensure that Soviet-era immigrants learn the language). Nevertheless, the important thing for Estonians is simple: the fate of the nation again rests in the hands of the Estonian people.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The history of Estonia places a heavy burden on its political system today, the task of relegating the problems of the past, both homegrown and foreign-imposed, definitively to history. The modern Estonian political system evolved from the collective experience of its people through hundreds of years of occupation, as well as from lessons learned around the world. What has developed is a modern parliamentary democracy capable of addressing the problems of the legacies of history and the challenges of the future, especially those presented by the ongoing process of European integration.

The maturing of the political system in Estonia is much more impressive when one considers its history, especially the absence of self-determination through the last eight centuries. In fact, only about 5 percent of the time since the first foreign conquests in the thirteenth century has the indigenous population been in charge of its own development. The modern version of Estonian democracy began to develop only in 1990–1991, during the last part of the process of restoring independence.

For centuries following the arrival of the German invaders in the thirteenth century, Estonians lived under foreign systems of government in which most (if not all) Estonians were excluded from the process. Estonians lived under the brutal regime of the Livonian Order and the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the crowns of Sweden, Denmark, Poland-Lithuania, and Russia.

The early political evolution of Estonia is most dramatic during the Russian tsarist period. Though the German nobility retained control over the Baltic region, Russia used the territories as a laboratory for social reform. This came most notably in the abolition of serfdom in Estonia in 1816 (for Livonia, 1819), which freed Estonians legally from subjugation. The nineteenth century in Estonia showed a dramatic change among the indigenous population, as increased educational opportunities created not just an intelligentsia, but also visionaries and leaders. Estonians increasingly shifted their discussion from culture to politics and reform, alongside those Germans sympathetic to the changes taking place in Europe and in Estonia.

Though political control was still far removed from Estonians, the 1866 decision by St. Petersburg to create local parish councils paved the way for the development of a modern local governmental system. As a consequence of modernization and education, Estonians began to play a larger role in local politics. In 1901, for the first time, the indigenous population—a coalition of Estonians and Latvians—took over the town council of the town of Valga. The most spectacular triumph came in 1904, as Estonian deputies in Tallinn, having gained Russian support, took control of the city council, making Jaan Poska the first Estonian mayor of Tallinn.

The real catalyst for change came with the 1905 Revolution in Russia and the resulting bloodshed throughout the Russian Empire, including Estonia. The creation of a Russian parliament, the Duma, in the long run did little to promote the democratization of Russia or to improve the situation in Estonia; the election of several Estonian deputies, however, did bring political experience to a group of statesmen who went on to become the leaders of the Estonian political movement in the ensuing decades. It was also during this period that the first true Estonian political parties, such as the National Progressive Party, were founded to safeguard Estonian interests.

The 1917 February Revolution in Russia, which toppled the tsar, brought the best opportunity for Estonia to gain political power, as local activists convinced the Russian provisional government to merge Estonian lands (the Estonian province and the northern part of the Livonian province) into one administrative unit and for that unit to be led by a native. Tallinn mayor Jaan Poska was eventually named as commissar, and he soon called for elections to the first Estonian national assembly. The elections to the Maapäev (an Estonian translation of the German "Landtag") occurred, and the first sitting was held in the summer of 1917.

The development of the first indigenous legislative assembly came to a halt, however, with the Bolshevik October Revolution, which spilled into Estonia as Bolsheviks attempted to seize power. The Bolsheviks prevented the

Prime Minister Mart Laar (1992–1994, 1999–2002), one of the young leaders who forged the country's ambitious reforms. (Sean Gallup/Getty Images)

Maapäev from meeting, though the body managed to appoint a three-man National Salvation Committee, the Päästekomitee. The committee worked clandestinely during the Bolshevik terror and the German invasion of Estonia during the worst part of World War I. During an interregnum between the retreat of the Bolsheviks and the invasion of the Germans, the committee, on 24 February 1918, declared independence.

The political system could not develop for months due to German occupation; with the collapse of the German military in the autumn of 1918, however, the provisional Estonian government regained power. Successful in repelling foreign occupation during the War of Independence, the provisional government organized elections to the Constituent Assembly in April 1919. The body, dominated by the democratic left wing, structured the draft constitution and key pieces of early legislation in accordance with their ideology. The 1920 constitution sought protection against a concentration of power, thus the severely weakened executive. Most of the power rested in the parliament, the Riigikogu, which could appoint and dismiss cabinet ministers at will. The head of the cabinet, the weak State Elder, served also as the ceremonial head of state but did not proclaim laws; that prerogative remained with the Riigikogu speaker.

The electoral system of the era also featured an idealistic vision of equality, based on a purely proportional system of representation. The lack of a minimum threshold meant that parliament was composed of many small parties who proved unable to make stable coalitions, thus paralyzing the government frequently, most notably during the crises around the global Depression of the late 1920s. This lack of ability to act angered the right wing and organizations representing veterans of the War of Independence, who lobbied for the creation of a strong presidency. Two attempts at a referendum for a new constitution (with a somewhat stronger executive power) failed due to lack of support from the veterans; the third referendum on a draft constitution by the veterans succeeded. This 1934 constitution focused power on an elected president and away from the fractious parliament.

The political freedom of Estonia fell for once to a domestic force, when caretaker prime minister Konstantin Päts, the hero of the declaration of independence, undertook a palace coup. The country moved into a mild form of authoritarianism, as the parliament was not recalled; corporatism and nationalism were both employed to jumpstart the economy and society. Though an attempt at re-democratization happened later in the 1930s, with the creation of a new bicameral parliament, it was nothing more than window-dressing, as the opposition was not allowed to function openly. Though the Päts regime did not prove to be unpopular, it did stymie the country's political development.

In 1939 the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was concluded between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union; shortly thereafter Estonia fell under Soviet occupation. Sham elections were held, and the rump parliament voted to join the USSR. Though local conspirators held many leadership positions, Moscow and its local representative, Andrei Zhdanov, directed their actions. Attempts to Sovietize the political system occurred, but were halted by the Nazi invasion of the USSR in June 1941. The three-year Nazi occupation saw Estonia run as a territory for future colonization in Germany's Lebensraum (living space). When the Soviets retook Estonia in 1944, the Sovietization of the political system continued. The legislature was renamed the Supreme Soviet, while the republic's government became the council of ministers. The de facto head of republic became the chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or simply the legislature's speaker. Many of the leaders were so-called Yestonians, ethnic Estonians who had grown up in Russia and did not speak Estonian.

The Soviet system did not allow for any true political development, as the system and its management remained foreign-imposed and foreign-controlled. The "elections" to the local and all-Union supreme soviets were single-candidate ballots, and always featured nearly 100 percent turnout and nearly 100 percent support for the Communist Party candidate. Many Estonians eventually joined the Communist Party following the end of the brutal Stalinist period, using membership as a method of career advancement.

By the mid-1980s, leadership positions in Estonia were primarily in the hands of Estonian-born Estonians (not Yestonians), and they took advantage of the Soviet programs of glasnost and perestroika (openness and restructuring). Public protests occurred with greater frequency, evolving from environmental concerns to more national issues. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were formed to address historical issues and to commemorate historical events, such as the mass deportations of the 1940s and Estonia's Independence Day. Eventually political organizations began to form, first to support perestroika, later to advocate full independence. Thus, the political development of Estonians happened via NGOs campaigning both within and outside the system, and the political leadership began to shift toward the nation's point-of-view.

By the end of the 1980s, Estonians of all beliefs were fully engaged in political activities. Independence activists continued to campaign, registering the citizens of Estonia for a parallel political body, the Congress of Estonia. The Popular Front, which chose to work within the system in the Supreme Soviet, asserted the republic's superiority in legislation, superseding all-Union laws. The election to the Supreme Soviet in 1990 was nearly free and fair, and pro-Estonia delegates held the majority, making the Popular Front the leader of the republic's government. A republic-wide referendum in early 1991 showed overwhelming support for Estonian independence.

Though this chain of events resulted in two parallel bodies of power, the (renamed) Popular Front in the Supreme Council and the Estonian Council in the Congress of Estonia, both worked to achieve independence. With the eventual restoration of independence in August 1991, the two bodies came together and formed equal parts of the new Constituent Assembly. This Constituent Assembly drafted the basic document that created the foundations for the modern Estonian political system.

The modern Estonian political system reflects many qualities of its counterpart between the world wars, but heavily tempered by the collective experience of the people of the perils of both ultraliberal parliamentary democracy and authoritarianism. The product created and enshrined in the 1992 constitution by the Constituent Assembly is a modern parliamentary democracy, built with integral safeguards and expressly stipulated checks and balances. The key was to create a *Rechtstaat,* a state based on the rule of law.

Unlike its 1920 counterpart, the 1992 Constitution places a significant amount of power in the executive, personified by the head of government, the prime minister. The cabinet, made up of the prime minister and the ministers who head the various ministries, is entrusted with the day-to-day governing and administration of the state. Various departments, bureaus, inspectorates, and offices are under the government or one of the ministries; for example, the European Integration Office is part of the cabinet office, while the Border Guards are under the Interior Ministry. Government decisions are made democratically by the cabinet, needing majority support for their enactment. For the most part the civil service remains depoliticized, with only the ministers being purely political posts; the permanent undersecretaries remain civil servants, as do department and inspectorate directors (despite temptations to politicize the posts). The government and ministries also introduce a significant amount of legislation, including the annual budget.

Also, unlike the 1920 constitution, the position of head of state, the president, was created by the 1992 constitution. The president serves as the ceremonial head of state, as well as the supreme commander of the country's national defense. The president also promulgates laws and has the ability to challenge legislation by veto; if the parliament returns a vetoed law unchanged, the matter goes to the Supreme Court for a decision. The president also officially nominates ministers and other key positions, though all nominations require parliamentary confirmation.

Though the executive holds significant power, the parliament, or Riigikogu, remains the support base for the executive. All major government posts, ranging from ministers down, hold their posts at the confirmation and with the confidence of the parliament. The legislature is responsible for introducing, amending, and passing legislation. The political parties establish factions within the 101-member parliament. The parliament is also divided into ten permanent committees, such as the Foreign Affairs Committee, the National Defense Committee, and the Legal Committee. The management of the parliament's affairs comes from the elected chairman and two deputy chairs; one of the deputy chairs usually goes to an opposition MP.

The judiciary plays an independent and major role in maintaining the court system, and also serves as an independent arbiter between the legislative and executive branches. The Supreme Court is responsible for ruling on the constitutionality of legislation during a presidential-parliamentary disagreement over legislation passed but not promulgated by the president. The chief justice of the Supreme Court, who is first nominated by the president and later confirmed by parliament, nominates the other justices, who require parliamentary confirmation. Justices at all levels are appointed by the president, on the recommendation of the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and serve for life terms.

The State Audit Office remains an independent state body responsible for overseeing the use of state funds, while the Legal Chancellor's Office serves as an independent analyst considering the constitutionality and legality of pending legislation.

Parliamentary elections are held every fourth year under a modified proportional representation system. The country is divided into eleven electoral districts based on geographical boundaries, with the total mandate divided by population numbers. Suffrage is universal for all Estonian citizens over the age of 18, and candidates must be citizens over the age of 21. The voters technically vote for an individual, but the vote counts also in the party count. Certain candidates who reach a specific vote level are automatically elected within their party lists, though the slots within each electoral district are divided by proportional representation within the district. Those slots not filled by the automatically elected candidates are filled in numerical order in the district party list. Parties, however, need to gain at least 5 percent of all votes throughout the country to be considered for the seat distribution, a much needed safeguard to prevent extremely small or localized movements from fracturing the parliament's composition.

Estonia is not a very centralized country, as many responsibilities, ranging from municipal utilities to public transportation, lie at the local level. The country is divided into 15 counties, which in turn are split in many local authorities with their own local councils and governments; despite the ongoing process of merging small local administrative units, there remain nearly 250 in 2001. Local elections are held every three years, also under a proportional representation system.

Presidential elections are held once every five years, with the responsibility first resting in the parliament. Candidates are nominated by at least one-fifth of MPs (members of parliament) from among its 101 members, and winning candidates require a supermajority of at least 68 MPs in support. The parliament is given three chances—with the final round being a runoff of the top two vote getters—to achieve that supermajority. In case the parliament fails, a special Electoral College is convened. The Electoral College is composed of the 101 parliament members as well as representatives from all the local councils (for the 2001 presidential elections there were 266 local council representatives). A minimum of 21 Electoral College members can nominate a candidate, and a simple majority elects a new president. If the Electoral College fails to elect a president in two rounds, the second being a runoff of the top two vote-getters, the process returns to the parliament and repeats. Candidates for the presidency must be native-born Estonian citizens at least forty years of age; there is also a two-term limit.

The 1992 Constitution achieved a good balance of power among the three branches of government, creating safeguards against the overextending of power by the government, the president, or the parliament. Though European integration, as well as the surprise opposition victory in the 2001 presidential election, has provoked debate about amending the Constitution, for the most part the political system created in the early 1990s has functioned well as the foundation for the country's continual development.

Despite its lack of a continuous democratic tradition, Estonia has managed to build a relatively stable party system since the restoration of independence. Unlike many other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Estonia has not suffered from a large amount of party fracturing; instead, the party system has actually seen consolidation over the years, creating more stable parties, parties based on philosophy rather than on personality.

Ironically, one of the cleavages created before the restoration of independence remains, the split between the Estonian Popular Front, those who worked within the Soviet system toward freedom, and the Estonian Citizens Committee, those who created a parallel structure outside of the Soviet system as a continuation of the state occupied in 1940. For the most part, the Citizens Committee established itself on the center-right, while the Popular Front held the center and the center-left. Many of the figures who played major roles in the two organizations remain in the political fray, split along similar lines, though on much more contemporary problems than the method of achieving freedom for the country.

Since the first post-Soviet general elections in 1992, the center-right has held the most influence, whether in the government or in opposition, in large measure due to the foundations the center-right governments of 1992–1995 built for Estonia's future development. A strong left-wing force never developed during this period (as happened in other states in the region), leaving the political battleground in the right and center.

The main right-wing conservative force in Estonia grew from the Estonian Citizens Committee, which has manifested itself today as the Pro Patria Union. This party was formed by a merger of its conservative predecessor Pro Patria with the nationalist Estonian National Independence Party. In the 1992 general elections these groups won twenty-nine and ten seats respectively; the leader of the merged parties, the then–thirty-two-year-old Mart Laar, served as prime minister until scandals forced him out of power in late 1994. The two groups ran as a coalition in the 1995 general coalitions but faced public backlash for the difficult economic reforms that affected many in Estonian society, earning only eight seats. By the 1999 elections, however, the parties had merged and stormed back to victory with eighteen seats, returning Laar to the prime minister's office. Though it has evolved, the party aligns itself with the Christian Democratic and conservative movements in Europe, boasting a pro-family and national-minded platform. The party also continues to support the liberal economic policies it created in the early 1990s, which have received some support from the liberal wing.

Several other right-wing movements also played minor roles during this period, but they have not lasted over time. A small right-wing breakaway of Pro Patria, the Right-Wingers, won five seats in 1995, but the group merged into other parties by the 1999 elections. The right-wing nationalist Estonian Citizens, led by a retired U.S. military officer, campaigned on an exclusionary policy toward Estonia's Russian speakers; the party fared well in 1992 with eight seats, but failed to win any seats by 1995 and has since disappeared. Even a semiserious pro-monarchy group gained eight seats in the 1992 elections but has since disappeared.

With the probusiness environment created in the early years of Estonian independence, it was not surprising to see a liberal movement become one of the strongest political orientations by the mid-1990s. The Reform Party, led by the father of the kroon and former central bank president, Siim Kallas, pursued ultraliberal laissez-faire policies and gained the support of the growing number of entrepreneurs. The party campaigned on further reduction of the tax burden of both the public and businesses, the preservation of liberal trade policies, and strict fiscal and monetary policies. This probusiness and tax-cutting platform earned the Reform Party nineteen seats in the 1995 elections, as the party worked in coalition with centrists for a part of the election cycle. The party remained successful in the 1999 elections, winning eighteen seats. Kallas became prime minister in early 2002 in a caretaker coalition with centrists.

Since 2001 the political movement Res Publica has turned its attention to elected office. One of the oldest political movements in Estonia, Res Publica for years resisted transforming itself into a party; instead its members usually ran with the like-minded Reform Party, and sometimes the Pro Patria Union. However, the group has since risen to challenge the established center-right with substantial membership and funding. This "new" party managed to craft a three-party coalition after the 2003 general elections, making its leader, Juhan Parts, prime minister.

The evolution of the party known as the Moderates is among the most complex and convoluted of all of the Estonian political movements. The party has its roots in the Moderates coalition from the 1992 and 1995 elections, which linked the Estonian Social Democratic Party and the Rural Center Party with a centrist platform; the Moderates won twelve seats. Despite its Social Democratic background, the party remained centrist and worked closely with the center-right; its leader, Andres Tarand, served as a caretaker prime minister in 1994–1995 up to the general elections. The 1995 elections also saw the Moderates lose out due to the unpopularity of difficult reforms; they won only six seats. In the run-up to the 1999 general elections, the Moderates joined a coalition with the right-wing People's Party, a relationship that was formalized soon after the coalition won seventeen seats. The merger looked odd from an ideological point of view, as the People's Party was actually a merger of right-wing nationalist and agrarian parties, whereas the Moderates had Social Democratic backgrounds; the merged party remained technically loyal to the Social Democratic banner, but worked closely with the center-right.

The Pro Patria Union, Reform Party, and Moderates signed a cooperation agreement before the 1999 general elections, proposing to work together in a postelection government. The three lists won 53 of 101 seats, and they gave the prime ministerial job to the Pro Patria Union leader Mart Laar. This government, which lasted from March 1999 until January 2002, broke apart due to personality differences; however, the curious aspect was that it represented the three major political affiliations of Europe: conservatism, liberalism, and social democracy.

The political center in Estonia has become the major battleground, as there are no truly left-wing parties with any amount of substantial support. The populist Center Party, a descendant of the Popular Front, leads the centrist movements. Though often employing populist left-leaning ideas, such as the abolition of the flat tax system, the party is far from being truly left wing; however, the lack of a true left wing gives the Center Party much of the natural left-wing voter support.

Having led the independence process from within, the Popular Front began collapsing at the restoration of independence; it won only fifteen seats in 1992. Reconfigured into the Center Party, the group won sixteen seats in 1995 and worked in a centrist coalition, until a scandal involving party leader and then–interior minister Edgar Savisaar taping private conversations of his political opponents forced them out. The party remains the main beneficiary of a lack of left-wing parties, winning twenty-eight seats in 1999, the largest share, but it was kept out of the government for another three years until the previously mentioned center-right coalition collapsed in early 2002.

Rural centrist groups, especially the Estonian People's Union, represent another strong centrist movement. Originally called the Rural People's Union, the group continued to gain strength with the uneven economic development throughout the country. Despite the small share of agriculture in the overall economy, there remains a significant voter base for the rural-based party. As urban development outpaced rural development, the party scored well in 1995 by running with the centrist Coalition Party and other groups (see below), winning in total forty-one seats. The Rural People's Union, before the 1999 elections, decided to move beyond simply rural interests by inviting the smaller Rural League and the Families and Pensioners Party to merge into the new movement, to be named the People's Union. The party fared less well in 1999, winning just seven seats, but managed to score an upset victory in 2001 with the election of its founder and honorary chairman Arnold Rüütel as president. Despite modest numbers in the 2003 elections, the People's Union managed a place in the center-right ruling coalition.

One of the most interesting cases in the center can be seen in the rise and collapse of the Coalition Party. Originally designed as a probusiness centrist party, this "party of power" brought together many rich businessmen to create a stable business environment. Running in the 1992 elections as the "Safe Home" coalition, the group gained seventeen seats. Rising before the 1995 elections, it teamed together with several small parties, as well as the Rural People's Union, to take a dramatic victory with forty-one votes. The party's Tiit Vähi and Mart Siimann held the prime minister's job through the entire parliamentary cycle, but its uninspiring platform and lack of solid ideology left the party decimated by the 1999 elections, in which it and coalition partners won only seven seats; with further defections of both party members and coalition partners, the party maintained only one seat by 2001 and formally dissolved.

Several parties have also risen as self-designated representatives of the large Russian-speaking communities in Estonia, the largest being the United People's Party. Often several parties run in a coalition to maximize their chances to break the 5 percent minimum barrier, a challenging task, as many Russian-speakers choose to vote for mainstream parties. These parties failed to gain representation in the 1992 elections, but managed to win six seats in 1995. The same result was achieved in 1999, but with the help of the solidly left-wing Estonian Democratic Labor Party, the renamed Communist Party. None of the parties, including the Democratic Labor Party and the United People's Party, can achieve the 5 percent minimum themselves, and their strength remains weak. Most of these parties campaign for the easing of citizenship and language laws, as well as increased social spending. These parties, not surprisingly, do much better in local elections, in which non-citizens are allowed to vote. However, as a sign of the maturation of politics away from ethnocentric voting, even in such local elections the Russocentric parties have recently been sharply down in number of seats won.

Among new Central and Eastern European democracies, Estonia has demonstrated a relatively stable party system, with many of the same political forces active throughout the post-Soviet period. Considering the political evolution of Estonia over the centuries, and especially its history in the twentieth century, the achievements of recent years are even more impressive. This stability of political parties has helped to preserve a stable political system, allowing for reforms to be pursued and maintained. This stability demonstrates the maturity of the political system despite its youth, a very Estonian characteristic in general.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Among the small nations of the world, Estonia has one of the most developed and diverse cultural environments. Though "high culture," such as literature and art, only developed in the nineteenth century, when both education and opportunities finally opened up to Estonians, the strength and breadth of cultural achievements for a nation just over one million strong is enormous. Estonian cultural figures rank among the best known, even if their Estonian links are less frequently known.

Nothing brings out more strongly the importance of culture in Estonia than the fact that the national awakening of the late nineteenth century was first a cultural awakening. That awakening was, however, only the beginning; the period of independence between the world wars was the catalyst for a newly found creativity throughout the entire population. The 1925 establishment of the Kultuurkapital (Cultural Endowment Fund) helped to fund a new generation in all areas of culture, ranging from the already strong field of literature to the developing genre of cinematography. Various professional associations, such as the Estonian Writers Association and the Estonian Academic Society of Composers, also formed to increase activity in the individual genres.

The invasion of the Soviet Red Army in 1940 decimated Estonian culture; many figures were imprisoned or killed. Many of the most prominent figures were denied permission to work. Others also fled overseas, a large number congregating in the capital of Estonian culture in exile, Stockholm. Although these émigrés continued the tradition of Estonian culture, the predominant theme of many of these works had to do with the ordeal of exile, the longing to return home, and opposition to the Soviet occupation and its installed regime.

Though the Soviets attempted to halt cultural development for a significant period of time through censorship and repression of creativity among Estonians, the cultural achievements of the nation continued. Many ingenious, creative minds worked around the censors in imaginative ways, and audiences became used to reading between the lines, focusing on the imagery. It is of little surprise that the restoration of independence process was led by cultural figures who attempted to create a second national awakening. The role of culture in the fight for freedom cannot be underestimated.

Today Estonian culture is enjoying a renaissance, and at the same time it is facing a crossroads. The country's restored freedom, which has also meant the reinstatement of the Kultuurkapital, has led to a new generation of cultural figures finding ways to express themselves. The continuing internationalization of pop culture, however, especially in the form of the influence of Hollywood and other forms of American culture, has presented a major challenge to this new generation. They face a hard choice: they can remain true to their roots, they can enter this international culture, or, the biggest challenge, they can attempt to bring the two together. In any case, the success of Estonian culture in the first decade of restored independence has given this new generation the energy and determination to bring Estonia fully back into the mainstream of the Western world.

LITERATURE

Of the various forms of culture in Estonia, literature has perhaps the most fascinating development, and the development that can be described in most detail. The growth of literature has paralleled the country's development in many ways, ranging from the national awakening movement to the various ups and downs the country faced over the years.

Though the first printed text in the Estonian language—translated catechisms—appeared in the early 1500s, it took several more centuries for Estonian literature to develop fully. One of the best early pieces of literature came as a 1708 poem by a poet named Käsu Hans, lamenting the sacking of Tartu in the Great Northern War, but it was only in the 1800s that the expansion of education opportunities for the indigenous population fostered the rapid growth of Estonian literature. The earliest of the pioneers was Kristjan Jaak Peterson (1801–1822), who wrote some of the earliest Estonian poems before his untimely death; however, his work was only revealed decades after his passing.

The Estonian Learned Society was founded in 1838 to promote knowledge of Estonia in various areas, including language and literature. The society helped to coordinate activities by Estonian scholars of both native and foreign origin, including the increasing study of Estonian folk culture. Though most of the learned societies of the time were German, and the Estonian Learned Society membership was composed chiefly of German so-called Estophiles, there were several Estonians among the group. Among them were two Estonian doctors who changed the course of Estonian literature: Friedrich Robert Faehlmann (1798–1850) and Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882).

Through the society, the two doctors began collecting folklore from around Estonia and the Estonian parts of Livonia. Oral literature had been an important part of folk culture, and this compilation was the first effort aimed at its recording. When Faehlmann died, Kreutzwald took over the task and began compiling the material into the national epic, *Kalevipoeg* (Son of Kalev). With creative additions and influence from the Finnish national epic, *Kalevala,* Kreutzwald completed the epic—the first major piece of literature in Estonian. Due to censorship issues, the compilation was published only in 1862 in Finland.

Kalevipoeg is a tale of the complex character from whom the epic takes its name, a character who symbolizes Estonia in all its aspects—its triumphs, struggles, laments, and joys. The lengthy epic, written in a poetic form using an old Estonian folk poetry meter, focuses on both the national struggle, chiefly against enemies symbolizing the German crusaders, and also the personal struggle within the complex title character. Reflecting the situation of the age, the story ends with Kalevipoeg stuck, guarding the world from the gates of hell, ready to return to the world some day to liberate Estonia. The political symbolism used in the epic has made it a rallying point for the various freedom movements over the years.

The next major figure in the world of Estonian literature is beloved poet and drama pioneer Lydia Koidula (1843–1886). At this point all areas of Estonian literature began developing, leading to the creation of the Estonian Society of Literati in 1872. The number of works in Estonian increased dramatically, as the society promoted the use of Estonian in all aspects of life. The society also played a significant role in standardizing the spelling system for the language, something to which both Kreutzwald and Koidula left lasting contributions.

Much of the early literature was romantic in nature, especially in its dramatization of Estonian folk culture and traditions. The collection of folklore continued, spearheaded by cultural leaders like Jakob Hurt (1839–1906), whose portrait is on the ten-kroon note. However, as the political situation of the country changed, so too did its literature. Increasingly in subsequent years literature focused on realism—often critical—and played a major role, alongside the song festivals, in the national awakening movement.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, a fresh crop of Estonian literary talent had entered the scene, taking full advantage of the opportunities created by trailblazers like Koidula and Kreutzwald. Many poets emerged, such as Juhan Liiv (1864–1913), who could create beautiful passages about nature and with equal ease craft the most intense symbolism in his patriotic poems, despite the massive oppression of the Russification years in the 1880s. Another genre in which major progress was made was historical novels, such as the 1880 book *Tasuja* (The Avenger) by Eduard Bornhöhe (1862–1932), depicting the (much romanticized) 1343 St. George's Day uprising. The 1902 story based on

Lydia Koidula

One of the most fascinating cultural figures in Estonia is the beloved poet Lydia Koidula, whose beautiful poetry remains as popular and relevant as ever nearly 150 years after its writing.

Rarely can a nation claim a nineteenth-century female poet as its most beloved national poet. Born in 1843 in the town of Vändra, Koidula received an enlightened upbringing from her well-known father, the pioneering newspaper founder and author of the national anthem, Johann Voldemar Jannsen. Koidula took advantage of the pioneering secondary girls' school founded in Pärnu in the 1850s and trained to be a teacher.

Though busy with work at her father's newspaper, Koidula began serious creative writing in the 1860s, ranging from short stories to poems. One collection of her early poems, *Emajõe ööbik* (The Nightingale of the Emajõgi), showed both the lyrical quality of her prose and the passionate patriotism she could invoke through words. Koidula became known as the premiere national poet, overcoming most gender barriers that hindered her work.

Many of her poems were set to music during the national song festivals, which she and her family helped to organize. "Mu isamaa on minu arm" (My Homeland is My Love), accompanied by various tunes over the decades, remains an unofficial anthem for the Estonian nation, and even became the emotional focal point of the Singing Revolution more than a century later, as Estonia moved to regain independence.

Koidula also established Estonian drama, writing the first original staged play in Estonian: *Saaremaa onupoeg* (The Saaremaa Cousin). The play was first performed in 1870 at the pioneering Vanemuine Cultural Society (later Theater), which Koidula and her family also founded.

Koidula left Estonia after marrying a military physician in the mid-1870s, moving to Kronstadt, near St. Petersburg. She continued her writing until her premature death in 1886. Later her remains were returned to Estonia to be buried among the nation's most prominent figures in the Forest Cemetery in Tallinn.

Reverence for Koidula among the Estonian nation is clearly noticeable, nor is it limited to their love for "Mu isamaa on minu arm." Her poetry remains popular, and her role in the history of Estonian literature—establishing the long tradition of Estonian drama and national poetry—makes her among the most important figures in the evolution of Estonian culture. This public reverence is also clearly evident on the 100-kroon banknote, which is graced by Koidula's portrait.

the 1858 Mahtra uprising, *Mahtra sõda* (The Mahtra War) was among the most important works of writer Eduard Vilde (1865–1933), the first truly successful Estonian novelist.

At the start of the twentieth century, with the harshest Russification campaigns ending and social turmoil appearing, a new generation of literary figures emerged to continue the national movement. In 1905 the Noor-Eesti (Young Estonia) movement was formed, bringing together the efforts of some of the most gifted writers of the new century. The main principle Noor-Eesti followed was "Let us be Estonians, but also become Europeans," emphasizing that Estonian culture had to take its rightful place among other high European cultures. One of the leading figures of Noor-Eesti was the poet Gustav Suits (1883–1956), best known for his 1905 volume *Elu tuli* (Life's Fire), which played a major role in modernizing Estonian poetry. Another of the movement's leaders was master storyteller Friedebert Tuglas (1886–1971), who produced popular short stories one after another, as well as becoming one of the leading literary critics of the land. The contributions of the Noor-Eesti to the literary world were major, including the works of linguist Johannes Aavik (1880–1973), who modernized the Estonian language. The 1905 Russian Revolution drove many members of the socially conscious Noor-Eesti out of the country, and their travels around the world expanded their horizons even further. The Estonian Literary Society was created in 1907, and the publication of the first Estonian literary journal, *Eesti kirjandus* (Estonian literature) had begun a year earlier.

The quality of Estonian literature continued to improve in the early years of the twentieth century. Oskar Luts (1887–1953) created one of the lasting classics of Estonian literature in 1912, with his tale of school life, *Kevade* (Spring), and poet Ernst Enno (1875–1934) expanded the scope of Estonian poetry into more exotic themes. Drama also became even more popular, with the growth of theater companies around the country, and August Kitzberg (1855–1927) became one of the leading playwrights, especially with his 1912 tragedy, *Libahunt* (The Werewolf).

The establishment of independent Estonia gave Estonian literature the further ability to develop without the threat of censorship, and the plethora of authors created a rich array of works in all disciplines and topics during the two decades of independence between the world wars. One of the earliest movements of this period was Siuru (Wonderbird), formed already in 1917, which included the poet and Nobel Literature Prize nominee Marie Under (1883–1980), who experimented controversially with eroticism, as well as Henrik Visnapuu (1890–1951), who possessed a gift for constructing lyrical verse as well as potent imagery. The establishment of the Estonian Writers Union in 1922, as well as the Kultuurkapital (Cultural Endowment Fund), helped to develop literature even further.

The indisputably most excellent literary work of the independence period is the five-part epic *Tõde ja õigus* (Truth and Justice) by Anton-Hansen Tammsaare (1878–1940), depicting the conflict between truth and justice experienced by a family over the years of the national awakening. Tammsaare contributed several other major novels in this era, such as the fantastic but fun *Põrgupõhja uus Vanapagan* (The New Devil of Põrgupõhja) and the relationship-focused *Elu ja armastus* (Life and Love), making him the best-known novelist in Estonian literature and winning him the honor of appearing on the twenty-five-kroon note. Another giant among the large number of gifted novelists was August Gailit (1891–1960), with his grotesque fantasy *Purpurne surm* (The Purple Death) and his international hit *Toomas Nipernaadi*. Many others left major works during this period, including the so-called Tallinn trilogy by Karl Ristikivi (1912–1977), the opposing rural trilogy by Albert Kivikas (1898–1978), the psychological work *Armukadedus* (Jealousy) by Johannes Semper (1892–1970), and the coastal folktale *Õitsev meri* (The Blossoming Sea) by August Mälk (1900–1987).

All aspects of literature flourished in this period, especially poetry. Alongside the old masters from the Noor-Eesti period and the younger generation of Siuru, other poets like the left-wing thinker Johannes Vares (1890–1946; known as Barbarus) and Betty Alver (1906–1989) also emerged. Unfortunately, Vares was used as a puppet for the Soviet occupation authorities and committed suicide in 1946, after seeing the true nature of Soviet communism. Drama also continued to grow in popularity, with the satirical plays of Hugo Raudsepp (1883–1952) playing a major role.

The Soviet occupation and World War II wreaked havoc on the Estonian literary world. Several of the authors mentioned above, Raudsepp, for example, among them, died after being deported to Siberia, and others were prohibited from publishing or placed in some form of internal exile (Tuglas and Alver among others). A great number, however, fled overseas (Suits, Under, Gailit, Mälk, Ristikivi, Visnapuu, and more), many finding a base in Stockholm. They continued to publish overseas, though the focus had now shifted to issues relating to their exile, and their works were not available back in Estonia. The few works that emerged in Estonia in the following years were tainted heavily by dogma and imposed communist sympathies.

Only the death of Stalin and the coming of the thaw period made it possible for Estonian literature to be revived. A new generation of writers and poets took advantage of this opportunity. Poetry saw a major revival with the coming of this new group, including Nobel Literature Prize nominee Jaan Kaplinski (b. 1941), who experimented with exotic oriental concepts, Paul-Eerik Rummo (b. 1942), Hando Runnel (b. 1936), a master at patriotic works in an era of harsh censorship, and Juhan Viiding (1948–1995; also known as Jüri Üdi), the most playful and darkly symbolic of the group. The latter two have become even more popular over the years, as many of their poems have been turned into pop and rock songs. Drama also regained its popularity, with one of the best known being *Nimetu saar* (The Nameless Island) by playwright and poet Artur Alliksaar (1923–1966). Many of the poets faced repression and censorship throughout the Soviet occupation, especially in the stagnant 1970s, when Russification intensified.

However, the most celebrated writer of that time and up to the present day is Jaan Kross (b. 1920), a perennial nominee for the Nobel Prize in Literature. A victim of both Soviet and Nazi captivity, Kross has been a prolific poet, novelist, and short story writer for a half century. He is best known for his historical novels, especially the internationally acclaimed 1978 *Keisri hull* (The Tsar's Madman), about a German baron and his "madness" in pushing the Russian tsar toward reform. Kross is the only Estonian author with several novels and short stories in English translation, and his work has earned him critical praise in many of the world's most prominent literary reviews.

With independence regained, Estonian literature is again experiencing a renaissance. The old masters, such as Kross, continue to produce masterpieces, and the work of the exile community has been discovered and merged into the overall literature pool. At the same time, a new generation of writers is again emerging, including the brilliant young writer Andrus Kivirähk (b. 1970), giving literature an infusion of fresh blood. If the quality of the literature of the previous independence period is any indication, then the future of Estonian literature is indeed bright.

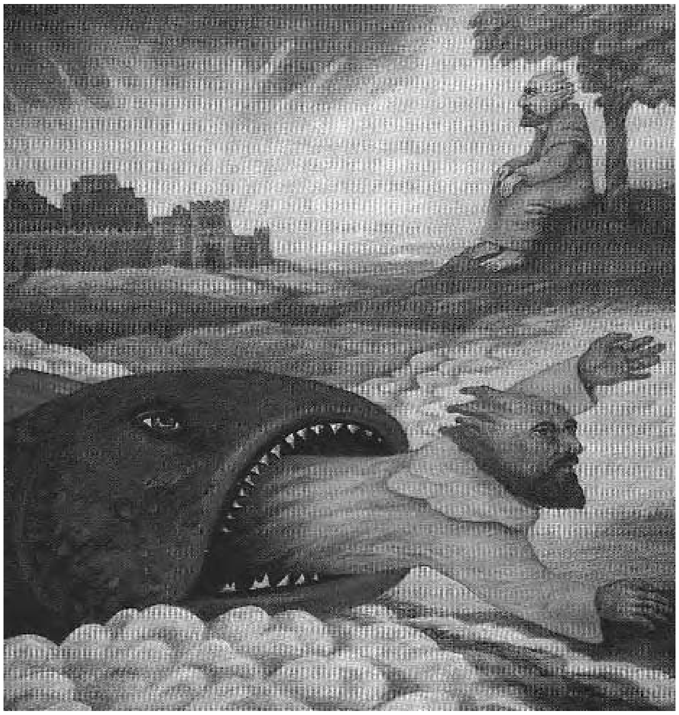
ART

Many forms of culture flourished in Estonia during periods when native Estonians were given no opportunity to take part, art being a prime example. Some of the masters of the European art world left exquisite examples of their work in Estonia, especially the most famous Tallinn churches. For example, the paintings by Bernd Notke (1436–1509) and Hermen Rode (1430–1504) at the Niguliste (St. Nicholas) Church are among the most memorable pieces in the country today. Tallinn-born Michel Sittow (1468–1525) became a well-known Renaissance painter and served in the Danish royal court, with his pieces exhibited in major museums around the world.

Only in the nineteenth century, when Estonians were encouraged to dabble in the arts, did Estonian artists begin to make their mark. One of the most prominent Estonian artists of the century was Johann Köler (1826–1899), best known for his portraits and landscape paintings. Köler worked in the Russian imperial court in St. Petersburg, and also played a significant role in the national awakening movement.

With the growing national movement, Estonian art gained in prominence, and art schools sprung up in Tallinn and Tartu. One of the most revered artists of the period was Kristjan Raud (1865–1943), a master of romantic imagery. Raud is best known for his powerful illustrations in the 1935 printing of the national epic *Kalevipoeg,;* he is honored on the one-kroon note. His twin brother Paul Raud (1865–1930) was also a prominent portrait painter of the period. Eduard Wiiralt (1898–1954) became the best-known Estonian graphic artist, winning acclaim throughout Europe with his illustrations.

Estonian sculpting was founded by August Weizenberg (1837–1921), who created some of the most stunning figures of history and legend. Amandus Adamson (1855–1954), famous for the Russalka memorial in Tallinn, is best known for his patriotic monuments; unfortunately most were destroyed by the Soviet authorities after the occupation.



The painting Joonas *(Jonah) by Jüri Arrak, which depicts the biblical story, has become a symbol of Estonia's escape from Russia. (Juri Arrak/Artists Rights Society, New York/EAU, Tallinn)*

The occupation crippled the art world for a period until a new generation appeared. Among the rich and diverse group of artists in Estonia today, one of the best known and most memorable is Jüri Arrak (b. 1936), who boasts one of the most instantaneously recognizable styles in the world today. Blending myth and fantasy, Arrak has created scores of powerful images, ranging from the thought-provoking to the fear-evoking; he conjures up powerful emotions in his works. His works have been exhibited all around the world to major acclaim. Another of the most well-known and talented artists is Mark Kalev Kostabi (b. 1960), born to Estonian exiles in California and now one of the leading figures of the New York contemporary art scene. His works are exhibited in world-famous galleries such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Guggenheim Museum, and is forever linked to the hard rock world with the cover of the popular "Use Your Illusion" album by rockers Guns n' Roses.

MUSIC

Of all the arts, Estonians have experienced the most international success in music, especially in recent times. The importance of music, especially the song festivals, in the lives of Estonians cannot be overestimated, and the pride the nation takes in its musical achievements is major, ranging from the work of Estonia's many world-famous figures in classical music to the victory of Tanel Padar (b. 1980) and Dave Benton (b. 1951) in the 2001 Eurovision Song Contest—the first person of African descent to have won the

European pop contest in its forty-six-year history. (Given that Estonia has no significant black population, for the Caribbean-born Benton to have won the contest is testimony to the openness of Estonian society.)

At the first national song festival in 1869, there was not much Estonian-originated music. A few of the pieces, however, including settings of the poems of Lydia Koidula, were composed by the festival's conductor, the Estonian Aleksander Saebelmann-Kunileid (1845–1875). But by the turn of the century, many of the foundations of Estonia's musical development, such as the first symphony orchestra in 1900, had been laid.

Many of the early pioneers of Estonian composition were educated in Russia by some of the biggest Russian names in classical music. Rudolf Tobias (1873–1918) was a pivotal figure in Estonian music, composing some of the earliest major Estonian pieces, including the mammoth 1909 oratorio *Des Jonah Sendung* (Jonah's mission), based on the Biblical story of Jonah and the whale. Tobias is honored on the fifty-kroon banknote. His contemporary, another pioneer in developing the oratorio tradition, was Artur Kapp (1878–1952), especially with his 1931 *Hiiob,* based on the Biblical story of Job. Also from the St. Petersburg school was the grand old lady of Estonian music, Miina Härma (1864–1941), best known for organ works and choral pieces, as well as her conducting.

The early twentieth century saw Estonian composers achieving firsts for their nation. Artur Lemba (1885–1963) created some of the earliest and most lasting operatic and symphonic works, while Cyrillus Kreek (1889–1962) focused on folk motifs, an approach that also brought success to future generations of Estonian composers. Eugen Kapp (1908–1996), son of pioneering composer and music professor Artur Kapp, also created some of the best-known ballets and operas of the era, and Gustav Ernesaks (1908–1993) created some of the most memorable patriotic choral pieces, which played a major role in the Singing Revolution decades later. Heino Eller (1887–1970) was a prominent composer and teacher, responsible for producing the next generation of composers that put Estonia on the world's musical map.

The best known of Eller's students is Arvo Pärt (b. 1935), one of the most famous figures in today's classical music scene. His passion for religious choral music, seen in such works as the 1994 *Litany* and the 1982 *St. John's Passion,* has made his pieces some of the most sought-after in the world today.

Another of Eller's students is Eduard Tubin (1905–1982), the best-known traditional symphonist from Estonia. His ten (plus one unfinished) symphonies have been frequently performed in Northern Europe, and his pieces have continued to gain popularity years after his death. Tubin fled Es-

Dancers take part in a traditional folk dance festival. (Courtesy of Rein Linask) tonia at the onset of the Soviet occupation, producing many of his finest works in exile in Stockholm.

Two of Eller's other students who played major roles in perpetuating the teaching tradition are Lepo Sumera (1950–2000), an excellent symphonist who also pioneered the use of electronics in classical music, and Jaan Rääts (b. 1932), whose flexibility and ingenuity has made his material, including his works for piano, popular among musicians. These two figures played a major role in the development of the next generation of Estonian composers.

Another of Estonia's best-known contemporary composers is Veljo Tormis (b. 1930), a pioneer in Estonian choral music, especially in his inclusion of ancient themes and motifs, as well as the folk traditions of various Finno-Ugric peoples. His 1972 *Curse upon Iron* conjures up feelings of the supernatural, while his six-part cycle *Forgotten Peoples,* written over two decades starting in the early 1970s, is based on the motifs of folk melodies from the smallest Finno-Ugric nations, such as the Livonians and Vepsians.

The new generation of composers, such as the rhythmic Raimo Kangro (b. 1949) and the exotic Peeter Vähi (b. 1955), have also made significant breakthroughs in bringing Estonian music to the rest of the world. The most prominent of the new generation, however, is Erkki-Sven Tüür (b. 1959), who is today one of the most sought-after composers all over the world. His flexibility in style and ingenuity in approach made his pieces, especially the experimental *Architectonics* chamber cycle, among the most popular throughout the classical music world. He has also composed various symphonies and in 2001 premiered an opera based on the life of Raoul Wallenberg, the heroic Swedish diplomat who saved the lives of Jews during the Holocaust. Tüür's origin as a symphonic rock musician in the band In Spe gives his music a further experimental, and thus exciting, aspect.

Alongside the many famous Estonian composers in today's musical world, Estonia has also produced many of the most active and recorded conductors. The most famous among this group is Neeme Järvi (b. 1937), who is among the most prolific conductors in major classical recordings today, taking the baton for hundreds of recordings in the past two decades. He has led some of the most famous orchestras in the world, such as the Royal Scottish Orchestra, the Gothenburg Symphony Orchestra, and, since 1990, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. His children have also followed in his footsteps and become international stars in the music world: Paavo (b. 1962) is the music director at the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and one of the most in-demand guest conductors in the world; daughter Maarika (b. 1964) is one of the top flautists in Europe today; and Kristjan (b. 1972) is another in-demand conductor and music director of the adventurous Absolute Ensemble.

Another of Estonia's best-known conductors is Eri Klas (b. 1939), principal conductor and music director of a series of top European orchestras and operas, popular for his energetic and animated style. And continuing the tradition of choral music, Estonia's Tõnu Kaljuste (b. 1953) is among the worldwide leaders in this field, responsible for many of the top choral recordings over the past two decades.

Estonia has also produced successful musicians in other genres, ranging from folk to rock, from pop to jazz. The rock music scene in Estonia was seen as the strongest within the Soviet empire, experimenting with a combination of Western influences and homegrown ideas. The rock band Ruja, formed in 1971, helped to create a truly Estonian rock scene. Rock singers Ivo Linna, with his band Rock Hotel, and Tõnis Mägi, both with unique and powerful voices, have been on the forefront of Estonian popular music for several decades, while blues rock group Ultima Thule have been the best-known live act for many years. Even the experimental and provocative punk band Propeller had an effect on the beginnings of the Singing Revolution during its brief existence. Estonia also pioneered progressive rock in the former Soviet world with the aforementioned Ruja, as well as the groundbreaking symphonic rock of Mess and In Spe, the latter mentioned above as the brainchild of today's classical music genius, Erkki-Sven Tüür.

Estonian pop music has increasingly taken on foreign influences, especially in recent years. Europop and techno, as well as rap and grunge, are all popular styles. Alongside many of the crooners of the older generation, the symbol of modern Estonian pop music is Maarja-Liis Ilus (b. 1980), boasting a voice of power and emotion and bringing her two entries to the Eurovision Song Contest to among the top. Many of Estonia's pop and rock acts are crossing borders to play in nearby countries.

Overall, Estonian music can be considered the nation's best export. For such a small nation, Estonia has produced scores of world-famous musicians, composers, and conductors, and international interest in Estonia has grown exponentially because of its proud musical tradition.

FILM

Cinematography in Estonia has a surprisingly long history and has compiled a rich and diverse collection of works over the past century. Since the first folk documentary made at the end of the nineteenth century by Johannes Pääsuke (1892–1918) and the first short feature film, *Karujaht Pärnumaal* (A Bear Hunt in Pärnu County) in 1916, the genre has developed into a small but strong means of expression for Estonia's cinematographers.

The costs involved in filmmaking, however, kept the genre rather limited during the interwar independence period, with only a limited number surviving from that period. Even back then, foreign films made the most impact on the public; nevertheless, Estonia did contribute actress Miliza Korjus (1909–1980) to the booming Hollywood film industry. Many budding film studios disappeared due to financial problems, and the creation of a national film institution came only in the 1930s authoritarian period. The first major figure of Estonian cinematography was Theodor Luts (1896–1980), though the nature of the Estonian market took Luts to a successful career across the Gulf in Helsinki. Still, he was responsible for major Estonian works such as the 1927 patriotic feature film *Noored kotkad* (Young Eagles).

Ironically, the cinema industry in Estonia took off only during the Soviet period. With the state film studio becoming

Ruja: Estonia's Rock Band

Though rather underexamined, the rock music scene has played a significant role in the social evolution of Estonia, especially during the latter half of the Soviet occupation. With the slow permeation of rock music from the West (such as the Beatles), a small rock scene began to develop in the 1960s. However, the first true Estonian rock band came into being in 1971, in the form of Ruja. For nearly two decades after their founding, Ruja reigned as the most influential rock band in the country, in both musical and social terms.

Started in 1971 with the goal of creating a specifically Estonian rock band, Ruja focused on strong music and strong lyrics in Estonian. Poems written by some of the country's top poets of the past and present were skillfully woven into increasingly complex musical compositions by bandleader and keyboardist Rein Rannap. The band rapidly gained popularity over the 1970s, even as Margus Kappel replaced Rannap, while the band's music evolved and joined the complex world of progressive rock. Some of the material of this era rivaled the work of famous contemporaries in the genre like Yes and Emerson, Lake and Palmer. The unique guitar work of Jaanus Nõgisto and the emotional but powerful vocals of Urmas Alender created the trademark Ruja sound.

The band faced various forms of official repression, ranging from banning their activities to arrest. Periodically, their pieces were banned, and, though recorded, were not released. It was not until 1980 that officials allowed the release of a four-track EP (a short album), now a major collector's item. The Ruja of the 1970s most prominently used the lyrics of controversial poet Juhan Viiding (who also used the pseudonym Jüri Üdi) to express some of the pent-up anger among the nation's youth.

That anger spilled over at the beginning of the 1980s as Russification campaigns, aimed at fostering Russian culture at the expense of Estonian, increased. Ruja transformed its sound, with Rannap back in the band, for a more simplistic style that quickly propelled them back to the top. Taking advantage of the growing public discontent, Ruja used various styles of music, including pop, rock, folk, and reggae, among others, to bring the words of beat poet Ott Arder to the yearning public. Tens of thousands of Estonians went to Ruja concerts as they performed their anthem, "Eile nägin ma Eestimaad!" ("Yesterday I saw Estonia!"), a sharply written song with heavy critical overtones directed against the Soviet system. Many of the seeds of the Singing Revolution of the latter half of the 1980s were planted during this short period, with Ruja becoming the focal point of youth discontent and collective emotional expression.

The frequent member changes led to further problems within the band in the mid-1980s. Though new keyboardist Igor Garšnek brought a new and complex flavor to the music, to the delight of its legion of fans, the band began to fall apart from within. Tension was exacerbated by a KGB-trained provocateur who served as the band's manager, and the band loss much of its Estonian appeal by trying to crack the Russian market, even singing in Russian. Ironically the founding principle of the band, its opposition to the Soviet system, led to its collapse in 1988. Though Ruja played a major role in sowing the seeds of the Singing Revolution, it had self-destructed by the time of the protests. Some of the band's members fled overseas to escape increased repression during the last years of Soviet rule.

A decade after the band's collapse, Ruja again made history by releasing the first boxed set in Estonian music history, a five-CD compendium of their entire career. This is the lasting legacy of the band, as reunion would be impossible. Urmas Alender, the voice and soul of the band for its entire history, was among the 851 killed in the tragic sinking of the ferry *Estonia* in September 1994. However, Ruja lives on in the hearts of hundreds of thousands of Estonians, young and old, who remember the impact this ambitious rock band had on their lives and their country.

known as Tallinnfilm, the studio produced many memorable local classics, as well as developing the overall quality and professionalism of the industry. Some of the features in the 1960s and 1970s adapted well-known pieces of literature, though many are original and even quietly challenging to the ideas of Soviet domination. Some of the best known from this period are the 1969 *Viimane reliikvia* (The Last Relic) and 1983 cult favorite *Hukkunud alpinisti hotell* (Hotel of the Perished Alpinist), directed by Grigori Kromanov (1926–1984), as well as adaptations of literary pieces by Kaljo Kiisk (b. 1925).

However, the field of documentary filmmaking was the area in which Estonian artists found the most success during the Soviet period. Mark Soosaar (b. 1946) became the most celebrated among the documentary filmmakers, with an intense and fascinating focus on individuals. His 1973 *Kihnu naine* (The Woman from Kihnu) won the top award in Italy, while his 1997 *Isa, poeg ja püha toorum* (Father, Son, and Holy Torum) took honors in Paris and San Francisco. Another well-loved documentary maker is Lennart Meri (b. 1929), the first president of Estonia after the restoration of independence (1992–2001), who made fascinating films about the cultures of small ethnic groups. His *Linnutee tuuled* (Winds of the Milky Way) was critically acclaimed around the world, even winning an award in New York.

Perhaps the best-known area of Estonian cinematography is animation, in which Estonians have won various international awards and critical acclaim. The person who personifies this success is Priit Pärn (b. 1946), responsible for many of the country's top animation films since the 1970s. His first film, the 1977 *Kas maakera on ümmargune?* (Is the Earth Round?) brought him into the genre; he also worked as a graphic artist and caricaturist. His subsequent films earned international praise, including the 1984 *Aeg maha* (Time Out), which earned top awards at film and animation festivals in Bulgaria, Portugal, and Spain. His 1987 *Eine murul* (Luncheon on the Grass) drew even greater acclaim, winning top recognition in various film festivals in Australia, Portugal, and elsewhere. His 1995 film *1895* won still more acclaim in far-flung festivals in Korea and Canada. But his masterpiece must be the 1998 *Porgandite öö* (Night of the Carrots), which won animation awards in Canada and the United States and is recognized as one of the top animation films of the decade.

The Estonian film industry faced difficult financial times with the restoration of independence, but the innovations, such as the interesting 1993 black-and-white-turned-color *Tallinn pimeduses* (Darkness in Tallinn), have continued. The Black Nights film festival, held since 1997, has also helped budding filmmakers expose their material to the international film world. Hollywood films dominate the market today, and those in the local cinematography industry are learning to find a niche for their material.

SPORTS

The achievements of Estonian athletes through the years have been tremendous for such a small country. Though its climate would obviously favor winter sports, success has been achieved in all areas, ranging from cross-country skiing to track and field, from cycling to wrestling.

One excellent indication of Estonian sporting success can be seen by its number of medals in the Olympic games through the years: twenty-eight (including nine gold medals). This count is only indicative of Estonia's success as an independent competitor; it does not include the numerous medals won during both the late tsarist era and the half-century of Soviet occupation.

Early Estonian success came in strength-related events, such as wrestling and weightlifting. The first ever medal by an Estonian came at the 1912 Stockholm summer games, as Greco-Roman wrestler Martin Klein (1886–1947) won a silver medal after a nearly twelve-hour match against his Finnish semifinal competitor left him too exhausted for the final. It was in the 1920 Antwerp summer games that Estonians competed under their own flag for the first time, with resounding success, bringing home three medals. Alfred Neuland (1895–1966) brought back Estonia's first gold medal, in weightlifting, while silvers were won in the marathon and in weightlifting.

Olympic success continued at the 1924 Paris summer games, bringing back six medals. Eduard Pütsep (1898–1960) brought home a gold for Greco-Roman wrestling, while Neuland this time brought home a silver for weightlifting. Four bronze medals—two for weightlifting, one for wrestling, and one for decathlon—were also won. The Estonian soccer team also took part, losing to the United States 0–1. The 1928 Amsterdam summer games also brought success with five medals. Freestyle wrestler and later two-time U.S. champion Osvald Käpp (1905–1995) and Greco-Roman wrestler Voldemar Väli (1903–1997) brought home golds, alongside one silver for weightlifting, and bronzes won for Greco-Roman wrestling and sailing. The worldwide economic depression made Estonian participation in the 1932 Los Angeles games limited, and no medals were won there.

However, it was at the controversial 1936 Munich summer games that Estonia found its most successful games, winning five medals, including two golds by master wrestler Kristjan Palusalu (1908–1987). Palusalu thus became the first and only wrestler in Olympic history to win the heavyweight wrestling events in both Greco-Roman and freestyle, going down in the record books. (He also managed to escape Soviet captivity twice, escaping from Russia back to Estonia.) Silvers were won in freestyle wrestling and boxing, while bronzes were won in wrestling and weightlifting.

During the half-century Soviet occupation, Estonian athletes competed with the Soviet team and won various medals. The sailing events of the controversial 1980 Moscow summer games, boycotted by the West, were held at the Pirita suburb of Tallinn. It was only in the 1992 Barcelona summer games that Estonian athletes were allowed to compete under their own flag, bringing home one gold in cycling and a bronze in sailing. The gold medal winner, cyclist Erika Salumäe (b. 1962), had been the dominant track cyclist in the world in the 1980s, winning several world championships and the gold (as part of the Soviet team) in the 1988 Seoul summer games. Estonia had its worst showing ever at the 1996 Atlanta summer games, with no medals at all. The 2000 Sydney summer games brought home three medals, including two bronze medals in the unlikely event of judo. Decathlete Erki Nool (b. 1970) won a gold medal and took his place among the best athletes of the world.

Ironically Estonia found much less success in the winter games, winning no medals during the interwar period. There were some wins during the Soviet occupation, and then Estonia won its first three winter medals at the 2002 Salt Lake City winter games. One of the top cross-country skiers in the world, Andrus Veerpalu (b. 1971), brought home a gold and a silver, while his countryman Jaak Mae (b. 1972) brought home a bronze, also in cross-country skiing.

Outside of the Olympics, some Estonian athletes are world-famous in their sports. Cross-country skier Kristina Šmigun (b. 1977) is among the top competitors, winning various events in the international circuit. Jane Salumäe (b.

Estonia's Erki Nool carries his nation's flag after winning the gold medal in the men's decathlon at the Sydney Olympic Games, 28 September 2000. (Reuters/Corbis)

1968) has won various marathons around the world, including the 2000 Los Angeles Marathon. Budding tennis star Kaia Kanepi (b. 1985) is one of the highest-ranking junior players, winning the junior French Open in 2001. Basketball player Martin Müürsepp (b. 1974) was surprisingly picked in the first round of the 1996 NBA draft by Utah, while World Rally driver Markko Märtin (b. 1975) is one of the sport's rising stars. Cyclist Jaan Kirsipuu (b. 1969) has won several stages of the Tour de France in recent years. Estonia's soccer players have also found success in some of the top leagues around the world; of these, the most prominent is goalkeeper Mart Poom (b. 1972), who played with Derby County of the English Premiere League and is often called the best technical goalkeeper in England.

One of the most celebrated of all sporting figures in Estonia is chess master Paul Keres (1916–1975). Keres became one of the top players in the world for a remarkably long time, from the 1930s up to his death in 1975. Though he never achieved the title of world champion, partially because of the disruption caused by World War II, Keres remained one of the most feared challengers for the title for nearly four decades. He was recognized through his play and the books he wrote as one of the top chess strategists in the world, and he is honored by a tournament named for him in Vancouver and by his portrait on the Estonian five-kroon note—probably the only chess master on any banknote in the world.

Sports remain one of the most important aspects of the lives of Estonians, as its athletes join the most competitive circuits around the world. With regained freedom, the ability for Estonian athletes to compete with the best around the world, under their own flag, keeps the flame of athletic excellence alive in the country.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The world of science and technology has played an important role in developments in Estonia, as the small northern European nation has sought to carve itself a niche. Ever since the creation of Tartu University in 1632, Estonia has contributed to the understanding of our natural world in various areas.

Due to the social situation in Estonia over the centuries, many of the most renowned figures to emerge from Tartu University were of Baltic German extraction, mostly from the nobility. Higher education opportunities were for the most part unavailable to Estonians until the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Estonians today still take pride in the many German scientists who called Estonia home over the years. Tartu University and its research institutions have been outstanding centers of research for centuries. For example, the founding of the Tõravere Observatory in 1824 saw the installation of the largest telescope in the world, and the Tartu University Clinics, founded in 1802, became a regional center for medical innovations.

One of the most famous scientific figures in Estonian history is Karl Ernst von Baer (1792–1876), who pioneered the science of modern embryology. Born into a noble family in Järva region, Baer became one of the most renowned researchers in the biological sciences in the German academic world. Many of his greatest accomplishments came at the University of Königsberg, during his appointment as professor of both zoology (1821) and of anatomy (1826). Baer also founded the zoological museum in the Prussian imperial city. However, Baer is best known for his 1826 discovery of the mammal ovum (which of course includes the human ovum), a discovery that, along with his subsequent research and publications, created the foundations of modern embryology. Baer is remembered fondly in Estonian scientific history, and his portrait graces the two-kroon note.

Another of Estonia's most renowned scientific figures is the surgeon Werner Zoege von Manteuffel (1857–1926), who brought hygiene into surgery by pioneering the use of rubber gloves. Earlier surgeons generally used bare hands to perform operations. This change in practice by the Estonian-born German noble, working at the prestigious Tartu University Clinics, helped to modernize surgical medicine. Another famous medical name from Estonia was Alexander Schmidt (1831–1894), who formulated theories on blood coagulation and transfusion, becoming one of the pioneers of hematology.

Tartu University was a center of excellence in chemistry during the nineteenth century. One of its most prominent students was the Riga-born Wilhelm Ostwald (1853–1932), winner of the 1909 Nobel Prize in Chemistry. Ostwald played a major part in the development of both physical chemistry and electrochemistry, and formulated a well-known law on diffusion. Physicist Moritz Hermann Jacobi (1801–1874) discovered electroforming and the subfield of galvanoplastics with his experiments, and Ivan Kondakov (1857–1931) made one of the first major advancements in 1901 in polymerization, a step toward the invention of synthetic rubber.

The strength of the astronomy program at Tartu, with the installment of the largest telescope in the world at the time, brought many high-quality researchers. The director of the Tõravere Observatory, Friedrich Georg Wilhelm Struve (1793–1864), made a pioneering study of the stars by measuring the distance to the star Vega. Struve also made significant advances in the study of double stars and contributed greatly to their cataloguing. The binary pair Struve 2398 was named after the pioneering astronomer.

With the gradual availability of higher education opportunities for Estonians starting in the nineteenth century, Estonians themselves soon became world renowned in various scientific disciplines. Independence finally turned Tartu University into an Estonian institution, but its high quality and rigorous standards of scientific research continued.

One of the best-known Estonian scientists is the astronomer Ernst Julius Öpik (1893–1985), who pioneered many different areas within his discipline. Researching at Tartu's famous Tõravere Observatory, Öpik furthered the research of his predecessor Struve by discovering a methodology to accurately estimate nebulae distance, a method that was proven accurate later by Edwin Hubble. Both Struve and Öpik helped the astronomy world rethink the size of the universe by their breakthroughs. Öpik, during his long career, also discovered White Dwarves in 1915, as well as making a series of surprisingly accurate measurements of distances and densities of heavenly bodies. Tragically, like many other top Estonian scientists, when the Soviet occupation came, Öpik fled Estonia for the West. Nevertheless, Öpik continued his research at the Armagh Observatory in Northern Ireland for the remainder of his life. A minor planet is named after him. Members of his family also contributed both to the sciences and to their adopted country, with his nephew Lembit becoming a member of the British Parliament in the 1990s. Another pioneer in astrophysics from Tartu University was Jaan Einasto (b. 1929), who continued the work of his predecessors in studying the evolution of the universe. His research on gravitational pull in turn developed one of the first sets of evidence for the existence of dark matter, which remains one of the most intriguing areas of research today. Einasto remains at the forefront of astrophysics research in areas such as red shifts and galaxy clusters.

Continuing with the strong traditions of chemistry advances, the independence era also featured many breakthroughs in the field. One prominent chemist was Paul Kogerman (1891–1951), who pioneered the chemical study of oil shale, a vital resource in Estonia, and served as the last education minister of the country before occupation (for which he was deported to a prison camp).

The German chemist Wilhelm Ostwald (1853–1932). He was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1909 for his work on chemical equilibrium. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Again following tradition, Tartu became a center of innovation in the medical field from its famous clinics. One of the most prominent figures was Ludvig Puusepp (1875–1942), who made some early major breakthroughs in the delicate field of neurosurgery. Tartu-trained surgeons have gone on and made significant advances in the treatment of various diseases, including Parkinson's Disease.

The field of linguistics also saw many specialists working in Tartu. Many of the aforementioned literary and linguistic figures worked at Tartu to further standardize the language. One of the most important steps in the development of Estonian was the compilation of the massive 1200-page Estonian-English dictionary by Paul Saagpakk (1910–1996), exiled from Estonia during World War II and working in a series of American universities. That dictionary is an invaluable resource for translators today. And Russian-born Yuri Lotman (1922–1993) was among many Jewish academics who fled the anti-Semitism throughout the Soviet Union to Tartu, where many gathered during the Soviet period as refugees. Lotman founded the study of cultural structural semiotics, playing a major part in the advancement of Russian language studies.

The most exciting development of recent years is the founding of the Estonian Genome Foundation, which in 2001 began the process of cataloguing the genome of the Estonian population. This massive database would be the most thorough and largest database for one single population, which would be of invaluable help to genetic researchers in further developing advances in genetic engineering.

The University of Tartu has been a continually active center of research excellence over the centuries, and is continuing its high quality work in the twenty-first century.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The economic development of Estonia, especially in the past century, has been nothing less than a roller-coaster ride, a direct consequence of the chaotic and harsh history the country has faced. Some of the worst aspects of Soviet-imposed centrally planned socialism devastated the economy that had developed during the more prosperous interwar years, leaving the economy in ruins after decades of occupation.

During the period in which Estonia regained its independence, the country moved to abandon the failed planned economic system and crafted an alternative system more closely akin to that of its Nordic neighbors. Sticking by an ambitiously liberal economic plan, this small northern European country turned things around, becoming one of the most dynamic economies in Europe in less than a decade after being freed from its Soviet shackles. The memories of the past, of a dreadful and dull economic development, continues to fuel the dynamism of the modern liberal economy created by Estonian policymakers, an economic model that has even attracted the praise and attention of the most laissez-faire figures around the world.

Few would have imagined in 1991 that in just a decade, the country would boast one of the freest economies in the world, according to the U.S.-based think tank the Heritage Foundation. Estonia is recognized as being among the most successful reformers of the former communist bloc, and it has earned the nickname of the "Baltic tiger" for its rapid economic growth.

ESTONIA AS A TRADING POST

The Hanseatic League was among the most important medieval organizations, controlling the prosperous trading routes in the Baltic Sea. The league linked dozens of cities on the Baltic coast and beyond, ranging from its primary cities of Hamburg and Lübeck to famous trading towns like Gdańsk (Danzig), Riga, Bruges, Bergen, Stockholm, and even London. Estonian towns also played a major role in this early pan-European trading bloc, becoming a vital part of the league in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Four of Estonia's biggest towns—Tallinn, Tartu, Pärnu, and Viljandi—became part of the Hanseatic League. Tallinn was a bridgehead for trade linking Novgorod to other towns like Lübeck and London, while Tartu played a significant role in trade with Pskov. The Estonian Hanseatic towns became prosperous from trade during the medieval period, as did Narva, which remained formally outside of the league due to trade disputes with other Hanseatic towns. Estonian grain, as well as fish, furs, and stone, found a large market in Flanders and Russia. Estonian towns acted as a conduit for trade between the Russian principalities and towns and Western Hanseatic cities, with salt imports to Russia serving as a major part of Tallinn's trade activities.

Many guilds developed during this period, gathering merchants, tradesmen, craftsmen, and others into organized institutions to promote and perpetuate their specialty. By the late medieval period, nearly two dozen guilds operated in Tallinn, though only a very few allowed native Estonians to take part.

But as the Hanseatic League lost its influence starting in the sixteenth century, Estonian cities also faced major economic problems. The opening of other trading routes in and out of Russia devastated some of the cities, especially inland towns such as Tartu and Viljandi. Under Swedish rule, however, the cities of Tallinn and Narva continued to prosper; salt destined for Russia continued to be stored in Tallinn, while Estonia's grain export trade to Sweden thrived. Luxury items such as spices, metals, tobacco, alcohol, and fruits also played a larger role in trade.

During the Swedish period, larger enterprises also came into being, such as brickyards and lime kilns, as well as sawmills; the Hüti glass factory opened in the seventeenth century as a new type of enterprise. However, the Great Northern War of the early eighteenth century devastated the economy, as people were killed, fields burned, and factories destroyed. By the time Estonia formally passed into the hands of the Russian Empire, there was little left of the old economy.

Under the Russian Empire, trade routes were reestablished. Grain remained the main export item, though the felling of the vast forests increased with the growing importance of timber and paper. The Räpina paper mill was founded in 1734, the oldest continually operating industry in Estonia. Other manufacturing also increased throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though frequently disturbed by war and other strife.

Though the peasants were "freed" early in the nineteenth century, peasants remained tied to the land; however, the focus slowly moved from grain to more productive crops, such as potatoes, and cash crops, such as flax. Another important trend was the gradual entry of native Estonians into the economic picture, especially with the growth of smallholder farmers.

Textiles also grew in importance in the latter half of the nineteenth century, most strikingly with the opening of the Krenholm plant in Narva in 1858. Since then, Narva has been the industrial center of Estonia. Railways also developed in this period, with the Paldiski–Tallinn–Narva–St. Petersburg line opening in 1870. Machine and metal plants were also founded, as well as factories producing armaments, ships, cement, and other goods. Distilleries opened as a side operation of manors. Estonia's paper mills produced some 70 percent of all paper in the Russian Empire by the

The Port of Tallinn has become one of the busiest commercial and tourism ports in Europe. (David Rubinger/Corbis)

start of the twentieth century. Estonia became a major industrial center within the Russian Empire, with over 50,000 employed in industry at the time of World War I.

During this late tsarist period, cooperatives sprung up, especially among native Estonians, to help prop up the economic state of the native population. The movement began with sales of dairy goods, developing later to joint procurement of farm machinery. The Estonian Loan and Savings Cooperative was also opened in 1902, the first national bank. However, all economic development came to a halt with the outbreak of World War I.

AN INDEPENDENT ESTONIAN ECONOMY

The end of World War I and the Estonian War of Independence gave Estonians for the first time in centuries control over their economic development. With an economy in tatters after the war, as Russia removed many industrial enterprises to Russia proper during the war, Estonia continued to rely on Russia for trade (partially aided by the trade benefit aspects of the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty). A new monetary system had to be crafted, as several foreign currencies circulated during the transitional period. The Estonian mark was introduced in 1919, but it never gained the stability needed for the economy really to develop. The economic situation was exacerbated by war debts (to the United States, Britain, France, and Finland) equaling some 5 billion marks, which overwhelmed the 15 million gold rubles given as reparations by Soviet Russia.

The early period of independence saw economic problems increase. A land reform law ended the manor economy, as estates were divided to form smallholder farms; over 50,000 new smallholding farms were created from this ambitious but controversial program; however, many proved to be unsustainable. The Bank of Estonia, a new national central bank, was created to help develop the economy through loans; unfortunately, many of the loans went into default, and most of the Russian reparation had disappeared by the start of 1924. The economic strains were exacerbated by Russia's closing of its market to Estonia at the end of 1922.

The government began an austerity program in 1924 to bring the country back to economic health, by cutting state spending, restricting imports, and creating more stringent requirements for loans. A land bank *(Maapank)* was founded to help develop the agriculture sector, which remained the most important aspect of the economy. Within a few years, agricultural output began to recover, returning to the prewar situation. Industrial reform also occurred, with the growth of the chemical, timber, and cellulose industries. Even the much-maligned mark was replaced in 1928 by a stable new currency, the kroon, which was pegged to its Swedish namesake.

The global economic depression however hit Estonia hard, as trade levels crashed in 1929. Both agriculture and industry suffered with the loss of export possibilities, and unemployment increased. Belatedly, the kroon was devalued by 35 percent in 1933; although the move was highly unpopular at the time, it did pave the way for gradual economic recovery. During the authoritarian period under Konstantin Päts, economic recovery continued, thanks in large part to the active participation of the state. Various councils and institutes were created, as the state increased its stake in the economy. As trade resumed to a healthy level, Germany and Britain remained the country's main trade partners; however, the increasingly tense politics of Europe at the time played havoc with trade patterns, as Berlin often used trade as a carrot to influence Estonia's policy. By the late 1930s, nevertheless, Estonia's economy was healthy and growing, with living standards high compared to other Central and Eastern European countries. Then World War II and the loss of independence devastated the economy.

THE IMPOSED COMMUNIST SYSTEM

The wartime occupations of Estonia destroyed much of the economy developed over the two decades of independence. The occupation of Estonia by Soviet forces in the summer of 1940 decimated the local economy, as Moscow began nationalizing private industries and collectivizing smallholding farms. Most of the larger businesses, as well as half of the country's housing, were nationalized. An artificially low exchange rate for the kroon to the ruble devastated savings. The major deportation of 14 June 1941 of over ten thousand Estonians added to the economic collapse. The three-year German occupation did not relieve the situation, as Estonia remained in the battle zone. The Nazis tried to coopt surviving industries for their war use, and transferred many of the nationalized companies to new German ownership.

The Soviet Red Army retook Estonia in 1944, occupying the country for nearly another half century. The nationalization policy was reimposed, as well as the collectivization of farms. Over 900,000 hectares were expropriated in the few years following reoccupation, and many of the expropriated lands were given to new settlers from Russia and elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Rapid collectivization began in 1946, along with a crackdown against the kulaks (as farmers seen as better off than the rest were called) in 1947. The repression of the kulaks started as oppressive taxation, eventually leading to mass deportations. Those who resisted collectivization were given one-way tickets to mass graves or Siberia, with the result that more than 95 percent of all farms were collectivized by 1951.

By 1947, the private sector had totally vanished. Rapid industrialization also occurred soon after reoccupation, especially the development of the oil shale industry. Though the beginnings of this development had taken place during the independence period, Soviet planners expanded oil shale mining and processing in the late 1940s, taking over the industry in the northeast of the country. The village of Sillamäe was converted into a closed industrial city for the Soviet military-industrial complex, with all of its workers imported from the USSR. Estonia was progressively being integrated into the planned Soviet economy.

As time went on, the situation began to stabilize, especially with the death of Stalin and the thaw period, as surviving deportees began to return to Estonia. Agriculture recovered, alongside a rapidly growing industrial sector, including the construction of large oil shale–burning power plants to power Estonia and parts of northwest Russia. In the 1970s, however, the economy of the USSR experienced stagnation, exacerbated by the growth of a shadow economy.

With the arrival of social activism in the 1980s, calls for growing economic independence from Moscow also arrived on the agenda. In 1987, with Gorbachev calling for economic innovations and reform, a plan was developed in Estonia for a major rethinking of the local economy. The "miracle" plan published by Siim Kallas, Edgar Savisaar, Mikk Titma, and Tiit Made on 26 September 1987 called for an economic separation from the rest of the USSR by asserting local administration and control, creating a market trade system with the USSR, and introducing a local currency. As public demands for sovereignty grew, more ambitious plans for economic reform were adopted. Moscow relented partially, and Estonia gained approval for building a domestic economy independent from Moscow.

During the brief period (1990–1991) leading to the restoration of independence, much economic reform occurred. The Bank of Estonia was revived as the country's central bank, as Tallinn asserted control over monetary policy. The Estonian government put forward a budget separate from the all-Union budget. Finally, prices were gradually liberalized, and a private sector started to develop. Within this short period of time, alongside the rapidly changing political situation, Estonia broke down the centralized planned economic system and reasserted control over its own economy.

RESTORING ESTONIA'S FATE INTO ITS OWN HANDS

With the restoration of independence in August 1991, Estonia finally completely reclaimed its own economy. The world of 1991 was very different from the world of 1918, with European integration and globalization making economic development more dynamic, but at the same time more difficult. With the election of a young, center-right government in 1992, the country embarked on the liberal and far-reaching reforms, which have helped create the economic success enjoyed today.

The foundation of the economic revival was laid in the summer of 1992 when the Bank of Estonia, led by miracle plan drafter Siim Kallas, reintroduced the kroon as the sole legal tender in Estonia. At the time, international financial organizations such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) warned Estonia not to take such a drastic step. The return of Estonia's gold supply, which had been kept in safety overseas by adherents of the internationally supported policy of nonrecognition of Estonia's annexation by the USSR, gave the country the tools it needed to take such a step. The gold helped the central bank acquire a significant sum in foreign currency reserves, ensuring that the kroon would be more than fully backed. The currency at its introduction was pegged to the German mark at a ratio of 1 mark to 8 kroon, a pegging that has never changed. (When the euro replaced the mark, the peg was kept identical at 1 euro to 15.65 kroon.) This stable currency became the foundation of the ambitious economic policy of the government of then 32-year-old prime minister Mart Laar, who came into power a few months following the successful launch of the kroon.

Alongside a strict monetary policy, the second foundation of Estonia's successful economic restructuring was a strict fiscal policy. A law was passed requiring Estonia's annual national budget to be balanced. This legal stipulation gave the government much less room to maneuver with spending, especially with borrowing. Estonia has taken very few foreign loans over the years; governments have maintained fiscal discipline, largely because they recognize the problems a dept burden would place on maintaining the legally-mandated balanced budget. This restraint has kept Estonia from falling into the vicious debt circle faced by many other emerging markets, keeping the country's international ratings among the strongest in Central and Eastern Europe.

The government of Mart Laar pursued a set of reforms so drastic they have been described as shock therapy; along with their strict fiscal and monetary policies, they established probusiness and proinvestment policies. A flat 26 percent income tax was established, a model that has actually earned the praise of tax reform campaigners in the United States. In the late 1990s a specific corporate income tax was also abolished, to promote reinvestment by companies. A regime allowing for full repatriation of profits encouraged foreign investors to pump money into the Estonian economy. This step was essential, given the negative trade balance that developed, as Estonia continually imported modern equipment and machinery to modernize its economy. The large tourism sector, with over 3 million foreign tourists (mostly from Finland) annually, also helps with the balance of payments.

Despite the trade imbalance on the side of imports, the government, acting on the principle of free trade, did not impose import duties. Instead, free trade agreements were pursued with a wide array of countries; by the end of the 1990s Estonia boasted free trade deals with most of Europe. Though the trade imbalance remained through the decade, the trade volume increased by a significant amount. Over a short time Estonia also managed to redirect its foreign trade away from Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to the EU, especially after Sweden and Finland joined the latter in the mid-1990s. Already in 1995 nearly 57 percent of exports went to the EU, compared to just over 22 percent to the CIS; by 2000 more than three-quarters of Estonia's exports went to the EU, compared to less than 4 percent to the CIS. These new trade patterns would seem to suggest that Estonia has returned to its position as an important trading post, the position it enjoyed during the days of the Hanseatic League.

EESTI PANK
10
KROONI
BK751888
EESTI PANK
KÜMME
10
KROONI
4333336
1928

Bank notes from two eras of independence: 10 kroon notes from the Interwar period and from today. (Mel Huang)

The most telling sign of Estonia's economic development is its growth. Since the mid-1990s, when Estonia managed to stop the post-Soviet economic slide, the country has boasted some of the most impressive growth numbers in the region (such as a 10.4 percent GDP growth in 1997). Though inflation was a major problem in the early 1990s and at times since, due to an overheated economy, the consumer price index rise in the end of the 1990s stayed under 5 percent annually.

Another major aspect of Estonia's economic policy since the restoration of independence is the ambitious privatization program. With the help of the German privatization agency Treuhand, the Estonians established a similar office. The privatization of larger entities included the setting of operational conditions for the private purchasers, ranging from investment guarantees to employment level requirements. This approach prevented the development of local robber barons of the kind that emerged during privatization in Russia. At the same time, it encouraged the engagement of foreign (mostly Nordic) companies, which not only made much-needed investments but imported wholesale their proven management and accounting systems. By 2001, a decade after the restoration of independence, most of Estonia's industries were in private hands; Estonia was one of the largest recipients of foreign direct investment. For example, Estonia received a massive $570 million in foreign direct investment in 1998, and has pulled in a total of $2.3 billion since the restoration of independence according to the Estonian Institute. On the other side of the account, Estonia's growing investment in other countries, namely Latvia, provide another sign of economic development and maturity.

Over the years following the restoration of independence, many new industries have risen to make their contributions to the new economy. Estonia has become a major transit point for Russian oil, making the rail transshipment and port sectors among the most lucrative. Estonia has also developed a strong homegrown banking sector, with Hansapank (the idea of a group of friends during the late Soviet days) becoming one of the most successful banks in the region. Since the late 1990s, Nordic banking giants have purchased all of Estonia's major banks, integrating Estonia into the Nordic banking sector. Even the Tallinn Stock Exchange in 2002 became a part of the Helsinki Stock Exchange, the first among Central and Eastern European bourses to merge into a larger international partner. Informational technology (IT) also grew as an industry, with computer manufacturer Microlink becoming one of the best-known brands in the region. Telecommunications also merged into the Nordic market, as many new innovations, such as payment for public parking by mobile phone, were first tested in Estonia. With the large influx of tourists, especially many one-day tourists from Finland, the service sector has become one of the major employers and revenue generators for the country (alongside its role in helping the balance of payments).

Over the same period, heavy industry, most of which is based outside of Tallinn and in the northeast of the country, has continued to decline. The decrepit heavy factories could not compete in the globalized economy at market prices, and have either transformed themselves to more targeted items (such as car safety belts) or have been mothballed. Even the mining of indigenous oil shale, the fuel for the country's power plants, has declined with the dwindling chemical industry. The agriculture sector also has taken a major downturn, even with the prospects of EU support funding on the horizon.

Estonia's industrial policy is clearly linked to marketing itself as part of the new economy, with its focus on IT, high-tech, telecommunications, banking, tourism, services, and entertainment, and distancing itself from the old economy of heavy industry, mining, manufacturing, and farming. Though the continual globalization process leaves the small Estonia in precarious shape if the world economy falls into recession, its advantageous position for trade ties with Russia—as in the Hanseatic days—allows Estonia some flexibility.

Estonia also actively pursued EU membership from the mid-1990s, and was named as a front-runner in 1997. Most of Estonia's trade involves EU members, and a large part of Estonia's investments come from the EU's Nordic members. With the kroon pegged to the euro, Estonia was already a de facto member of the European Monetary Union. The gradual task of adhering to the EU's body of regulations and rules, the *acquis communautaire,* will continue even after the accession to the EU, but membership will give Estonia a voice in the transformation of European economic structures. This goal was achieved in May 2004, when Estonia and nine other countries officially joined the EU.

Overall, the economic development of Estonia since 1991 has been remarkable. Estonia managed to shake off the remnants of foreign-imposed central planning and engage itself as a vigorous member of a globalizing capitalist market. The impressive aspect is that Estonia is joining the global economy on its own merits, on its own terms. The policy of the first Laar government, which carried through other successive cabinets, became the mantra for Estonia: "trade, not aid." It is little wonder that Estonia has been nicknamed "the little country that could."

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

As Estonia celebrated the tenth anniversary of its restoration of independence in the year 2001, the challenges of the new millennium have replaced many of the initial problems that the country faced with the regaining of freedom. With the reform period essentially over, the new challenges facing Estonia mirror those facing many European and other modern societies; nevertheless, the legacy of the Soviet occupation remains and continues to force Estonians to tackle the lingering problems inherited from history.

For many years after the restoration of independence, the main priorities for the Estonian state had to do with joining the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The rapid changes necessary to conform to both organizations forced Estonia to quickly adopt drastic changes in many aspects of society, ranging from military restructuring to trade liberalization. The all-encompassing nature of EU integration required all areas of Estonian society to work toward that goal; diverse issues ranging from motor vehicle regulations to customs requirements all come under the influence of EU harmonization.

Despite joining both the EU and NATO, some of Estonia's foreign policy challenges remain. Relations with Russia, the former colonial ruler, remain lukewarm at best. Though economic links are strong—primarily due to Estonia's role in the transshipment of Russian goods, especially hydrocarbons, to European markets—Russia continues to impose a double tariff on Estonian goods. Russia has also failed to continue fruitful negotiations on concluding a border agreement, despite the fact that the de facto border with Russia is now the EU-Russian border.

Most of Estonia's significant challenges in the new millennium, however, are domestic in nature.

INTEGRATING A POSTCOLONIAL POPULATION

The issue that plagued Estonia even before the restoration of independence was the integration of its minority populations. Due to World War II and Soviet policy, the population balance of the country shifted drastically following the loss of independence in 1940; in 1934 Estonians represented over 88 percent of the population, whereas in 1979 they constituted only about 64 percent. During the Soviet occupation, workers from various parts of the former USSR were brought into Estonia to work in the new heavy industries based in the northeastern part of the country. Given policies aimed at preventing displaced Estonians from returning to cities in the northeast like Narva, the ethnic makeup in the northeast became nearly 100 percent non-Estonian. The Soviets converted Sillamäe into a closed city for nuclear research and prevented ethnic Estonians from returning there after World War II.

During the Soviet period, a majority of these migrants did not integrate with the indigenous population. There was little need, as official Soviet policy promoted Russification (the promotion of Russian culture and language), and even an attempt to integrate by a non-Estonian would have been perceived negatively by Soviet officials. Thus, most of the non-Estonian migrants spoke no Estonian. During the period leading up to the restoration of independence, the issue of citizenship was of major concern to most of the occupation-era migrants; the restoration of Estonian citizenship fell only to those (or their descendants) who were citizens before the initial Soviet occupation in 1940. Most migrants faced naturalization, which at first was difficult due to linguistic problems.

Following the restoration of independence, many ethnic Estonians chided the Russian-speaking communities for not learning Estonian during the decades they lived in Estonia. (Although many call members of this minority population Russians, they are, in fact, multiethnic, drawn from all over the former USSR, though they are Russian-speaking.) Yet during that time for the Russian-speaking population there was neither the will—as Russian was the functional language of the republic—nor the way—learning Estonian was discouraged. Nevertheless, naturalization for most of the Russian-speaking population required a rudimentary knowledge of Estonian.

At one point in the early days of restored independence, ethnic tension brought on by the citizenship and language issues (Estonian having been restored as the sole official language) caused some activists in the predominately Russian-speaking northeast to seek autonomy; this attempt was quickly outlawed. For the most part, those favoring breaking away tended to change their minds quickly, especially given the political and economic chaos in Russia. Despite any problems in development in Estonia, the industrial city of Narva is clearly in better economic shape than its sister city across the Narva River in Russia, Ivangorod (formerly the Estonian city of Jaanilinn). Some inhabitants of the formerly closed city of Sillamäe also favored autonomy at first, but even this city eventually reaped the rewards of freedom.

Nevertheless, the issue of integrating the population remains. Though naturalization was made easier following heavy-handed international advice (largely from OSCE, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which acts as a human rights watch in Europe, but also from the EU), and the passage rate of the language and civics exams stands far above 90 percent, there remain a significant number of permanent Estonian residents who are either citizens of a foreign country or are stateless persons. By the turn of the millennium, over 100,000 individuals had been naturalized as Estonian citizens. At the same time, an estimated 250,000 remained stateless; that is, they held so-called noncitizen passports, or had taken other citizenship (most, over 80,000, took Russian citizenship, while fewer individuals took citizenship in other countries, such as Ukraine). Though many anticipate another major naturalization jump as Estonia joins the EU, as members of the Russian-speaking population seek to enjoy the benefits of being European citizens, the issue of integration remains a major concern.

Though the naturalization numbers far exceed those of neighboring Latvia, where the issue is even more contentious and the percentage of the population that speaks the national language is even smaller, the issue remains a major concern. The lack of a strong domestic Russian-language media pushes the large number of Russian-speakers, even those who are integrated in the sense that they are able to speak Estonian or are naturalized citizens, to use the media from Russia. The difference in approach, especially in news programs, could be clearly seen during the NATO campaign in Yugoslavia, with the Estonian-based press being pro-NATO and the Russia-based press firmly siding with Belgrade. The state has done little to pursue projects such as ETV-2, a proposed public television channel with substantial programming in Russian (which was to be like Finland's YLE-2 public channel, with its high proportion of Swedish-language programs).

Though most in the public sphere no longer accuse the population yet to be naturalized of being a fifth column for Russia, there remains unease over the large number of non-citizens in the country (approximately 20 percent of the total population). The deadline for integrating the school system (i.e., combining the Estonian-language schools, the Russian-language schools, and the mixed schools) has continued to be pushed back due to political bickering, though the right for minorities to be educated in their native language is guaranteed by law. Those non-citizen students who pass their Estonian language courses automatically comply with the language requirements for citizenship, an easing that has been brought about by international pressure.

Despite the large number yet to be integrated, the program has been seen as somewhat successful. Many younger non-Estonians view integration and citizenship as necessities to reap the rewards of the economic success of the country, especially given that it will be a common European citizenship. Though non-citizens are allowed to vote in local elections, citizenship is required for taking office and voting in national elections. The various political movements focusing on the Russian-speaking population are failing to increase their electoral base in national elections despite the growth in naturalized citizens, which indicates that the political system is becoming denationalized, in the sense that people do not vote along ethnic lines. This trend is also noticeable in these parties' sharp decline in local elections, in which even non-citizens are allowed to vote, a trend that demonstrates the remarkable integration of the polity.

Estonia's approach to integration, which is tougher than that of other European countries in its insistence on some degree of mastery of the national language, has in the new millennium been praised by Danish officials, who have even suggested that Europe, in dealing with its own integration crises, should learn from the Estonian example. Nevertheless, the challenge to integrate the minority populations will remain for the long term, and will be inextricably tied to Russia's own development, especially its acceptance of its postcolonial reality, as well as to the nature of its bilateral relations with Estonia.

BALANCING REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Impressive as Estonia's economic growth has been, it has not been without problems. One major problem is drastically unequal development in different parts of the country. Basically, Tallinn, the capital, has received most of the investments and reaped most of the rewards, while rural communities and the former industrial heartland of the country's northeast have suffered, experiencing little of the rewards of economic progress. Tourists, for the most part, have rarely ventured out of Tallinn, especially the million of Finnish day tourists, interested mostly in shopping and alcohol. With its large concentration of expatriates, Tallinn has also grown increasingly cosmopolitan, as evidenced by the large selection of ethnic restaurants and the many languages heard on its streets. The same cannot be said of rural towns like Viljandi, the cultural heart of central Estonia, nor of Narva, the industrial hulk on the northeast.

Though the Estonian government has embarked upon limited decentralization by moving the Ministry of Education to Tartu, the university town (joining the Supreme Court in Estonia's second city), the focus of every aspect of the new Estonia, including politics, economics, society, entertainment, tourism, and activism, is indeed in Tallinn. Less political clout from rural sectors meant a generally recognized urban-focused political elite for the first post-restoration decade; the election of Arnold Rüütel as president in 2001 was a direct reflection of growing rural discontent with the Tallinn-centered political world.

Though Tallinn accounts for just under one-third of the country's population, it represents the bulk of the country's economy. Unemployment (especially white collar) is significantly lower there than in the rural south or the industrial northeast. The contrast between modern glass skyscrapers in Tallinn and mothballed crumbling smokestacks in Kohtla-Järve is indicative of the uneven development. The dramatic difference in standards of living in Tallinn and in other areas is increasing as Tallinn's role in regional commerce continues to increase, and despite the creation of a ministerial post for dealing with regional affairs, there has been little in the way of major initiatives to offset this lack of harmony in development.

An additional difficulty can be seen in the industrial northeast, where many of the industries, such as mining, chemicals, textiles, and food processing, are labor intensive but low paying. The inability for some of the Soviet-era industrial giants to adapt to new economic realities exacerbates the out of balance development by contributing to unemployment. Moreover, a large percentage of the region's population is Russian-speaking, making the issue more important to solve to prevent any growth in discontent among the country's minority population.

Bringing a better balance of development throughout the country is necessary for Estonian society as a whole to enjoy the rewards of its post-Soviet success. Tallinn has symbolized the success of the first post-restoration decade, Narva its failures. The challenge for Estonian policymakers is to redress the balance and to correct those failures, and bring the economic miracle of the first decade to all corners of the country.

SAVING A FRAGILE ECOLOGY

One of the many negative legacies left by the Soviet occupation is the precarious state of Estonia's ecology. Many Soviet-era industries, including secretive factories working for the Soviet military-industrial complex, created widespread pollution of the environment, ranging from chemical to radioactive. The lax environmental regulations of the Soviet period, exacerbated by a general lack of concern for the environment by Soviet planners, gave Estonian protestors the fuel to begin mass national protests in the late 1980s. Though some major projects, such as the mining of phosphates that would have severely damaged the local ecology, were stopped, the overall state of the environment inherited by the Estonian government following the restoration of independence was incredibly bleak.

The industrial complexes, many in the country's northeast, spew out pollution at an alarming rate. Even the indigenous fuel for the country's power plants and chemical industry, namely oil shale, causes major pollution in post-firing sediments in landfills and airborne particles from the smokestacks. Major investments were necessary to cut down the level of pollution in those enterprises that survived the transition to a market economy. The desire to be self-sufficient in electricity (and not be dependent on Russian exports) forces Estonia to continue to use the dirty oil shale, but significant investments have been made to bring oil shale firing to a level compatible with EU regulations, as well as the Kyoto agreements.

In addition, the Soviet military and its industrial complex left a myriad of environmental disasters. As Russian troops pulled out of Estonia in 1994, they left behind hundreds of installations in decrepit condition. Often sabotage also afflicted the environment, as ships were stripped and scuttled in various bodies of water. Jet fuel was dumped into wells or the ground, poisoning both the water system and the soil. Various chemicals and pollutants seeped noticeably from the abandoned bases, as everything valuable was stripped by the outgoing Soviet military. Worse, at the former closed city of Sillamäe, a radioactive lake remained from the former Soviet atomic research facility that threatened to seep into the Baltic Sea.

Significant investments have already been made to control the environmental damage from the Soviet occupation, though the problems are long term in nature. The country has an extra impetus to move quickly in order to proceed with European integration, since here again it is crucial to adhere to the EU's strict environmental regulations. The most dangerous pollution sites, such as the radioactive lake in Sillamäe, have been contained to prevent

Finding Estonia's Nokia

In a 1999 speech, former president Lennart Meri challenged Estonia to find the so-called Estonian Nokia, a reference to the company that put Finland on the world map. Many felt that Estonia's northern cousin's success with marketing Nokia around the world created Finland's reputation as a center for high tech manufacturing, and has in turn perpetuated Finland's economic growth. Meri thus challenged Estonia to find its own Nokia in order to put Estonia on the global map.

Both entrepreneurs and the media took up the challenge, and Meri's words became a common catchphrase in the newspapers. Many felt that few outside of Estonia knew much about the country and its economic success (a fact corroborated by poll results among European businessmen) and that the nation needed a magnet to draw more foreign investments. This call for a one-product remedy for Estonia's lack of image caused various pundits to speculate on the possibilities, ranging from the high-quality cross-country skis by Viisnurk to the wave of Estonian fashion models, led by supermodel Carmen Kass (a candidate for a seat in the European Parliament in June 2004), who grace the catwalks of the world's fashion capitals. Others joked that a better mission would be to find Estonia's McDonald's, to ensure a penetration into global pop culture. The hosting of the 2002 Eurovision Song Contest, which brought hundreds of millions of viewers to focus on Tallinn, the capital, helped to promote the country's image, but the nation still lacked a product with which the name Estonia could be linked.

The question was not to find an Estonian success story—there were many, ranging from a continent-wide Internet-recruitment service (CV-Online) to the many world-famous contemporary classical music composers (such as Arvo Pärt and Erkki-Sven Tüür) and conductors (Neeme Järvi and Tõnu Kaljuste). The goal was to find a single product that could help define Estonia to the world. This has become more important over time as the predominance of Nordic investment capital in the Estonian economy, and their command over Estonian businesses, continues to increase.

Perhaps the best-known Estonian name in global culture comes from a very unlikely place, percussion instruments, or, to be precise, cymbals. The world's number two cymbal maker, Paiste, originated in Estonia in the early part of the twentieth century. The family business played a major role in the development of contemporary music, especially with the advent of the drum kit, which helped to launch rock and modern jazz. The company relocated during the Soviet occupation, and became a truly global venture, with a major presence in the United States and Switzerland. Its "homecoming" to Estonia in the early 1990s was a symbolic gesture acknowledging its tie to its roots. Despite this name recognition, however, Estonians continued to search for a modern, homegrown Nokia equivalent.

The most recent candidate for this position has been the Estonian Genome Project, one of the most ambitious genetics projects in the world. The goal of cataloguing the genome of the Estonian nation, creating perhaps the largest database for a single population in the world, has brought Estonia's small but advanced genetics industry to international prominence.

Still, the search for Estonia's Nokia continues, driving both entrepreneur and politician to work towards this goal. Though it could prove to be a fruitless chase for the end of the rainbow, it nevertheless brings out the best and most creative aspects of the country and its people.

an imminent leak into the water system. However, the damage, estimated to be in the billions of dollars, will take decades to repair.

The only environmental advantage of the Soviet occupation came with the reforestation of the land. With the brutal forced collectivization of farms, many fields were simply abandoned and eventually reclaimed by the forest. At the turn of the millennium, some 45 percent of Estonia is covered by forests, giving the timber and wood-processing industry sufficient resources without threatening the country's natural environment. Estonians have a cultural affinity with forests; thus the reforestation has been one refreshing result of Soviet policies.

The many nature reserves in Estonia have also seen an increase in ecotourism. Many small islands off the coast are closed as nature reserves, and cooperation between tourism and environmental officials have successfully marketed this aspect of Estonia. Though few and far between, the success stories of Estonia's ecological situation remain encouraging signs for the healing of the country's precious land.

A MODERN PLAGUE ARRIVES

As every age seemingly has its own plague, the modern age's scourge has been AIDS. This incurable disease has severely crippled many countries around the world, and increasingly the problem has spread into the former Soviet bloc. Formerly insulated from intravenous drugs, the quickest method of spreading HIV, the virus that leads to AIDS, former Soviet bloc countries have experienced a sharp increase in the proliferation of drugs, which has also meant the rapid growth of HIV infection. Estonia has not escaped from this modern plague.

For many years after the restoration of independence, the number of registered HIV infected patients in Estonia remained remarkably low, despite the spread of IV drugs in various parts of the country. Then a quick upsurge in positive diagnoses in 2000 caused alarm, as the problem was isolated in the northeastern city of Narva, a city economically depressed and predominantly Russian-speaking. Within a few months, the number of registered HIV patients grew from nearly zero to over three hundred, and cases sprung up in other industrialized towns in the region, such as Kohtla-Järve.

Politicians worry that the slow spread westward of HIV cases will reach Tallinn at some point, which would cause a major social catastrophe. At the same time, the localization of the cases in Russian-speaking Narva has exacerbated both the problems of integration and of regional development. Major antidrug and safe-sex campaigns have been conducted throughout Estonia, including the Russian-speaking communities, and the trend has slowed for the time being.

Politicians also fear that treatment for the large number of HIV cases will seriously impact the Health Fund, as the number of positive diagnoses, near 2500 in mid-2002, represented almost 0.2 percent of the population, according to statistics compiled by the Social Ministry. The huge cost for the state will come in the future, as the HIV patients fall ill and require extensive medication and hospitalization. This is clearly a major challenge for the long term, not just for Estonia, but also for Europe and the world, another good example of the worldwide nature of many of Estonia's most pressing challenges.

By no means are these three challenges the only ones that Estonia faces in this new millennium. Various other concerns also challenge the country's policymakers and society. The gap between the better-off and the poor is increasing as the country becomes more prosperous, leaving some who have missed out on the positive results of market reforms in dire straits. EU integration and globalization bring Estonia closer to the world, but some fear that they will also dilute or even threaten the survival of the Estonian language and culture. The predominance of Nordic capital in Estonia has brought strength to the local economy and helped create the economic miracle of Estonia, but some feel a concern that Estonia might become nothing but a backyard for Nordic companies.

These challenges and issues will continue to test a new generation of Estonian policymakers, as well as society in general. The country has shed its Cold War legacy by joining the EU and NATO and by fully reintegrating into the Western community of nations, but these concerns, which also afflict many other European and North American countries, will certainly remain as challenges for years to come. In many ways, the normalization of Estonia's domestic challenges, now so like those of other developed European countries, is a reflection of the success of its post-Soviet reforms. The new challenges will be more difficult to solve.

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CHRONOLOGY

7500 B.C.E.	The oldest known settlement in Estonia established.
600 C.E.	Large-scale attacks by Sweden on Estonian lands commence.
1186	First Bishop of Livonia, Meinhard, ordained to intensify efforts to convert the Baltic peoples.
1187	Estonians sack key Swedish town of Sigtuna.
1198	First notable attempt by Catholic Church to convert Estonians by military force.
1201	Riga (Latvia) is founded by Germanic crusaders as base for crusades and seat of a bishopric.
1202	Order of the Brotherhood of the Sword founded to subjugate local population in the Baltic lands; Pope Innocent III confirms Order two years later.
1208	Germanic crusaders begin major raids into Estonian lands.
1210	Russian princes attack Estonia, opening eastern front for defenders.
1212	Armistice reached between Estonian forces and crusaders.
1219	Danish forces land in Estonia; Tallinn (originally Reval) founded.
1224	Foreign forces complete domination of mainland Estonia by capturing Tartu.
1227	Estonia comes under total foreign rule as the islands are captured.
1238	Stensby agreement establishes the partition of Estonian lands by the Danes, the Livonian Order, and two bishoprics.
1242	The "battle on the ice" on Lake Peipsi, in which Russian prince Alexander Nevsky defeated Germanic crusaders; Lake Peipsi becomes de facto border with Russian principalities.
1248	Tallinn granted city rights; becomes key member of the Hanseatic League later in the century.
1343	Saint George's Day uprising.
1346	Danish crown sells its Estonian possessions (including Tallinn) to the Teutonic Order.
1410	Lithuanian-Polish joint army defeats Teutonic Order at Grünwald, marking the decline of the crusading orders along the Baltic.
1523	Reformation reaches Estonia.
1525	First text in Estonia, a book of common prayers, is published.
1558	Russian invasion of Estonian lands marks beginning of the Livonian Wars.
1559	Denmark purchases western bishopric and reenters Estonia.
1560	Polish-Lithuanian forces take control of most forts owned by the Livonian Order.
1561	Swedish forces reenter Estonia, taking control of the north (including Tallinn) from remnants of the Livonian Order, which ceases to exist.
1563	Conflict between Denmark and Sweden begins, extending to Estonia; conflict ends in 1570, with Denmark's possessions reduced to the island of Saaremaa.
1577	Sweden and Poland-Lithuania jointly push Russian forces back.
1582–1583	Peace treaties among warring parties signed, ending the conflicts; northern Estonia remains Swedish, southern Estonia remains Polish-Lithuanian, and Saaremaa remains Danish.
1600	Conflict commences between Sweden and Poland-Lithuania for control of Baltic lands, lasting nearly thirty years.
1629	Peace of Altmark signed between warring parties, giving Sweden control of the Estonian mainland.
1632	Academia Gustaviana, later to be renamed Tartu University, is founded as the second institution for higher learning in the Swedish Empire.
1637	First Estonian grammar book written by Heinrich Stahl.
1645	Denmark loses Saaremaa in peace agreement after three-year war with Sweden; all of Estonia now under Swedish rule.
1656	Russia attacks Swedish-controlled Estonia, but Swedish forces evict Russian forces in the short war.
1695–1697	Mass famine kills estimated 20 percent of population.
1700	Polish-Lithuanian and Saxon forces attack Swedish-controlled Riga, setting

	off the Great Northern War; Russian forces attack Narva to enter war.
1709	Swedish forces comprehensively defeated by Russians at Poltava; Russian forces take control of most of Estonia despite another decade of warfare.
1721	Peace of Nystadt signed, giving Estonia and other Baltic lands to the Russian Empire.
1739	So-called Rosen Declaration establishes full serfdom in Estonia.
1806	First Estonian-language newspaper published.
1816	Tsar Alexander I abolishes serfdom in Estonia; Livonia follows two years later.
1838	The Estonian Learned Society is founded, sparking the cultural awakening that continues throughout the 1800s.
1858	The Krenholm textiles factory established in Narva, marking the start of industrialization in Estonia.
1862	The national epic, *Kalevipoeg,* is published.
1869	The first Estonian National Song Festival is held in Tartu, becoming a major force in the national awakening.
1870	The Baltic railway, linking the ports of Paldiski and Narva to Tallinn and St. Petersburg, is completed.
1872	Estonian Society of Literati founded to promote literature in Estonian.
1884	The Estonian Students Society consecrates its blue-white-black flag, which later becomes the national flag of Estonia.
1887	Russian established as only language of education, marking the peak of the Russification campaign.
1904	Coalition of Estonians and Russians take control of Tallinn Town Council from Germans.
1905	The 1905 Revolution breaks out in Estonia.
1909	Tartu-educated Wilhelm Ostwald wins the Nobel Prize in Physics.
1914–1918	World War I.
March 1917	February Revolution reaches Estonia with massive public chaos; Jaan Poska becomes first Estonian appointed as governor (now commissar), and Estonian is declared official language; northern Livonia is also merged with Estonia in the province.
May 1917	The *Maapäev,* the first Estonian legislative body, is elected; body convenes in July and confirms its first government.
October 1917	Bolshevik Revolution spreads to Estonia.
19 February 1918	The Committee of National Salvation formed by the *Maapäev* leadership to assume control of Estonia.
20 February 1918	German forces invade the Estonian mainland.
23 February 1918	Bolsheviks evacuate Tallinn.
24 February 1918	The Committee of National Salvation declares Estonian independence.
3 March 1918	German forces assume control of all of Estonia; Estonian leaders arrested, and committee member Jüri Vilms executed in Finland.
3 May 1918	Britain, France, and Italy give de facto recognition to Estonian independence.
28 November 1918	Bolsheviks attack Narva, starting the Estonian War of Independence.
December 1918	Russians take control of much of Estonia with brutal repression.
1 February 1919	Estonian forces manage to expel all Bolshevik forces from Estonia.
5–7 April 1919	Constituent Assembly is elected by the people and convenes on 23 April; the democratic left takes majority.
23 June 1919	Estonian forces, assisted by Latvian forces, crush the German *Landeswehr* force in the Latvian city of Cēsis, ending a potential German threat.
10 October 1919	Radical land law redistributes land to the peasantry.
2 February 1920	The Tartu Peace Treaty (Estonia's "birth certificate") is signed by Estonia and Soviet Russia.
15 June 1920	Constituent Assembly adopts the Estonian constitution.
November 1920	First parliamentary elections held; center-right wins majority.
21 January 1921	The Supreme Allied Council offers de jure recognition of Estonia; the United States waits until the summer of 1922.
22 September 1922	Estonia joins the League of Nations.
May 1923	Elections held to second parliament after referendum loss on religious education; center-right gains seats.
December 1923	Estonia and Latvia sign treaty for a defensive alliance.
1 December 1924	Bolsheviks fail in coup attempt; Communist Party banned.
May 1926	Elections to third parliament held, center-right again wins.
1 January 1928	The kroon is introduced as the national currency, replacing the unstable mark (introduced in 1919).
1929	The Estonian League of Veterans of the War of Independence founded as major pressure group on constitutional reform; later shows semifascist tendencies.
May 1929	Elections to fourth parliament held; center-right remains in control.

13–15 August 1932	First referendum on constitutional changes, aimed above all at creating a powerful executive, fails by small margin.
10–12 June 1933	Second, watered-down referendum fails by large margin.
Summer 1933	The government devalues the kroon by 35 percent, helping the economic recovery following the worldwide Depression.
14–16 October 1933	Third referendum to create a strong executive (submitted by the League of Veterans) wins by big margin, and presidential elections scheduled for March 1934; Konstantin Päts is appointed as caretaker head of government.
12 March 1934	Palace coup by Päts, citing fascist tendencies of the League of Veterans, ends parliamentary democracy; mild totalitarian rule creates Era of Silence.
February 1936	Elections held for new constituent assembly; silenced opposition candidates boycott vote; new constitution creates bicameral parliament, but power remains with the executive; approved the following year.
24 April 1938	Päts is elected as Estonia's first president after constitutional change.
23 August 1939	Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union sign Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, including secret protocols to carve up the Baltic countries.
18 September 1939	Polish submarine *Orzeł* escapes from internment in Tallinn Harbor, leading to Soviet complaints; Estonia cannot defend neutrality.
28 September 1939	After Soviet threats, agreement is signed, establishing Soviet bases in Estonia.
16 June 1940	Moscow issues ultimatum to Estonia to replace government with one sympathetic to the USSR.
17 June 1940	The Red Army occupies Estonia.
17 July 1940	Results of rump one-candidate elections announced by Soviet authorities, with 92.9 percent "turnout."
6 August 1940	Assembly votes to request membership in the USSR.
1 June 1941	Mass deportations of population to Russia, estimated at 10,000.
7 July 1941	German forces enter Estonia weeks after declaring war against Moscow; by October the entire country is taken over.
18 September 1944	Acting President Jüri Uluots appoints new Estonian government, and independence is declared re-established.
24 November 1944	Red Army takes control of all of Estonia; "forest brother" partisans fight guerrilla campaign against Soviet power until the 1950s.
May 1947	Forced collectivization of farms begins.
25–26 March 1949	Mass deportations of the population, estimated at over 20,000.
1965	Regular ferry links with Finland begin.
1978	The last forest brother, August Sabe, kills himself when ambushed by KGB.
December 1978	New stringent policy of Russification embarked upon, including the introduction of the Russian language to kindergarten-age children and discouragement of the use of Estonian.
September 1980	Mass protests by students ensue after concert by punk band Propeller, and soccer match cancelled, becoming first major set of protests for democratization.
November 1980	Stemming from protests, the so-called "Group of Forty" intellectuals draft an open letter to Soviet authorities to address problems such as Russian immigration, Russification, and youth policy.
Spring 1987	Protests began to stop massive phosphorite mining, starting the revolution process.
23 August 1987	Protest in Tallinn's Hirvepark becomes first mass political protest.
April 1988	The Estonian Popular Front for the Support of Perestroika is founded.
August 1988	The Estonian National Independence Party is formed, with the ultimate goal of restoring Estonia's independence.
11 September 1988	Eestimaa Laul song festival becomes the symbol of the Singing Revolution, with over 300,000 in attendance.
16 November 1988	The Estonian Supreme Soviet adopts declaration of sovereignty.
24 February 1989	Flag of independent Estonia is raised on Independence Day on Tallinn's Pikk Hermann tower for the first time in nearly fifty years; the Committee of Citizens is formed and begins collecting database of citizens of Estonia before the 1940 occupation and their descendants.
23 August 1989	Over a million people create human chain from Tallinn to Riga to Vilnius to protest the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.
24 February 1990	Elections to the Estonian Congress, a parallel legislative body created for registered citizens of Estonia; body meets in March.
18 March 1990	First multicandidate election under Soviet rule; reformers win most seats, leading to split in the Estonian Communist Party.
30 March 1990	The Supreme Council adopts decision on transition toward independence.

3 March 1991	Referendum on independence in Estonia, with 77.8 percent in support.
20 August 1991	The Supreme Council declares the restoration of Estonia's independence during turmoil in Moscow after coup.
22 August 1991	Iceland becomes the first country to recognize Estonian independence.
6 September 1991	The USSR recognizes Estonian independence.
17 September 1991	Estonia joins the United Nations.
20 June 1992	The kroon is reintroduced as the national currency.
28 June 1992	Referendum approves a new constitution.
20 September 1992	Parliamentary elections and first round of presidential election; center-right parties take majority of seats.
5 October 1992	Lennart Meri is elected president by the parliament; then confirms 32-year old Mart Laar to head a center-right government.
13 September 1993	Baltic Free Trade Agreement is signed.
9 May 1994	Estonia becomes an associate member of the European Union.
31 August 1994	The Red Army completes its withdrawal from Estonia and Latvia.
28 September 1994	The ferry *Estonia* sinks en route from Tallinn to Stockholm; 851 die.
March 1995	Parliamentary elections give the center a working majority.
20 September 1996	Lennart Meri reelected president by electoral college.
March 1999	Parliamentary elections bring the center-right back to power.
September 2001	Arnold Rüütel, former titular head of republic during the late Soviet days, is elected president.
November 2002	Estonia receives official invitation to join NATO.
December 2002	Estonia receives official invitation to join the European Union.
March 2003	Parliamentary elections keep the center-right in power.
September 2003	Two-thirds of Estonians vote to join the European Union.
29 March 2004	Estonia officially joins NATO.
1 May 2004	Estonia officially joins the European Union.

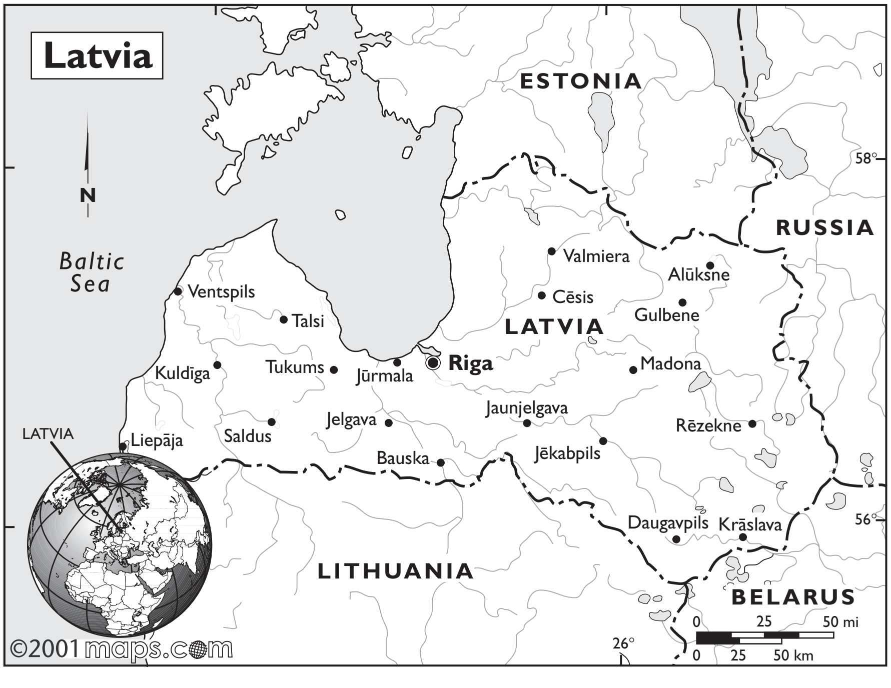
LATVIA

ALDIS PURS

LAND AND PEOPLE

The Republic of Latvia is situated on the eastern rim of the Baltic Sea in Europe around the geographic coordinates of fifty-seven degrees north latitude and twenty-five degrees east longitude. The state's regional placement has often determined its politics and history. Traditionally Latvia, along with the other Baltic States, Estonia and Lithuania, has been seen either as an Eastern European country, one of the western borderlands of Russia, or a republic (and since 1991, a former republic) of the Soviet Union. The Baltic states themselves prefer a regional association with Scandinavia and see themselves as part of Northern Europe. These ambiguities in geography are associated with a difficult and traumatic history and a region in transition.

Perhaps only the political geography of the country is simple. At 64,589 square kilometers, Latvia is slightly larger than West Virginia, and it has 1,150 kilometers of borders with other countries. Latvia, although a small European state, is larger than Denmark, Estonia, Switzerland, Netherlands, Belgium, and Albania. Nevertheless, the farthest distance across Latvia (from Liepāja in the west to Zilupe in the east) is nearly 450 kilometers, or roughly the equivalent of the distance between Riga and Stockholm, in Sweden, or between Berlin, in Germany, and Copenhagen, in Denmark. Estonia borders Latvia to the north and shares a 339-kilometer border with Latvia. Russia lies due east with a 217-kilometer border. Belarus lies to the southeast, sharing a 141-kilometer border, and Lithuania is due south with a 453-kilometer border. The Baltic Sea provides 531 kilometers of coastline to the west and north of Latvia. As of 2002, the treaty with Russia delimiting the border had not been signed, nor had Latvia's parliament ratified the maritime boundary agreement with Lithuania.



The internal political geography of Latvia has also fluctuated considerably over many centuries, and is in fact currently undergoing considerable substantive change. The capital is Riga, situated on the Daugava River not far from the Gulf of Riga. Traditionally Latvia is divided into four provinces (singular *apgabals*): Kurzeme to the west, Zemgale in the center, Vidzeme in the east-northeast, and Latgale to the southeast. These provinces are closely linked to regional identity and still determine national electoral territories (with the addition of Riga as an electoral territory), but have a limited administrative presence. Local government revolves around counties (singular *rajons*) and municipalities (singular *pilsēta*) with a continuing, but diminishing, role played by several hundred parishes

Riga and the Daugava River. (Tibor Botgnar/Corbis)

(singular *pagasts*). Latvia currently has twenty-six counties: Aizkraukle, Alūksne, Balvi, Bauksa, Cēsis, Daugavpils, Dobele, Gulbene, Jēkabpils, Jelgava, Krāslava, Kuldīga, Liepāja, Limbāži, Ludza, Madona, Ogre, Preiļi, Rēzekne, Riga, Saldus, Talsi, Tukums, Valka, Valmiera, and Ventspils. Each of these counties has an urban center by the same name acting as its administrative seat, and most include several other smaller urban centers. Unique among Latvia's towns and cities, however, are the seven largest cities (Daugavpils, Jelgava, Jūrmala, Liepāja, Rēzekne, Riga, and Ventspils), which are autonomous administrative divisions. The general administrative division of Latvia, however, is in the midst of a controversial process of rationalization, amalgamation, and consolidation of local governments, a process that anticipates the drastic reduction of their number.

Latvia's physical geography is not immediately awe-inspiring, but it has a subdued, serene, unique pastoral beauty. As a whole, the country is composed primarily of low-lying plains, which begin at the coastline and sweep eastward, interrupted by forests and occasional hills and minor highlands. On a continental scale, Latvia is part of the great east European plain that stretches from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south and is loosely bordered by the Ural, Carpathian, and Caucasian mountain chains. Through this entire region, including Latvia, there are few hills that rise above 300–400 meters. Within this relatively small variation in elevation, however, Latvia showcases a surprising array of hills, valleys, swamps, and forests. Hundreds of lakes (officially, 2,256, ranging in size from small to large), as well as several major rivers and many more streams, create many river-valley systems. Various ice ages, having covered Latvia in more than a hundred meters of ice, have contributed to Latvia's geography by carving swathes through the countryside and by depositing giant granite boulders in seemingly incongruous places.

Latvia's coastal plain impinges between five and forty kilometers into the interior. The sandstone foundations of most of the coastline facilitate a gradual, evolving geography that lacks the stark fjords of Scandinavia. Similarly Latvia does not have many natural harbors and instead relies on major river deltas for harbor towns and cities. The constant ebb and flow of the tides of the Baltic Sea has also resulted in the frequent march of dunes and beaches into the interior and the presence of many shallows and sand bars along the coast (particularly in the Gulf of Riga). For the most part, dune formation is gradual, and there are few places, such as Jurkalne, with cliff-like dunes approaching twenty meters in height. Until the past few centuries (with the intervention of man), the ambiguous coastline and moving dunes threatened to overtake the lowlands that reached from Riga to Bauska and Jelgava in central Latvia. The inland city of Jelgava, for example, is only eight to fifteen meters above sea level, and Riga is less than twenty-five meters above sea level. The entire central plain is a mix of peat bogs, sandy soil, relatively fertile agricultural land, and forest composed of pine, fir, birch, and aspen.

A highland region cut through by the Venta and Abava river valleys dominates the western province of Kurzeme. These highlands are a continuation of the Lithuanian highlands, and seldom rise more than 150 meters above sea level; the two tallest hills are 200 and 190 meters above sea level. Although geographically the elevation is relatively insignificant, the appearance is often deceiving. Along the Venta River, for example, the elevation drops more than 100 meters in less than 5 kilometers, giving the impression of significant change. The nearby Abava River Valley is particularly noted for several caves on its shores and for the Abava Falls *(Abavas rumba),* which drop a paltry half meter. Many of the region's hills, combined with its valleys, provide wide landscapes of subtle beauty. Microclimates within this region, as well as its proximity to the coast, have allowed the most northerly vineyards in the world in Sabile. A similar highland region is found in Latvia's eastern province of Vidzeme. The Gauja River valley divides these highlands, and frequent lakes and streams periodically break the highland effect. This river vally is also home to one of Latvia's most important national parks. The smaller, but occasionally more dramatic, Amata River Valley in the same region includes some of Latvia's most notable cliffs. Further south, but still in the Vidzeme highlands, is Latvia's highest point, Gaiziņš Hill (*Gaiziņ kalns*), at 312 meters.

A lake plain dominates much of the province of Latgale immediately south of the Vidzeme highlands. This plain is roughly 60 meters above sea level and covers more than 7,000 square kilometers of land. Lake Lubāne, Latvia's largest lake, covers 82 square kilometers of the lake-studded plain. Throughout the province of Latgale, there are some 650 lakes, including almost all of the benchmarks in terms of largest (Lubāne and, second largest, Rāznas Lake), deepest (Drīdzis Lake at 65.1 meters), and with the most islands (Ežezers, or Ješa, Lake, with at least one hundred islands). Before considerable human effort had been put into it, this lake plain with its many lakes flooded on a frequent basis, and the region was frequently impassable to land traffic due to extensive swamplike conditions. Along the edges of this plain are two more highlands that ring the edges of Latgale. In the south and southeast, the highlands are also dotted with exceptionally many lakes, while along the western edge of Latgale a highland plateau surrounds the Daugava River valley.

The river systems and their various watersheds are quite extensive. Altogether there are several hundred rivers, streams, and creeks in Latvia, almost all of them eventually flowing into the Baltic Sea or the Gulf of Riga. There are, however, four major rivers, the Daugava, Lielupe, Gauja, and Venta, and another half-dozen notable rivers. The Daugava River (also known as the Dvina, or Duna) is Latvia's largest river system and the eleventh longest in Europe. The Daugava's source is in Russia, and its entire length is over 1,000 kilometers, 367 of which are in Latvia. Its width varies considerably, as does its depth (from more than a kilometer wide to more than 10 meters deep). The Daugava was an important transit river (carrying everything from Vikings to floating lumber) for centuries, but its navigability was sporadic, due to periodic rapids and heavy currents. The freezing of the river in winter and the consequent breaking of ice in the spring further limited its usefulness to humans; rapid thaws often led to devastating floods. Despite these troubles, the Daugava River holds a central place in folk traditions, customs, and lore. In the twentieth century, hydroelectric dams tamed the river's excesses and tapped into its energy potential. Similarly a series of bridges have reduced the Daugava's ability to stymie land transportation. These technological advances, however, are seen as bitter-sweet; the building of a hydro-electric dam by the Soviet government, for example, submerged an important national symbol, a cliff near Koknese called Staburags (the cliff was almost 19 meters high and was considered the setting of the climactic battle in Latvia's national epic, *Lāčplēsis* [The Bear Slayer]).

After the Daugava River, the Lielupe (literally "large river") is Latvia's second largest. The primarily Lithuanian

Silver birches in a Latvian forest. (Niall Benvie/Corbis) rivers Mūsa and Mēmele flow together near the Latvian town of Bauska and form the Lielupe River. The Lielupe is a wide, relatively shallow river that flows slowly across the heart of Zemgale, ultimately entering the Daugava River near its entrance to the Gulf of Riga (at one time the Lielupe flowed directly into the Gulf). The river is easily navigable and allowed for the rise of the interior port city of Jelgava. Its many small tributaries provide a considerable amount of natural irrigation for the fertile agricultural lands of Zemgale.

Latvia's two other largest rivers are the Venta River in the western province of Kurzeme, and the Gauja River in the eastern province of Vidzeme. The Venta originates in Lithuania and flows down the Kurzeme highlands, finally emptying into the Baltic Sea (the port of Ventspils is built around the river delta). The constant and occasionally dramatic drop in elevation means that the Venta has many rapids and is mostly not navigable. Near the town of Kuldīga, the falls are at their severest with close to a 3-meter drop (and the widest falls in Latvia at 110 meters). Between Kuldīga and Ventspils, however, the river slows, the riverbed deepens, and navigation is possible. The Gauja River snakes 452 kilometers through Vidzeme and is Latvia's only large river entirely within the state's borders, although 20 of those kilometers form part of the border with Estonia. As with the Venta, the Gauja begins in highlands and drops relatively quickly to sea level (flowing into the Bay of Riga). The change in elevation leads to rapids, cliffs, caves, and an impressive river valley. Both of these river valleys help the surrounding areas (most improbably) refer to themselves as the Switzerlands of Kurzeme and Vidzeme respectively.

Complementing the extensive river systems are thousands of lakes. Every part of Latvia has a considerable number of lakes, with the exception of the plains in Zemgale. Latgale, as mentioned, has particularly many lakes, and they cover nearly 1.5 percent of the total area of the province. Most of these lakes, however, are small and relatively shallow. There are only fourteen lakes that cover more than 10 square kilometers of territory; some of the more important are Rāznas Lake, Lubānes Lake, Burtnieku Lake, Engūres Lake, Usmas Lake, and Papes Lake (the latter two have unique ecological value). Other lakes, such as Liepājas Lake, Alūksnes Lake, Babīša Lake, Ķīšu Lake, and Juglas Lake, are on the outskirts of cities and have become fixtures of the urban geography.

Latvia's natural resources are relatively limited. There are few mineral resources, primarily confined to amber, peat, limestone, and dolomite. The discovery of offshore oil reserves in neighbouring Lithuania, however, has recently stimulated interest in the potential oil wealth of Latvia's shoreline. Still, the most abundant natural resources are forests, arable land, and hydroelectric power. There have also been attempts to harvest wind power along the coasts. The extent of these resources has fluctuated considerably with human activity. The forests of Latvia, for example, were gradually reduced through the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Most of this felling was driven by a demand for more arable land. The money to be made from the sale of lumber also earned the resource the nickname "green gold." After World War II, however, that demand receded considerably, and much previously tilled land went fallow. As a result, Latvia was one of the few countries in the world with more forests at the end of the twentieth century than at its beginning. More recently, however, that trend has again reversed, and felling of timber has considerably expanded. Still, nearly forty-six percent of Latvia's territory is covered with forests and woodlands. The ebb and flow of forest versus arable land conversely affects arable land and permanent pastures, which currently comprise roughly 40 percent of the state's territory.

A long geologic history has shaped Latvia's flora as much as its geography. The Ice Ages covered Latvia in more than one hundred meters of ice and effectively ended all botanical growth. As the ice receded, Latvia's environment took on a tundralike character, which remains in today's peat swamps. Over the next several millennia, swamplike vegetation encroached from the east, and in periods of dry, warm weather, forest vegetation arrived from the southwest. As a result, Latvia's territory is a mixture of deciduous and coniferous forests with intermittent prairies and swamplands. The Gulf Stream effect and close proximity to the Baltic Sea sustain a more temperate climate than Latvia's northern geographical location would seem to permit. In eastern Latvia, however, these factors weaken, and the climate and corresponding flora approach continental, northern norms. Zones of varying humidity and temperature further diversify the environment and leave Latvia with several distinct ecological zones over a relatively small territorial space. Near the coast, in the warmest regions, for example, ivy and yew trees have been found. As late as the Middle Ages, much of Latvia was covered with forests of a great variety of trees, including pine, fir, birch, aspen, oak, linden, elm, ash, maple, hazel, blackberry, and others. These forests were, and continue to be, rich with many forest berries and mushroom varieties.

Human activity, however, has substantially altered the terrain. As the human population grew, forests were cleared for more arable land. Generally, forests on the most fertile land were cleared first, thereby substantially changing the nature of Latvia's forests. Over time, forests decreased and became confined to sandy soil or semi-swamplands. As a result, the biological diversity lessened, and today's dominant coniferous tree is the pine, and the dominant deciduous trees are ash and birch. Likewise, many of Latvia's swamps and marshes have been drained, reducing the indigenous flora native to these environments. Nevertheless, swamps still account for 10 percent of Latvia's territory, and some of the largest and ecologically most significant are within national parks in Vidzeme (Gauja National Park), and Kurzeme (Slītere National Park). Just as the forests have mushrooms and berries, the swamps produce cloudberries in the spring and cranberries in the fall.

In the same way, Latvia's fauna changed with the shifts in the environment and, more recently, due to human activity. Prehistoric mammoths and rhinoceroses were victims of the Ice Age, but most extinction is tied to man. Several hundred years ago, European bison, brown bears, and lynx were common throughout the region. By the late 1800s, however, bison had been hunted to extinction, and bear and lynx were found only in isolated pockets in some of Latvia's most untouched forests. Similarly, moose once roamed through many of Latvia's forests and swamps and are now primarily found in the northeast. Some large mammal populations, such as wild boar and wolves, have varied considerably over the past two centuries, moving in and out of Latvia according to human activity (or inactivity). The racoon dog arrived in the eastern portions of Latvia, for example, only in the twentieth century. There are also a great many small mammals, including deer, rabbits, foxes, squirrels, martens, bats, rats, mice, and hedgehogs. Maritime mammals are limited to seals, although dolphins on occasion have reached the western shores of Latvia.

More than mammals, Latvia's wealth in fauna is in the more than three hundred species of birds that make Latvia their home at least for part of the year. The western shores of Latvia are particularly important as a part of the migratory route of arctic birds. The most impressive of Latvia's birds is the stork, which arrives in the western half of Latvia from northern Africa in the late spring and summer. Latvia's swamps also have considerable numbers of predatory birds, including small eagles, owls, and endangered cranes. Fish are fairly abundant in the Baltic Sea and Bay of Riga. Pilchard, flounder, cod, and salmon have all been important staples of Latvia's fishing communities, while freshwater eel, trout, pike, and catfish are caught in Latvia's rivers and lakes. Crawfish and lamprey are exceptional delicacies. Of the many amphibians, reptiles, and snakes, there is only one indigenous poisonous snake.

Changes in the use of some agricultural land during the Soviet era reversed some ecological trends in isolated places. On the one hand, the mechanization and intensification of agriculture with the heavy use of chemical fertilizers adversely affected Latvia's flora and fauna. Runoff from industrial concerns and the lack of waste conversion equipment severely compromised the health of many of Latvia's rivers and lakes, and even the Baltic Sea. Soviet military bases were some of the worst offenders in contaminating soil and groundwater with toxic chemicals and petroleum products. Many collective farms, on the other hand, abandoned arable land, which led to some forest recovery (and accompanying recovery of wildlife). More beneficial to Latvia's wildlife was the Soviet Union's prohibition of most human activity along the Baltic Sea as a security measure (in order to monitor the border). Outside of the few coastal cities and towns, the shorelines were mostly free of human activity. These regions are now the healthiest ecosystems of Latvia and have received international recognition for their potential in recreating European coastal marshland habitats. The migratory birds are a particularly important component, as is a recent World Wildlife Fund program that is reintroducing wild horses to the region.

Migrations of peoples is similarly central to the history of the region. The Livs, a Finno-Ugric people, have lived along the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea for the longest uninterrupted time. The ancestors of modern Latvians and Lettgalians have similarly lived in the region for millennia. The ancestors of modern Lithuanians and Estonians have lived along the undefined borders equally as long. Germans, Russians, Jews, Poles, and other Slavic peoples began to arrive in the region from the twelfth century. Some of these populations arrived in the territory of modern Latvia in sizable numbers only in the last few hundred years. Others have been forcibly removed or killed in the past century and are no longer present in contemporary Latvia in considerable numbers. The nature of all of these communities, their relations with each other, and their claims of "belonging" to the region are extremely controversial. These details belong to the history of Latvia.

HISTORY

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Humans first travelled along the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea around 9000 B.C.E. This early habitation was short-lived and a part of more general wanderings. Prolonged human habitation probably began some six thousand years ago (roughly 4000 B.C.E.). These first settlers were from two distinct migrating peoples, the Finno-Ugric people and the Indo-European-speaking people. Most of the Finno-Ugric people migrated further north, populating present-day Estonia and Finland, but some remained along the Daugava River and the Bay of Riga. These were the ancestors of the Livs. Proto-Baltic people settled in the region soon after, and displaced some of these Finno-Ugric people to the north. Over the next several thousand years, all of these primitive societies moved through Mesolithic and Neolithic developments into the Bronze and Iron Ages. By the first century of the Common Era, these societies were becoming more and more differentiated linguistically and culturally. The migration of Germanic and Slavic peoples into Eastern and Central Europe pushed onto the Baltic periphery through the first several hundred years of the Common Era and further impacted the developing differentiation. Gradually, the Livs emerged as a distinct people within the Finno-Ugric peoples, and the Selians, Lettgallians, Semigallians, and Couronians did likewise within the Baltic peoples (as did the Lithuanians, the closest ancestral relatives of the modern-day Latvians).

From the fifth to tenth century, these peoples developed loose alliances between clans. Their societies became more complex. There were limited agricultural innovations, more clearing of forests, agricultural surpluses (resulting in the storage of grain), and limited participation in long-distance trade. The societies developed a division of labor and the production of metals. With these changes came differentiation in wealth and early state construction. Rule was likely tied to chiefs of clans and the control of hilltop fortresses. Roughly 470 hills (some estimates are far higher) constructed for fortification have been identified in Latvia, but relatively few have been thoroughly examined archeologically. Society was likely divided between the more powerful and wealthy and the poor (potentially slaves as well). The nature of these people's religious beliefs is clouded by the lack of sources, but they probably held beliefs similar to those of Germanic and Nordic paganism, with a heavy emphasis on the animist properties of natural forces.

Lake Pape

Lake Pape and the fishing village that surrounds it (also called Pape) are in the far southwestern tip of Latvia, bordering the Baltic Sea and near the Lithuanian border. Since independence, two different approaches to the future of this region have emerged. Wildlife conservationists see the region as an ideal nature preserve. Soviet prohibitions on construction near the seashore (a state border) translated into the area remaining a relatively pristine environment. Furthermore, the area is generally depopulated and is on an important migratory route of many birds. To international organizations such as the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and its Latvian chapter, the region's natural environment is key. The WWF-Latvia has begun an ambitious (and initially successful) campaign to recreate a coastal wetland environment. Key to the campaign was the reintroduction of wild horses, horses that had not existed in the Pape area for at least two hundred years. The chosen horses, imported from the Netherlands, are technically not wild, but de-domesticated Przewalski horses originally native to Poland. Since the first introduction of the herd in 1998, it has taken to its new environment and has successfully wintered and foaled young. The horses are meant as an important component in the fragile ecosystem, since they will break up ground and graze vegetation. Ultimately the WWF hopes to introduce European bison, which, with large predators such as wolves or bear, would complete the ecosystem.

There is however, an alternate vision of preserving the natural habitat of the Pape region. Some local residents and ethnographic enthusiasts understand the natural environment in a radically different way. To these enthusiasts, Latvians in their traditional setting are a component of the natural environment. They believe that isolation and neglect, as well as the Soviet restrictions, have indeed helped preserve the region, but to them the most important items maintained were old fishermen's homes and lifestyles. Their ideal for preservation is closer to a living version of the open-air ethnographic museum (the open-air museum outside of Riga is probably Latvia's most popular museum). Instead of the resurrection of wetlands, this project draws from the mainstream vision of ethnic Latvian identity as tied to a lost, rural, static experience. The desire to reclaim this identity, to these believers, becomes stronger as Latvia joins multinational organizations and merges with more general Western or global patterns. Thus in the wetlands and villages of Pape an old struggle is currently under negotiation; concerns drawn from transnational issues (in this case the preservation of nature) versus the preservation of traditional culture and identity.

The Latvian Language

The Latvian language is one of the two surviving Baltic languages in the family of Indo-European languages. Lithuanian is the closest linguistic relative to Latvian, and both these languages have some root similarities to Sanskrit. These linguistic ties hint at the very distant nomadic migratory past of the Baltic peoples. For several thousand years, however, these Baltic peoples have resided along the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. Over this long time period a process of differentiation set in, to be reversed by a more systematic process of standardization over the past several hundred years.

The Baltic languages were spoken languages with no written component until well after the arrival of Germans and Russians in the twelfth century. Initially German clergy and merchants were uninterested in recording the languages of the indigenous people and left their own account of conquest and Christianization in Latin and German. Indigenous languages were viewed as peasant tongues spoken by *undeutsch* (non-Germans) and aroused little interest, other than the occasional description of the local peasants that included a few terms in local languages. There was no attempt to record the language as is. The initial impetus for a recorded, written language came from Martin Luther's call for sacred texts and sermons in vernacular languages. Initially, this invigorated the development of the vernacular language of the elites, German. Some German pastors, however, took Luther's demand to its logical conclusion and began to write religious texts in the local peasant languages. These early hymns, catechisms, and sermons represented the first attempts to codify the indigenous peasant languages. The supreme accomplishment of the era was Ernst Glück's translations of the New and Old Testaments in 1687 and 1694 respectively.

Those who wrote the Latvian language were almost exclusively educated Germans up through the eighteenth century. Their unfamiliarity with the language often produced awkward and overly formal composition. Particularly

(continues)

The Latvian Language *(continued)*

difficult was the attempt to force a fluid peasant language, with considerable regional differentiation, into the grammatical rules of High German. The created language was comprehensible, and it improved rapidly, but still it was not the spoken language of indigenous peasants.

During the nineteenth century, the stilted and formal nature of written Latvian began to change. Herder's elevation of peasant peoples, or nations, brought new attention and a desire to record folk songs, legends, proverbs, and customs. More and more written Latvian texts addressed secular issues, although most were still written by Germans, including the first Latvian language newspaper. By the 1840s, however, more and more educated Latvians were writing in their mother tongue and expanding the language considerably.

The Latvian language was central to the national awakening of the mid-nineteenth century. Early nationalists fought to defend the intrinsic merits of what had been considered a peasant tongue by celebrating the folk heritage. These same nationalists attempted to prove the modern capacity of the language by creating for it all of the accoutrements of any "respected language," from novels, epic poems, and translations of the classics to scientific language. When the existing Latvian was found lacking, Latvian nationalists invented new words drawing on Latvian roots, prefixes, and concepts. They worried (and continue to worry to this day) about the many "foreign words" in use in spoken and written Latvian. Their task, however, was (and still is) a difficult, if not impossible, one. German and Russian power and influence were inevitably reflected in the language. A great many words are borrowed from German and Russian. There is within this choice of vocabulary a rich social history. Words of luxury, leisure, business, government, and science were initially exclusively German or Russian (and now are apt to be English). Only in the second half of the nineteenth century (and on) were "Latvian" versions suggested. Further complicating the matter was that there was no uniformity. Some families used German-sounding words while other used Russian ones. This choice often, although not always, betrayed an accompanying Germanophilia or Russophilia.

The following example will illustrate the situation. Traditionally there is no peasant Latvian word for suitcase. Common usage has adapted *koferis* from the German *Koffer* and *cemodans* from the Russian *cemodan.* Some Latvians will use *soma,* a traditional Latvian word that means bag, but its non-specificity has limited its general adoption as "suitcase." Most recently, English words have flooded into the Latvian language through the popular media, pop culture, and the social sciences.

The greater use of written Latvian, particularly with the spread of print media, introduced a standardization of the language, which was taken further by the demands of nationalists. A universally accepted grammar and a series of orthographic reforms defined the Latvian language in the first half of the twentieth century. The first two phases removed Germanic letters and influence. The more controversial third reform further simplified rules of spelling (the word for archive, for example, went from *archivs* to *arhivs*) during the early period of Soviet rule. Some nationalists consider this reform a step towards Sovietization and Russification and continue to resist its use.

The process of codification and standardization largely succeeded in creating one Latvian language. Regional dialects have for the most part disappeared, although idiosyncrasies in speech have remained, particularly in the northwest and along the Daugava River. The exception to this rule is the Latgalian dialect spoken in southeastern Latvia. This region, Latgale, experienced its own distinctive historical and economic development. Because it was more closely linked to Poland and Catholicism, for example, the impulse to express the sacred in the vernacular was muted. By the nineteenth century, the dialect was distinct. The national awakening in Latgale at the beginning of the twentieth century suggested unsurely that Latgalians were a distinct subset of Latvians, even potentially a separate nation. Since that time two conflicting processes have gone on, one of standardizing Latgalian to Latvian, the other of celebrating Latgalian identity. Latgalian is the most widely spoken and written dialect-language in Latvia.

From the late 1980s on, the official language of state has become a defining political issue in independent Latvia. The demand to give Russian official language status is widely shared by the roughly 40 percent of the population that is not ethnically Latvian (primarily Russian). Latvians more generally, and nationalists particularly, see the continuation of Latvian as the sole official language of state as vital to the long-term survival of a small nation's language in the face of Russian influences from the east and the globalizing impact of the English language. As it has been from its beginnings, language in Latvia is an intensely symbolic and political sphere.

The language itself is close to its peasant roots. The number of words is not overwhelming, but idiom usage and an almost infinite possibility of word play with recognized prefixes and suffixes gives the language considerable richness and flexibility. Reflecting its peasant heritage, the Latvian language is at its most articulate with nature. If the Inuit, for example, have a great many words for snow, Latvians have a great many for potato. Similarly the Latvian closeness to nature may have influenced the language's penchant for widespread diminutive usage.

The Baltic peoples' relations with neighbouring peoples are difficult to determine. The difference between trade and tribute was not always clear, but it is reasonable to assume that Vikings and the early Russian princes were superior in status to the local chiefs, and that as their power increased in the tenth and eleventh centuries they impinged on the region more frequently.

RUSSIAN AND GERMAN INFLUENCES

By the beginning of the twelfth century, Russian princes aligned with the grand prince in Kiev received periodic tribute from the Baltic "tribes" and exported Orthodox Christianity to them. Nearly simultaneously, in the middle of the twelfth century, Germanic priests and merchants arrived in the western half of Latvia and traveled through it by the river systems. In the 1160s a German priest, Meinhard, built a church in Ikšķile and attempted to convert the Livs. By the time of his death in 1196, Meinhard's efforts had yielded few converts, but they did bring recognition from Rome. Meinhard's replacement, Berthold, attempted to use force to win converts and lost his life in battle with the Livs in 1198. This sudden reversal led his successor, Albert, to more carefully plan and coordinate military action and conversion. He arrived with some five hundred knights in 1200 and established a more defensible German city, Riga, in 1201. The pattern for the conversion and conquest of the eastern Baltic was set. The Bishop of Riga used a knightly order, the Swordbrothers, threats, and promises to extend Christian (and thus German) control.

Throughout the century, the bishop and the Swordbrothers fought against the various chiefs of the Baltic peoples, forcing conversion upon defeat. Although the Swordbrothers were wiped out in a decisive defeat at Saule in 1236, they reformed as the Livonian Order in 1237 and continued the conquest. The Couronians and Semigallians resisted the longest, but by 1290 the German crusade was complete. As the Germans intruded from the west, the age-old pressure from the Russian princes to the east subsided with the Mongol Invasion of 1237–1242.

The arrival of German, and to a lesser extent Russian, religion, trade, and statecraft is a fundamental watershed in the history of Latvia. Conquest led to subjugation and a radically different kind of social organization, but also the introduction of many new technologies and innovations. The most important innovation was written language. The earliest direct, written accounts of people in the territory of Latvia begin with the arrival of literate German and Russian priests and lords. The almost complete lack of written sources for all of the preceding time forces us to rely on a very incomplete archeological record. Further distorting the understanding of early Baltic societies is the fact that the first records of Baltic "tribes" were written by their conquerors. These conquerors, particularly the Germans, saw themselves as bringing Christianity to heathens and saw little reason to document their earlier ways.

The Livonian Order, representing the German knights, merchants, and priests, ruled the region as a feudal state for the next several hundred years. Medieval Livonia was not a unified modern state. The territory was a patchwork of feudal grants and jurisdictions. Some lands were church lands, usually under the control of the Archbishop of Riga. Other lands were the fiefs granted to the individual knights. Collectively these lands (including modern-day Estonia) were considered the territory of the Livonian Order, and were known as Livonia. Further complicating the structure of the decentralized state was the semiautonomous position of the cities. Wealthy German burghers dominated these cities, chief among them Riga. Several of the cities were members of the Hanseatic League (Riga from 1282) and became important regional mercantile centers. In the early fifteenth century, the four notable social orders (the clergy, the Livonian Order's masters, the vassals, and representatives of the cities) tried to solve the jurisdictional confusion by creating the Livonian Diet. The Diet, however, was unable to effectively mediate the many internecine struggles, and medieval Livonia remained a decentralized state into the sixteenth century.

The steeple of St. Jacob's Lutheran Church in the Old Town section of Riga. (Steve Raymer/Corbis)

The centuries of Livonian rule were also the formative era of social and protonational differentiation. The triumphant German knights of the Livonian Order settled into landed estates and ruled over the remnants of the Livs, Selians, Semigallians, Lettgallians, and Couronians. Although fully developed serfdom did not come into legal existence until the sixteenth century, the pattern of German lords and Baltic peasants slowly set in. The Baltic peasants owed rents, services, and labor to the German lords, who also controlled the administration of justice. These German lords maintained their general German identity, but also took on a Baltic veneer that with time became Baltic German identity. The loss of political authority for the chiefs of the various Baltic peoples tended to blur the distinctions between them and their former subjects. By the sixteenth century, peasants were increasingly referred to as non-Germans, or *Letten* (Latvians). Although the Letten shared a common ethnicity, this term referred to a social class of peasants more than to a modern nation. Some successful peasants tried to assimilate into the Baltic German milieu of the towns or into the Catholic clergy and thereby lose their status as Letten.

Two dominant movements of the sixteenth century, the Reformation and the rise of national monarchies, shredded the foundations of the Livonian State. In the German lands, Martin Luther challenged the status quo of the Roman Catholic Church in 1517, and in less than ten years his reformist views were embraced across Livonia. The Reformation in Livonia, as throughout Europe, was a complex mixture of genuine changes in religious belief and the use of the call for religious reform as a political and social tool for change. In Livonia, as throughout much of Northern Europe, the towns, particularly Riga, embraced the Reformation for political as well as religious change. Likewise, most Baltic German lords adopted Lutheranism for themselves and their serf peasants. The Counter-Reformation was particularly strong south of Livonia, in Lithuania, but for the most part by the middle of the sixteenth century Livonia had become Lutheran.

The success of the Reformation meant a change in the language of the church. Luther believed that the "Word of God" should be in the language of the people and spearheaded the translation of holy texts and the preaching of sermons in the vernacular. In Livonia this initially meant services in German, but religious figures quickly extended this idea to the peasant languages. As a result of this need, German pastors began to slowly forge a written language from the spoken language of the Latvian peasants. At the same time, the Lutheran Church was more receptive to peasants becoming pastors than the Roman Catholic Church had been. Although the development of a written Latvian language and its use by preachers and pastors took decades (even centuries), the slow codification of language, a building block of national identity, began in the decades following the Reformation.

THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The regional, national monarchies began to consolidate power and expand their territories during the sixteenth century. Aggressive and ambitious kings in Sweden and Poland looked at the decentralized Livonian State as a potential area for expansion. It was Tsar Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) of Muscovy, however, who began the actual wars that led to the end of Livonia. Ivan began the Livonian Wars in 1558 with the seizure of the cities of Narva and Dorpat (Narva and Tartu in modern Estonia). He then marched his armies into central Livonia toward Riga. The old medieval Livonian Order proved no match for the Muscovite armies, and the Baltic German lords and towns looked desperately for potential allies. (At the same time, many Latvian and Estonian peasants used the ensuing chaos and disorder to stage peasant rebellions.) The most likely allies against the advance of Ivan IV were the kings of Poland-Lithuania and Sweden. The Baltic Germans of northeastern Livonia allied themselves with Sweden, while the western and central part of Livonia (as well as Riga) appealed to Sigismund II Augustus of Poland-Lithuania. This realignment transformed Ivan's attack on Livonia into a major regional war. Increasingly, Sweden and Poland allied with each other and beat back the Muscovite incursion. These wars lasted several decades and devastated the countryside, leading to several outbreaks of plague and famine. By the first half of the 1580s, Muscovite Russia was pushed out of the territory, and Livonia ceased to exist. The former allies, Sweden and Poland-Lithuania, followed their respective peace treaties with Muscovy by attacking each other for the spoils. Warfare continued on and off until the Treaty of Altmark in 1629. This treaty set a new political geography for the region for the next century.

After the dust of nearly six decades of intermittent warfare settled, there were three separate political entities on the lands of modern Latvia. The Swedish king ruled the northeast (and modern Estonia) and Riga. The southeast became a part of Poland-Lithuania, and the center and west became the semi-independent Duchy of Courland. The first duke of this new duchy was the last master of the Livonian Order, Gotthard Kettler (1517–1587). Kettler's duchy was a vassal state to Poland-Lithuania, but the degree of its autonomy varied throughout its existence.

Kettler began his rule by rebuilding after the Livonian war. The cost of such reconstruction outstripped the resources of the duke's treasury, and he was forced to draw from his vassals or create new vassals. This set a precedent for the remainder of the duchy's existence; the duke may have ruled, but he could not rule without his landholding nobles, and they demanded a share of power. In 1570 the nobility received a guarantee of almost absolute power over their lands (and all peasants on them) in return for financial aid in reconstruction. Almost twenty years later, after Gotthard's death, the nobility used the struggle of succession between the duke's two sons to receive more concessions. Even during the reign of Gotthard's grandson, Jacob, the most successful of the Courland dukes, the power of the nobility was not challenged.

Jacob carefully built the wealth of his duchy on a vibrant merchant economy. He built a merchant navy, conducted long-distance trade, and briefly established two overseas colonies in Gambia and Tobago. His short-term success, however, led to negative long-term consequences. The Polish crown became more interested in a wealthy vassal and played a growing part in ducal intrigues. The Swedes, also attracted by wealth, raided the duchy with increasing frequency. The cost of the overseas ventures and of an increasingly lavish court life for the duke and much of the nobility weakened the fiscal strength of the autonomous duchy and likely led to greater impoverishmnet for the majority of the duchy's inhabitants, the peasants. After Jacob's death, the duchy lacked an equally vigorous ruler, and the power of the dukes declined, first submitting to the Polish court and later to the Romanov court of imperial Russia during the eighteenth century.

Swedish rule in what had been northeastern Livonia was markedly different from ducal rule, but also had some similarities. The territory became attached more closely to the Swedish crown (unlike the distant Polish role with its ducal vassal) and was part of Sweden's attempt to build an empire around the rim of the Baltic Sea in the seventeenth century. As a result, a Swedish governor ruled the territory for the Swedish king. The allegiance of the Baltic German nobles, however, was based on their continued control of their peasants. The Swedish crown wanted to centralize administration, but relied on a decentralized system revolving around local Baltic German control. This paradox was never completely solved. The Swedish crown alternately reaffirmed or undermined Baltic German aristocratic power. The greatest assaults against the local lords, moreover, were not motivated by sympathy for the Baltic peasants, but by displeasure with collected tax revenue. In 1681, for example, the Swedish government reviewed manorial rights and substantially lowered the number of recognized manors (assigning the remainder as crown land). This was a strike against the Baltic German lords, but often even those lords who lost their rights were allowed to retain their lands and privileges. Other corners of the territory were simply overlooked in the review. For Baltic peasants throughout the territory, on crown land or noble land, tax burdens increased, because Baltic German lords passed their tax increases on to their peasants; the ambitions of the Swedish crown were ultimately costly to the peasants.

Riga became a part of the Swedish Empire during the seventeenth century (surrendering to the Swedes in 1621), but also retained many of its autonomous rights and privileges. The city, the largest in the region, grew to several thousand inhabitants and became an important mercantile center. The wealthiest merchant families controlled the urban economy and politics. A standard, and mostly Baltic German, guild system established the foundations of the town. Riga's primary goods of trade were masts, sails, grains, timber, fur, and honey. Much of this trade was long distance, international trade that ended in the ports of the Netherlands and northern Germany and drew in raw materials from the Russian interior. The goods from the interior of Russia, particularly timber, were floated down the Daugava River in huge quantities. As with the Duchy of Courland and the Swedish territories, Riga fit a common pattern: a Baltic German elite controlled local affairs and managed a difficult, yet loyal, relationship with an outside power.

By the end of the seventeenth century, social divisions dating from the time of the Teutonic conquest remained. New sovereigns and foreign influences did not change local political patterns. The ruling elite, feudal lords, town burghers, and religious hierarchy were German; the peasants were not. If anything, the lot of the peasants became considerably worse throughout Polish, ducal, and Swedish territories, as legally sanctioned serfdom became absolute. In the continuing spirit of the Protestant Reformation, however, the Lutheran Church in the Baltic region continued to produce religious material in the language of the people. In the 1680s and 1690s, for example, a Baltic German pastor, Ernst Glück, finally produced the first Latvian translations of the New and Old Testaments. Glück planted oak trees to commemorate the accomplishment, and they still stand in the northeastern town of Alūksne. Other Baltic Germans, most notably Christoph Fürecker, began translating religious hymns into Latvian, but later reversed course by translating Latvian idioms and proverbs into German. This process began the long road to a uniform, printed peasant language. Similarly, the gradual and slow intensification of serfdom throughout the seventeenth century bound peasants together by a somewhat common social and economic experience. By the eighteenth century, the eastern Baltic littoral was home to a Baltic German landed elite ruling over peasants who could be called Latvians, all under more distant Swedish or Polish sovereigns.

The greatest exception to this rule was the southeastern territory of the old Livonian state that became a part of Poland-Lithuania outright after the Treaty of Altmark. This eastern region, known as Polish Inflanty, moved more closely into the Polish orbit in the seventeenth century. Daugavpils (also known as Dvina and Dunaburg) became the largest and most important urban area, but was still relatively small and overwhelmingly focused on river trade and traffic. The Counter-Reformation removed many Lutheran congregations and entrenched Catholicism throughout the region. Moreover, Polish lords replaced Baltic German ones, as the Polish-Lithuanian crown used this newly conquered territory to reward vassals with tracts of land in this newly acquired region. As a result, the region developed differently from the areas under Swedish or autonomous rule in terms of economic, political, cultural, and linguistic trends for several centuries. In Polish Inflanty, the local serfs served Polish rulers and remained outside of the early nationalizing influence of the spread of the printed word. These people, known as Latgalians, ultimately developed a different dialect of Latvian, with unique cultural components as well. Economic and political development was equally distinct from that in the west and northeast of modern Latvia. Latgalians remain unique: they are seen as either a subset of the Latvian nation with a distinct language and identity or, by some, as a unique nation.

The geopolitical impetus that hurried the demise of Livonia and the arrival of Polish and Swedish power was the western expansion of Muscovy. Ivan IV lost the Livonian wars and soon afterward died without an heir. This dynastic crisis led to the "Time of Troubles" (1584–1613) in Muscovite Russia. The Time of Troubles saw Swedish and Polish incursions into Muscovite territory and a constant spate of pretenders to the Russian throne. Ultimately, Muscovite society rallied around a new dynasty, the Romanovs, and repelled foreign influences. The chaos and devastation (made worse by the excesses of Ivan IV's reign) hampered renewed Muscovite expansion throughout the seventeenth century. A massive religious schism (religious refugees, the "Old Believers," became the first Russian communities in the territory of modern Latvia) further concentrated Muscovite politics on internal matters. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, a newly aggressive and confident Muscovy looked westward toward the Baltic Sea.

The young tsar, Peter I, embodied this new confidence and ambition. Peter the Great was first and foremost a great conqueror. His comprehensive reforms of Muscovite society were designed to address military weaknesses. His military conquests in the west came ultimately at the expense of the Polish and Swedish crowns.

Peter the Great's military campaigns in the Baltic region began in 1700. As the Polish king raided Swedish possessions, Peter attacked and captured Narva in present-day Estonia. Charles XII, the king of Sweden, defended his Baltic possessions (beating Peter at Narva), but ultimately was defeated at the Battle of Poltava in what is now Ukraine in 1709. Soon afterward, a Russian army captured Riga in 1710, and Swedish power in the eastern Baltic came to an end. The subsequent peace treaty, the Treaty of Nystadt, was not signed until 1721, but the collection of campaigns and battles referred to as the Great Northern War established Russian power on the shores of the Baltic. Peter transformed Muscovy into the Russian Empire and became its first emperor. Swedish territory, such as the province of Livland, became a Russian possession, and the military balance in the region shifted so fundamentally that the Duchy of Courland became increasingly tied to Russia (and its new capital St. Petersburg) rather than Poland. Years of constant warfare and the ensuing outbreaks of plague and famine, however, devastated Livland; its population plummeted by as much as 40 percent.

Eighteenth-century history in the lands of contemporary Latvia is the story of the gradual, yet relentless, rise of Russian hegemony, but with a veneer of Baltic German influence impinging into Russia. As early as the campaigns of the Great Northern War, a Baltic peasant girl under the wardship of Pastor Ernst Glück caught the eye of the Russian emperor. Ultimately she became his second wife and one of his short-lived successors (as Catherine I). Her own national identity is variously described as Lithuanian or Latvian, but under the guidance of Ernst Glück she was partially educated in a Baltic German milieu.

The Duchy of Courland was the institutional center of Baltic German influence and played an even more influential role in the palace politics of the Russian Empire following Peter the Great's death. During the Great Northern War, the last of the Kettler dynasty, Ferdinand, became duke. Ferdinand tied the duchy more closely to Russia by marrying Anna, the daughter of Tsar Ivan V, who briefly reigned as "co-tsar" with his younger half-brother Peter II, but Ferdinand personally seldom lived in or ruled over his ducal realm. Many other Baltic German aristocrats of the duchy followed a pro-Russian policy and supported the candidacy of Ernst Johann Biron as duke after Ferdinand died childless in 1737. Biron's candidacy linked the duchy permanently to the Russian court; Anna had become tsarina in 1730, and Biron was her lover. The duchy remained a separate entity until the reign of Catherine the Great and the partitions of Poland, but practically was henceforth under Russian control.

Repeating the experience of the end of Livonia's existence, the Baltic German nobility in the eighteenth century somewhat effortlessly shifted their political allegiances, yet maintained and increased local control. The widespread depopulation caused by the wars and plagues led to labor shortages on the nobles' estates. Their response was to press for further legal rights over the remaining peasants. In practice this meant that the peasants were required to provide more labor to their lords. As the lifestyles of the nobility became more extravagant (particularly those who were involved in the palace intrigues of St. Petersburg), even more was squeezed from the peasants. The Baltic German nobility succeeded in limiting peasant mobility in order to maintain their labor supplies, and they preserved their monopoly over local justice. Some nobles even claimed that their rights over serfs amounted to full property rights. All of these changes made the legal definitions of serfdom more severe, and by the end of the century most peasants had become a social order of hereditary serfs.

Although the legal and material conditions of serfs throughout Livland and Courland deteriorated throughout the eighteenth century, there were at the same time religious and literary developments that countered this general trend. Pietism became the first Christian movement to make fundamental inroads into peasant communities.

Until the Lutheran Reformation, there were few attempts to make Christianity accessible to the Baltic peasants. Even after the arrival of Lutheranism and some translations of religious texts into Latvian, the close link between the Baltic German pastor and the Baltic German lord alienated peasants from Christianity. The ideas of the Moravian Brethren (also known as the Herrnhut Movement), however, were substantially different. These pietistic missionaries preached the equality of all Christians (despite social distinctions), trained Latvians for positions in the clergy, and encouraged literacy so that each Christian could have a personal relationship with the Scriptures. The movement spread quickly in Livland, before it was forbidden in 1742 as a potential threat to social order. Although the movement's tangible effects were few, the encouragement of literacy and a kind of egalitarianism continued to develop into the nineteenth century. The spread of literacy and the expanding demand for religious texts led to more and more publications in Latvian. The Baltic German clergy still wrote almost all of these books, and they forced the "peasant language" into German grammatical laws. Nevertheless, written Latvian slowly became standardized and codified. By the end of the eighteenth century, some books on nonreligious topics were also published, and other Baltic Germans began to write about Latvians in German.

Near the end of the eighteenth century, social, economic, cultural, and linguistic patterns strengthened across the political divide of Russian Livland and the nominally independent Duchy of Courland. In both of these territories, a Baltic German nobility ruled over Latvian serfs. Although these serfs had almost no rights, their similar conditions, combined with the spread of a standardized language, and a growing awareness of and literacy in that language, created a more general Latvian identity, that replaced the remnants of the more localized identities of a previous age. The gradual absorption of all Latvian lands into the Russian Empire as a result of the partitions of Poland accelerated this development. Nevertheless, "Latvianness" did not yet exist as a conscious national identity. Instead, Latvianness was synonomous with social position, or essentially peasantdom. To be a Latvian was to be a peasant and vice versa; those few Latvians that acquired the accoutrements of education, literacy, clergy status, and perhaps merchant wealth assimilated into the Baltic German world.

The first partition of Poland occurred in 1772 when Catherine the Great, the tsarina of Russia, exploited civil conflict in Poland to deftly create an international coalition of Prussia, Austria, and Russia against Polish interests. Poland lost nearly one-third of its territory to these three powers, including the loss of Polish Inflanty to Russia. The local Polish nobility maintained some of their local control (although not as successfully as the Baltic Germans historically had), but the territory increasingly became administered as a part of Russia. This sovereign change continued the pattern begun by the Treaty of Altmark, which placed the peasants living in this territory under different conditions and with different socioeconomic development from those in Livland and Courland. As a result, Lettgallian districts, the Lettgallian language, and Lettgallian peasants continued to develop a distinct identity, though one that was related to that of Latvians.

After the first partition, Poland-Lithuania was severely compromised, and over the course of the next twenty-five years Russia, Austria, and Prussia dismantled the remainders. The third and final partition, in 1795, also included the still nominally autonomous Duchy of Courland. By 1763, Biron's son, Peter, was duke. Peter's rule brought the duchy ever closer to Russia, and by the 1790s most of the duchy's nobility were eager to accept Russian rule if they could maintain their local control. When Poland-Lithuania ceased to exist in 1795, the duchy lost its theoretical liege lord. Catherine the Great eased Peter's loss of the duchy by purchasing his lands and providing him a substantial pension. The Courland nobility in turn swore allegiance to the Romanov dynasty, and Courland as an autonomous entity disappeared along with independent Poland-Lithuania.

UNDER RUSSIAN RULE

Russian rule over the eastern Baltic, although realized in military terms by Peter the Great's victories in the Great Northern War, became a reality through Catherine the Great's diplomacy. At the turn of the nineteenth century, all of present-day Latvia was a part of the Russian Empire. Livland and Courland, with their Swedish and autonomous pasts, became the core of the Baltic Provinces (which also included Estland, a part of modern Estonia). The Baltic German nobility remained in local control and easily accepted Russian imperial authority (often moving into imperial service in St. Petersburg as well). Lettgallia, with its distinct past and closer connection to Poland, became more closely attached to greater Russia itself.

Serfdom was the dominant social, political, and economic system of the Baltic Provinces as they became a part of tsarist Russia (not coincidentally serfdom was also the dominant social, political, and economic system of imperial Russia). By the end of the eighteenth century, however, serfdom was coming under increasing pressure from economic change, peasant unrest, and philosophical criticism. The philosophers of the European Enlightenment attacked the institution, even receiving some vague, theoretical support from Catherine the Great in her correspondence with many of these philosophers. The French Revolution in 1789 (and the execution of the French king Louis XVI in 1792, as well as the Pugachev Rebellion in Russia in the mid-1770s) tempered Catherine's desire for reform, but Enlightenment thinking influenced others, including the Baltic German Garlieb Merkel.

Merkel despised serfdom for humanitarian reasons, but at the same time he wrote about serfs as a potentially explosive social force. Merkel prophesied widespread Latvian peasant unrest if serfdom was not abolished.

The fulfilment of Merkel's prophecies seemed close at hand at the beginning of the reign of Tsar Alexander I, the grandson of Catherine the Great, when Latvian peasants rose in rebellion near the town of Valmiera (in an episode known as the Kauguri unrest). The army had to intervene to restore order, which was not accomplished until after an artillery barrage. The uprising convinced Alexander of the need to reform serfdom. The resulting Livland Peasant Law of 1804 did not question the validity of serfdom, but did redefine its nature. Labor services were defined on paper and payable with money. The law also created local courts that could review whether obligations exceeded legal norms. The law was a theoretical step toward the emancipation that ultimately came after the Napoleonic invasion of 1812 (the invasion crossed through the southern portion of Courland). Its consequences, however, also produced the opposite short-term results, as lords increased labor services when they were put into writing and the local courts were entirely dominated by representatives of the Baltic German lords. Nevertheless, the spirit of reform and the questioning of the foundations of serfdom had begun.

When Alexander I returned from Paris after the final defeat of Napoleon, he assented to a full emancipation of serfs in the Baltic Provinces (first in Estland in 1815, followed by Courland in 1817, and finally in Livland in 1819). Emancipation affected more than a half million serfs, but it left much to be desired among these newly freed peasants. The actual emancipation acts envisaged a slow transition to full liberty with no land for the peasantry. Throughout Livland and Courland, former serfs remained tied to the land with restrictions on their mobility well into the 1830s and 1840s.

Moreover, they continued to owe some labor dues to their former lords, and most entered into contracts that stipulated the giving of labor for rent. The Baltic German lords continued to control the administration of justice in the countryside. On the surface, therefore, little changed with emancipation. In Lettgallia even less changed, as emancipation did not come to Lettgallian peasants until the general Russian emancipation of 1861.

The limitations on emancipation further strengthened the hand of the Baltic German land-owning nobility. Freed from contractual responsibilities to serfs, many lords raised rent prices on their former serfs. With the restrictions on mobility, the ex-serfs were forced to accept the Baltic German demands. Still, the increasing importance of legal, written documents further stimulated the desire to acquire rudimentary literacy and led to the widespread formalization or introduction of surnames (often given by Baltic German lords, with occasional comical or malicious intent).

The shortcomings in the emancipation legislation led to more tension, not less. Small disturbances and peasant unrest became more commonplace. By the 1840s, Latvian peasants in Livland became convinced that conversion to the tsar's religion (Orthodoxy) would lead to a better life (usually with a gift of free land in the south of Russia from the pleased monarch). The ensuing mass conversions and migrations to Ukrainian lands and the east were difficult to manage for a conservative, status quo regime. On the one hand, the tsar considered himself the defender of Orthodoxy, but he also relied on the Baltic German nobility and did not want to provoke social unrest. Ultimately, the rumors were discouraged (as were converts), and a government committee looked into the underlying roots of social unrest, the land problem. Some initial steps were taken in the 1840s to allow for the purchase of land, but the sale of land to Latvian peasants did not become common practice until the 1860s.

New reforms also loosened the restrictions on peasant mobility. As a result, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed great transformations in the Baltic countryside: land ownership, migration, and dramatic population growth. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, from 30 to 40 percent of arable land was owned by Latvian smallholders. Still, most Latvians were landless, and increasing numbers relocated to Baltic towns and cities. This trickle became a flood when industrialization began to create opportunities for employment in the cities and population growth exacerbated land hunger in the countryside.

The backdrop to the change in the social fabric of the countryside was increasing tension between Baltic Germans, Latvians, and Russians. Throughout the nineteenth century, local conditions changed considerably, as Latvian peasants developed a sense of national consciousness. Simultaneously, St. Petersburg moved to stamp out regional differences in an effort to rationalize peculiarities and create a more uniform empire. Baltic Germans reacted to both of these challenges by mobilizing their energies to maintain local hegemony and imperial prerogatives.

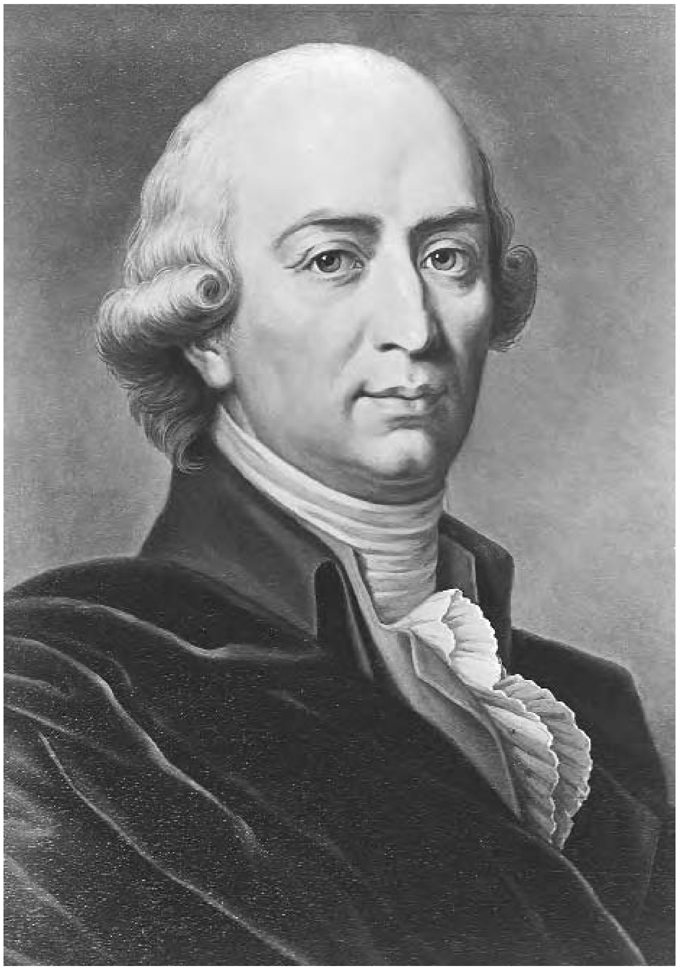
The modernizing Russian Empire struggled with the unique nature of the Baltic Provinces. On the one hand, the provinces were economically more sophisticated than the bulk of Russia and seemed to offer an example for the rest of the empire. Baltic German nobles, often with superior skills and training, moved effortlessly into leading positions within the tsarist bureaucracy and military. On the other hand, the Baltic Provinces were quite different from the rest of the empire, and these differences flew in the face of the contemporary logic that demanded a standardized state. As the Romanov empire modernized, it grew less tolerant of regional differences. Modernization and standardization required greater Russian involvement, and this pattern intensified particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century (spurred on by the industrialization of the late nineteenth century). Moreover, the same regional differences grew more defined as a Latvian national movement struggled against Baltic German hegemony in local affairs.

LATVIAN NATIONAL AWAKENING

The Latvian national awakening began in the middle of the nineteenth century, with the Baltic German ruling elite as its initial target. Ironically, educated Baltic Germans laid the foundations of the national awakening. By the end of the eighteenth century, German thinkers had turned away from the Enlightenment and toward romantic nationalism. Johann Gottfried Herder, who taught in Riga for four years, exemplified this change. Herder believed that nations, or peoples, each a distinctive *Volk,* created history and that the nations of Eastern and Central Europe were worthy of study. He believed the best way to study these peasant nations was through their folk culture. Herder's writing included some discussion of Latvian folk songs with a few translations.

After Herder moved west, he became far more influential, and his influence in the more general German cultural world convinced Baltic German intellectuals to study their peasants. This academic pursuit led to the creation of societies (such as the Society of Friends of Latvians) for the study of Latvian folk customs, and the publication of the first Latvian language newspapers. For these Baltic Germans, this exercise was little more than an intellectual affair, but it did further standardize a written Latvian language and provided that language with many more secular titles. Theoretically, thinkers like Herder suggested that the Latvian nation was equal to any other in value and provided an opportunity for Latvian advancement. Practically, these thinkers helped found an institute for the training of primary school teachers. The majority of the institute's students were Latvian, and they formed the nucleus of the first generation of Latvian nationalists (their nationalism often learned through German texts).

By the 1850s, the gradual extension of schools led to more literacy among Latvians in town and country. A handful of Latvian students (such as Krišjānis Valdemārs, Krišjānis Barons, and Atis Kronvalds), buoyed by the nationalist ideas of Herder and his disciples, began to identify themselves as Latvians. They studied at the University of Dorpat, where they digested the latest developments in Europe and Russia. They followed the lead of European nationalist students,



Portrait of Johann Gottfried von Herder. (Bettmann/Corbis)

such as the Young Italians and the Young Germans, and called themselves the Young Latvians. From the mid-1850s to the mid-1880s, this first generation of Latvian nationalists advocated a cultural program that defended the merits of the Latvian language and people. Very often their efforts included the buttressing of the peasant Latvian language with the creation of new words, epic poems, and patriotic hymns. Their banner publication was the *Petersburg Newspaper (Pēteburgas avīze),* ultimately closed due to Baltic German pressure.

Andrejs Pumpurs, a Latvian officer in the tsarist army, exemplified these early efforts and the still nascent and ambiguous sense of this new identity. Pumpurs drew liberally from Latvian stories and wrote a national epic, *The Bearslayer.* He also, however, volunteered to fight for Serbia, motivated in part by pan-Slavic sentiments (a general movement that emphasized a common cultural bond among all Slavic peoples). Others of his generation, such as Atis Kronvalds, wrote often about "the Latvian question," but seldom in the Latvian language. Many of these students had begun the path toward assimilation into the Baltic German world and consciously arrested this development in adulthood. The results, at times, were Latvian nationalists more comfortable speaking and writing in German than in Latvian and married to German women. Not surprisingly, their program was seldom revolutionary. The linguistic and cultural program of these early nationalists was thus not particularly threatening to the established Baltic German elite, which saw value in the recording of folk customs and lore. When the program began to press for an indigenization (that is, a Latvianization) of administration, however, the two ethnic groups became competitors.

The Young Latvians began to identify Baltic German hegemony in the Baltic Provinces as the obstacle to further Latvian advancement. These early Latvian nationalists encouraged Latvian economic development and appealed to the imperial Russian government to limit Baltic German control over the countryside. Baltic Germans were generally slow to respond to the challenge and largely continued to cling to an idea, rapidly becoming archaic, of social order and not ethnic determination, or in other words they believed the sucessful and the educated by definition of their accomplishment became a part of the Baltic German world. The Young Latvians' appeal, however, coincided with the Russian government's desire to modernize the state after the disastrous Crimean War (1853–1856). The imperial court identified diversity and regional uniqueness as a hindrance to the rational standardization of the empire around "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationality" (Russian), the official credo of the monarchy in the nineteenth century. A vibrant slavophilism around the court also questioned the desirability of Baltic Germans in high places, particularly with the rapid growth of Prussian might. In the Baltic Provinces, St. Petersburg first targeted the dominant position of the German language by decreeing the use of Russian in administrative and educational institutions. The Young Latvians supported this Russification as a strike against Baltic Germans.

Soon, however, the ultimate results of Russification disappointed all parties. The Baltic German nobility had seen themselves as stalwart defenders of the Russian empire since the time of Peter the Great. Suddenly their position was under attack from the tsar's administration itself. The nobility steadfastly clung to a series of "capitulations" that Peter the Great had granted the Baltic German nobility during the Great Northern War. Baltic Germans believed that their local control was sacrosanct, and they mobilized their resources to defend their privileges. Although their influence steadily eroded, they were able to maintain regional hegemony until World War I. Throughout this time period, however, they were increasingly hostile to Latvian demands and almost equally suspicious of Russia's plans.

Latvians, although they initially supported Russification, began to see the increase of Russian authority not as a tool to limit Baltic German power, but as a new threat to Latvian identity.

The Russian state was similarly disappointed. The hopes for standardization and rationalization of the empire were frustrated by successful Baltic German lobbying at the court and intransigence in the Baltic Provinces. When, for example, schools were to be run in Russian, the Baltic Germans withdrew funding for local education, thereby seriously undermining the success of the reforms. Russification, and the reactions to it, helped create polarized, activist societies organized increasingly on national principles.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the countryside slowly became more complex and differentiated. The Baltic German nobility still dominated, but with the midcentury reforms that allowed Latvians to buy land, some became prosperous smallholders. Most Latvian peasants, however, remained agricultural laborers and sharecroppers. Increasingly, Latvians left the land and moved to the towns and cities of the Baltic Provinces or to the southern regions of imperial Russia. Traditionally towns had been Baltic German oases in a Latvian peasant sea, capable of assimilating limited numbers of aspiring Latvians into a German cultural milieu. Most Baltic Germans believed that station defined Germanness; an educated Latvian peasant or wealthy Latvian merchant *became* German. Industrialization and urbanization, which took on revolutionary demographic proportions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, overwhelmed the old established order and reinforced the ideas of national identity of the Young Latvians. Literate Latvian workers and smallholders provided a market for the literary and journalistic production of the Young Latvians, and their reading public similarly gave them a popular base of support. The Young Latvians' moderate program, however, could not satisfy all of the demands of the late nineteenth century.

A potential counterweight to national identity began to develop and emerge in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Socialism and the workers' movement emerged from industrialization and urbanization throughout Europe. As Russia industrialized rapidly after 1880, Riga became an important industrial center. Large factories sprang up all over Riga, as well as in other towns across the Baltic Provinces. Rural landless Latvians flocked to these factories for jobs, as did Russians, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Belarusians. Multiethnic factories and towns developed amid the ethnic tensions of Russification and the material poverty of early and rapid industrialization. A workers' movement was inevitable, and in a repressive, authoritarian state like Russia it was destined to develop along illegal and conspiratorial lines.

The workers' movement developed along Marxist lines, supposedly due to the semimythic voyage of a young intellectual, Jānis Pliekšāns, to Germany. Pliekšāns is supposed to have returned to the Baltic Provinces with a suitcase full of contraband Marxist literature and introduced other like-minded young intellectuals to Marxist thought. These intellectuals shared an animosity toward the previous generation, the Young Latvians. They believed that the previous generation's moderate program did little to better the condition of the majority of Latvians. They saw efforts within the system as ultimately futile and began to suspect the Young Latvians were most interested in defending the interests of the few propertied and educated Latvians. Furthermore, they saw their stress on rural solutions as inadequate to the changing, increasingly industrial character of the cities and towns of the Baltic Provinces. In Marxism, these idealistic young intellectuals saw a rejection of the previous generation, the appeal of revolutionary change, and the supposed inevitability of "scientific laws of history."

This early Marx-inspired movement became known as the New Current *(Jaunā Strāva)* and worked closely with the newspaper *The Daily Page (Dienas lapa)*. Pliekšāns edited the daily and ultimately adopted the pseudonym Rainis, by which he is best remembered. The newspaper introduced Marxist ideas to its readers through reviews of recent literature and theater performances. In these quasi-literary activities, several of the New Current's activists, including Rainis and his equally significant and active wife Elza Rozenberga, known by her pseudonym Aspāzija, proved to be more accomplished literary masters than subversive politicians. Nevertheless, after a series of strikes broke out in Riga in 1897, *The Daily Page* was closed and many of the leading members of the New Current, including Rainis, were deported to Siberia. Ultimately, Rainis and Aspāzija went into exile in Switzerland, but the Marxist movement had sunk deep and permanent roots.

The radical movement soon moved from literary criticism to involvement with actual workers, as evidenced by the strikes of 1897, which led to the establishment of an underground illegal Marxist workers' party, the Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party, in 1904. Although the party was aware of the similar Russian Social Democratic Party, it initially kept its independent status. Nevertheless, the world of conspiratorial politics brought many of Latvia's socialists into contact with the ranks of empire-wide radical parties.

The turn of the twentieth century was a time of enormous change in Riga and in the Baltic Provinces generally. Urbanization and industrialization spilled over from Riga to include Liepāja (Libau), Jelgava (Mitau), Venstpils (Vendau), and Daugavpils (Dvinsk). Even small towns like Sloka and Limbaži grew considerably, thanks to industrial enterprises. Industrialization also brought modernization; Riga led the empire in introducing technological innovations such as electric lights, telegraphs, telephones, and streetcars. Socioeconomic diversification became more pronounced, with great variations between skilled and unskilled workers, rich and poor merchants, and prosperous farmers and destitute peasants. The various political programs of Latvian nationalists, Latvian socialists (as well as Russian, Jewish, and Polish socialists), Baltic Geman elites, and Russian administrators vied with each other in a limited political system. Elections were neither universal nor democratic, and political and economic power remained in the hands of imperial administrators and Baltic German elites.

Ultimately the competing, yet potentially complementary, forces of national and class identity erupted in the Revolution of 1905. The Russian Empire fared disastrously in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, and a resulting peace procession in January 1905 in St. Petersburg turned into a massacre when tsarist troops opened fire on the demonstrators ("Bloody Sunday"). Within days a similar demonstration in Riga also met the gunfire of tsarist troops, leaving dozens dead. Throughout the empire, people responded with near unanimity against this perceived injustice. In the Baltic Provinces the initial target of anger was the Baltic German elite. Workers (Latvian and Russian) went on strike in the cities, while the predominantly Latvian countryside rose in agricultural strikes and later rebellion. Dozens of manor houses were burned, and peasants organized their own autonomous governments. Strike committees wielded considerable power throughout the towns.

At the end of 1905, however, the tsar regained the upper hand throughout his realm with the October Manifesto, which successfully divided popular opinion. The October Manifesto allowed for a pseudo-parliamentary body (a duma) and seemed to guarantee some civil rights. With its promulgation, liberals and the bourgeoisie were ready to resume working for reform within the new system. Radicals, however, saw the manifesto as a sign of weakness and pushed for a more radical revolution. But with the nation now divided over how to react to the October Manifesto, the tsar soon regained control over the situation. Imperial troops restored order and repressed Latvians and Russians alike. Troop detachments aided by Baltic German aristocrats undertook punitive expeditions in the countryside, summarily executing or punishing suspected radicals.

After the incomplete revolution, local and imperial politics included more popular (although not democratic) participation. The October Manifesto created the Duma, a consultative body elected by *curia*s, proportionate electoral bodies that ensured that the workers and peasants did not receive seats in proportion to their numbers. In 1906 the first elected Duma pushed the limits of the new system and tried to transform itself into a legislative body. Nicholas II responded by dismissing the Duma and calling for new elections. The rebellious majority, including the elected Latvian deputies (among them Jānis Čakste, a lawyer from Jelgava) retired to Vyborg in Finland and called for renewed revolution (the Vyborg Declaration). The tide, however, had turned, and the tsar, buoyed by a loyal army and aristocracy, carried the day. Nicholas II further dismissed the second Duma, and after his prime minister, Peter Stolypin, altered the electoral qualifications, the Duma became a largely subservient, consultative body. For the Baltic Provinces the new electoral laws meant fewer Latvian deputies in the Duma, and those that were elected were considered pragmatic conservatives.

Municipal politics in the Baltic Provinces revolved around similar curias and ethnic electoral lists. In the larger cities, including Riga, the Baltic German elite was able to play Latvian and Russian voters against each other and maintain power. In a few smaller towns, however, elected Latvian majorities took over local councils. Few, however, thought the political transformation complete. Radicals saw a betrayed revolution and planned for the next; in the Latvian case this included the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party becoming a member of the Russian Social Democratic Party and at times supporting the radical Bolshevik faction led by Lenin. Most felt, however, that though the new system was far from perfect, it could perhaps be reformed from within. Across all quarters, however, the Revolution of 1905 and its aftermath divided groups by class and ethnicity.

The ethnic makeup of the Baltic Provinces at the end of the imperial era is difficult to deduce. The first (and only) Imperial Census of 1897 did not ask for national identity, but for "mother's tongue," and was incomplete for the areas that later became Latgale. Drawing from this material and other city and regional censuses, Latvians made up more than 68 percent of the total population of modern Latvia. Russians accounted for nearly 8 percent (12 percent with Belarusians), and Baltic Germans were an additional 6 percent of the population. A sizable Jewish population numbered more than 7 percent of the total population. Cities and towns, particularly Riga, were much more multiethnic. Riga was home to Russian administrators and soldiers, Russian, Latvian, and Jewish merchants and workers, and Baltic Germans. By 1913, the city had more than 500,000 inhabitants, 42 percent of whom were Latvian, 19 percent Russian, 13 percent Baltic German, and 6 percent Jewish. Most other urban centers in the Baltic Provinces were similarly multiethnic. Throughout most of Courland and southern Livland, the countryside was overwhelmingly Latvian. Further east, however, in the region of Latgale, sizable Russian, Jewish, Polish, and Belorussian communities created an ethnic mosaic. If 58 percent of the region was ethnically Latvian, there were eleven parishes where the Latvian percentage fell well below 50 percent.

WORLD WAR I

No European power was prepared for the scope of destruction in World War I, but least of all Russia. World War I was disastrous for the Romanov empire. Whether the war caused or contributed to the Revolutions of 1917, Russia, like the other multiethnic autocracies of Europe, did not survive the war. Many of the "captive nations" attempted to break free from Russian rule (particularly after the inception of Bolshevik rule), and Latvia, along with Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, and Poland, succeeded. World War I enabled independence, but it also exacted a terrible price in physical destruction and massive demographic change.

The war began in August 1914 with Russia aligned with France and the United Kingdom against the Central Powers of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Allied Powers' war plan imagined a rapid Russian mobilization and invasion from the east to squeeze the Central Powers into quick defeat. The Central Powers, on the other hand, through the German High Command's Schlieffen Plan, looked toward a quick rout of France through a great circling motion through Belgium before Russian armies could make much headway into Germany's eastern regions. As with so much else in World War I, neither plan worked as expected. The hoped-for quick rout of France stalled in the trenches of the Western Front that became so emblematic of much of the war in the west. In the east Russia mobilized more quickly and successfully than anticipated and moved into the territory of modern Poland. The Latvian deputies in the Duma (like almost all of the deputies) greeted the war with official speeches of loyalty and determination. However, in the late summer of 1914 early defeats turned to routs at the Battles of the Masurian Lakes and Tannenberg (more Latvians died at these two battles than at any others during the war). The German army pressed into the Baltic Provinces on the heels of a fleeing Russian army in disarray and confused civilians. The impending occupation unleashed a flood of at least

700,000 refugees eastward. The Russians evacuated the industrial equipment (and workers) from Riga and several other urban centers in the Baltic Provinces and encouraged the migration of local populations (often with implicit or direct force). By the fall of 1915, the front stabilized halfway through the Baltic Provinces along the Daugava River (Dvina), with a severely depopulated Riga perilously close to the front.

Over the next three years, the common experience of Latvians was deprivation. Some remained in the province of Courland, now occupied by the German Army and administered as *Ostland* (Eastland). Here Baltic Germans began to rethink their generations-old allegiance to the tsarist crown, particularly in light of Latvian violence during the Revolution of 1905 and frequent Russian assaults on Baltic German privileges. Some of these Baltic German elites saw their continued local dominance as most likely within a victorious German empire, and they began to organize for such an outcome. The Latvian peasants in the region, however, were subjected to military justice, requisitions of labor and supplies, and even the arrival of some German settlers.

East of the Daugava River, the situation was very unsettled with an active military front, troop concentrations, local populations, and war refugees. More unsettling was the experience of the displaced, probably the majority of Latvians. Some took refuge in Livland, while others moved further into the interior of Russia. Tsarist authorities did not want to add to the supply problems of St. Petersburg and Moscow and encouraged war refugees to the Caucasus and to the far east. War refugees were spread across the entire empire, with inadequate provisions made for their most basic needs. Other displaced Latvians included those conscripted into the army and those workers evacuated with their factories.

Increasingly the Russians could not deal with the refugee crisis and military failures and begrudgingly allowed society to organize as well. Latvian Refugee Associations began to care for Latvian refugees across the empire, and the Latvian Duma deputies and army oficers successfully lobbied for the creation of ethnic Latvian regiments, more popularly known as the Latvian Rifles, that came to be used in military action on Latvian territory. The regiments distinguished themselves in the Christmas Offensive of 1916 outside of Riga, but the rest of the army was unable to press the momentary advantage, and initial confidence turned to despair. Ultimately, across the entire empire this despair led to the February Revolution of 1917, touched off by bread riots in St. Petersburg.

Revolution deepened across the empire, and "dual power" emerged. Dual power was essentially a situation in which after the tsar's abdication two conflicting institutions claimed power, the provisional government and the Soviet of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers. There was some cooperation between the two, but after Lenin's return to Russia in April, the Bolshevik Party, a small minority within the Russian socialist movement, agitated for the Soviet to claim complete power. Initially these demands were unpopular, but since neither the provisional government nor the Soviet could effectively meet the many problems of Russia, more people turned to the Bolshevik vision. By May 1917, the Latvian Rifles sided with the Bolsheviks and provided them with needed military muscle for the next several years. In Latvia, and particularly in Riga, dual power was short-lived, and the Soviet wielded most of the real power.

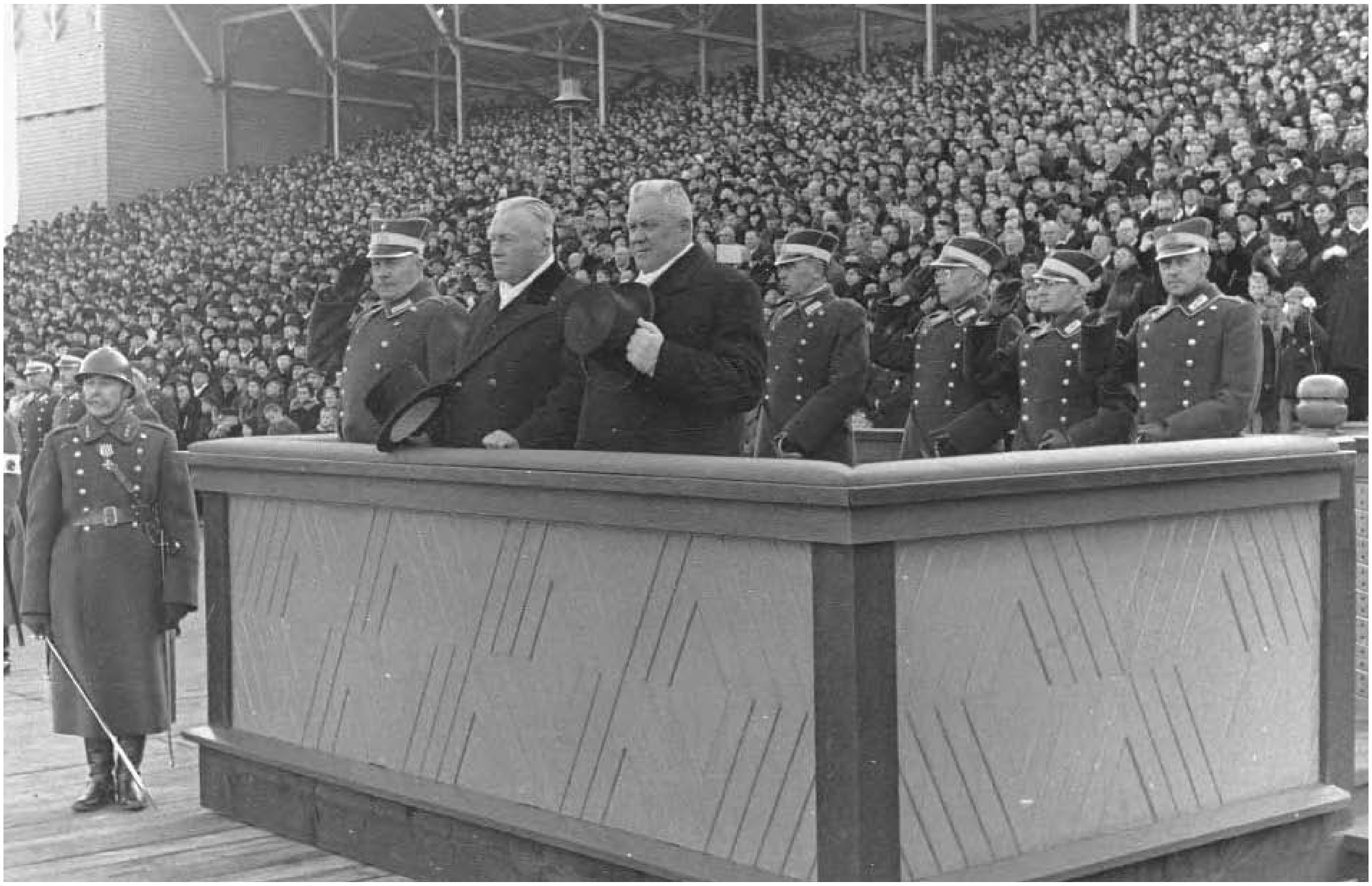
In August 1917 a new German offensive captured Riga and initiated the long process that culminated in the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917 (by the old calendar; November 1917 by the Julian Calendar). After the Bolshevik Revolution, the German army occupied the remainder of the Baltic Provinces in the spring of 1918 to force a conclusion to the peace negotiations between the Bolsheviks and the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk. The Bolsheviks acquiesced, and the German military and many Baltic Germans began preparations for annexation of the region.

Through the first three quarters of 1918, Germany seemed likely to acquire the Baltic Provinces, and many refugees began to slowly return. The collapse of the German army on the Western Front, however, mooted the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The victorious Allies were determined not to allow German gains in the east after defeat in the west. They were, however, equally worried about the spread of the Communist Revolution from the east into the political vacuum of Central and Eastern Europe. This concern set the stage for alternative visions of a postwar Baltic and led to a resumption of fighting for two more years.

INTERWAR LATVIA

There were two visions of postwar society that battled in the war's immediate aftermath (along with a desperate, rearguard attempt by Germany and Baltic Germans to maintain dominance over the region). Latvian Bolsheviks, such as Pēteris Stučka, the brother-in-law of Jānis Rainis, building on socialism's popularity from the time of the Revolution of 1905 and the support of the Latvian Rifles, attempted to tie the region to nascent Soviet Russia. In December 1918, on the heals of the defeat of Germany, Soviet armies moved into the region hoping to extend the revolution and began to create a Latvian Soviet Republic. Initial military success took these Soviet armies through almost the entire region by the end of January 1919, leaving only a few opponents along a sliver of land around Liepāja in resistance. The Latvian Bolsheviks, however, quickly lost popular support due to their heavy-handed method of ruling Riga and their ideological stand against private property. Their persecution of class enemies encouraged ardent supporters, but lost most general support. Similarly, a perception existed that their first concern was the survival of the Soviet state with its capital now in Moscow, rather than with a Latvian Soviet state.

Just prior to the Latvian Bolsheviks' attempt to create a Soviet state, a group of nationalists and non-Bolshevik socialists gathered in Riga to declare a national independent Latvia. Their political opinions varied considerably, and they compromised with Baltic Germans and the still present representatives of the German occupation in order to unite against a perceived common enemy—Bolshevik rule. On



President Kārlis Ulmanis, his War Minister, and leading generals reviewing the troops during an Independence Day parade in 1935. (Getty Images)

17 November 1918, a group calling itself the National Council, consisting of representatives of political parties and other organizations, met and on 18 November declared the independence of Latvia.

Jānis Čakste was chosen as the provisional head of the council, and Kārlis Ulmanis, an agronomist who had studied at the University of Nebraska, became the first head of government as minister president (a position similar in function to that of a prime minister). Ulmanis led the largest agrarian party, the Farmers Union (*zemnieku savienība*), and faced almost immediate insurmountable obstacles. The national government had no army and could not effectively resist the Bolshevik Latvians' occupation of Riga in January 1919. Ulmanis and his cabinet of ministers fled westward toward Liepāja with a tiny, newly created army of a few volunteer officers and idealistic student soldiers led by the former tsarist officer Colonel Oskars Kalpaks. The national government contained seemingly irreconcilable interests. The socialists still hoped for a socialistic state (although not a Bolshevik one) and saw the Baltic German elite as class enemies. Hard-line Latvian nationalists also saw the Baltic Germans as the age-old enemies of the Latvians. The Baltic Germans and German volunteer army *(Freikorps),* on the other hand, hoped to maintain Germanic hegemony over the Baltic region.

At first the Germans, led by General Rüdiger von der Goltz, controlled more of the weapons and troops; they grew tired of Latvian national and socialist demands and staged a coup against the Ulmanis government in April 1919, installing a conservatve Latvian pastor, Andrievs Niedra, as the new minister president. The Latvian army was in disarray, due to the recent death of their founder in action, and Ulmanis took refuge on a British ship in Liepāja harbor. The new commander of Latvian forces, General Jānis Balodis, attempted to maintain allegiance to Ulmanis while cooperating with the Germans militarily against the Bolsheviks.

The national government seemed a spent force. As the Latvian Bolsheviks stumbled, however, and the Allied Powers reacted negatively to German machinations in the east, the Latvian nationalists gained in strength. The Ulmanis cabinet promised radical agrarian reform that would take land away from the Baltic German nobility and give it as property to Latvian peasants. More importantly, those who volunteered for the Latvian Army would be entitled to the land. Ulmanis also promised that a democratically elected Constituent Assembly would decide the ultimate law of the new state. Through 1919 this program drew popular support, and the combined German-Latvian army pushed the Bolsheviks out of Riga in May. In June a combined force of Estonian and Latvian troops turned on their difficult Ger-

Kārlis Ulmanis

Kārlis Ulmanis, independent Latvia's first minister president and authoritarian ruler from 1934 to 1940, dominated much of interwar political history. His legacy and memory remain intensely controversial and contested. Ulmanis, the son of a peasant landowner, studied agronomy and participated, in a tentative way, in the Revolution of 1905. Although by no means a significant leader or radical in 1905, he did fear tsarist retribution and emigrated to the United States through Germany. In the United States, Ulmanis studied agriculture at the University of Nebraska. By the start of World War I, Ulmanis returned to Latvia and began organizational work in Latvia's second largest political party, the Latvian Farmers' Union (Latviešu zemnieku savienība). Through 1918, Ulmanis was instrumental (although not central) to building a coalition of Latvian political parties to support the establishment of an independent Latvian state. The Latvian National Council that convened on 17 November 1918 and declared independence the following day voted to make Ulmanis the state's first minister president.

With independence established, Ulmanis became a fixture in Latvia's parliaments and cabinets. He came to embody the conservative establishment of the Latvian Farmers' Union, and he was often accused of corruption and quasi-dictatorial aspirations. On 15 May 1934, Ulmanis as minister president seized full political power by dismissing the Saeima, banning political parties, and ruling through an emergency cabinet. Important figures in the new regime such as General Jānis Balodis and Marģers Skujenieks were gradually marginalized, and Ulmanis emerged as the unquestioned leader. In 1936 Ulmanis assumed the state president title by his own decree; this act still polarizes Latvians, with supporters claiming Ulmanis as Latvia's fourth state president and detracters refuting the claim as illegal. Ulmanis' regime became steadily more centralized, adhering more and more to the *führerprinzip* (i.e., the principle of blind devotion to the leader, as seen in Nazi Germany) with Ulmanis as *vadonis* (leader). Surrounded by sycophants, he succumbed to the trappings of power. The regime adopted the fascist aesthetic current in much of Europe, but Latvia's limitations often prevented its full implications from being carried out.

In 1939 Ulmanis acceded to Moscow's ultimatum and allowed Soviet bases on Latvian terrritory. In June 1940 he decided not to resist full Soviet occupation and dismissed his cabinet. He remained state president until 21 July 1940, when he was deported to the Soviet interior. As with so much about Ulmanis, the wisdom of these decisions is still hotly contested. Some believe that he should have fought or at least offered token resistance to the loss of Latvian independence. Others see these moves as calculated to preserve as much human life and material wealth as possible in a time of crisis. His continuation as state president one month into occupation is seen by some as an attempt to mitigate Soviet rule, by others as a selfish attempt to cling to some position. Following Ulmanis' deportation, his ultimate fate was largely a mystery until the early 1990s. With access to considerable KGB files, the historian Indulis Ronis ascertained that Ulmanis was kept under house arrest until the Nazi invasion of the USSR approached the Caucasus. He was then transferred to prison; his health deteriorated, particularly during a transport across the Caspian Sea, and he died from kidney failure in 1942.

Ulmanis remains a controversial figure. His supporters see him as Latvia's greatest political figure of the interwar era and responsible for its relative prosperity. They also see him as a potent symbol of martyrdom to Soviet occupation. His detractors, however, see Ulmanis as an egotistical dictator with fascist pretensions whose rule weakened Latvia's ability to withstand Soviet occupation. The controversy is deeply embedded in the emotions of the debaters and not likely to pass.

man allies at the Battle of Cēsis, and Ulmanis returned to Riga triumphantly as the head of the government. A Russian adventurer, Pavel Bermondt-Avalov, rallied a German army for an assault on Riga in November, but a Latvian counterattack, supported by British naval fire, finally defeated the Germans. By January, aided by Polish troops, the Latvian army drove the Bolshevik Red Army out of Latgale and began to negotiate a ceasefire that led to armistice in August of 1920. Improbably, from the point of view of 1917 or 1918, the nationalists won their state.

Even before the conclusion of hostilities, the new state managed to hold elections to the Constituent Assembly. Jānis Čakste presided over the assembly and became Latvia's first state president (he served into his second term, until his death in 1927). The brilliant minister of foreign affairs, Zigfrīds Anna Meierovics, became the minister president, as a consensus builder replacing the more partisan Ulmanis. Meierovics served in the cabinet until his untimely death in an automobile accident in 1925. The Constituent Assembly and the *Saeima* (parliament) that soon followed reflected the massive demographic changes that Latvia had suffered during six years of war and revolution. The industrial evacuation of Riga more than halved its population, from 517,522 in 1914 to 181,443 in 1920. Latvia's population had fallen from 2,552,000 in 1914 to 1,596,131 in 1920. With the return of refugees, the population increased to 1,844,805 by 1925 and 1,905,900 by 1935, but Latvia was a far more rural and more ethnically Latvian state between the wars than before or after. The ethnic Latvian population increased from 68.4 percent to 74.9 percent over the years of war. Similarly, the urban population fell from 40.3 percent of the total to 23.8 percent. The results of this massive demographic and ethnic change colored the politics of the interwar period.

Latvian nationalists succeeded in founding a state, but its formation diverged from their nation-state ideal. Latvia's ethnic minorities (more than a quarter of the population), primarily Russians (11 percent), Jews (5 percent), and Baltic Germans (4 percent) fought for their rights. Coalition governments at all levels were forged from many parties, and Latvia's minority politicians enshrined and defended minority rights in return for general political support. Minority schools, media, and cultural institutions flourished. Some Latvian nationalists, however, saw this as a dream betrayed. They hoped for a state for the ethnic Latvian nation. Geography and democratic rights and procedures, however, built a nation-state with strong, vibrant minority communities. Latvian nationalists increasingly believed that the power of the state must be used to create a more Latvian Latvia (extremists called for a "Latvia for Latvians").

The most pressing need facing the new state was reconstruction. Almost half of Latvia's parishes witnessed actual battle during the many years of war. One-tenth of all of Latvia's buildings were destroyed during the war. The heavy casualty toll on men widened the sexual imbalance from 37,515 more women than men in 1897 to 152,277 more in 1920. The hallmark of the early Latvian state was radical agrarian reform. Most of the land of the Baltic German aristocracy was expropriated and distributed to the landless. This reform involved substantial economic change (from wheat production on large estates to small scale pork and dairy farming) and created new socioeconomic divisions, between farmers who owned farms before the reforms and those who received land as a result of the reforms; but ultimately the reform brought social peace to the countryside and gave the bulk of the population an investment in the new state.

In the 1920s Latvia witnessed a renaissance. The fine arts and literature blossomed, scholarship mushroomed (the University of Latvia was founded in 1919), the economy began to recover, and the state started to create a viable social safety network of health, education, and welfare legislation. Gustavs Zemgals, a lawyer and long-time liberal, became the second state president after the death of Jānis Čakste, and parliamentary elections, as well as local government elections, occurred on a regular basis.

The Great Depression, however, curtailed many of these advances and strengthened the appeal of the extremist Right and Left. Latvia's native fascist party, the Thunder Cross (Perkoņkrusts) called for a fascist solution, while the underground Communist Party suggested a Bolshevik answer for the country's economic ills. Under these political strains and the continuing pressure of the Depression, Latvia's delicate political system started to unravel, laying bare the weaknesses in the constitution. By 1934, many believed the existing parliamentary democracy could not solve the problems of the day.

On 15 May 1934, Kārlis Ulmanis and General Jānis Balodis led a coup that resulted in the installation of an authoritarian regime. The Ulmanis regime outlawed all political parties, (arresting most Social Democrat activists), but relied on the support of the Farmers' Union, the bureaucracy, and the right-wing paramilitary organization the Home Guard *(aizsargi)*. The coup was bloodless, in part due to general apathy, rather than to mass enthusiasm. Authoritarianism influenced by fascism seemed to be the political solution of much of Europe.

The coup tried to create the ethnic domination that democracy could not by adopting the idea of a Latvian Latvia as state policy. The treasury maneuvered to replace Baltic German businesses with state-run cartels. Business licenses were routinely denied to Jews, and the once progressive minority education system was gradually weakened. The press became an indirect arm of the state. The regime, however, was also the only Eastern European government to ban anti-Semitic literature, and Ulmanis tried to maintain good relations with conservative leaders of minority communities. Nevertheless, the trend, clearly stated in the regime's propaganda, was for the state to create a "renewed, united Latvia" *(atjaunotā, vienotā Latvija)* devoted to its infallible leader *(vadonis)*, Kārlis Ulmanis. Although direct opposition was muted, the regime to a great extent isolated the country and had little ability to meet the impossible demands of a changed geopolitical Europe in 1939.

WORLD WAR II

On 23 August 1939, the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact (the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact), whose secret protocols envisioned the division of Eastern Europe between Hitler and Stalin, was signed. This pact threw Latvia, Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania into a state of crisis. On 5 October 1939 the Soviet Union forced Latvia to sign a Mutual Assistance Pact. In late 1939 and early 1940 Adolf Hitler called for the "repatriation" of Baltic Germans to the Third Reich. This repatriation was a harbinger of Latvia's inability to protect its own citizens in the face of a suddenly ominous international environment. In June 1940 the Soviet Union presented Latvia (and Estonia and Lithuania) an ultimatum to accept occupation. Fearing the destructive consequences that would result from refusal, all three states complied. By the beginning of August, all three were "accepted" into the USSR.

Andrei Vishinsky, the notorious prosecutor of the Moscow Show Trials of the late 1930s, arrived at the Soviet embassy in Latvia, and directed the political transformation of Latvia from an independent state to an occuppied component of the USSR. A handpicked cabinet took control,

The Holocaust in Latvia

The murder of almost the entire Jewish community of Latvia was one of the gravest tragedies of World War II. The nature of local participation in the Holocaust and the Latvian community's response to it continues to be controversial. In 1935 Jews made up nearly 5 percent of the population of independent Latvia, roughly ninety thousand people. Jewish communities were well established in all of Latvia's larger cities (particularly Riga, Daugavpils, Liepāja, Jelgava, and Rēzekne) and there were many Jewish shtetls throughout Latgale and southeastern Zemgale. The interwar years, although not without problems, brought considerable advantages to the Jewish community. Tsarist-era restrictions on where Jews were allowed to live disappeared, and Jews enjoyed the full rights of all citizens of Latvia. Latvia's minority education laws made provisions for Jewish schools, and a general cultural renaissance took place in the Jewish community. Newspapers, societies, and political parties demonstrated the vitality of Latvia's Jewish communities.

At the same time, the economic conditions of many Jews, particularly in Latgale, remained impoverished, and a general systemic and societal anti-Semitism existed, outside of the strict parameters of the law. The Ulmanis regime continued a mixed policy toward Latvia's Jews. On the one hand, Ulmanis purged Jews from the state administration because of their religious background and used the economic power of the state to "Latvianize" the economy, often at Jews' expense. Ulmanis, however, also outlawed anti-Semitic literature, provided state subsidies to Jewish religious bodies, and maintained close personal ties with important conservative Jewish leaders. Compared to the violent and official anti-Semitism of other Eastern European countries, Latvia was a relative sanctuary. This degree of protection made the events of the Holocaust in Latvia so much the more shocking.

As Nazi armies invaded the Soviet Union (and the Soviet-occupied Baltic states), execution squads *(Einsatzgruppen)* began to organize the murder of Latvia's Jews. Nazi propaganda skillfully but deceptively depicted the terrors of the preceding year of Soviet occupation as the work of Jews. Some Latvians organized and worked with the Nazis, most infamously the Arājs commando unit organized by Viktors Arājs. Almost immediately "killing actions" executed thousands of Jews in Liepāja, Jelgava, Daugavpils, and Riga. Perhaps one-third of Latvia's Jews were murdered in this fashion in the first three months of Nazi occupation. The remainder were detained in the Riga, Daugavpils, and Liepāja ghettos. Most of these Jews were killed in November and December of 1941. Later in the war, the Nazi regime transported European Jews to concentration camps in Latvia (particularly to Salaspils), but most of Latvia's Jews, at least 90 percent of them, were killed by the end of 1941. After the war, Soviet authorities executed several Latvian collaborators, but many others fled westward with the more general flow of refugees. Arājs was eventually captured and tried in 1979 in West Germany, and others were killed later, such as Herberts Cukurs, killed in Uruguay in 1965. Other alleged Latvian war criminals, however, are still suspected to be at large.

The legacy of the Holocaust still haunts Latvia in two fundamental ways. The first is in the form of the question of the degree of Latvia's complicity in the murder of their compatriots. At the time, Latvia was an occupied country and had no ability to make or influence Nazi policy. Historians still debate whether during a brief period of chaos (an interregnum) Latvians initiated the murder of Jews. Clearly the design of the "final solution" rested with German Nazis. Individual Latvians (perhaps as many as 2,500) volunteered to participate in tasks ranging from the transport of Jews to execution sites to actually murdering Jews. Latvia also had several brave individuals who harbored Jews, protecting them from harm (many of these have been recognized as righteous gentiles). Neither group was representative; it seems that most Latvians knew about the Holocaust, but did little to prevent or assist it. This same lukewarmness, this same lack of concern, characterizes the second fundamental way in which the Holocaust still casts a shadow over Latvia. The government has taken considerable steps to recognize the murderous events, but many assert that the government devotes more attention to alleged Soviet war criminals or Soviet crimes than the Holocaust. More generally, the population is simply unconcerned. They see the Holocaust as a part of history and little more. Little attention has been placed on the near complete disappearance of a historic community of Latvia. A general amnesia, a general forgetting of that community's vitality and vibrancy, and its essential part in the life of the region, has become a second kind of Holocaust.

headed by the biologist Augusts Kirhensteins, with a famous novelist, Vilis Lācis, as minister of the interior. From June 1940 until June 1941, tens of thousands of Latvia's political, social, cultural, and economic elite were deported to Siberia (more than 14,000 on the night of 14 June 1941). Kārlis Ulmanis was deported to the south of Russia at the end of July and ultimately died in a Soviet prison in 1942. The Soviet regime systematically dismantled the independent state and "sovietized" the economy and society. The seeming ethnic Russian content of Soviet power, coupled with its initial warm reception by some of Latvia's ethnic minorities (and Social Democrats), suggested to Latvian nationalists a national catastrophe. It was clear, however, that the minorities, particularly religious communities such as Russian Old Believers and Jewish conservatives, and the Latvian Social Democrats suffered equally from Soviet deportations.

As a result of the first year of Soviet occupation, many Latvians greeted the Nazi invasion of the USSR in June 1941 as a liberation. Nazi occupation, however, proved no less malevolent to the institutions of the Latvian state or to its inhabitants than had the Soviet. Within the first year of Nazi rule, more than 90 percent (about 80,000) of Latvia's Jews were murdered in the Holocaust, often with the active, voluntary participation of Latvians. The Nazi regime's intent, beyond this "final solution" of the racial question, was to exploit the region for its war effort and to colonize the region after the war. The Nazi regime created a "Self-Administration" of Latvian politicians to manage local affairs, but with constant German supervision. After the Nazis' disastrous defeat at Stalingrad in early 1943, the Nazi regime began to conscript Latvians into the 15th and 19th Waffen-SS Divisions of the German army. Ultimately, 146,000 Latvians were conscripted into the German military, in direct violation of the Geneva Conventions' prohibition on conscription in occupied territories. The Soviet Union similarly conscripted at least 43,000 Latvians. Latvians also volunteered for both.

Representatives of pre-coup Latvia's largest political parties tried to resist both Nazi and Soviet designs on Latvia. On 13 August 1943 they formed the Latvian Central Council, headed by Konstantīns Čakste, the son of the first president. The council's attempts to create a nucleus of an independent armed force was ruthlessly suppressed by the Nazis, and its leadership was arrested. Čakste died in the Stutthof concentration camp in 1945. Other members of the council were arrested and executed by the Soviet secret police after World War II, as they continued to work for an independent Latvia.

SOVIET RULE

As Soviet armies threatened to reoccupy Latvia, more than 100,000 Latvians with memories of the first year of Soviet occupation fled westward as refugees. They became the nucleus of the Latvian émigré communities in Western Europe, North America, and Australia. Those that remained suffered the full hardship of a vengeful Soviet army and wartime scarcity. Latvia lost roughly 30 percent of its prewar population to death, murder, and flight. Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania were the only European states to lose their independence during World War II and not have it restored at the conclusion of the war. Although Western Europe and the United States did not recognize the Baltic states' forced incorporation into the USSR (and Baltic diplomatic representatives remained in Washington, D.C.), the end of the war meant the loss of independence and complete Soviet occupation until 1991.

The Sovietization of Latvia's society returned as soon as Soviet troops entered Latvian territory. Within the first two postwar years, thousands were deported or executed as collaborators with the Nazi regime. Many in Latvia continued to resist occupation, forcing Moscow to fight a protracted partisan war that lasted until the early 1950s. In 1949 forced collectivization led to the deportation of more than 43,000 kulaks (including 10,000 children) in order to break the rural support of the partisans, and to bring Latvia in line with Soviet agricultural norms. Most crippling to Latvia, however, were the Soviet Union's five-year plans, intended to bring about the massive, rapid heavy industrialization of Latvia.

Industrial manpower had to "relocate" to postwar Latvia to satisfy the industrial demands of the five-year plans. Accordingly, 41,000 Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian workers moved into Latvia in 1946 alone. Most newly arrived immigrants settled near the new industrial factories in and around Riga. More than half a million workers moved to Latvia between 1945 and 1955. Joining the workers, between 1945 and 1951, were roughly 9,000 Communist Party functionaries. The first postwar Soviet census demonstrated the magnitude of the demographic change caused by war and Soviet policy. There were 170,000 fewer Latvians in 1959 than in 1935, but 388,000 more Russians, 35,000 more Belarussians, and 28,000 more Ukrainians. In superficial ways, Soviet Latvia returned to pre–World War I demographic patterns, with increasing urbanization, industrialization, and fewer ethnic Latvians. The speed of this change, however, the nature of it, and the replacement of many ethnic communities with a single Russian-speaking minority were all radically different.

There was little or no change in the terror of Soviet occupation until after Stalin's death in 1953. Nikita Khrushchev, who emerged from the power struggle after Stalin, limited mass terror, which led to at least a momentary thaw, political, economic, and cultural. General amnesties released many who had survived the Gulag (the Soviet prison system), including at least 30,000 Latvians.

Latvian communists initially pushed for reforming the nature of government and its goals. Using Khrushchev's policy of alliance with non-Russians, the so-called "national communists" strenghtened the ethnic Latvian position through the creation and subsidization of cultural and educational systems. They were, however, far less effective in limiting the rapid pace of industrialization and the influx of immigrants into Latvian territory, which threatened the ethnic Latvian population with eventually becoming a minority population in their own titular republic. Eduards Berklavs was the most influential of the national communists, but after their 1959 purge by hard-liners who took a

During World War II, Riga was occupied by the forces of Nazi Germany following the German invasion of the USSR. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

stance closer to the wishes of the USSR (together with an official rebuke from Moscow), reforms stalled. When Arvids Pelše became the first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party in 1963, he took a hard line toward all expressions of nationalism or "narrow localism."

After the dismissal of more than 2,000 Latvian communists who were sympathetic to national communism, the Russian and Russian-speaking communities acted like occupiers in the eyes of ethnic Latvians. The party and government reflected this "foreignness"; Russian was adopted as the language of the ruling party, the government, and economics. Only one-third of the Latvian Communist Party was ethnically Latvian (the lowest percentage in the USSR) and only 5 percent of Latvians belonged to the Communist Party. From 1960 to 1989, the continued influx of immigrants hurried the Russification of Latvia, in fact if not in policy. Another 330,000 Slavic workers settled in Latvia during these thirty years. By 1979, fewer than 20 percent of the Russians living in Latvia could speak Latvian. By the middle of the 1980s, Soviet policy had created a Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic with a titular nation that felt threatened with extinction and a Russian-speaking population that felt as if they were an integral part of a Russian USSR.

Augusts Voss led the Latvian Communist Party from 1966 to 1984, almost co-terminously with Leonid Brezhnev's rule of the USSR, an era that is remembered for stagnation and an absence of political reform. After decades of upheaval, this period brought a degree of relative prosperity. Years of industrialization and modernization had minimized the rural and agricultural sections of the economy. Collective farms lacked state investment, and many people left the countryside for the town and city. Towns such as Valmiera, Olaine, and Ogre developed new industries, fiberglass, textile, and pharmeceutical respectively. Along with this limited progress, however, came many of the social problems associated with industrialization and modernization, such as marked increases in crime, suicide, abortion, and divorce. Alcohol abuse became an endemic problem throughout Latvian society. Ultimately, these social problems, together with poor productivity, threw the Soviet planned economy into crisis, a crisis that was not seriously addressed until Mikhail Gorbachev took office in 1985.

Gorbachev inherited an economic depression in an economy completely controlled by the state. These dificulties cast doubt over the USSR's ability to maintain a military establishment that could compete with the United States, particularly in developing ever more sophisticated equipment. Gorbachev introduced economic reform, perestroika (restructuring), to revive the economy. As hard-line oppposition resisted these reforms, Gorbachev introduced glasnost, or openness, in the hope of encouraging public participation and mobilization. In Latvia and in the other Baltic Republics, however, debate rapidly turned to the issue of the environment and then of history. In 1986, for example, a public campaign in Latvia, as in Estonia, successfully stopped the construction of a hydroelectric dam on environmental grounds (though equally troubling to the protestors was the project's need for more workers from outside of the Baltic Republics). Soon afterwards, Latvian dissidents, such as the human rights group Helsinki–86, pushed for a reappraisal of the "voluntary" incorporation of Latvia into the USSR.

"Calendar demonstrations" began in 1987, marking anniversaries such as the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact or Latvia's Independence Day. In 1988 this protest movement expanded considerably, when reform-minded members of the Latvian Communist Party and leading intellectuals from the "creative unions" formed the Popular Front of Latvia (Latvijas Tautas Fronta; LTF). At the founding conference, which took place 1–2 June 1988, an old member of the Communist Party and journalist, Mavriks Vulfsons, stated openly that Latvia was violently occupied by Soviet military forces in June of 1940. The Latvian National Independence Movement (Latvijas Nacionālā Neatkarības Kustība; LNNK) formed soon afterward, on 17 June 1988, as a national mass movement demanding the restoration of full independence.

Ethnic Latvians overwhelmingly desired autonomy or independence, but after the demographic changes brought on by four decades of Soviet occupation they accounted for just 52 percent of the Republic's population. Movements such as LNNK and the more extremist For Fatherland and Freedom (Tēvzemei un Brīvībai; TB) demanded the exclusion of the bulk of the non-Latvian population from political decision making. To these organizations, all Soviet-era migrants were not legal citizens of the state.

The Popular Front shied away from this confrontational tactic and sought to prove its legitimacy to Moscow and the world through a series of electoral victories. Opposing these ethnic Latvian movements was an opposite popular front, the Interfront, which appealed to non-Latvians and hoped to keep the USSR whole. Despite the activities of Interfront, the Popular Front broadened its appeal to many non-Latvians and made common cause with similar movements in Estonia and Lithuania (most famously culminating in the Baltic Chain of 23 August 1989, in which the people of the three Baltic nations linked hands in a show of solidarity).

Elections to the Supreme Council in March and April 1990 returned a Popular Front majority. Anatolijs Gorbunovs, the highest ranking reform-minded Latvian communist, was elected chair of the Supreme Council, and Ivars Godmanis, a leader from the Popular Front, became the prime minister. The Popular Front decided not to follow Lithuania's directly confrontational method of unilaterally declaring independence and looked for a transition toward independence. On 4 May 1990, the Supreme Council of Latvia passed the "Declaration about the Renewal of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia," which called for a transition of indeterminate time to full independence. How to negotiate with a recalcitrant Moscow remained a serious problem. For more than a year a kind of dual government existed in Latvia, with, for example, an attorney general who was loyal to Moscow and another one who was loyal to Riga.

After many months of indecisive moves and countermoves, the Soviets attempted a response at the beginning of 1991. On 13 January 1991, Soviet paramilitary units attacked key installations in Vilnius, Lithuania (most infamously, the television tower attack left fourteen dead) and followed that with attacks on Latvian government buildings on January 20. Tens of thousands of Russians and Latvians flocked to Riga to construct human barricades across the city to defend the Popular Front government. After several tense days, the military backed down. Soon after, on 3 March 1991, 73.68 percent of Latvians voted in favor of independence. Many Russians decided Latvian nationalism was less onerous than the Soviet reaction. Following the failed coup attempt in Moscow in August of 1991 that sought to overthrow Mikhail Gorbachev and restore the "glory" of the Soviet empire, Latvia formally declared independence on 21 August 1991, and almost immediately received international recognition.

TĒVZEMEI
UN
BRĪVĪBAI

Demonstration during movement for independence in Latvia, 26 January 1991. Anatolijs Gorbunovs is in the foreground (left). (Svartsevich Vladimire/Corbis Sygma)

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Independence led to the emergence of politics and the political pursuit of interests in a multiparty forum, something without precedent in the Soviet Union and absent from Latvia for fifty-seven years. From 1991 on, and even more after 1993, the long historical themes of Latvia are harder to discern, and more contemporary observations about political and economic change come to the fore. Ethnic tension has emerged as the dominant division within post-Soviet Latvia, but not the only division. Latvian nationalists and Russian-speaking communities both felt a degree of betrayal (imagined and real) with the shape of the new state. After August 1991, the Supreme Council became the de facto parliament of the newly independent state, and its Council of Ministers became the acting government. The confusion and ambiguities of the dual government of the preceding years evaporated, but administation remained chaotic. Logic dictated that a new election should return a full parliament, but when to hold the election and who should vote became hotly contested. The Godmanis Cabinet stayed in office until the summer of 1993, struggling with these fundamental questions, as well as with the massive tasks of state construction and economic transformation with the authority of a lame duck government.

The government accepted the idea, first suggested by the extreme nationalists, that citizenship would be defined according to the idea that the state was a renewal of the interwar Republic and that therefore only the citizens of the original republic and their descendants could vote in the first parliamentary elections of newly independent Latvia. This in itself did not lead to absolute ethnic discrimination. Nearly a quarter of the interwar Republic's population was composed of ethnic minorities, and those citizens and their descendants were legally recognized as citizens. The letter of the law did not specifically deny citizenship to Russians and other Slavs living in Latvia. Technically, citizenship had no ethnic component whatsoever. Most of the Russian-speaking population, however, had moved to Latvia after Soviet occupation and was therefore disenfranchised by this definition of citizenship. Many Russians believed that the citizenship law was a symbolic connection to the past that would soon be revised. Some demanded the "zero option," which would grant citizenship to everyone living in Latvia on 21 August 1991. Others expected "zero plus one," an option by which the link to the interwar state would be established, but a quick move to grant citizenship with few requirements to those that did not immediately qualify would soon follow. Many members of the Popular Front had promised exactly this path toward citizenship in the campaigns of early 1991, hoping to build support beyond the ethnic Latvian community for the mobilization for confrontations with Moscow. Strategies for immediate electoral gain, together with the collapse of the USSR, however, led to the discarding of a rational, comprehensive approach and to disregard for the fulfillment of promises.

Once the citizenry was defined, ethnic Latvians became the absolute majority of the electorate. Politicians new to campaigning, and most likely with some degree of involvement in the Communist Party's rule over Latvia, found themselves appealing to an electorate that doubted their commitment to perceived ethnic Latvian interests. Increasingly, these politicians played the ethnic card, realizing that the great majority of the electoral community was ethnically Latvian.

Once the elections for the *Saeima* (parliament) were set for the spring of 1993, party formation began in earnest. Learning from the political crises of the interwar years and the weakness of many party coalition governments, the Godmanis Cabinet drafted and passed a modified electoral law that included a 4 percent threshold for representation in parliament. Ultimately twenty-three political parties or movements contested the elections to the fifth Saiema. Many of the parties resurrected names, symbols, images, and personalities from the interwar years. The Farmers' Union, for example, was re-formed, and its list of candidates was topped by Guntis Ulmanis, whose granduncle was Kārlis Ulmanis. The Christian Democratic Union and the Democratic Center Party also claimed links to interwar parties of similar names.

The largest political party of the interwar years, the Social Democratic Workers' Party, also re-formed itself, but fell victim to divisions within its left wing over the roles various members had played in the Soviet era and split into other left-wing parties, such as Latvia's Democratic Labor Party, headed by a former KGB major, Juris Bojārs, banned from running for office, and the awkwardly named Harmony for Latvia–Revival for the Economy led by Jānis Jurkāns, a minister of foreign affairs in the Godmanis Cabinet, who had been sacked for opposition to the restrictive citizenship law. The parties of the Left were rounded out by the Green Party (whose nonenvironmental policies were far from leftist) and the unrepentant Communist Party members, who called their new party the Equal Rights Movement, led by Alfreds Rubiks, in jail for treason for his role in the tumultuous events of 1991.

The Popular Front, headed by the acting minister president Godmanis, also contested the elections, but increasingly seemed a spent political force. Its raison d'être had been achieving independence, and with this goal accomplished, many of its most popular politicians left for other parties (or formed their own). Other figures, such as Godmanis himself, lost popularity and support rapidly from 1991 to 1993. No longer leading a mass opposition movement, but rather a government, these figures became the lightning rods for growing anger at economic collapse, corruption, and social confusion. The Popular Front that had succeeded in uniting so many people against Soviet rule became the first casualty of independent politics and did not surpass the 4 percent mark required for representation. Instead, the dominant political party of the fifth Saeima was the newly created Latvia's Way Movement (Latvijas ceļš).

Latvia's Way was an electoral list of the most popular politicians in Latvia and notable émigré Latvians as well. Their unifying concern seemed to be a centrist, democratic, yet nationalist party focused on the West. The list included the telegenic and consistently most popular politician Anatolijs Gorbunovs. Latvia's Way's well-run campaign and professionalism garnered them thirty-six seats, by far the most of any of the eight parties that overcame the 4 percent threshhold.

In July 1993, after nearly sixty years, Latvia's parliament, the Saeima, reconvened. Latvia's Way formed a minority coalition government with Latvia's Farmers' Union. Compromise on the part of Latvia's Way concerning the Farmers' Union's candidate for state president, Guntis Ulmanis, sealed the coalition, with the candidate of Latvia's Way becoming minister president.

Latvia's political system, like that of much of Europe, includes a unicameral parliament from which a government is formed with the consent of a simple majority. The leader of government, the minister president, fills the functions of a prime minister, while a state president (elected by the Saeima) fills ceremonial roles. The state president can return legislation to the Saeima for a second reading, but cannot refuse to ratify a law that has passed this hurdle. In addition to the prominent ceremonial diplomatic role, the state president can dismiss the Saeima. The minister president and the council of ministers form the government.

The tasks before the fifth Saiema were daunting, and, in a larger sense, are still being addressed. The Republic of Latvia had to transform itself from a component of a one-party, socialist command economy to a multiparty democracy based on a market economy. Almost everything had to be done from scratch, from law codes to economic regulations to matters of justice to international issues. Two of the most immediate policy issues were Latvia's place in an international context, particularly the still open question of Russian military bases on Latvian soil, and the issue of Latvia's non-citizens. (Economic transformations will be discussed under "Economic Development.")

Arguably the most immediate concern of the new state was the continuing presence of Russian troops on Latvian soil. During the nearly five decades of Soviet occupation, Latvia's territory was incorporated into the larger Soviet military body. The long sea border made Latvia strategically important and the home to tens of thousands of troops and hundreds of military bases of every kind. Independence came quickly in 1991, without much regard for how and when to evacuate Soviet troops (from December of 1991, Russian troops). With considerable confusion in post-Soviet Russia, the return of hundreds of thousands of troops from all across Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union was difficult to organize. Financial constraints and housing shortages played a part in Russian hesitancy, but increasingly the Russian government saw the presence of Russian troops on Latvian soil as a political tool. Boris Yeltsin's government attempted to link troop withdrawal with greater political rights for the disenfranchised, predominantly Russian population of Latvia. Latvia's governments (from the time of the Godmanis government), on the other hand, refused to recognize any such linkage and saw Russian troops as a clear attack on Latvia's sovereignty. Russian tactical interest in leasing for several years an intelligence-gathering installation near Ventspils, a naval harbour in Liepāja, and a phased radar array at Skrunda further complicated matters.

Ultimately the Birkavs government presided over troop withdrawal in 1994, achieved after the United Nations General Assembly and the Congress of the United States rejected any linkage between minority rights and Russian troop withdrawal. The Skrunda tower was demonstratively blown up on live national television in 1995, and the final small detachment of Russian troops left Latvia in 1999.

Although Latvia's governments successfully kept the Russian government from linking troop withdrawal with minority rights, the legal status of the disenfranchised was a pressing issue for the fifth parliament. More than 700,000 people were in legal limbo, and Latvia's government had two fundamental tasks to confront: to define the process for naturalization, and to define the legal rights of non-citizens. Simply put, although non-citizens do have many rights, they also face legal differentiation and discrimination. Naturalization could allay some of these concerns, but Latvia was slow to define the legal standards for naturalization. Ultimately, after the fall of the Birkavs government, a similar coalition government, headed by Māris Gailis, also from Latvia's Way, defined the requirements for naturalization in 1994. Citizenship would be granted with a residency requirement, a language examination, and an examination on the basics of Latvia's history and constitution. More troubling to the international community were the so-called windows to citizenship. The windows were floating ethnic quotas intended to slow the number of non-Latvians receiving citizenship in any specific year. Legally, the citizenship law created a naturalization process that applied a collective principle to individual applicants. The OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and the European Union (as well as many other international bodies and countries) reacted unfavorably to the new citizenship law, but with the voting population still limited by these very same laws, domestic concerns ran opposite to international pressure.

The Russian-speaking community responded by devoting all their political efforts to changing the citizenship law. The next parliamentary elections in the fall of 1995 heightened tension even further. Latvian politicians campaigned on questions about naturalization and the rights of non-citizens. Ethnic politics also masked the generally weak party structures and served to distance one candidate from another, particularly since most parties had similar economic messages. Parties differentiated themselves with personalities, ethnic issues, and scandal mongering. The alternative was the still divided Left. One faction on the Left tried to merge a nationalist image with a leftist economic agenda. The nonrepentant socialist Left, led by the jailed Alfreds Rubiks, pushed for open citizenship and a multiethnic Latvia. Their program of citizenship appealed to the disenfranchised 700,000 Russian-speaking non-citizens of Latvia and deepened the ethnic cleavage in Latvian politics. Ethnic Latvians saw the Left (and its leadership) as questionable in loyalty to the state and beholden to ethnic Russian (and perhaps Moscow) interests. Similarly, many ethnic Russians who could vote had to choose between a party that represented their citizenship concerns and one that promised to fulfill their other socioeconomic desires. The short-term results for the Left were that its considerable popularity did not translate to equal votes, due to the existing citizenship laws.

The elections to the sixth Saeima in the fall of 1995 showcased popular frustration with the existing political order. There was a general sense that the ruling parties benefited too much from power, with frequent charges of corruption and abuse of power. The most disaffected of the electorate suprisingly supported a dubious populist politician, Werner Joachim Siegerist, and his For Latvia Movement. Siegerist, a newspaper publisher in Germany with alleged ties to far-right political groups, ran for, and was elected to, the fifth Saeima as a deputy of the LNNK. His electoral campaign included free bus trips to polling booths with complimentary refreshments and bananas. The mainstream dismissed such stunts, but Siegerist and his political movement tapped into popular anger. Dismissing parliament, Siegerist spent his time campaigning widely in pensioners homes, hospitals, and schools, donating money and supplies and promising more if elected. His movement stunned the political scene with its significant electoral gains, matched only by a left of center coalition. Almost from its beginning, the sixth Saeima seemed destined to political paralysis, as no coalition of parties was able to create a government. Ultimately, an extraordinary solution was taken by most parties acting together, united by their concern with keeping Siegerist from political power. Andris Šķele, a wildly successful businessman who had not run for parliament and was not tied to any party, became minister president of a grand coalition government.

The Šķele government, and the entire sixth Saeima, seemed to have a caretaker nature, until Šķele proved to be a strong and driven leader. He used a political crisis to win more power from his reluctant supporters in parliament and guided the Latvian government on a conservative fiscal policy of cutting government spending and aggressively pushing privatization and market reform. Šķele grew too popular for the established political parties and lost parliament's confidence in the year before elections to the seventh Saeima. He was replaced by Guntars Krasts of the right-wing, nationalist coalition party TB/LNNK as minister president. Thanks to the political confusion of the sixth Saeima, Guntis Ulmanis easily won reelection in parliament as state president when his term ended in the summer of 1996.

Despite the near constant state of political crisis, the sixth Saeima continued to pass brick-and-mortar kinds of legislation that laid the groundwork for the state. Significant legal, structural reforms included extending the term of the Saeima to four years from a rather short three years (and also extending the term of the state president to four years) and raising the electoral threshhold to 5 percent. The unratified second section of the Constitution (similar to the U.S. Bill of Rights) was also finally accepted. A controversial reform of local governments also began amalgamating Latvia's many levels of local government into large blocks. Under considerable international pressure, the government amended the citizenship law in the summer of 1998 to grant citizenship to children born in Latvia since 1991 and to end the controversial quotalike windows. The nationalist Right, however, launched a signature drive to force a referendum on the matter that was scheduled to coincide with the elections to the seventh Saeima in the autumn of 1998. The two simultaneous elections caused considerable excitement and political suspense. The former minister president, Andris Šķele, formed a new political party, the People's Party (Tautas partija), and seemed likely to be the primary victor in the elections. Simultaneously, the electorate had to decide whether it favored a restrictive citizenship or the more accommodating (although to many, still inadequate) version preferred publicly by the European Union.

The results of the referendum favored the more lenient citizenship laws, and Šķele's party did win the most seats of any party, but several other parties immediately formed a coalition to keep the People's Party out of power. Vilis Krištopāns, a member of Latvia's Way who had served as minister of transportation, became the minister president in a controversial new cabinet. Šķele's supporters saw conspiracy and underhanded dealings about specific economic decisions behind the coalition, while Šķele detractors questioned the mercurial leader's authoritarian tendencies and source of wealth. The government, however, was short-lived and fell by June of 1999. A new government, still led by a member of Latvia's Way, Andris Berziņš, but with People's Party participation (minus Šķele) took office and governed throughout the duration of the seventh Saeima. In June 1999 Guntis Ulmanis's second term as state president expired, and tradition held that state presidents can only serve two terms. As in the original election of Andris Šķele to office, a compromise candidate was suggested when no party would back another party's candidates. Vaira Viķe-Freiberga, an émigré academic, became the first female head of state of a former Soviet Republic. Her command of several European languages and academic standing quickly raised her public standing, and she has remained one of the politicians with the highest popularity ratings in Latvia; she won support from eighty-eight deputies for her reelection in June of 2003.

The Berziņš government oversaw the continued reorientation of Latvia toward Western European economic and military institutions, and piloted Latvia through generally poor international economic waters in relatively good shape. The Russian economic crisis, for example, was severely felt in some economic quarters, but generally economic performace has been impressive. Likewise, the more liberal citizenship law ushered in a period in which tens of thousands of non-citizens passed the examinations and received their citizenship.

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Latvia's president. (Maher Attar/Corbis Sygma)

Minority issues, however, did not disappear. The citizenship law set out how Latvia's non-citizens could achieve citizenship, but it did little to manage the relationship between ethnic Latvians and the large Slavic (primarily Russian) communities within Latvia. Ethnic tension moved to the arena of official language laws and the language of instruction in minority schools. This continues to be the flashpoint between nationalists, who set government policy that decrees Latvian as the only official language and raises the amount of instruction in Latvian in schools, and Russian activists, who struggle against what they see as assimilationist governmental policy. As the electorate more accurately reflects the current ethnic makeup of Latvia, more compromise is probable, but the issue is still divisive.

Elections to the eighth Saeima in 2002 repeated several recurring themes in the political landscape of independent Latvia. Many of the parties of the center and right aligned themselves again against Šķele and his People's Party to keep it from power, but Šķele himself no longer played the role of the political outsider who could be the savior of Latvia's political scene. This role was now occuppied by Einārs Repše, the successful head of the Bank of Latvia throughout independence, who now headed the newly created New Era Party *(Jaunais laiks)*. Like Šķele before him, Repše had considerable momentum moving into the elections, and his new party won the greatest number of seats. Unlike Šķele, however, Repše was able to patch together a coalition of four of parliament's six parties, with himself as minister president. The elections also saw the considerable weakening of the traditional right-wing nationalist party and the disappearance in parliament of Latvia's Way. In early 2004, however, the Repše government fell and was replaced by a coalition that included the People's Party, led by the Green Farmer Union deputy Indulis Emsis.

Latvia's Way had placed itself as the floating center of Latvian politics from its inception and had played a kingmaker role in almost every government (providing every minister president with the exception of Šķele and Krasts). Many of its leading politicians became synonomous with the ministries that they headed through successive governments; in many respects, Latvia's Way was the face of power in Latvia. Frequent scandals, charges of corruption, and a degree of arrogance in power, however, took their toll on the party. Equally damaging was the inability of Latvia's Way to present itself as the "least terrible option" among many untested or potentially radical parties. Šķele's and Repše's parties both ate considerably into Latvia's Way's support. At this writing, the future of the party, now outside of power, remains unclear.

Through three elections to parliament with seemingly extreme swings of fortune for many parties, some general trends are clear. The extreme Latvian nationalist party to some degree has been co-opted into the existing political status quo. Although this may calm the more extreme slogans within parliament itself, it has not meant the complete collapse of an extreme nationalist constituency. These groups find themselves largely outside of traditional politics and turn to symbolic acts or work on rallying popular opposition to the European Union as a loss of national sovereignty. The Left has similarly lost its believed close connection to the communist past and to Moscow. Some members of the Left have not abandoned this orientation, but they seem increasingly in the minority, and the Left has emerged victorious in municipal elections. The political center has moved somewhat to the right (particularly on minority issues), but has become the battleground between different political parties and individual egos.

The new strong leader with an outsider image and a promise of clean government has become commonplace in the last three elections. That leader, having gained office, becomes a disappointment, and that disappointment sets the stage for the next incarnation of the same phenomenon. This trend is a symptom of two interrelated developments. All political parties are weak in institutional structure and strength. They are usually defined by their most popular politician(s) and have small memberships. Members do not influence and create party policy from the grassroots; elites decide things, and on many issues there is very rudimentary consensus across many different parties. As a result, the common people see themselves as alienated from political decision making. Adding to this perception, and building on the weakness of mass parties, is the dominant impact of economic interests. Parties and politicians are perceived as tied to specific economic interests, and this perception adds gravity to instances of corruption and abuse of power. As is probably true for all modern states, the development of the economy and politics are inseparable in modern Latvia.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Two dominant themes are central to the history of Latvia's cultural development. The first is ethnic Latvian identity, as seen in artistic and cultural representation. Modern Latvian nationalism originated during the middle of the nineteenth century among the educated sons of Latvian peasants. Latvian national identity has always been tied to peasant identity and to the dominant themes of nature and human beings in relation to nature. Along with the acceptance of national identity, however, came the industrialization and modernization of the Baltic provinces at the end of the nineteenth century. Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, more and more "foreign" ideas and concepts have altered that supposed original peasant identity. Much of ethnic Latvian cultural development has revolved around this issue of incorporating the new into Latvianness. At the end of the nineteenth century, for example, the first artists and writers began to construct a cultural representation of urban life that was both urban and Latvian. These innovators met considerable resistance from traditionalists. At the end of the twentieth century and moving into the twenty-first, artists and writers struggle with "American consumerism" and new strains of internationalism and "cosmopolitanism," with equally vigorous resistance from traditionalists defending what they see as the core rural values of ethnic Latvian identity.

The second dominant, and related, theme concerns the place of nonethnic Latvian cultural developments in Latvia. The question is how to accept (or not accept) the cultural developments of "others" within the territorial constraints of Latvia (and beyond). The questions are simple, but the answers are contested. Is the art and literature of Baltic Germans, Latvia's Jews, and Russians a part of Latvian cultural development? How do they relate and interact with ethnic Latvian culture? Can a Russian paint "Latvian" art, and so on? Do the political refugees of the twentieth century who settled in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Western Europe play a part in Latvian cultural development? How "Latvian" are cultural developments whose origins are "borrowed" from abroad? Although no art or culture is produced in a vacuum and must draw on local circumstances, small nations are particularly sensitive to questions of cultural preservation as a component of ethnic survival. These two themes (and several more that grow from them) provide a conceptual framework for outlining the cultural developments of Latvia.

The earliest examples of a cultural development on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea are provided by some archeological artifacts and linguistic and anthropological reconstructions of early Baltic life. A Baltic animisitic religion in all likelihood welded all cultural and philosophical ideas into a holistic worldview. A primary deity, Dievs (God), seems to have been a heavenly father figure, with a potential constellation of lesser deities such as Pērkons (Thunder) and the earth goddesses Laima and Māra. There seems to have been little organized religious hierarchy devoted to these deities; rather some individuals led rituals (often associated with places in nature such as oak trees) and probably sacrifices as well. Song, dance, jewelery, custom, and ritual were probably intertwined and mutually reinforcing. Possessions are believed to have signified social status, differentiating between elders, warriors, and common people, as did the nature of burial (one of the best archeological sources for this era). There is no written record of this time period (and almost no outsiders' descriptions as well), but there is a surviving folklore, particularly the *dainas,* a kind of folk song. The dainas mention some of these pre-Christian deities, and although their authenticity is not questioned, the nature and age of their contents are. Most dainas were only transcribed in the second half of the nineteenth century, and even given the remarkable durability and accuracy of oral traditions in nonliterate societies, one cannot generalize about a supposedly constant, unchanging pagan society and culture of one thousand years ago from a few fragments.

The earliest culture in the Baltic with a solid historical record, therefore, that of the Baltic German Christian crusaders, underlines the importance of the theme of foreignness and its place in Latvian culture. Initial German production had few details specific to the region, but nevertheless included important innovations. The first stone buildings, for example, in the eastern Baltic were built by Germans in the new German towns of Ikšķile and Riga. These earliest stone buildings were churches and fortifications, which with time became cathedrals and castles. In this manner, Riga's three oldest cathedrals had their origins by 1225: St. Peter's in 1209, the Doms Cathedral in 1211, and St. Jacob's in 1225. Eventually, German-built stone churches and castles were constructed across the territory as an extension and symbol of German control. The building of a German castle in Jelgava in 1265, for example, testified to the defeat of the Semigallians by the Teutonic Order.

Through the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century, this first wave of stone construction built castles: in Sigulda by 1207, in Cēsis by 1210, in Kuldīga by 1245, in Aizpute by 1248, in Kandava by 1253, in Daugavpils by 1275, in Rēzekne by 1285, and in Ludza as late as 1399. Most of these buildings, however, were primarily functional. Town architecture around them remained predominantly wooden, and the towns themselves rather small. The overwhelming cultural influence was northern German, reflecting strongly a sense of Christendom as a whole. Only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did the lands of mod-

Dundagas Castle. (Courtesy of Aldis Purs) ern Latvia begin to build something culturally unique on this initial foundation.

The sixteenth century witnessed the Protestant Reformation, a radical schism throughout Western Christendom. An important tenet in Lutheranism and many other Protestant sects was the importance of the individual's own communion with God. This necessitated sermons and religious writing in vernacular languages. The Roman Catholic Church responded in kind, with its own attempt to involve the congregation in a manner heretofore not seen. These currents began the long path toward a written Latvian language. Small as the popularity of the Roman Catholic Church in Latvia was, a Catholic catechism by Peter Canisius, published in 1585, must be accepted as the first full-length book in Latvian. A Lutheran counterpart was published in 1586 and 1587, and for several decades into the seventeenth century almost the entirety of literature in Latvian served religious purposes.

Latvian as a written language therefore began somewhat artificially and through a curious prism: the Baltic German priest or preacher. This early literary production was written in what Baltic German clergy imagined to be the peasant language around them. The grammar borrowed heavily from German (as did the orthography and vocabulary), and the finished product must have been quite different from the spoken language. Still the growing usage of a Latvian written language required some standardization, which was accomplished by Georg Mancelius in 1638 with his German-Latvian dictionary. Mancelius also published a collection of sermons in Latvian, among other religious texts. The Lutheran pastor Ernst Glück finally translated the Old and New Testaments into Latvian between 1684 and 1694. Perhaps more groundbreaking than these works, however, were Christoph Fürecker's translations of German Lutheran hymns into Latvian. Fürecker, unlike the others, was not a preacher, and although a German, he was married to a Latvian woman. These characteristics may have helped him add a vibrancy to his translations that seemed closer to actual spoken Latvian. His hymns (a complete set of 180 hymns was published in 1685) became standards in most Latvian congregations and suggested that the written language was capable of expressing emotion and mood, unlike the other rather stiff, formalistic translations of the seventeenth century.

During the first two centuries of a written Latvian religious language, however, the lands of modern Latvia were torn apart by wars. The Livonian Order collapsed in the 1560s, and Polish and Swedish rule replaced it. Ultimately during the reign of Peter the Great, Russia staked its claim of hegemony over the region, a hegemony that was ultimately achieved by Catherine the Great. During the many long years of war and in their immediate aftermath, cultural production almost ceased. The wars and the new politics, however, introduced new ideas and experiences, as well as trends and fashions from Warsaw and Stockholm (and ultimately St. Petersburg). These trends manifested themselves in the lands of modern Latvia, as the Baltic German aristocracy curried favor with their new sovereigns.

Architecture provides an example of the influx of new tastes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After Peter the Great's effective use of artillery, the old stone fortifications and castles became anachronisms. Functional castles and relatively modest churches became ornate palaces (equally symbols of the Baltic German aristocracy's power) and cathedrals decorated in the latest styles and with the newest accoutrements. An early organ for the Dom Cathedral, for example, was created by a Polish master in 1601. Similarly, the House of the Blackheads (a German order of bachelor merchants) in Riga was substantially renovated between 1619 and 1625. Through many of these years, no architectural style was uniformly adopted. The same House of the Blackheads, for example, always kept a Gothic style, while churches built near the end of the seventeenth century and into the beginning of the eighteenth century, such as the Church of Peter and Paul built in Riga in the 1720s, followed classical style. By the third decade of the eighteenth century, baroque architecture became the standard.

The dominance of baroque architecture in the manors and palaces of the Baltic German aristocracy (as well as the cathedrals of the Baltic German clergy) further highlights the theme of outside influences in the cultural development of the lands of modern Latvia. Peter the Great brought several Italian baroque architects to Russia to help design St. Petersburg, and those architects (and others like them) quickly became fashionable in the Baltic Provinces as well. The duke of Courland, Ernst Johann Biron, a favorite of Tsarina Anna, commissioned the Italian architect Bartolmeo Francisco Rastrelli to design a general palace in Jelgava and a summer residence in Rundāle (near Bauska). Work on these two greatest examples of baroque palace architecture in Latvia began in 1737 and 1736 respectively. Both residences approached the splendor of the Winter Palace outside of St. Petersburg. A palace coup in St. Petersburg in 1740 deposed Biron, but he was granted amnesty in 1763 and returned to Courland to complete both palaces. The interiors were lavishly decorated with Italian art and German furnishings. These two palaces (although only intermittently in use throughout their existence) set the architectural style for aristocratic manors for the next century. The Dominican Cathedral at Aglona, begun in 1768, mirrored the adoption of the baroque for church architecture as well.

Baroque remained the dominant architectural theme of manors and churches until the eclectism of the second half of the nineteenth century. Eclecticism borrowed easily from many time periods and is difficult to pin down to any specific design. The palace at Cesvaine, begun in 1896, for example, is eclecticism's vision of a romantic hunting lodge. The palace near Stameriene or the small and large guild halls in Riga are other examples of eclecticism. By the end of the nineteenth century, *Jugendstil* architecture began to be fashionable, but by this date so many different styles were popular that never again could any one style gain the predominance of, say, the baroque in the late eighteenth century.

At the end of the eighteenth century, new strains of European intellectual thought, specifically the Enlightenment and romanticism, began to enter the lands of what is now Latvia along the conduit of Baltic Germans who were in touch with a wider German world. Although both of these

Jugendstil

Jugendstil is an international architectural style, also known as art nouveau. Riga has perhaps the best and largest collection of this architectural style of any city in the world. Whereas a single building or two may be of note in other European cities, Riga is home to complete city blocks of this turn-of-the-century style.

Architecturally, Jugendstil is defined by ornamentation adorning the balconies, doors, and roof lines. The ornamentation is primarily drawn from myth and is of a stylized, elongated character. Lions, mythic faces, and natural elements are often prominent in Jugendstil architecture. Riga's relative wealth of this style is due to a confluence of socioeconomic factors in the city at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. At that time, Riga was one of the epicenters of industrialization in tsarist Russia. Factories, port facilities, and commercial interests drew tens of thousands of peasants to the city and brought considerable wealth to industrialists and successful merchants alike. Politics revolved around the growing power of Latvian nationalism, emergent socialism, and the existing Baltic German elite's attempt to maintain hegemony. Although political participation was very limited (and municipal government's ability to set policy equally limited), there was an electorate, and that electorate was defined in part by property qualifications. Moreover, apartment houses were needed for workers, as well as buildings for offices. All of these factors fed into a building boom.

The Baltic German elite still set the more general aesthetic trends, and from around 1900 they built considerably in the Jugendstil fashionable in northern Europe. Wealthy Latvians who were building to meet the property requirements of franchise matched Baltic German constructions as a symbol of prestige and equality. Architects such as Mihail Eisenstein (1867–1921), the father of the filmmaker Sergei, designed building after building in the period 1900–1910. Eisenstein's legacy can particularly be seen on Alberts Street, Elizabetes Street, and Strēlnieku Street. Some Latvian architects such as Eižens Laube (1880–1967), Aleksandrs Vanags (1873–1919), and Konstantīns Pēkšēns (1859–1928) incorporated traditional Latvian elements into their stylized building ornaments. By 1910, both the economic boom and the mania for Jugendstil subsided. War and independence weakened the financial basis of renewed private construction from 1914 to 1940. State construction in the 1930s and in Soviet times moved away from the ornamentation of Jugendstil. Many of the masterpieces became communal apartments and fell into general disrepair by the 1980s. With independence restored, Riga's wealth of Jugendstil architecture was recognized as part of the cultural heritage of Europe. The buildings have been painstakingly and lovingly restored and are some of the prime architectural jewels of Latvia.

currents touched only a few people, their impact became quite pronounced. Johann Gottfried Herder and Garlieb Merkel began to fundamentally alter the way in which Baltic German society imagined and interacted with Latvian peasants. As discussed above, in the discussion of the Latvian national awakening, Herder spent a brief period of time in Riga (from 1764 to 1769), and his exposure to Latvian folk traditions played a part in his development of the concept of *das Volk,* "the people," or "the nation," as the creative building block of culture and history.

When earlier Baltic Germans introduced a written Latvian language, the reason was to convey the specifics of Christianity to passive, receptive, and barbaric Latvian peasants. Herder began to believe that the simple Latvian peasants constituted a people, and, in that sense, a nation, and like other peoples had something to contribute to humanity. Herder's discussion of the value of all peoples was primarily cultural, but others drawing upon his writings developed nationalism as a political force in the nineteenth century throughout Europe. Merkel, a Baltic German, anticipated some of these developments and moved beyond the cultural concerns of Herder by suggesting that Latvian peasants could become a revolutionary political force, rising against oppressive Baltic German control. Both of these ideas played an important part in the general and political history of the lands of Latvia in the nineteenth century, as discussed above, and they also shaped cultural developments.

At first, the new cultural developments, particularly in a literary Latvian language, continued to be produced by educated, fashionable Baltic Germans. Many of these young students were ardent followers of Herder, and if he collected Latvian folk songs, so would they. They also began to describe Latvian folk customs, traditions, and superstitions in an organized manner, first in 1817 in the Courland Society for Literature and Art, but by 1824 in the Society of Friends of Latvians. Furthermore, they published their work in collections and began two weekly newspapers in the Latvian language: *The Latvian Newspaper (Latviešu avīze)* and *Friend of the Latvian People (Latviešu ļaužu draugs)*. Although this was primarily an academic pursuit motivated by authentic interest in Latvian folklore, it led to the first considerable body of secular literature in Latvian.

With the continuing growth of literacy among Latvian peasants, the number of secular titles published in Latvian increased, and old patterns of assimilating educated Latvians faltered. In more general terms, these developments funneled into the rise of the Young Latvians in the middle of the century. In political history, the Young Latvians and succeeding activists struggled over the role and destiny of the Latvian nation. Their cultural pursuits were similarly motivated.

Outside of the political controversies between the Young Latvians and the established Baltic German elite (seen in the history of the Young Latvians' newspaper, *The Petersburg Newspaper*), the cultural pursuits of this first generation of Latvian nationalists attempted to prove Herder's assumption of the equality of peoples. Latvian poets and writers expanded the abilities of written Latvian to prove the language was more than a peasant tongue. Early innovative works such as Andrejs Pumpurs's *Lāčplēsis* (Bearslayer; published in 1888) were conscious constructions of the missing elements in the Latvian cultural pantheon. Nineteenth-century nationalists looked to premodern epics as bellwethers of national identity and character. The neighboring Finns and Estonians had recently published national epics of their own, and Pumpurs felt compelled to follow. Whether Pumpurs's epic was more a product of his own fantasy than grounded in Latvian folklore, whether it was of questionable artistic merit—these questions were irrelevant; Latvians had an epic poem.

Far more successful in artistic terms was the first full-length Latvian novel, *Mērnieku laiki* (The Time of the Surveyors), written by the Kaudzītis brothers in 1879. Although the first of its kind, the novel succeeded in becoming an instant masterpiece and towered over the genre for years to come. In political terms, the novel follows two parishes, showing all the reactions and machinations associated with the surveying of peasant land. The character of Švauksts, a caricature of a Latvian attempting to be German, is often discussed as a signpost of how far Latvian identity and self-awareness had developed in a few decades. The novel, however, represents far more than just this. All sorts of Latvians are brilliantly depicted as flawed, but ultimately sympathetic, characters involved in events of local yet momentous importance. They are at times powerless, but they also manipulate and maneuver as much as possible. Along with the depiction of the many minor characters, there is a tale of love and tragedy, which employs many of the more melodramatic plot twists of nineteenth-century novels. The real artistry in the novel, however, remains the descriptions of individuals and their interactions. The novel's descriptions are so timeless that its many characters are almost timeless tropes for Latvian society.

Mērnieku laiki's setting, in the countryside, is equally important for the development of Latvian culture. At the moment that Latvian ethnic identity crystallized and the first generation of cultural nationalists strove to prove the worth of the Latvian people, the overwhelming majority of the people were peasant. Those of the Baltic German elite who resisted the fundamental conviction of Latvian nationalists that they were representatives of a true people, a nation and not a social standing, pejoratively equated "peasantness" and "Latvianness." In reaction, the first generation of cultural nationalists reclaimed peasantness and made it the cornerstone of Latvian identity. Authors wrote Latvian stories in their "natural" setting, the countryside and the peasant farm.

Painters followed a similar path. Already in the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, painters who were ethnically Latvian became accomplished in the Baltic Provinces and in the Russian Empire. Painters such as the nineteenth-century artists Johann Egink and Robert Konstantin Schwede excelled at the classical style; their subjects were primarily classical themes, court portraits, and altars. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Latvian painters influenced by the European turn toward romanticism and by the Young Latvians painted Latvian peasants as subject matter. Karl Huhn serves as a good example of the change in subject matter and style in one career. Huhn was classically trained in St. Petersburg and lived in Paris. Much of his career and artistic production fits into the accepted themes of the Russian and French art establishments. While in Paris, for example, Huhn planned to paint a great historical canvas, *On The Eve of St. Bartholomew's Night*. Ultimately, he was appointed professor of Historical Painting at the academy in St. Petersburg. Among his works in a romantic-realist style, however, were also paintings and sketches of Latvian peasants, Midsummer Eve celebrations, and landscapes of Latvia, all of which anticipated the development of a "Latvian art" in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The ideas of the Young Latvian movement took organizational form in the visual arts with the founding of Rūķis (Gnome), the first association of Latvian student artists in St. Petersburg in the 1890s. Artists such as founding member Ādams Alksnis developed national romanticism in Latvian art, drawing extensively from the imagined pagan past of the Baltic and from contemporary Latvian peasants' life. These two themes emerged as the dominant foundations of much of Latvian cultural development. The most successful and most talented of the artists that emerged from this movement were Jānis Rozentāls and Vilhelms Purvītis. Rozentāls's two paintings, *From the Church* (*No baznīcas*) and *From the Cemetery* (*No kapsētas*), became icons of early Latvian art. Both take rural Latvia as their subject matter and present Latvians in a predominantly romantic-realistic style. Much of the pieces' sophistication lies in the careful attention to the differentiation among Latvian peasants, each treated as a distinctive individual. As a visual snapshot of Latvian rural life in the second half of the nineteenth century, these works by Rozentāls are the visual equivalents of the Kaudzītis brothers' novel. Vilhelms Purvītis, on the other hand, was predominantly a landscape painter who introduced impressionism to Latvian art. Purvītis was internationally known before World War I in the Russian art world, but the majority of his landscapes were of the Latvian countryside. After Latvia's independence, Purvītis presided over the formal side of Latvian art (as rector of the Academy of Art and as the commissioner general of Latvian exhibits abroad).

Cultural development in the second half of the nineteenth century rediscovered the Latvian past, concurrent with literary and artistic developments centered on the rural

Midsummer Eve: Līgo svētki

The most traditional, popular, and ancient festival in Latvia is Midsummer Eve (Līgo svētki, or Jāņi), marking the summer solstice. The festival's roots lie in the pagan past, and the day is one of the solar calendar turning points. Other festivals marked other solstices and equinoxes, and they are still observed, but Midsummer Eve is the most universally celebrated and is now recognized as a national holiday, celebrated on June 23. In preparation for the festival, women weave crowns from wildflowers and men, particularly those named Jānis, or John, wear crowns of oak leaves. Adorned with these garlands people roam from house to house singing traditional midsummer folk songs. The house in return provides cheese specifically made for the event *(Jāņu siers)* and beer. After eating, drinking, and singing, the members of the household join the procession, which ultimately arrives at a hilltop or clearing decorated with a tall signal fire and bonfire. Singing, eating, drinking, and traditional games continue all night. Young couples wander off into the woods looking for the "fern blossoms" that will only show themselves to true love. Tradition and ritual claim a host of bad omens (from sleeping all summer to poor harvests) will befall those that sleep during midsummer night. As dawn approaches and the bonfire dies down, celebrants jump over the fire for good fortune.

The history of these celebrations is complex. The celebration remained remarkably tenacious in the face of frequent attempts by Christian clergy to curtail it due to its pagan connections and profligate celebrations. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the festival gained new credibility with Latvian nationalism's glorification of the rural and the traditional. Soviet rule initially tried to ban the event (substituting a more class-conscious fishermen's festival) and monitored its tenacity with alarm. Through the 1950s and 1960s, the festival met with alternating official proscription, acceptance, proscription, and ultimate toleration. Newly independent Latvia has seen a resurgence in the festival in many different shapes—from extreme ethnographic replications of tradition to large, commercialized outdoor festivals. The Soviet contribution to the ritual and tradition around the festival comes from an unlikely source, film. The 1981 film *Limousine in the color of St. John's Night* (*Limuzīns Jāņu nakts krāsā*) has become a modern classic, and the showing of the film on television in June is similar to the showing of *It's a Wonderful Life* near Christmas in the United States. In the film, an old woman wins a car and long lost family members plot, scheme, and maneuver to inherit it. Although not specifically about Midsummer Eve, parts of the film take place during the celebrations, and if Midsummer Eve is at heart a celebration of the core of Latvian identity, the film captures archetypes of Latvians themselves.

nature of Latvian identity (and fitting these explorations into larger European trends and patterns). Again, Baltic Germans had pioneered much of this work in the early nineteenth century, but the scope of collecting expanded considerably. Peasant proverbs, customs, stories, riddles, tales, and costumes were all collected and recorded (sometimes with creative artistic license).

The history of Latvian folk costumes, for example, illustrates the changing relationship to the peasant past. At midcentury, many Latvians abandoned traditional dress to appear more German, while the Baltic German elite tried to use sumptuary pressures to keep them in peasant dress. Less than a half century later, peasant dress was considered a noble folk costume.

Collecting folk songs *(dainas),* however, became the supreme symbol of the Latvian nationalists' new awareness of their elusive past. Krišjānis Barons became the ultimate symbol of the move to collect the dainas. Barons began his career as an early activist among the Young Latvians and a contributor to the *Petersburg Newspaper.* Barons, however, made the collection and publication of the dainas his life's work. He oversaw the work of many who scoured the countryside and collated the growing collection into a six-volume, eight-book tome *(Latvju dainas).* Barons organized the collection around life events (birth, work, death) and collected 217,966 songs (plus variations). The work has continued to this day and now numbers more than one million songs (not including variations). The universal acclaim given Barons among Latvians suggests how central the idea of identity and its nature had become by his death in the first years of the independent state (a very different relationship to the past than at Barons's birth).

By 1900, a backlash to the efforts of the Young Latvians on the political scene led to the growing strength of the New Current and the introduction of socialist thought. Cultural developments showed a similar change in tone, but in many ways artistic change was less pronounced, and subject matter remained similar. The arrival of socialism, primarily through the periodical *Daily Pages,* introduced the idea of class struggle as central to history. Furthermore, most socialists believed that art should play an instructional role and used it to further their cause. Jānis Pliekšāns and his wife Elza Rozenberga (better known by their pseudonyms Rainis and Aspazija) were important political activists in this movement (and were forced into exile for their political activities), but became more widely known (and remembered) for literary work. Their drama became immediately acclaimed, but their socialist art continued to have a rural setting and to reflect Latvia's past. Self-sacrifice and an emphasis on women's rights were far more prevalent themes than industrial workers and valiant strikes. One of Rainis's masterpieces, *Fire and Night* (*Uguns un Nakts*), is a theatrical version of the Lāčplēsis epic partially created by Pumpurs a generation earlier. Rainis's artistic skill towers over that of Pumpurs, and he gives much more attention to a female witch who ultimately sides with Lāčplēsis; the drama and character development are far more sophisticated. Rainis's skill is in the ambiguity of the struggle; nationalists could understand the play as national commentary, while workers could see the play as a symbol of class struggle.

Other turn-of-the-century authors remained close to the themes of rural Latvian identity. Even the first long urban novel (appropriately titled *Riga* by Augusts Deglavs) revolved around rural Latvians moving to the city. If in *Mērnieku laiki* the Latvian attempting to be German is a buffoon with mangled German language and manners, by the time of *Riga,* such characters have managed to transform themselves into successful Germans, while others refuse to follow this path, but struggle for Latvian rights.

An essentially urban art did not emerge until after World War I. Other authors, from Rudolfs Blaumanis to the poet Eduārds Veidenbaums, expanded Latvian literary output in many directions (melodramatic tragedies were particularly popular), often with hints of new European trends such as Darwinism, Marxism, and realism, but the rural countryside remained the dominant setting for literature. In the visual arts, a new generation of bohemian artists made a contribution, though rather by changing the image of the artist in Latvian society than by introducing urban art and so making real innovations in their artwork.

The shock and transformation of World War I shook the settled traditions of Latvian cultural development as fundamentally as it did European art generally. Jāzeps Grosvalds and Jēkabs Kazaks both drew artistic inspiration from the war itself. They painted powerful expressionist paintings of soldiers (often wounded) and refugees. After the war and the emergence of an independent Republic of Latvia, the Latvian Academy of Art was founded (along with a plethora of artists' societies and salons). Reflecting the wide array of politicial beliefs, Latvian cultural development quickly took many new directions. The most innovative was the advent of modernism in Latvia, pioneered by the Skulme family (Oto Skulme, Marta Liepiņa-Skulme, Niklāvs Strunke, and Romans Suta). All of these artists (and many of their contemporaries) borrowed heavily from cubism. Strunke and Suta were particularly successful in expanding the mediums of their work to include porcelains, furniture, and glass. Striking and successful modernist influences could also be seen in graphic design, stage design, and sculpture.

The avant-garde in the arts did not become the mainstream of cultural development, but was a vibrant force that rapidly assimilated the latest art movements in Western Europe (with about a ten- to fifteen-year lag) while adding unique Latvian elements. Kārlis Padegs, a promising and extravagant young artist, showed considerable potential as a stylistic urban painter. Padegs's sketches are reminescent of the work of Otto Dix or George Groz, but with less of their gruesomeness and more flair and style. Padegs's *Madonna with Machine-Gun (Madonna ar ložmetēju)* is a brilliant synthesis of art styles and local Baltic influences. Padegs, like several other promising interwar artists, died young.

Aleksandrs Čaks provided a similar literary phenomenon. Čaks is one of the originators of an almost purely urban Latvian literature. His subjects, like those of Padegs, were often prostitutes, criminals, and the street poor (Marijas Street, often the central location in Čaks's work, was later partially renamed Čaks Street); another kind of urban novel was created by Pāvils Rozītis in his *Ceplis* (Brick-kiln), which brilliantly lambasted the hectic and often corrupt politics and business of a newly independent Latvia. These many strands of modernism went too far for some Latvian artists, and not far enough for others.

As modernism took root among many of independent Latvia's artists, a renewed embrace of traditionalism gained ground more generally. These cultural forms of traditionalism returned to the well-worn themes of rural Latvian identity and the semimythic pagan past. Jānis Jaunsudrabiņš, a successful artist and author, continued his childhood memoirs (begun with *Baltā grāmata* [The White Book], just prior to the war) with *Zaļā grāmata* (The Green Book). These books captured the naive wonder of a child growing up in the countryside and became instant Latvian classics. Jaunsudrabiņš, although describing the world through the eyes of a child, clearly depicted the poverty and hardship in his childhood as well as youthful pranks and daily life.

Whereas the focus of Jaunsudrabiņš on the countryside was complex and multifaceted, a more simplistic, glorifying art developed in the late 1920s and into the 1930s. These artists, who could be lumped together as neotraditional stylists, turned increasingly to Latvia's mythological past as well as the more well-worn idylls of the countryside. Artists such as Ansis Cīrulis, Jēkabs Bīne, and Hilda Vīka painted Latvian gods and goddesses and extremely romanticized and stylized scenes of ancient Latvian traditions. Their work was increasingly adopted as the unofficial art of the nationalist, conservative authoritarian regime of Kārlis Ulmanis. The extreme extension of worshipping stylized images of the past as an expression of Latvian identity was re-creating an "authentic" pagan religion. Many of these artists participated in the pagan revival *(Dievturība)* invented by Ernests Brastiņš and others. The foundation of this movement was a return to a bygone era and, by extension, a refutation of the present and the social, political, and economic forces of the twentieth century.

Even as art and culture in independent Latvia tended to become more narrrowly defined around the standard concepts of rural identity and a glorious pagan past, a different alternative embraced the present and the future. Latvian artists who embraced the socialist revolution in Russia and sided with the Bolsheviks continued the experiment of modern art in Soviet Russia in the experimental 1920s.

Many artists created revolutionary people's art (with at best a lukewarm reception from the people) for the short-lived Soviet Republic of Latvia in 1919. As this republic was defeated, many Latvian artists retreated to Moscow and Leningrad (the renamed St. Petersburg) to participate in the ferment of the cultural world of 1920s Soviet Russia. Artists such as Aleksandrs Drēviņš participated in constructivism and suprematism, forms of abstract art, but the most innovative cultural developments came in new media. Gustavs Klucis captured the aspirations of the Soviet elite to use technology to build a new industrial future in his innovative development of photo montage. By the late 1920s, Klucis was using his talent and medium to praise Stalin, but ultimately this did not save him from the purges of the 1930s. Interestingly, his final works of art abandoned the vibrant industrial images of progress in his early photo montage and were haunting landscapes of isolation done in oils and watercolours. Klucis was executed in 1938.

Sergei Eisenstein survived Stalin's purges of the late 1930s, but even had he not, he had already cemented his place in the history of filmmaking. His *Battleship Potemkin* is regularly picked as one of the ten most important films in film history; it uses important innovations such as montage and careful editing. Like Klucis, Eisenstein's work also embodies the belief that artistic value and accomplishment can coexist with propaganda. Eisenstein, however, also drew attention to one of the dominant theses in the cultural development of Latvia. Eisenstein was the son of the successful Baltic German architect who designed many of Riga's *Jugendstil* treasures, and not ethnically Latvian. The themes of his artwork do not suggest anything instrinsically connected to Latvia, yet he often referred to himself as a "boy from Riga."

Those who try to define Latvia's cultural tradition are equally challenged by artists such as Phillipe Halsmann, the renowned Jewish surrealist photographer, and Mark Rothko, known as an American abstract expressionist. Halsmann was born and lived in Riga, while Rothko, born in Daugavpils, emigrated to the United States while still a child. (Museums are equally unsure how to categorize Rothko, variously describing his place of birth as Russia or Latvia.) These artists and many others do not fit neatly into the standard Latvian cultural world, and their works seem far removed from Latvian influences (although Rothko did paint some of his tricolor canvases with the colors of Latvia's flag). Latvians still struggle with whether to accept and incorporate these artists into their long cultural tradition or to ignore them altogether. The debate is likely to continue and intensify with Latvia's accession to the European Union in 2004.

With the end of Latvia's independence in World War II, most of Latvia's artistic and cultural production became tied to the propaganda of the two combatants. With the end of war, Latvia's cultural development again underwent a schism. Many Latvians (and most of the elite of the interwar years) fled westward and eventually settled in countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Dozens of artists and authors could be found among this wave of refugees, and many other emigrants attempted to make sense of this great upheaval through artistic and cultural expression.

Émigré Latvian art focused almost entirely on independence lost and the horror of Soviet rule. Promising young painters such as Jānis Tīdemanis and Jānis Kalmīte, or the graphic artist Sigismunds Vidbergs, essentially remained artistically tied to a sentimental nostalgia. As more and more time progressed, émigré artists either remained in the cultural milieu of the 1930s or distanced themselves from specifically Latvian motifs. By the 1970s and 1980s, the most gifted and accomplished Latvian cultural figures in the West were ethnically Latvian, but artistically within the art worlds of their countries of residence. Artists such as the painter Vija Celmins and the pianist Arturs Ozoliņš are excellent examples of this phenomenon. Incorporating their achievement into Latvia's cultural tradition after independence was restored has been as challenging as placing the production of non-Latvians in Latvia.

If Latvian émigré artists struggled to find new and innovative approaches to their native culture from exile, artists suffered more severely in Soviet-occuppied Latvia due to state control of art. Artists were organized into "creative organizations," and the state determined remuneraton, production, and theme. Party circulars defined what could and could not be depicted, and all art was to serve the state as an instructional medium for Soviet citizens. Socialist realism became the dominant style (and the only permitted style in the 1940s and through much of the 1950s). Some interwar artists accepted the new dictates and produced work acceptable to the new state. Aleksandrs Čaks, for example, wrote paeans to Stalin and received high Soviet distinction (criticism of some of his later works and the burden of working in narrow constraints may have contributed to his death by alcoholism). The popular interwar novelist, Vilis Lācis (whose wildly successful novel, *Zvējnieka dēls* [Fisherman's Son], became Latvia's first full-length sound film in 1939), moved from the cultural world to become Soviet Latvia's first commissar of the interior and eventually first secretary. Painters such as Francisks Varslavāns turned from painting sorrowful countrysides and their inhabitants in the 1930s to triumphant kolkhoz farmers at the end of his life.

Not only were art and culture minutely managed and controlled by the Communist Party, but considerable efforts were made to destroy the cultural heritage of the past. Books were banned, artists were deported, churches were demolished or converted to other uses, and even traditional festivities such as the Midsummer Eve were outlawed. A cultural revival did not begin until after the death of Josef Stalin in 1953.

By the late 1950s, Nikita Khrushchev's thaw in the Soviet Union also affected the cultural production that was tolerated in Latvia. Ojārs Vācietis, a successful poet, pushed for art beyond purely propaganda purposes, and many Latvian classics from the nineteenth century and even the interwar years were rehabilitated. Soviet Latvian cinema, for example, produced adaptations of tsarist-era works by Rūdolfs Blaumanis, although these adaptations did mean recasting the originals in light of class conflict themes. By the 1970s, films based on the work of popular interwar writers, such as Pāvils Rozītis's *Ceplis,* depicted an independent Latvia (mostly in a negative light, but not entirely).

Essentially, non-propaganda art that did not criticize the regime or embrace Western values was tolerated (though often unofficially punished with limited editions). Poets such as Imants Ziedonis returned to the cultural tradition of examining Latvians' rural cultural roots. The painter Auseklis Baušķenieks painted critiques of social problems such as alcoholism, giving his work an irreverent veneer of socialist realist style. Maija Tabaka excelled at psychologically loaded portaits and a style that departed from the dogma of socialist realism. By the end of the 1960s and into the early 1970s, an apolitical hippie community in Rīga was tolerated, though kept under intense surveillance.

By the mid-1970s, the cultural world of Soviet Latvia was in crisis, but the crisis was not of the artists' doing. Communist authorities struggled with balancing lavish rewards for artists close to the regime and its prescriptions for culture and appropriate punishments for artists who pushed the envelope of what was tolerated. The authorities had to contend with the ambiguous Bolshevik mantra that culture should be national in form, but socialist in content. The song festivals that had been such an important part of Latvia's culture ever since the national awakening of the nineteenth century, as a result, became massive state productions; they still included a celebration of the rural component of Latvian identity, but they also included socialist components and elements that demonstrated the brotherhood of Soviet nations. A defining socialist realist style receded, but not compeletely, and its replacement was ambiguous. As a result, authorities defining the cultural world would on occasion crack down on national or Western manifestations, but just as frequently tolerated them.

Soviet popular music serves as a particularly good example of this ambiguity. On the one hand, Soviet authorities restricted rock and roll and worried about its effect on Soviet youth; on the other hand, they failed to keep Western recordings from seeping into the USSR and Latvian bands from experimenting with the genre. Not surprisingly, when the currents of political reform and change began in the mid to late 1980s, the artists and cultural figures who had pushed the limits of the system played an early, central part in organizing the mass movements against Soviet rule. The poet Jānis Peters, for example, steered the Writers' Union into the forefront of the Latvian Popular Front. Popular cultural figures such as Imants Ziedonis and the composer Raimonds Pauls lent their cultural and artistic authority to the cause of an independent Latvia.

Independent Latvia's cultural world since 1991 has struggled in two different ways, one material and one more

Song Festivals

Latvia's first song festival occurred in Riga in 1873 and was organized to a large degree by the Riga Latvian Society (Rīgas latviešu biedrība) as a crowning jewel in the cultural work of the Young Latvian generation of activists. Earlier small festivals occurred in Dikļi in 1864 and Dobele in 1870. Initially the festival brought together forty-five choirs and one orchestra from across Latvia and contributed considerably to the standardization of Latvian folk songs and their arrangement in choral patterns as opposed to their initial call and response and droning song style. The second festival in Jelgava, largely organized and financed by Jānis Čakste, was the only song festival to take place outside of Riga. By the 1920s and 1930s, the song festivals, held every four years, found a home in the Esplanāde park near the Orthodox Cathedral in Riga. Construction began on Victory Square (Uzvaras laukums), which would have hosted the song festival and many other government parades, but the work was interrupted by war and occupation.

During the period of Soviet occupation, the song festivals continued as an element of Soviet nationality policy that stipulated that Soviet culture was national in form, but socialist in content. Songs of labor (and songs in Russian), together with visiting troupes from other Soviet republics, became standards of the mass Soviet song festivals. In the West, émigré communities continued to hold their own song festivals at different intervals from 1946 to the present. The 1990 song festival in Riga took on an air of reconciliation and Latvian unity in the struggle against Soviet rule. This song festival included the mass participation of choirs and dance troupes from the West.

Over the years, the Song Festival has expanded to include folk dancing—first in 1948—(with a standardizing influence and rise of strict choreography as with the transformation of folk singing to choral music), marching bands, and theater productions. The twin highlights of the festival are the parade of participants (where tens of thousands march through the streets of Riga to the cheers of hundreds of thousands) and the final concert, which seems to unite the nation in song. The Song Festivals are almost universally regarded as the unifying cultural symbol of the Latvian nation and underline the dominant themes of rural roots, tradition, and a pagan past. The XXIII Song Festival and XII Dance Festival took place in Riga at the beginning of July 2003.

abstract. The overriding concern in the arts following independence was the sudden loss of considerable state subsidies. The Soviet regime may have dictated subject matter and rewarded sycophantism over talent, but the art world was relatively lavishly supported. The tight budgetary constraints of the 1990s led to the loss of most of these subsidies. Slowly, cultural institutions such as the Opera House and the major drama theaters have raised a mix of private and public support, but the first years were exceedingly difficult. The public is ambivalent about the loss of state sponsorship of the arts. On the one hand, the public is shocked to learn of fundamental disrepair of facilities or the depths of poverty that once adored cultural figures have sunk to, but on the other hand, there is a public sense that state-sponsored art is unresponsive art. Latvia's citizenry has yet to reach a consensus on the arts and the public purse. The more abstract dilemma for most Latvians concerns what art to support and why.

The cultural world of independent Latvia at the turn of a new millennium wrestles with the same great, general questions about the nature of Latvian art and the status of art in Latvia that is not obviously a part of Latvian cultural tradition. The state does continue to support some cultural pursuits, and with relatively better economic performance in the late 1990s, it was more generous in that support. What remains problematic is the question of what culture the state should support. The song festivals are nearly universally recognized as a cornerstone of the Latvian cultural world and so deserving of public assistance. Whether or not a Russian-language cultural festival in Daugavpils is equally deserving is still very contentious. This argument is a return to the question of the legitimacy of the art of Baltic Germans and Jews in the 1920s and 1930s.

Folk musicians performing. Leva Pakalnina of Riga, wearing an outfit typical of Western Latvia, performs at the Open-Air Ethnographic Museum. The museum is a collection of several preserved wooden buildings where folklorists and craftspeople gather to recreate Latvian traditions. (Steve Raymer/Corbis)

Additionally, the question has been raised whether Latvian artists who push the creative limits and merge with larger, international postmodern art currents are producing Latvian art. As late as 1995, professors of the Latvian Art Academy criticized a diploma piece that looked somewhat Latin American as not being essentially Latvian. Similarly the public was shocked in the same year to see a young artist, Miķelis Fišers, show homoerotic artwork involving human beings and extraterrestrial aliens. Both of these examples seem far from the traditional consensus that Latvian identity is rural and that true Latvian culture represents this element. The recording company Upe has successfully (commercially and artistically) returned to folk roots in a series of recordings of traditional folk songs. The series' cultural innovation is an attempt to remove the nineteenth-century Latvian elite's moral patina from earthy peasant songs and present "more authentic" variations. Of course a twenty-first century's nostalgic recreation of this past is equally flawed, but still it presents a significant reinterpretation of Latvian cultural mainstays. The ongoing question is how often the old themes can be reexamined, and whether cultural products that go beyond the old themes will be accepted as part of the new Latvia's cultural heritage. Layered over these age-old debates is a new struggle with the increasing commercialization of the arts, making profit the sole measure of success and value.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The economic transformations of Latvia over the centuries have been as stunning as Latvia's political history has been tumultuous. Early Latvians practiced simple agriculture, supplemented by fishing, hunting, foraging, and beekeping. Long-distance trade has always crossed through Latvia (the Dauagava River, for example, is part of the great river system that connected the Scandinavian world with the Mediterannean through the Black Sea), and although the earliest inhabitants of Latvia played some part in this trade, they do not seem to have traveled great distances or built wealth and power principally on trade. The Teutonic conquest of the eastern Baltic was economically motivated by the desire to control trade, just as morally it was fueled by religious crusade. The German conquerors initially did little to alter the foundations of local economies, but they did tax goods and services from the conquered. More importantly, they built the first true towns and cities and introduced urban life into Latvia.

For centuries, the towns and cities of Latvia were small and supplied by local estates. The mercantile activity of these towns continued the previous pattern of servicing the long-distance trade (now of Europe, particularly Northern Europe, with the Russian interior). As Baltic German lords acquired serfs, some directed agricultural production for trade. Latvia in the Middle Ages provided timber for ship building (paticularly masts), linen for ships' sails, and wheat. Many lords, however, neglected their estates to a considerable degree, and much of Latvian agriculture was relatively primitive and mostly concerned with subsistence. Agricultural innovations such as the use of the three-field system and the introduction of new crops did not take hold in Latvia until relatively late, compared to European norms. Towns continued to be small, with limited numbers of artisans and craftsmen (often organized on guild lines) and had few cosmopolitan features. Riga was the exception.

In the eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth centuries, the economy began to transform radically (coterminous with equally radical political and demographic transformations). A variety of economic reasons pushed lords to demand more from their serfs (in service and in kind). Some lords actively improved the agriculture of their estates, introduced innovations, and produced specifically for the market. As markets grew, town populations increased, and money use grew. All of these developments further reinforced each other. Still, structural obstacles limited this economic transformation until emancipation and the later reforms that gave peasants free mobility and the right to own land also created hundreds of thousands of independent economic actors. If at the beginning of the nineteenth century some of these changes could be anticipated, by the 1890s, Latvia's rural economy was transformed into a differentiated countryside of aristocratic estates, Latvian smallholders, sharecroppers, landless agriculture laborers, and more and more members of professions (from school teachers to coopers and porters). The industrialization that began in the last decade and a half of the nineteenth century completely altered the nature of Latvia's economy.

Latvia's industrialization was part and parcel of the industrialization of imperial Russia. By the 1880s, a lack of industrial power clearly weakened Russia relative to the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and even Austria-Hungary. Emancipation and the other "Great Reforms" of the 1860s were an important first step, but without a powerful entrepreneurial class the state had to act to spur initial industrialization. Sergei Witte, a minister of finance and later prime minister for Tsar Nicholas II, was most associated with the rapid, state-sponsored industrialization of the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth. Witte's plan revolved around railroad construction paid for with state subsidies, foreign investment, and an increase in the sale of agricultural goods on the world market. Latvia played a natural part in almost every facet of this plan.

Wealthy Baltic German merchants had connections to Western European finance, and the port of Riga (and later Liepāja and Ventspils) became one of Russia's most important import-export harbors (rivalling Odessa). Likewise, some of the earliest railroads linked Riga to Moscow and St. Petersburg and eventually Warsaw. As Witte had hoped, railroad construction served as a catalyst for an increasingly complex and differentiated industrial economy. Riga moved quickly from being an important port city to being one of the empire's most important industrial centers with textile mills, rail wagon manufactures, a developing chemicals industry, and many secondary industries as well (from breweries to meat processing). Peasants flooded into the city for the job opportunities this industrial boom offered, and city populations mushroomed. Eventually, smaller towns such as Liepāja, Ventspils, Jelgava, Sloka, and Limbāži all developed industrial characteristics.

The relative small size of the Baltic Provinces meant that improvements in transportation infrastructure had a quick and profound effect on the countryside. The many economic and demographic changes determined the changing politics and culture of the Baltic Provinces as well. On the eve of World War I, Riga was a booming, industrial city with several hundred thousand workers in a great many industries. Industrial wealth made possible a rapid modernization of the city's services, from hospitals to street lights and from trolleys to telephones and telegraphs. Industrial Latvia, however, was a part of the industrialization of the Russian Empire. Raw materials (and workers) came to Riga from the Russian interior and manufactured goods moved on to Europe or into the empire itself. This degree of industrialization was far more than was needed to serve the Baltic Provinces alone. This fact, coupled with the devastation of World War I, radically diminished the industrial character of the independent Republic of Latvia in the interwar years.

World War I brought an almost immediate cessation of trade from Riga and Latvia's other ports. Port traffic did not resume until 1919 and even later. International merchant traffic became a thing of the prewar past. The bulk of Latvia's industrial equipment (and much of its workforce as well) was evacuated to the interior of Russia in the summer of 1915; essentially none of it returned. Even its return, however, could not have resuscitated Latvia's industrial sector. Industrialization had come as a part of imperial Russia's industrialization; without access to the abundant raw materials (including energy supplies) of Russia and capital on a huge scale, Latvia's industrial sector could not be rebuilt. The war more generally consumed Latvia's national wealth, and reconstruction demanded enormous expenditures. More damaging still was the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives from the most economically productive sectors of the economy (men between the ages of twenty and forty-five). The magnitude of World War I, coupled with the emergence of Latvia as an independent state, guaranteed fundamental economic transformations.

Latvia again became a predominantly agricultural country. Even at the outbreak of war, the majority of Latvia's inhabitants lived in the countryside, and most were occupied with agriculture. Still, from 1880 to 1914 Latvia had witnessed fundamental urbanization and industrialization. The war reversed this trend, and the new state's crowning economic policy, agrarian reform, reinforced a return to agriculture. Land hunger among Latvia's landless agricultural workers provoked unrest, such as the Revolution of 1905, and provided the migrants to the growing towns and cities. The sentiment of land hunger was still strong in 1920, and Latvia's Constituent Assembly responded by expropriating land from the Baltic German aristocracy and distributing it to the landless. Land reform created tens of thousands of smallholders with an average of roughly twenty hectares of land. These farmers (and farmers who already owned land) became the backbone of the interwar Latvian economy.

The relative small size of their holdings pushed most of these farmers into dairy and pork production (wheat production dropped considerably). Latvia's interwar prosperity (and occasional sluggishness) was a result of international demand for bacon, butter, and flax (the products that came to signify Latvia). Although agricultual efficiency may have suffered as a result of the division of holdings into many small family farms, the reform did give these farmers a stake in the new state. Land shortages did remain; there was simply not enough land for everyone. Nevertheless, the majority of those who lived in the country did receive land, and they received it as private property.

Cities and towns, chief among them Riga, went through equally profound transformations. They became less important as industrial and mercantile centers; instead they emerged as administrative centers of a new state. Populations as a whole declined, but the percentage of blue-collar workers fell drastically, whereas there was a substantial increase in white-collar fields. Riga was transformed from an important port and industrial center of the Russian Empire to the national capital of a small, independent, primarily agricultural country. The political economy of the newly independent state initially maintained the general investment in agriculture, in the form of credits to the new farmers for construction and later in the form of the needed infrastructure for dairy and pork processing. A Social Democratic government attempted to reestablish industry and trade with the USSR in 1927 and 1928 (in part due to a desire to reinvigorate their core constituency, the industrial workforce), but the policy was short-lived and bore few results. In the second half of the 1930s a new effort to build up the industrial sectors of the economy began as part of a state plan for reducing imports and making the country more self-sufficient. The building of a substantial hydroelectric dam at Ķemeri supplied needed electrical power, but agriculture remained dominant until World War II.

From the very beginning of Soviet occupation in June 1940, the foundations of independent Latvia's economy were dismantled in a manner analagous to the destruction of its statehood. Within a month, the eight hundred largest industrial enterprises were nationalized, and the banking system was quickly merged with the Soviet State Bank. The Lats (Latvia's currency) was taken out of circulation and replaced with the Soviet ruble on a one-for-one exchange (before occupation the exchange rate was one Lats for three rubles). By January 1941, all property exceeding 220 square meters (including apartments and houses) was expropriated, and a further agricultural reform redistributed land into economically unviable 10-hectare plots.

The German army invaded the USSR (in 1941) before more of the Latvian economy could be standardized into the Soviet centrally planned command economy, but German occupation proved just as destructive as Soviet occupation had. The Nazi government had a long-term policy for occupied Latvia that included German colonization, extermination of "ethnically undesirable" Latvians, and assimilation of more Nordic individuals. The immediate policy, however, was driven by the exigencies of war. Roughly 25,000 German officials entered Latvia as administrators (while 35,000 Latvians were deported to the Reich for manual labor) and ruled Latvia with two goals: to establish and maintain complete Nazi control and to appropriate every resource for the war effort. A Latvian Self-Administration was created to aid in the day-to-day operations of administration. After the disastrous year of Soviet occupation, many Latvians hoped the Germans would reverse some of the Soviet economic decrees. Instead, food rationing and the Reichsmark were introduced (at an exchange of ten to one, a step that, combined with the Soviet monetary reform, decimated the real value of most life savings). Any further economic reforms remained on the drawing board for the duration of the war.

With the Soviet victory over the Nazis in 1945, the rapid Sovietization of Latvia's economy and its assimilation into the Soviet Union resumed. The return of Soviet rule economically meant socialist construction through accelerated industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. The human cost was exorbitant, with more than 43,000 deported from 25 to 28 March 1949 to force farmers to join collective farms. By 1952, more than ninety-eight percent of Latvia's farmers lived and worked on collective farms *(kolkhozes)* or state farms *(sovkhozes)*.

The plans for rapid industrialization, considering this loss of labor and the loss of life due to war, necessitated the arrival of hundreds of thousands of industrial workers from the Soviet Union at large. The rapid heavy industrialization also relied on the importation of raw materials from other parts of the USSR. Most finished goods were distributed primarily to other Soviet republics. As with tsarist industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century, the Latvian industrial sector (and with collectivization, agriculture as well) became an integral component of the larger Soviet planned economy. Over the next forty years, a constant tug of war developed between union-level ministries and republic ministries for control over economic sectors, but fundamentally Latvia was a cog within the Soviet economy.

As a part of the Soviet economy for more than forty years, Latvia's economic performance mirrored the more general trends of the Soviet Union's five-year plans. After the 1950s, more attention was devoted to light industries and meeting basic consumer demands, but heavy and military industry took precedence. Growth rates according to official statistics (often inflated) were often impressive, and Latvia transformed itself into a modernized, industrial economy. The centrally planned economy, however, was excessively rigid and unresponsive. Resources were routinely misused or exhausted, and by the 1980s these economc infrastructural weaknesses produced general crisis. Massive military expenditures, endemic corruption, and declining productivity across the entire economy generated an economic crisis, which Mikhail Gorbachev hoped to address with perestroika (restructuring), allowing industrial managers to tinker with relying on market forces and other reforms to revive the economy. During the late 1980s, as a result of these reforms, republic-level planning grew in importance. This jurisdictional shift meant little initially, but with the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union and the reemergence of an independent Latvia in 1991, the majority of the commanding heights of Latvia were in the hands of the republic-level Communist Party apparatus.

During this same time period (and into the early 1990s), a shady coalition of organized crime elements (or individuals on the margins of legality) and former Communist Party officials seemed to be dismantling the Latvian economy for their own benefit. Clearly, cases of such corruption, graft, and theft (particularly in the selling of metal scrap) were common, but economic and industrial collapse had other fundamental causes. Independent Latvia lost its subsidized energy and raw materials and lost established markets for its finished goods. Poor quality control, together with lack of marketing and distribution, precluded widespread export to Western countries. Similar economic crises throughout Eastern Europe and the states of the former Soviet Union meant that these old clients could no longer affford Latvian goods. Furthermore, the cost of upgrading equipment seemed prohibitive because Latvia had so little homegrown capital. Independent Latvia started from scratch (often from less than scratch), with little more than a sense that a market economy would produce affluence; how to create that economy was another question. It was a massive undertaking.

Initially, some Western economists advised the Latvian government (still the Supreme Council led by the Godmanis cabinet) to remain in the so-called ruble zone to preserve economic ties. Instead, the Bank of Latvia, led by a relative novice to economic matters, Einārs Repše, opted to reintroduce the currency of interwar Latvia, the Lats. The introduction of the Lats succeeded in cushioning Latvia from the effects of Russian monetary turmoil in the 1990s, and thus the move turned out to be so fortunate that it seemed based on prophetic foreknowledge. The Bank of Latvia guarded the value of the Lats (introduced after a transitionary Latvian ruble) almost religiously, and it has been one of the most stable currencies in Eastern Europe.

The bank's tight control of monetary supply forced Latvia's governments through the different coalitions and

Riga Central Market in 1995. (Courtesy of Aldis Purs) elections to stay within the parameters of the macroeconomic reforms suggested by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These reforms have been defined by drastically limiting government (cutting subsidies and deregulating economic activity) and leaving economic development to market forces. The process seems simple on paper, but has involved considerable disruption and compromise. Tight control of monetary supply meant that governments were forced to operate with budgets with little or no deficits. With little economic activity, this meant that "nonessential" ministries (such as the Ministry of Culture, in 1993) were cut. The very low wages of government employees also succeeded in driving many out of government service (and contributed to the rise of corruption as well). As a result, the rate of inflation fell from triple digits in the first half of the 1990s to roughly 13 percent in 1997 and below 5 percent by 1999.

The planned transition to a market economy also required private property and the legal definition of its rights, privileges, and responsibilities. The Soviet economy essentially did not recognize private property (excepting small-scale individual possessions). The distribution of state-controlled property proved as difficult as any other economic reform. Complicating matters was the historical record of nationalization of property following Soviet occupation. The original owners of buildings and land (or their descendants) demanded the return of their property, and the Godmanis government declared its intent to return property to its "rightful" owners. The intent however proved far easier than the act.

Restitution created a myriad of problems, including multiple applicants for the same property, difficulty in obtaining legal documentation, and the challenge of determining the legal status of enterprises built after occupation on several peoples' property. It was not uncommon to have separate ownership of a building and the land underneath it. Working out these problems required considerable time and legal procedure, which tied up judicial procedures and the status of land under question. Furthermore, restitution had adverse economic side effects. The property owner, for example, might be destitute and unable to renovate or improve the property. Likewise, the uncertainty (increased by the Saeima's reluctance to allow foreign ownership of land) about legal rights to property handicapped the emergence of a real estate market and militated against capital improvements unless land claims were guaranteed. The state also privatized collective and state farms and sold state land concurrently. The privatization of large apartment buildings, often in various states of disrepair aproaching the catastrophic, further complicated the creation of private property.

Privatization of industry and economic enterprises (all owned by the state during Soviet occupation) presented similar problems. In some cases restitution was also called for, but more pressing was the politics of privatization. In order to build popular emotional investment in the state, the government decided to issue all citizens privatization certificates, or vouchers. These vouchers would then be used at state auctions of economic concerns as they became quasi joint stock enterprises. The creation of the legal side of the voucher system demanded nearly three years, further discouraging long-term economic planning, and the actual process of divestiture was often influenced directly by government. The tortuous path toward privatizing potentially lucrative enterprises, from shipping to communications to port facilities, helped cement the close connection between specific business interests and political parties. Not surprisingly, this close connection in turn reinforced the general public's sense that privatization, intended to give indviduals a share of the state's wealth, had instead been hijacked by a new oligarchy of politicians and their wealthy business supporters.

The low point of economic reform was the bank crisis of 1995. Latvia's largest private bank, with one-fifth of all deposits (and considerable political clout), Banka Baltija, closed its doors. The ensuing crisis, caused by poor banking regulations, interbank loans, dependence on Russian oil capital, and the bank's belief that the currency would be devalued, resulted in a 10 percent drop in Latvia's gross domestic product (GDP) for the year. Many other banks closed, and popular confidence in the financial system and the direction of economic reform was seriously affected. The financial sector, however, regrouped. More stringent international auditing, consolidation around Latvia's five largest private banks, and the incursion of Western banks (primarily Swedish and Norwegian) allowed the Latvian financial system to weather the collapse of the Russian ruble in 1998. Rigas komercbanka, Latvia's fifth-largest private bank, did close its doors as result of heavy involvement with Russia, but was able to restructure and reopen as Pirmābanka in late 1999.

Industry and agriculture in Latvia also gradually reoriented itself during the 1990s, with varying degrees of success. The general problems associated with the collapse of the USSR (loss of cheap resources and markets) initially subsided. In the first half of the 1990s many industrial concerns struggled along, using barter with old suppliers and keeping old networks afloat. Breaking into Western markets seemed too difficult. The Russian crisis of 1998, however, exposed these struggling industries to increased financial pressures. Industries as varied as fish products and pharmaceuticals that continued to export primarily to Russian markets had orders frozen and defaults on debts. Those companies, however, that struggled to reorient their products for domestic consumption or to Central and Western Europe fared better. The most effective individual industries have been those that attracted foreign direct investment and used it to modernize equipment and retrain workers. Biotechnology, computer software, fiberglass, pharmaceuticals, processed foods, wood, and wood products have all shown considerable vitality. The export of wood and wood products is representative of the success in these sectors. Initially, Latvia exported primarily raw timber (considerable forest lands are one of Latvia's few natural resources), but entrepreneurs have reinvested some of these profits to sell finished and treated lumber, to find markets for by-products, and increasingly to sell furniture and other manufactured wood products.

Agriculture has followed a similar pattern. Grain, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables, milk, eggs, and poultry account for most agricultural production, but the entire sector lacks investment and has difficulty in competing in Western markets (let alone in domestic markets against attractive Western goods). The number of people employed in agriculture has dropped substantially in the last decade. Much of this drop, despite the considerable economic misery for many farmers, is a macroeconomic trend toward Western norms. Immediately after independence, 20 percent of the population worked in agriculture. Modernized, heavily mechanized agriculture, however, can produce more, more profitably, and employ fewer people. By 2000 less than 10 percent of the population worked in agriculture, and the number is likely to decline further.

The transition in industry and agriculture is ongoing, but the shift from east to west is already accomplished. By 1998, the majority of Latvia's exports and imports went to countries of the European Union, with less than 20 percent going or coming from countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS; a loose territorial designation for much of the former Soviet Union). The continuing importance of Latvia as a transit country for Russian goods, however, influences Latvia's larger trade interests. The port of Ventspils is particularly important in this respect. Ventspils was developed by the Soviet Union for the export of oil and oil products and is the terminal of a long gas pipeline and rail network. Ventspils's mayor, Aivars Lembergs, parlayed the transit of Russian resources into wealth for the city and political importance. "Ventspils interests" has become synonomous with the foreign policy view that believes that guaranteeing the continued transit of Russian oil should be Latvia's economic and political priority. By 2002, the extension of port facilities in Lithuania and the construction of a Russian port, Primorsk, near St. Petersburg cut into Ventspils's monopoly on Russian oil and simultaneously allowed Russian oil companies to demand concessions, control, and ownership of some of the transport network. Although the issue is unresolved, Latvia's economy has diversified enough, and trade has developed sufficiently in other directions (including the construction of the Via Baltica, a road link from Helsinki to Warsaw) that the issue is no longer central or dominant in political discussions or in national economic performance.

Latvia has also modernized much of its transportation and communications infrastructure. During the Soviet era, Latvia had a relatively extensive communications network, and the State Electronics Factory produced many of the telephones and much of the telephone equipment for all of the USSR. The technology, by Western standards, was outmoded, and with independence the state contracted a British-Finnish consortium to modernize the entire system. Initially, the government hoped that the State Electronic Factory would play some role, but it was soon largely abandoned. Newly installed cable and a satellite earth station in Riga have allowed direct international connections for most calls as of 1998. The domestic network is currently under construction and still generates unsatisfied subscribers, who frequently opt out of the ground-based system for Latvia's relatively strong and sophisticated cellular phone network. Similarly, Latvia's Internet usage has grown considerably in size and sophistication. (Latvia's Internet country code is .lv.)

The transportation network has also received considerable investment (especially in the above mentioned Via Baltica), much of it through Phare (Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy) program of the European Union, but as in all sectors the amount of work to be done is daunting. Rural roads and bridges, for example, continue to need repair and in many places paving; more than half of Latvia's rural roads are unpaved. A similar pattern holds for repair and construction of Latvia's port facilities. The port of Ventspils is a modern, bustling facility, but the smaller Liepāja port to the south still struggles with the legacy of its Soviet submarine base. Riga's port facilities are a prime example of how so much of Latvia's economic reform is still an incomplete process. The import-export facilities are able to handle an increasing amount of trade (the amount of timber exported from facilities north of Riga is staggering), but the passenger port is poorly developed and unable to accommodate many luxury cruise ships. As a result most Baltic tourist crossings to Stockholm or Helsinki use the Tallinn port in Estonia. Municipal and national political interference, difficulties in privatization, and frequent allegations of corruption handicap the port's continued growth.

The same formula also holds for Latvia's airports. Although there are many small rural fields (many with unpaved runways), the Riga International Airport (RIX) is the primary airlink for the country. A combination of state and foreign direct investment has repaved and lengthened the runways to accommodate more and larger passenger jets, and the arrival and departure terminals have been upgraded considerably. The airport still feels small, however, and for a variety of reasons has not developed as a hub for regional travel. An expanded cargo terminal is also clearly needed with the rise in air cargo. A major Latvian airline, Latavio, has gone bankrupt, but Air Baltic (majority-owned by Scandinavian Airlines) has been relatively successful and flies direct flights to many international destinations.

The growth of tourism in Latvia is directly connected to the extension of the transportation network. Tourism began developing in the last few decades of the nineteenth century with trips to the beaches of the Bay of Riga (referred to then as the Strand, but now the city of Jūrmala) and to the town of Sigulda west of Riga (home to a Livonian Order castle and the impressive Gauja River valley). In the 1930s the Latvian government launched a domestic tourism campaign ("Travel your native land" *[Apceļo savu dzimto zemi]*), but its development was cut short by World War II. Under Soviet occupation, the Riga-Jūrmala became a favored tourist destination for hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens and a preferred retirement location for many Soviet army officers and party personnel. A considerable tourist industry developed, including spas, hotels, and restaurants.

With the collapse of the USSR, most of these tourists initially stopped travelling to Latvia, and much of the state-run tourist infrastructure was of inferior quality for most Western tourists. Private initiative and foreign investment, however, responded by developing parts of this economic

Cargo ship at port of Riga. (Steve Raymer/Corbis)

sector. The growth of the service sector and the infusion of foreign currency helped cushion the worst of the economic crisis in the middle of the 1990s. A substantial percentage of tourists are vacationing émigrés and others with Baltic ancestory, but Latvia has also succeeded in carving out a niche in the competitive European tourist market. Riga's extensive Jugendstil neighborhoods, medieval churches, and old town, as well as Latvia's beaches, castles, and parks have all developed a vibrant industry with the range of affiliated services (from international hotels to private bed-and-breakfasts). The tourist sector is, however, limited by Latvia's northern climate with its short summers and is unlikely to be a driving force in Latvia's economic development.

An overview of Latvia's economic performance from 1991 into the twenty-first century shows surprising accomplishments. The collapse of the USSR and the transition from a centrally planned command economy to a free market system would have been impossible without crises, depressions, and considerable disruptions. Latvia has had its share of each of these and continues to struggle with great regional disparities and the fact that the standard of living of most people declined through the decade. The macroeconomic indicators, however, show that the transition is over. The economy has restructured around service industries, export, and skill-based industries. Agriculture has declined considerably in importance, but the outline of a small, specialized agricultural sector is taking shape.

After depression and high inflation in the first half of the 1990s, by the second half these indicators reversed. Inflation is not an immediate concern, government deficits and debts are within the Maastricht criteria for European Union members, and the GDP has begun to surge. By 2000, GDP growth was roughly 5 percent, 6 percent in 2001, and most recently in the first quarter of 2003, a vibrant 8 percent growth. Some economists optimistically forecast 10 percent growth for 2003 as a whole. The most recent upsurge, more importantly, is across all economic sectors. GDP per capita is over $7,000, as economic growth begins to have a real effect across the population. Latvia is still far behind European Union averages, but with continued rapid growth in Latvia, slow growth in the EU, and the addition of EU investment after full membership, Latvia can expect to become European in economic terms within twenty or thirty years. With the exception of the other Baltic states, Estonia and Lithuania, no other former republic of the USSR can claim such an impressive economic performance.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The idea of an independent Latvia has been central to Latvians throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, yet there have been fewer than thirty-five years of actual independence during this long century. Instead, occupation or administration within a larger political entity has been the norm throughout the twentieth century. The consequences of decades of foreign rule affect every facet of Latvian government, economy, society, and life. Overcoming these consequences will preoccupy Latvia for a considerable time. Contemporary politics and opinion are such that the debate over citizenship and minority rights is one of these consequences.

Defining citizenship is a litmus test for democratic ideals and a reflection of antecedent circumstances. Latvia was forcibly annexed and occupied by the Soviet Union during World War II. The war was a demographic catastrophe: tens of thousands of ethnic Latvians died, tens of thousands fled, the historic Baltic German community was "repatriated" to Germany, and almost all of the historic Jewish community was murdered in the Holocaust, as well as many Roma (Gypsies). After the war, tens of thousands more ethnic Latvians were deported in the violent effort to establish Soviet order. Concomitantly, tens of thousands of predominantly Russian families moved to a rapidly industrializing Latvia.

Through most of Soviet rule, changes in demography could not be questioned (the exception was by the "national communists" in the 1950s, who failed and paid with their careers). Demographic trends threatened the titular ethnic nation (Latvians) with minority status within the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the 1980s unleashed popular participation in politics, and the overwhelming majority of ethnic Latvians struggled to reclaim independence; many of the non-Latvians in Latvia also shared these aspirations, although with apprehension about resurgent nationalism and their place in a national Latvia. With independence achieved in 1991, and with citizenship based on the body of citizens of June 1940, more than 700,000 inhabitants of Latvia found themselves disenfranchised. The nature of their rights, path toward citizenship, and very future in an independent Latvia was ambiguous. At the beginning of a new, democratic experiment, the Latvian state and political world was confronted with a fundamental dilemma: how to balance a sense of historical justice for the "Latvian nation" with democracy and human rights for all in Latvia.

Successful democratic politics revolves around consensus building and compromise. From the outset, the political extremes refused to compromise and presented radical options. Latvian nationalist extremists labelled all people who arrived after 1940 as occupiers and hoped that they would leave the state. At first, these extremists even called for deportations, but have since softened their demands, seeking

Giant memorial sculptures stand on the site of a Nazi concentration camp in Salaspils. The Nazis and Latvian collaborators murdered more than 100,000 Jews, prisoners of war, Roma (Gypsies), and opponents of Nazi rule between 1941 and 1944. (Steve Raymer/Corbis)

Table 1: Ethnic Composition of Latvia by Percentage, 1897–2000

	1897	*1925*	*1935*	*1959*	*1989*	*2000*
Population	1,929,387	1,845,000	1,905,000	2,079,900	2,666,600	2,375,300
Latvian	68	73.4	77	62	52	57.6
Russian	7.9	12.6	8.8 p	26	34	29.6
German	6.2	3.9	3.3 p	1.6	0.1	0.2
Jewish	7.4	5.2	4.9	1.7	0.9	0.4
Belarusian	4.1	n.a.	1.4	2.9	4.5	4.1
Ukrainian	n.a.	n.a.	0.1	1.4 p	3.5	2.7
Other	4.4	4.9	4.5	4.4	5	5.5

rather to deny citizenship to these people and to create a naturalization process that keeps most of the disenfranchised from Latvian citizenship. Extremists on the other end of the spectrum favor citizenship for all and the official recognition of Latvia as a multiethnic state. Through the middle of the 1990s to the end of the century, Latvia tortuously worked out the politics of a compromise between the interests of the international community, an electorate dominated by ethnic Latvians, and the noncitizens of Latvia.

The 1998 referendum and revised citizenship law has the hallmark of a successful compromise; no group is entirely pleased, but most have accepted it as the basis for citizenship and naturalization. There are still hundreds of thousands of residents of Latvia who do not have citizenship, but the naturalization path is now more clear and accessible. Some people will never assume Latvian citizenship for a variety of reasons (from young men avoiding military service to pensioners unable to learn a new language so late in life, to those apathetic toward the state), but with a long demographic view, the problem will fade progressively year by year. At the beginning of 2004, according to statistics compiled by the Naturalization Board of Latvia, there were still just over 481,000 noncitizens, which accounted for 20 percent of the population. Eventually Latvia will not have a substantial number of noncitizens, but there will always be considerable minority communities. The rights of members of those communities, particularly concerning language, have become and will continue to be the new arena for ethnic politics in Latvia.

Table 2: Ethnic Composition of Latvia and Citizenship by Percentage, 1 January 2002

	Inhabitants	*Percentage who are citizens*	*Percent of population*
Latvians	1,363,449	99.7	58.3
Russians	682,145	46	29.1
Belarusians	24,386	26	4
Ukrainians	8,900	14.5	2.6
Poles	39,825	68	2.5
Jews	5,705	59.8	0.4
Total	2,339,928	76.3	100

Although citizenship and language are interrelated, the concerns are different. The nature of reestablishing independence disenfranchised 60 percent of the Russians, 80 percent of the Belarusians, and 96 percent of Ukrainians almost overnight. Since 1998, these predominantly Russian-speakers have known the rules for naturalization. The strict language policy of the country, on the other hand, which mandates the official use of Latvian for all purposes, regulates where and how communities live their daily lives. Most Russians live in Riga (constituting almost 44 percent of the population of Riga), the other large cities, or the eastern province of Latgale. In Daugavpils and Rēzekne, Russians constitute a majority of the cities' populations. In three of the four regions of Latgale (Rēzekne, Daugavpils, and Ludza), Russians account for more than 35 percent of the population. In all of these regions, the current language policy is seen as exclusionary by a considerable portion of the inhabitants.

Daugavpils, for example, has roughly 112,000 inhabitants, 69 percent of whom are citizens, according to government statistics. Nevertheless, Daugavpils is primarily a Russian city, with ethnic Latvians making up less than 16 percent of the population, and less than 45 percent of the population speaks Latvian. This city of Russian citizens of Latvia demands equal legal status for the Russian language. Latvian nationalists fear that such status would be a serious blow to Latvian culture. They argue that Russians have a vibrant Russia that supports and produces Russian media and culture. Latvians, on the other hand, only have Latvia. Although more and more of Latvia's minorities speak Latvian (78 percent of the entire population in 2000, according to the Central Statistical Bureau), ethnic Latvians are adamant in using the state to preserve and guarantee Latvian identity. To Russian-speakers, however, the force of the state and a strict Latvian language law has serious short- and long-term consequences. Daily life is uncomfortable and artificial when most people in a city like Daugavpils are predominantly Russian, but everything from street signs to advertising is primarily (although not exclusively) in Latvian. Their argument is that a predominantly Russian community should have full legal rights for the Russian language. They fear state-orchestrated assimilation as a long-term result of strict language policies.

The ethnic dimension of Latvian politics and concerns about minority rights will not go away. As demographics and naturalization proceed, Latvia will be a state with a clear ethnic Latvian majority (already near 59 percent, it may settle between 60 and 65 percent) and a considerable Russian (currently just under 29 percent of the population) and Russian-speaking minority, according to government figures; all will be voting citizens. Either politics will coalesce around ethnicity, with both Latvians and Russians putting aside internal differences to defend collective, ethnic rights, or ethnic compromise will pave the way for parties based on general socioeconomic demands. This outcome will determine how integrated and whole Latvia's society is, a pressing question for the strength of the state, as well as of the European Union (EU), since Latvia became a full member. Latvian nationalists worry that their control over national issues and ability to support Latvian culture and language will erode. There is an undercurrent in popular opinion that simplifies this dilemma by claiming that after fifty years of struggle against one union with rule from a foreign capital, Latvia should be wary of joining a new union. The EU also worries that many from Latvia's Russian and Russian-speaking populations will migrate to the more prosperous western states of the EU because there is so little integration of their communities into Latvia's society. The EU does not want this for its own reasons, but it would also be a potentially debilitating outcome to Latvia. The challenge, beyond laws and regulations, is creating a state identity that both protects ethnic Latvians and welcomes non-Latvians.

The consolidation of ethnic identity and its application to political nationalism is less than 150 years old in the area of modern Latvia. During that time, however, ethnic composition has changed radically, often, and artificially. Latvia continues to struggle with the balance between Latvian nationalists' dreams of a nation-state and Russians' (and Russian speakers') hope for some firmer recognition of the multiethnic reality of that state. A new, pressing challenge, however, faces all of Latvia's inhabitants: a general demographic crisis. For several decades, the simplest demographic crisis has gripped Latvia; more people die each year than are born. Population is declining at an alarming rate, and the population is aging. In 1989 (the year of the last census of the USSR) there were 2,666,600 people living in the Latvian SSR. Independent Latvia's census took place in 2000, and there were 2,375,000 people, for a net loss of 291,000 people, or 10.9 percent of the entire 1989 population. The urban population has dropped by 13.5 percent and the rural population by 5.1 percent. In Liepāja, Riga, and Jelgava, the urban population has declined even more precipitously (by 22, 16, and 15 percent respectively). Some of the loss is due to emigration, the collapse of the USSR, and the removal of Soviet military bases, but the remaining demographics point to a continuing sharp decline in population.

Latvia's basic demographic breakdown has severe imbalances by age and sex. In figures compiled by the government, the middle of the age pyramid, 15 to 59 year olds, has not changed appreciably, from 61.2 percent of the population in 1989 to 61 percent in 2000. The percentages of young and old, however, have changed dramatically. In 1989 there were just over 463,000 people over 60 years of age, or 17.4 percent of the population. By 2000 the number had risen to more than 500,000, or twenty-one percent of the population, and this percentage continues to rise. Young people, on the other hand, have seen an equally serious decline, from almost 571,000 in 1989 (21.4 percent of the population) to 424,000 in 2000 (17.9 percent). These stark changes mean that the number of people younger than fifteen has dropped by 26 percent, while the number over sixty has risen by 9 percent.

As with the more general demographic statistics, the aging of Latvia is most evident in its cities. In Liepāja, for example, the number of children has dropped by 36 percent in eleven years. In regions dominated by cities, both trends are clear; in the Riga region the number of children has dropped by more than 20 percent, and the number over 60 has risen by almost 30 percent.

An equally troubling imbalance regards the composition by sex. Women make up 54 percent of the overall population, but the imbalance is far more extreme among older people. Under fifteen years of age, the sex ratio is in favor of males at 1.05 (this seems to be a biological average). Between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five, this ration has sunk to .91 males per female. Over sixty-five years of age, the

Satellite dish at the International Radioastronomy Center in Irbene. (Courtesy of Aldis Purs) ratio drops to a shocking .48 males per female. Latvia shows crisis numbers across the board of standard demographic indicators. There are roughly eight births per one thousand people, but almost fifteen deaths per one thousand as well. There is a net loss due to migration, and infant mortality rates are relatively high for a modern, industrial state, at over fifteen per thousand. There are more registered abortions per year than births. Latvia's overall rate of population growth is minus 0.81 percent.

The demographic crisis has two fundamental causes. First and foremost, the fertility rate declined throughout the twentieth century. Fewer and fewer children born generation after generation begins to have profound accumulative effects. Secondly, Latvia's population is unhealthy, and health problems are worse for men. Tuberculosis is a serious medical problem, and many of the cases are multi-drug resistant strains of tuberculosis. HIV/AIDS rates are relatively low (1,250 people estimated in 1999), but the widespread rise in prostitution and intravenous drug use could easily turn HIV/AIDS into an epidemic. Perhaps the most serious medical problem, however, is chronic alcoholism. Men particularly die from alcohol-related maladies, and this fact alone accounts for the sharp drop in male life expectancy compared to women (less than sixty-three years versus almost sixty-nine years). Although difficult to quantify, much of the demographic crisis is a reflection of the economic and political turmoil of the past twenty years. Poverty contributes to respiratory diseases, despair to alcoholism and suicide. These demographic crises affect all of Latvia's inhabitants (Russian-speakers slightly disproportionately), and adequately addressing them will be difficult, particularly considering the government's limited resources for health care.

The limited resources earmarked for health care are a result of the general economic collapse of the last years of the Soviet Union and the first years of independence, and of the devotion of Latvia's government to pursuing the "shock therapy" of rapid transformation to a market economy (particularly the strict monetary supply's limitations on government budgets). Shock therapy was famously advocated by the Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs for postsocialist Poland. A similar "500-day plan" was proposed to the Yeltsin government for radical economic transformation in post-Soviet Russia. Generally speaking, as economists considered the best path for introducing market economics to centrally planned economies, there were two schools of thought. Gradualists feared the social pain that market reform would unleash and hoped to dull its severity by a slow, steady transformation. "Shock therapists," on the other hand, believed that a slow pace of reform would limit reform's effectiveness and prolong social pains. Both groups of economists worried that in the new democracies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the social pain caused by transformation (slow or fast) could bring antireform politicians to office who would derail the process. The worst-case scenario, to market reformers, would be a populist politician who played to the lowest common denominators of poverty, misery, and inequities to gain power and then abandoned economic reform.

Belarus (under Alexander Lukashenko) seems close to this scenario, but more generally the electorates of Eastern Europe seem convinced of the merits of economic reform in spite of any immediate difficulties. In this regard, Latvia is no different, and has aggressively followed economic market reform, political liberalization and democratization, and a general reorientation from East to West for more than ten years. Latvia has undergone a fundamental reversal in orientation since 1986, from a component of the USSR to a member of the European Union, as of 2004.

The shift in orientation is often characterized as a return to Europe or the West. It is, however, more than just a return. Latvia was not completely assimilated into a European or Western standard in the 1920s or 1930s, a fact that makes its shift in orientation even more remarkable. The scope of the reorientation is complete, involving everything from politics and military alliances to cultural perceptions and economic policies. As this process of reorientation nears completion, Latvia is faced with many unanswered questions. Does reorientation demand a certain type of treatment of ethic minorities (as well as other minorities)? Does a Western bias or a consumer bias threaten traditional Latvian identity as much as the heavy-handed rule of Moscow? In the new millennium, what is Latvian identity in all of its guises?

These very questions, however, reveal much about what has happened in Latvia. In 1985 Latvia shared with the other republics of the USSR a hostility toward central rule, apprehensions about Russian dominance, and antipathy toward aspects of the Communist Party. With many of the other republics, Latvia shared a desire to not be a part of the USSR. Twenty-first century Latvia's debate about what it means to be European, to be in the EU, to be in NATO, to be a modernized industrial market economy, is shared with most of the other countries of Europe. This fact alone reveals how complete Latvia's transformation has been.

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CHRONOLOGY

9000 B.C.E.	First permanent human settlement in territory of modern Latvia.
2000–1000 B.C.E.	Early Balts arrive in territory of modern Latvia.
100–300 C.E.	Existence of recognizable subpopulations within the Balt peoples.
1000	Kin-based societies (Couronians, Livs, Selonians, Semigallians, and Lettgallians) with strong leaders and hill forts throughout the territory of modern Latvia.
1160s	German merchants and Father Meinhard settle at Ikšķile on the Daugava River.
1198	Pope Innocent III proclaims a crusade in the eastern Baltic area.
1198	Bishop Berthold killed in a battle trying to convert Livs.
1200	Bishop Albert arrives at Ikšķile.
1201	Albert founds Riga.
1202	Albert founds the knightly Order of the Swordbrothers.
1207	Albert and Swordbrothers complete conquest of the Livs.
1209	Albert completes the conquest of the Selonians and their leader Visvaldis.
1216–1227	Years of warfare involving Swordbrothers, Lettgalians, Danes, Estonians, and Russians.
1231	The conquest and Christianization of the Couronians and their leader Lamekin is completed.

1236	Swordbrothers decimated at the Battle of Saule by a Semigallian and Lithuanian army.
1237–1267	Revolts by Couronians and Semigallians.
1267	Couronians surrender to Livonian Order.
1282	Riga joins Hanseatic League.
1290	Semigallians' final defeat and complete conquest of area of modern Latvia by Livonian Order.
1419	Creation of Livonian Diet in Riga.
1520s	Protestant Reformation arrives.
1558	Livonian Wars begin.
1562	Gotthard Kettler, last master of the Livonian Order, becomes the duke of Courland and Semigallia.
1561–1629	King of Poland-Lithuania becomes ultimate sovereign of area of modern Latvia.
1585–1587	First Catholic and Lutheran catechisms in a Latvian language.
1600–1629	Polish-Swedish War over control of the eastern Baltic.
1629	Treaty of Altmark ends Polish control over much of the territory, except for Latgale.
1642–1682	Reign of Duke Jacob, Courland and Semigallia's most active ruler.
1688–1694	Full translation of Bible in Latvian by Ernst Glück.
1700	Great Northern War begins between Poland, Sweden, and Russia for Baltic area dominance.
1710	Russian army captures Riga.
1721	Treaty of Nystadt establishes Russian dominance in the region.
1738–1743	Active wave of Moravianism in Livland.
1772	First partition of Poland brings Lettgalia under Russian control.
1795	All of Latvia within Russian Empire as a result of the third partition of Poland.
1802	Peasant unrest near Kauguri.
1817, 1819	Serfs emancipated in Baltic Provinces.
1817–1834	Scholarly German societies publish Latvian folklore and newspapers.
1840–1852	Mass peasant conversions to Orthodoxy in Livland.
1850–1880	Young Latvians begin Latvian National Awakening.
1861	Serfs emancipated in Latgale.
1880–1900	Beginning of industrialization in Russian Empire.
1882	Senator Nikolai Manasein proposes a general program of Russification after reviewing peasant grievances.
1890s	New Current movement introduces progressive theories and Marxism.
1890s	National awakening among Lettgalians.
1897–1904	Tsarist repression against workers' movements in Riga.
1904	Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party founded.
1905–1907	Revolution particularly pronounced in cities and countryside of Baltic provinces.
1914–1918	World War I.
Autumn 1915	At least 700,000 refugees flee approaching German army.
Spring 1916	Eight separate Latvian infantry battalions begin defending part of Daugava front.
1917	Revolutions begin in Russian Empire.
18 November 1918	Republic of Latvia declared, with Kārlis Ulmanis as minister president.
1918–1920	War of Independence.
January–May 1919	Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, headed by Pēteris Stučka in Riga.
April–June 1919	Pro-German Government of Andrievs Niedra.
June–November 1919	Armies loyal to the Ulmanis government defeat German forces.
January 1920	Pro-Ulmanis armies allied with Polish forces push Bolshevik forces from Latgale.
11 August 1920	Peace Treaty with Soviet Russia.
1 May 1920	National Constitutional Convention convenes in Riga and elects Jānis Čakste state president and Kārlis Ulmanis minister president.
16 September 1920	Constitutional Convention passes Radical Agrarian Reform.
15 February 1922	Constitutional Convention ratifies constitution.
1922–1934	Era of rule by parliament (Saeima).
15 May 1934	Ulmanis's coup d'état ends parliamentary rule.
23 August 1939	Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.
5 October 1939	Treaty stations Soviet troops in Latvia.
1939–1940	Baltic Germans "repatriated."
16 June 1940	Soviet troops enter Latvia.
14–15 July 1940	"Elections" to the "People's Saeima" recognize only the communist-backed list of delegates.
5 August 1940	Latvia "admitted" into the USSR.
14 June 1941	First mass deportation.
21 June 1941	Germany invades USSR.
July–December 1941	Holocaust of Latvia's Jews.
8 May 1945	Nazi surrender ends WWII in Europe.
1945–1953	Latvian partisan war against Soviet power.
24–30 March 1949	Mass deportation of kulaks.
1953–1959	National Communists attempt to assert local control of affairs in Latvian SSR.
1966–1984	Augusts Voss as first secretary of Latvia's Communist Party mimics the rule of Leonid Brezhnev in the larger USSR.
October 1986	Environmental movement inspired by Dainis Īvans and Arturs Snīps successfully

	contests plans to build a hydroelectric dam.
1987	Beginning of "calendar demonstrations" by dissident group Helsinki–86.
8–9 October 1988	Latvian Popular Front founded.
23 August 1989	Three Baltic Popular Fronts link 2 million people in Baltic Way human chain from Tallinn, Estonia, to Vilnius, Lithuania.
4 May 1990	Supreme Council votes to renew independence.
January 1991	Soviet attacks on Latvian government buildings kill four people.
19 August 1991	Hard-line communists attempt coup against Gorbachev in USSR.
21 August 1991	Latvia renews independence.
September 1991	Latvia seated at the United Nations.
5–6 June 1993	Elections for the Fifth Saeima.
7 July 1993	Guntis Ulmanis elected state president.
30 September–1 October 1995	Elections to Sixth Saeima.
3 October 1998	Elections to Seventh Saeima and national referendum on citizenship.
17 June 1999	Vaira Viķe-Freiberga elected state president.
October 2002	Elections to Eighth Saeima.
November 2002	A NATO summit in Prague, Czech Republic, formally invites Latvia to join the military alliance.
December 2002	An EU summit in Copenhagen, Denmark, formally invites Latvia to join the EU in 2004.
September 2003	Referendum strongly supports Latvian membership in the EU.
March 2004	Latvia joins NATO.
1 May 2004	Latvia joins the EU.

LITHUANIA

Terry D. Clark

LAND AND PEOPLE

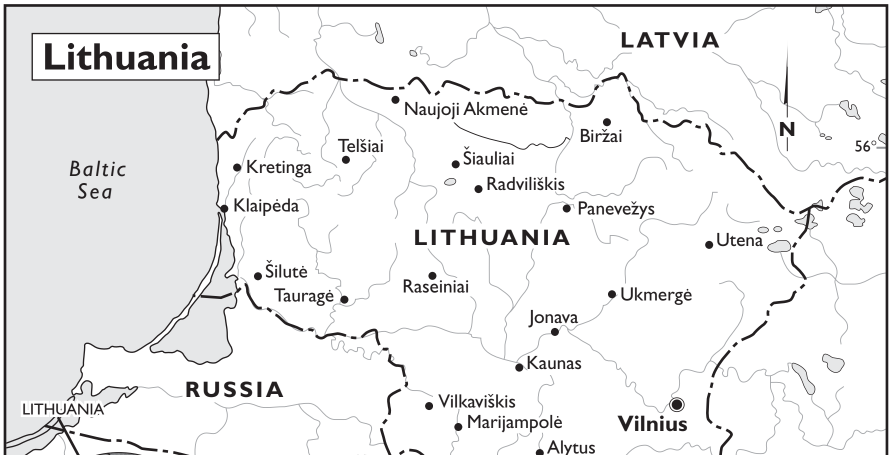
Lithuania is the largest of the three Baltic states, located in East Central Europe at roughly the same latitude as Moscow, Northern Ireland, and the southern part of Hudson Bay in Canada. Its 1,747 kilometer–long border is shared with Belarus to the east and southeast (724 kilometers), Poland to the south (110 kilometers), Russia's Kaliningrad region to the southwest (303 kilometers), and Latvia to the north (610 kilometers). Its 99 kilometer–long western border is bounded by the Baltic Sea. With a total landmass of 65,300 square kilometers, the country is slightly smaller than Ireland and a little larger than the state of West Virginia. The greatest distance is 276 kilometers from north to south and 372 kilometers from east to west.

The Baltic Sea coast is low-lying, with wide sand beaches. The area on the Courland Spit extending south from Klaipėda to the town of Nida, just north of the border with Russia's Kaliningrad region, is one of the most unique areas in the world and a favored vacation spot for well-to-do Lithuanians. The narrow spit (0.4 kilometers wide), bounded on the west by the Baltic Sea and on the east by a large lagoon, is known for its sand dune formations and narrow sand beaches.

Most of the country is close to sea level, with the capital of Vilnius at 213 meters above sea level. The country's western, northern, southern, and central districts are dominated by a lowland plain. The eastern region is largely hilly upland. As one moves eastward from the Baltic Sea, the land gently increases in elevation before falling again in the central regions. From the central regions, altitudes gently increase until one reaches the highest elevations in the country's eastern regions.

Lithuania's river network is dense. There are 722 rivers and more than 2,800 lakes in the country. Lakes occupy 1.5 percent of the country's territory and are most numerous in the northeast. The river network is densest in the central regions and sparsest in the southeast. The country's two largest rivers are the Neris and the Nemunas. The Neris River flows through Vilnius to Kaunas, where it joins with the Nemunas. The Nemunas flows west along the border with the Kaliningrad region and empties into the Baltic Sea. Lithuania's rivers are frozen for three months in most winters.

Possessing a cool, wet climate, Lithuania is located in the transition zone from a maritime to a continental climate. The average daily temperature is 43 degrees Fahrenheit (6.1 degrees Celsius). The coldest month is January, with an average temperature of 23 degrees Fahrenheit (minus 5 degrees Celsius), and the warmest month is July, when temperatures average 80 degrees Fahrenheit (23 degrees Celsius). The first frost generally occurs on or


Lithuania
LATVIA
N
56°
Naujoji Akmenė
Biržai
Telšiai
Šiauliai
Kretinga
Baltic Sea
Radviliškis
Klaipėda
Panevėžys
LITHUANIA
Utena
Šilutė
Tauragė
Raseiniai
Ukmergė
Jonava
Kaunas
RUSSIA
LITHUANIA
Vilkaviškis
Marijampolė
Vilnius
Alytus
Lazdijai
Druskininkai
POLAND
BELARUS
54°
25
50 mi
0
25
50 km
26°
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Rooftops of Vilnius, ca. 2002. (Tibor Bognar/Corbis)

about 5 October, the last in early May. There are relatively few hours of sunlight in winter, when days are quite short owing to the northern latitude. Most of the sunlight hours occur during the long days of summer.

Average annual rainfall reaches 42 inches in some parts of the country. The greater part falls in the west in winter and in the east in summer. There are from 40 to 100 foggy days a year and 15 to 30 thunderstorms a year. The growing season varies from 169 days in the east to 202 days in the west.

Approximately 17 percent of the country is dominated by grasslands and 3.3 percent by wetlands. Seventy percent of Lithuania's national territory is arable land, and 27.6 percent is forested. Pine forests account for 37.2 percent of the forested lands, spruce forests comprise 18.5 percent, birch forests 23.0 percent, white alder forests 7.5 percent, black alder forests 5.7 percent, aspen forests 4.8 percent, oak forests 1.4 percent, and ash forests 1.4 percent of the total forested area. The southeast is the most wooded; approximately half of its area is covered with forests. Forty-five percent of the land is under cultivation. The best agricultural land, comprising 7 percent of the total available land, is located in the north central and central regions, particularly along the rivers in these regions. Land suitable for farming can also be found in the southwest. The lands of the west and east are marginal, the former composed largely of sandy soils and the latter stony. The southeast is also largely made up of sandy soils. Twenty-five percent of agriculture is conducted on sandy soils.

Wildlife is abundant, particularly in the forested areas. The most common mammals are fox, badger, elk, deer, wild boar, beaver, squirrel, muskrat, and rabbit. Among birds, ducks are present in particularly large numbers, as are pheasants, coots, and partridges. Storks are also present in significant numbers and play an important role in the folklore of the peasants.

The major sectors of the Lithuanian economy are agriculture, industry, and energy. The major agricultural products produced for the domestic market are potatoes, beef, pork, milk, eggs, vegetables, and flax. Major export crops are grains (for the eastern market) and sugar beets (for the western market). Industry is dominated by food products, textiles, apparel, electronics, chemicals, and fertilizers. Oil refining also contributes a large share of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). The energy sector is equally important to the economy, the total production of indigenous energy sources making up 43 percent of energy consumed in the republic. Natural gas and oil must be imported; however, the country is self-sufficient in electrical energy, some of which it exports to Belarus. The nuclear power plant at Ignalina is a Soviet-designed reactor of the type that exploded north of

Kiev in Ukraine in the town of Chernobyl in 1996 (which rendered large tracts of Belarus unfit to this day for habitation or raising crops). Located 119 kilometers northeast of Vilnius, the power station supplies the country with 73.1 percent of its energy, making Lithuania the second most nuclear-dependent country in the world, after France.

POPULATION

Lithuania has 3.7 million citizens with a population density of 147.4 people per square mile (56.9 people per square kilometer), making it a relatively sparsely populated country by European standards, but quite dense in comparison with the nearby countries of Scandinavia. The population is decreasing at a rate of 0.27 percent per year, a consequence of more citizens dying than being born. Sixty-eight percent of the country's citizens live in urban areas. The largest cities are the capital of Vilnius (578,000 inhabitants), Kaunas (414,500 inhabitants), the port city of Klaipėda located on the Baltic Sea (202,000 inhabitants), Šiauliai (147,000 inhabitants), and Panevežys (133,500 inhabitants).

There are 1.6 million Lithuanian citizens in the work force. The country's labor costs are among the lowest in Central Europe, with the average gross monthly income the equivalent of U.S.$264. The official unemployment rate is 12.9 percent. Among those with jobs, two-thirds are employed in the private sector. Some 20.3 percent of Lithuanians possess a university education, and another 24.4 percent have a technical education. Of the labor force, 20 percent are involved in agriculture, 30 percent in industry, and 50 percent in the service sector. The majority of persons in the agriculture sector are engaged in traditional peasant agriculture. Most own 3 hectares of land or less, not enough to permit profitable farming. This part of the economy is the poorest and represents a significant demand for state subsidies and social welfare transfers. An estimated 5 percent are operating farms large enough to permit efficient and profitable farming.

The official state language is Lithuanian, a member of the Baltic family of Indo-European languages. The only other languages in this family are Latvian and Prussian. The latter is a dead language no longer spoken in the modern world. One of the oldest spoken languages in Europe, Lithuanian is closely related to Sanskrit, a fact of which Lithuanians are quite proud. During the national reawakening in the nineteenth century, the Lithuanian language came to occupy a crucial position in the national identity and culture. It retains this position today.

Most Lithuanians are Roman Catholics; however, a significant minority of ethnic Lithuanians are Lutherans, particularly those living in the region surrounding the port of

Hill of crosses near Šiauliai, Lithuania. (Corel Corporation)

The Lithuanian Language

The Lithuanian language is spoken primarily in Lithuania. It is also used in some parts of Poland and Belarus, as well as among the Lithuanian diaspora, in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Latin America, Australia, and Siberia.

The Lithuanian language, together with Latvian, belongs to the Baltic group of Indo-European languages. It has two major dialects: highlander (or High Lithuanian) and lowlander (or Low Lithuanian). Lithuanian is characterized by an abundance of diverse word formations and synonyms. Of all of the living Indo-European languages, it has best preserved archaic sound systems and lexical features. Indeed, it is considered the most archaic Indo-European language still spoken. For this reason, researchers wishing to fully comprehend Indo-European languages study Lithuanian. Many consider that Sanskrit and the Baltic languages constitute the two closest descendants of Proto-Indo-European, allowing researchers to deduce most accurately the nature of that original language.

The written language evolved relatively late, mostly because of the late adoption of Christianity. The history of the written language began in Lithuania Minor in the middle of the sixteenth century. The earliest documents were translations of Christian prayers in 1525. The first book written in Lithuanian was *Catechismus* by Martynas Mažvydas (1547). The Lithuanian language of the sixteenth century was used mostly for religious writings and differs in many significant respects from modern Lithuanian.

Modern Standard Lithuanian did not develop fully until just before the first period of Lithuanian political independence (1918—1940), when it became the country's official language. The modern language, written in a 32-letter Latin alphabet, is based on the West High Lithuanian dialect. In 1988 Lithuanian was declared the official language of Lithuania.

Klaipėda. Furthermore, almost all Poles are Catholics as well. Hence, religion does not play the same role in the national identity that language does. Moreover, loyalty to Catholicism tends to be dampened among Lithuanians by the continued influence of pagan traditions and celebrations. Of the country's citizens, 70 percent profess a faith in Roman Catholicism, 4 percent are Russian Orthodox, and 17 percent are Lutheran, Evangelical Christian Baptist, adherents of other Protestant denominations, Jews, and Muslims. The latter are mostly Tatars.

The Lithuanians are a Baltic people related to the Latvians. They constitute 80 percent of the country's population. Another 9.4 percent are Russians, 7 percent are Poles, and 3.6 percent of the population is composed of other peoples: Belarusians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Tatars, and Jews. Poles are concentrated in the eastern regions, particularly those surrounding Vilnius. Russians are usually found in the largest cities and the town of Visaginas, located near the Ignalina nuclear power station. The most ethnically diverse city is Vilnius, the capital. Of the capital's population, 52.8 percent are ethnically Lithuanian, 19.2 percent Poles, 19.2 percent Russians, 4.8 percent Belarusians, 0.7 percent Jews, and 3.3 percent other nationalities. Klaipėda's population is the next most diverse (63 percent Lithuanians, 28.2 percent Russians, 3.9 percent Ukrainians, 2.7 percent Belarusians, 0.5 percent Poles, and 1.7 percent other nationalities). Kaunas is the least diverse city; 88 percent of the city's inhabitants are ethnic Lithuanians, 8.8 percent Russians, 0.7 percent Belarusians, 0.7 percent Ukrainians, 0.6 percent Poles, 0.1 percent Latvians, and 1.5 percent other nationalities.

The Lithuanians, who are indigenous to the country, took shape as a nation by the sixth century C.E. However, they were not able to consolidate the Lithuanian state until the beginning of the fifteenth century, after a long and bitter struggle against crusading knights of the Teutonic Order. By then, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a feudal medieval state, stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, encompassing most of the area of modern Belarus and Ukraine and the westernmost regions of Russia.

The Poles came to Lithuania following the marriage of the grand duke with the Queen of Poland, which ultimately led to the merger of the two crowns in the Treaty of Lublin in 1569. Poles are concentrated in the Vilnius region, which Poland occupied in the period between World War I and World War II.

Russians are predominantly urban. They first came to Lithuania during the height of the Grand Duchy. Another wave came when Lithuania was incorporated into the Russian Empire following the third partition of the Polish Republic at the end of the eighteenth century. A final wave of Russian immigrants arrived after the Soviet Union forcibly incorporated the country. However, thanks to the policies of the leadership of the Lithuanian Communist Party, which de-emphasized industrialization, far fewer Russians came to Lithuania than to their Baltic neighbors, whose Russian populations are substantially larger.

Jews live almost exclusively in the cities. They arrived in Lithuania for the first time in the twelfth century seeking refuge from the eastward expansion of the Roman Catholic Church, against which the Lithuanians, a pagan nation, were struggling. Grand Duke Vytautas recognized them as a class of artisans and merchants and freed them from serving the landed nobility, placing them under his direct rule. By the end of the nineteenth century, they were the country's second largest ethnic group, comprising 39.6 percent of the urban population. Vilnius was then one of the three centers of Jewish culture in the world, boasting a major rabbinical school. It also became the home of the first Jewish socialist labor movement. While they became the third largest ethnic group with the arrival of large numbers of Poles during the Polish occupation of the Vilnius regions in the interwar period, they continued to thrive culturally, socially, and economically. All of this was destroyed during the German occupation of World War II, when the Nazis exterminated over 96 percent of the Jewish community. It has not since recovered. Jews today remain a very small minority in Lithuania.

HISTORY

THE ANCIENT BALTS

Lithuania is first mentioned in written records in the Latin chronicle *Annales Quedinburgenses* of 1009, when Bruno of Querful traveled from Prussia to baptize a Lithuanian tribal chief. No less developed than other regions of Central and Northern Europe at the time, it is not mentioned in historical records for another 200 years. Despite the relatively infrequent mention of the Lithuanians in historical records, they are among the oldest peoples of Europe, having been settled adjacent to the Baltic Sea for at least 4,000 years. Their ancestors migrated to the Baltic Sea from the Volga region of central Russia about 3000 B.C.E. These proto-Baltic tribes ultimately established themselves on what is presently known as Lithuanian territory during the seventh through the second centuries B.C.E. However, their identity as Balts did not develop until the first through the sixth centuries C.E., an era of cultural development and rapid expansion of trade with the Roman Empire and Germanic tribes to their west.

By the first century C.E., the territory inhabited by the Balts stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Dnieper and Oka Rivers. The expanse of their domains brought them into conflict with the Scandinavians to the north and later the Slavs to the east. The latter, whose territorial expansion began in the fifth century, succeeded in assimilating the easternmost Balts. The most serious threat to the early Balts, however, came from the west. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Catholic orders of knights seeking to Christianize the Baltic region began a series of crusades. The first of these crusading orders, the Order of the Brothers of the Sword, was defeated by the Lithuanians at the Battle of Saulė in 1236. Following that defeat, the Roman Catholic pope called for a renewed campaign to conquer and Christianize the pagan Lithuanians. The call was answered by a succession of crusading knights, the most formidable of which were the members of the Teutonic Order.

Lithuanians had yet to form a unified nation-state. The political organization consisted of a nobility composed of feudal dukes and princes ruling over fiefdoms and tribes. Had they chosen to fight the Teutonic Order separately, they would have been easily defeated. Therefore, the nobility formed an alliance, led by a noble called Mindaugas, to engage in the struggle. Despite the alliance, however, the united Lithuanian duchies were not able to stem the continued advances of the Teutonic Order. Recognizing the inevitability of defeat, Mindaugas submitted to the pope in 1251 and accepted Christianity. As a consequence he was crowned the king of Lithuania in 1253 by the pope, an act establishing the first Lithuanian state.

THE FIRST LITHUANIAN STATE

Mindaugas's decision was not popular among the Lithuanian nobility, many of whom refused to be baptized. The population as well remained overwhelmingly pagan. Hence, the new state was a pagan one with a Christian king. The opposition of the population to Christianity led to the murder of King Mindaugas in 1263 and the renewal of the struggle against the Christian crusaders. Following the murder of Mindaugas, rule of Lithuania reverted to the various dukes and princes. However, in order to fight the Teutonic Order, they submitted to a grand duke, who ruled as first among equals. Thanks to their unity, this time they were able to establish Lithuanian dominance in the Baltic Sea region by the end of the thirteenth century. Nonetheless, the struggle against the Teutonic Order continued throughout most of the fourteenth century, forcing the country to allocate virtually all of its resources to defense; consequently, the country's political system of the time is referred to by some as a military monarchy.

The concentration of resources permitted the Lithuanian state to become one of the greatest empires in Europe over the course of the next 150 years—the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Grand Duke Gediminas (1316–1341) began the long-term eastward expansion of the Lithuanians, assimilating Slavic territories, many of which willingly submitted to the Grand Duchy in order to escape having to pay tribute to the Mongols, who ruled most of the Russian lands in that era (having destroyed the Kievan state in the thirteenth century). Gediminas also sought to break out of the international isolation thrust upon the country by the continued struggle against the Catholic Church and the Teutonic Order. He established formal contacts between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the countries of Western Europe, engaged in regular correspondence with their rulers, and began a dynasty that intermarried with many of the ruling families of Europe. Much of this was done in an effort to create rifts within the Catholic Church and between the ruling houses of Europe. To further this strategy, Gediminas also invited Western merchants, artisans, and academics to the new capital that he founded at Vilnius. Among those responding were many Jews, who took advantage of the remarkable degree of religious tolerance that marked the Grand Duchy and established one of the great centers of Judaism in Vilnius.

During the mid-fourteenth century, Grand Duke Algirdas (1345–1377) continued the eastern expansion begun by Gediminas. Under his rule, the Grand Duchy's Lithuanian subjects were gradually outnumbered by newly assimilated peoples. Algirdas was followed by Grand Duke Jogaila, who is much maligned in Lithuanian history for his decision in 1386 to marry the queen of Poland, thereby entering into an alliance with that state. Jogaila's decision was motivated by a desire to ensure Lithuanian preeminence in an emerging contest with Moscow for the loyalties of eastern Slavic princes. While still under the Mongol yoke, Moscow was laying claim to the Russian lands, many of which had been assimilated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In addition, Moscow had been recognized by Byzantium as the seat of religious authority for Orthodox Christianity in the Slavic lands. The recognition brought with it significant legitimacy for the Russian claims over these lands. Given Lithuania's status as the last pagan nation in Europe, it found itself isolated between a Catholic West and an Orthodox East, both of which claimed the divine right to rule over the territories of the Grand Duchy. A marriage with Poland thus offered the means to both reduce the threat from the West and lay claim to a religious title (that of representing Catholic Slavs, a title that Poland had acquired) competing for the loyalties of Slavic princes. Hence, Lithuania was baptized in 1387, and the last pagan state in Europe became Christian.

As a consequence of the marriage, the Grand Duchy entered a long period of decline, even though this would not be readily apparent for several centuries. By entering into marriage with the queen of Poland, Jogaila became the king of Poland, retaining his title as the Grand Duke of Lithuania. While in the short term this appeared highly beneficial to Lithuania, it meant that the Lithuanians faced the disadvantage of being far fewer in number than the Poles. In the long term, as Lithuania's territorial holdings were reduced (in the face of continuing Russian expansion), it became the lesser of the two states in the union. However, the advantages of the marriage uniting the two countries appeared to outweigh any disadvantages at the time. Therefore, unlike the first christening, this one was not reversed.

The subsequent grand duke, Vytautas the Great, who ruled at the beginning of the fifteenth century, not only retained Lithuania's commitment to Christianity, he took full advantage of the union with Poland to further the prosperity of the country. In fact, the reign of Vytautas the Great marks the zenith of Lithuania's military and political fortunes. In one of the most significant battles of the Middle Ages, Vytautas, leading a joint Lithuanian-Polish army, decisively defeated the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Grünwald (1410; the battle is known as the Battle of Žalgiris in Lithuania), bringing the final defeat of the order and ending the centuries-long threat from the west. In the east, Vytautas pursued a successful policy, annexing further territories in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine, expanding the borders of the Grand Duchy from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, and blocking Moscow's further expansion westward into Europe.

Vytautas also took advantage of the union with Poland to lay the foundations for Lithuania's full integration into Central Europe, something that its pagan identity had prevented it from achieving. In the 150 years after his death, Lithuania assimilated the political and cultural heritage of Western civilization. The country adopted the crop rotation system, adapted its social system to monarchism, experienced the rise of craft guilds, adopted a written language, and built a university system. Reflecting these changes, Lithuania's first publishing house was founded in Vilnius in 1522; in addition, a legal code was written in 1529 and subsequently redrafted in 1566 and 1588. The 1588 code remained in force until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Vytautas the Great

Vytautas the Great (r. 1392–1430) is the most famous political figure in Lithuanian history. During his reign, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania achieved the height of its political and military power and economic prosperity. Vytautas annexed many Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian territories, and extended Lithuania's border all the way to the shores of the Black Sea. It was Vytautas who led the Polish-Lithuanian army against the Teutonic Knights on 15 July 1410 in the Battle of Grünwald (Tannenberg). The German order never recovered from its defeat in this battle. As a consequence, German supremacy in the Baltic area was broken, and Poland-Lithuania ultimately came to be regarded as a great power.

Perhaps most importantly, Vytautas laid the foundations for the country's orientation toward Central Europe. Over a period of approximately 150 years following Vytautas, Lithuania assimilated the institutions and intellectual heritage of Western Europe, including the institutions of crop rotation, feudalism, craft guilds, Christianity, an education system, and a written language. Since the time of Vytautas the Great, Lithuania has identified itself politically and culturally with the West. For this reason, the Soviet occupation was seen by many as a forced break with the country's historical and cultural roots, and only the end of the Soviet period could restore Lithuania to those roots.

THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

The same period, however, saw the gradual loss of the eastern territories to the expansion of the Grand Duchy of Moscow (a process often referred to as the "regathering of the Russian lands"). By 1569, thanks to Jogaila's marriage, the Lithuanians were at best a tiny minority in a small feudal state in comparison with its much larger and more numerous Polish ally. In that year, the two states signed the Treaty of Lublin, which merged what had been separate political and social institutions into one. The most important institutional change was that the positions of king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania were henceforth to be vested in the same person. Although relations between the two states in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were initially based on no more than the fact that they were under the same ruler, the nobility of the two states rapidly fused, sharing the ideal of two peoples with an inseparable past and future. This convergence ultimately meant that the Poles would dominate the less numerous Lithuanians politically and culturally, a reality that found expression in the

The Battle of Žalgiris

The Battle of Žalgiris (also known as the Battle of Grünwald, or Tannenberg), in which the joint military forces of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland defeated the Teutonic Order, was one of the greatest battles of the Middle Ages, let alone in East Central Europe. The defeat of the Teutonic Order, an order of crusaders of the Catholic Church, on 15 July 1410, marked the end of the order's expansion along the southeastern coast of the Baltic Sea eastward and the beginning of the decline of the order's power.

The first German crusading orders came to Poland and the Baltic region in the thirteenth century. Two hundred years later, they had conquered most of the Baltic coastal region, including Latvia and Estonia. It is doubtless the case that they were intent on controlling Lithuania, Poland, and Russia as well. Had they succeeded, the Roman Catholic Church would have dominated the whole of Central and Eastern Europe.

Hoping to forcibly spread Christianity and acquire more territory, the focus of the Teutonic Order's military activities in the fourteenth century was the pagan Lithuanian state. Even after Lithuania accepted Christianity in 1387, the Knights of the Teutonic Order did not cease their aggression against the country. It was obvious that diplomatic efforts would not be able to avert war with the Knights. Therefore, the only hope of defeating the order was if Lithuania and Poland united their military forces.

Hence, on 15 July 1410, a joint Lithuanian-Polish army, joined by Tatar, Bohemian, Russian, Moravian, and Moldavian soldiers, met the Teutonic Knights on the field of Žalgiris (located in the northeast of present-day Poland). The allied army was led by the grand duke of Lithuania, Vytautas the Great, and the king of Poland, Jogaila. Although outnumbered (the Knights numbered 32,000, compared to more than 50,000 Poles, Lithuanians, and allies), the order enjoyed superiority in weaponry, experience, and battlefield leadership. Nonetheless, at the end of an entire day of fighting, the Teutonic Knights were defeated, a defeat from which they never recovered. On 1 February 1411, both sides signed a peace treaty, after which the Teutonic Order never again threatened Lithuania.

The Battle of Grünwald is the most important battle in the history of both Lithuania and Poland. As a consequence of the defeat of the Teutonic Order, Eastern Europe was not Germanized, and the emerging nations of Lithuania and Poland were able to develop their own cultures. For that reason, Vytautas the Great is honored in Lithuanian history as the savior of not only the nation of Lithuania, but all of Eastern Europe. Jogaila is awarded that position in Polish history.

fact that only one-third of the seats in the Seimas, a parliament of nobles, were allotted to the Lithuanian nobility.

The first king of Poland following the Union of Lublin was Zygimantas Augustus (Sigismund II Augustus; r. 1548–1572), a descendant of Grand Dukes Gediminas and Jogaila. Thanks to intermarriage, this same dynasty ruled the Czech lands and Hungary, uniting these realms with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to rival the Habsburgs for influence. However, the Jogiellonian dynasty, or as it was known in Poland, the Jagiellonian dynasty, ended with the death of Zygimantas Augustus. With his passing, the Commonwealth became the first republic in Europe, the Seimas electing the successor, Henry Valois of the House of Bourbon (in France), in 1573. The titles of king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania were transferred to the Poles with the election of King Steponas Batoras (known in Poland as Stephen Batory and in Hungary as Stephen Báthory) in 1576. A Lithuanian never again achieved the title of grand duke of Lithuania.

With the dominance of Poland, Lithuania's history is intertwined with that of Poland from 1576 until its incorporation into the Russian Empire in 1795. The period was marked by the Polonization of the country's culture. By 1698, Polish culture had become so dominant that Polish was declared the official state language for the entire Commonwealth. Lithuanian had been largely relegated to the status of a language spoken by the illiterate peasant population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's eastern regions. The language of cultural, political, and economic discourse was Polish. Courses offered at Vilnius University, founded by the Jesuit Order in 1579 as part of the Counter-Reformation, were in Polish. Even the Lithuanian city of Vilnius itself became a center of Polish and later Jewish culture. Lithuanian was spoken only in the countryside and smaller towns by common folk and peasants. The first literary work written in Lithuanian did not appear until 1775, when Kristijonas Donelaitis wrote the poem *Metai* (The Seasons).

The era was also marked by the waning of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which by the end of the period was referred to as simply the Polish Republic. The checks placed by the nobility on the power of the king rendered the Republic increasingly less able to deal effectively with the expanding empires of Eastern and Central Europe that bordered the Polish Republic. As a consequence, Lithuania was invaded by the Swedes and Russians during a period that came to be known as the Flood (from 1654 to 1667); at one point, Vilnius was occupied by a foreign army for the first time in the city's history. The country also became the battleground for the Great Northern War (1700–1721) between Sweden (under its young king, Charles XII) and a coalition comprised of Russia (led by Peter the Great), Poland, and Denmark.

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Polish Republic had become so weak that it was subjected to three successive partitions by Russia, Prussia, and Austria (the first in 1772, the second in 1793, and the third in 1795). In between the second and third partitions, an uprising in the Lithuanian and Polish territories against the loss of Polish sovereignty, led by Tadeusz Kościuszko (a hero of the American Revolutionary War), was crushed by the Russian army. Following the third and final partition, Lithuania found itself part of the Russian Empire. Lithuania was to remain a part of the Russian Empire from 1795 to 1918.

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The country's forcible incorporation into its larger neighbor meant that it was involuntarily subjected to foreign rule for the first time in its history. Furthermore, Lithuanians found themselves cut off from their traditional ties to Central Europe (with which they shared cultural affinities). The political, social, and cultural effects of the incorporation were mostly felt by the nobility and townspeople. For most of the Lithuanian peasantry, little of consequence changed; peasant obligations (including serfdom) remained burdensome. Napoleon's occupation in 1812 was welcomed by many of the nobles as well as some city dwellers. His defeat and the subsequent reimposition of Russian rule left a bitter taste in their mouths. Their feelings were reflected in intense resistance to Russian rule, a resistance that culminated in the Insurrection of 1831.

The insurrection, the aim of which was to restore the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was confined to the largely Polonized upper class and residents of towns. The insurrection was quickly and brutally crushed by Tsar Nicholas I, a reactionary ruler who greatly feared the influence of the liberal ideals of the French Revolution. To guard against such influences, as well as to reduce the likelihood of their reoccurrence, he undertook a series of reprisals against the Lithuanian lands, which included executions and deportations of the nobility, land seizures, and the closing of Vilnius University, which had served as a center for the maintenance and spread of Polish culture. He also abolished the 1588 legal code nine years later (in 1840) and imposed the substantially more restrictive Russian legal code on the country. In general, however, the reprisals had little impact on the Lithuanian-speaking peasant population, which had taken little part in the nationalist yearnings that had provoked the insurrection.

Tsar Alexander II assumed the Russian throne upon the death of Nicholas I in 1855 and, owing to the defeat suffered by Russia during the Crimean War (1853–1856), engaged in a number of internal reforms, the most significant of which were the abolition of serfdom in 1861, the opening of the educational system to the lower classes, the enactment of judicial reforms, and the creation of local governments with substantial powers and responsibilities.

The abolition of serfdom in 1861 changed the relative passivity of the Lithuanian lower classes. The attendant social and educational reforms had the further unintended consequence of fueling a Lithuanian national reawakening, something seen in much of Central Europe during the nineteenth century. Taking advantage of the new freedoms and opportunities offered by the reforms, a significant proportion of the Lithuanian-speaking lower classes experienced rapid upward social mobility, entering the ranks of the professions and educated elite. Unlike the Lithuanian nobility and gentry, they rejected both Polish and Russian culture. Many of them quickly formed the vanguard of an independence movement, which resulted in another uprising in 1863. Unlike the earlier revolt, the Insurrection of 1863 sought an independent Lithuanian state. Indeed, these new intellectuals and professionals rejected the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its claim to represent the inseparable interests of the Polish and Lithuanian peoples. Hence, the Insurrection of 1863 can properly be viewed as the start of the Lithuanian national reawakening.

The tsarist response to the Insurrection of 1863 was harsh. In addition to executions and deportations, the use of the Latin alphabet was banned. In essence, no publication in the Lithuanian language was permitted. This policy remained in force from 1864 to 1904.

The effect of the crackdown was twofold. First, it helped to identify the Lithuanian language as central to the national identity of the people. This emphasis on language paralleled similar movements throughout Central and Southeastern Europe. The increased education level of the general population now created a groundswell of desire to "discover" Lithuanian culture. A unique movement, the so-called book-bearers, emerged, in which Lithuanian books were printed in the Latin script in areas under German rule and illegally smuggled into Lithuania. Second, it consolidated support for an independent Lithuanian nation-state (distinct from the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) among virtually the entire population.

During the period, several illegal Lithuanian language periodicals emerged, urging national resistance to assimilation and rejecting reunification with Poland. At the forefront of these publications was *Aušra* (Dawn), founded by Dr. Jonas Basanavičius in 1883. The intensity of the resistance to the Russian Empire is most evidenced, however, in the willingness of many to school their children in the Lithuanian language despite serious punishments for doing so. The Russian government's harsh attempts to repress these illegal activities helped to swell the numbers of those emigrating abroad. Almost one-third of the population left the country in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the national awakening continued apace, fostering ever increasing popular support for Lithuanian independence.

The lifting of the ban on publishing in the Lithuanian language was part of a package of concessions made by the tsar in the wake of the disastrous defeat in the Russo-

Japanese War of 1904–1905 and the resulting Revolution of 1905. In response, the independence movement formally organized and continued to press for an independent and national Lithuanian state in which Lithuanian would be the only official language. A committee declaring itself a national Seimas (legislature) representing the will of the Lithuanian people passed a resolution demanding full autonomy within the Russian Empire. It also urged the population not to pay taxes, send their children to the Russian schools, or even treat Russian state institutions as legitimate.

Caught off balance by the strength of the upsurge sweeping across the length of the empire, the tsar (Nicholas II) acceded to many of the demands and permitted greater local self-rule. However, over the course of the next five years, as St. Petersburg regained firm control over the empire, these concessions were rescinded. Nevertheless, the experience was a positive one for political activists who supported national independence. The experience would especially prove to be invaluable near the end of World War I, in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution that brought the Communist Party to power in Russia and brought an abrupt end to the Russian Empire. Many of these same activists took advantage of the ensuing political vacuum and declared the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state on 16 February 1918. The Germans, who had occupied Lithuania since 1915, recognized Lithuanian independence. However, the country's international status remained uncertain until the German defeat in November 1918.

THE RESTORATION OF STATEHOOD

The withdrawal of German troops at the end of World War I did not end the problem of foreign intervention. From 1918 to 1920, the newly declared Lithuanian Republic had to struggle against several foreign invasions, among them that of the Bermondt-Avalov army, a German-sponsored group seeking to preserve German influence in the Baltic states. Moreover, the new state had to contend with an effort by the Bolshevik Red Army in November 1918 to reimpose Russian rule on Lithuania. Nevertheless, the Bolshevik invasion was defeated in July 1920, and a peace treaty was signed recognizing Lithuanian independence. The most disturbing military intervention occurred at the end of the same year, when Polish troops forcibly annexed the capital city of Vilnius (which was called Wilno in Polish) and the regions surrounding it. They continued to occupy the city until World War II. As a consequence, the country's relations with its western neighbor were seriously strained throughout the interwar period.

Much of the country's energies were focused on foreign policy from 1920 to 1940. The effort to regain the capital of Vilnius dominated much of the country's attention and informed many of the country's actions in the League of Nations, which Lithuania joined in 1921. Problems also emerged with Germany over the port of Memel on the Baltic Sea coast. Originally inhabited by Lithuanians, the city had been under German rule for 700 years (since the time of the Teutonic Order). The Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I placed the city under French administration. In 1923 the Lithuanian government secretly organized a successful local uprising, which resulted in the annexation of the city (renamed Klaipėda) and the surrounding area.

Deep divisions concerning relations with Poland plagued domestic politics in the interwar period. The Polish seizure of the capital city of Vilnius had the support of many of the Polish and Jewish landowners and townspeople of the region. Hence, ethnic minorities as well as those political parties associated with them came under deep suspicion from many ethnic Lithuanians. Left-wing political parties, particularly the Social Democratic Party and Communist Party, had been active in organizing ethnic minorities prior to independence. The Social Democratic Party of Lithuania, which was founded in 1895, focused almost exclusively upon the Polish and Jewish working-class communities of Vilnius in its early years. While the party's leadership was decimated by the repression of political activity in the Russian Empire from 1897 to 1899, the party managed to resurface in 1900, changing its focus from a primary concern with defending workers' interests to one that advocated independence from Russia. This shift permitted it to broaden its political base to include peasants. Nonetheless, the party's members continued to be drawn primarily from non-Lithuanians.

The Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia ultimately led to a split among social democrats in Lithuania. Those remaining in the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania argued that socialism could best be achieved incrementally and within an independent Lithuanian state. Others, following the example of the Bolsheviks, declared the necessity of a violent revolution, the elimination of private property, and the creation of a workers' state uniting the peoples of the former Russian Empire. The disagreement ultimately ended in the formation of two parties, the pro-independence (and gradualist) Lithuanian Social Democratic Party and the pro-Bolshevik Lithuanian Communist Party. The former became the forerunner of today's Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP), while the latter was the predecessor of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDLP), as it was renamed in 1990.

The Lithuanian Communist Party, which maintained close ties with the Bolshevik regime in Moscow, fared poorly in comparison to the Social Democratic Party in the first years of independence. While it managed to gain five seats in the elections to the first national legislature (the Seimas), it lost those seats in the next election. In contrast, the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party was a major political party, gaining between 10 and 18 percent of the vote in elections. It reached its zenith in 1926, when it entered into a coalition government with the Populists. However, the party's ties with Poles and Jews—in light of those communities' support for Polish rule in Vilnius—created great distrust among many Lithuanian nationalist parties. These parties led a military coup late the same year, forcibly deposing the left-wing government and dissolving the Seimas.

The coup installed the leader of the Union of Nationalists (Tautininkai), Antanas Smetona, who, as president until 1940, governed Lithuania with near dictatorial powers. The

Vilna, Poland: A street scene in the disputed city of Vilna (Vilnius) during the 1920s, where a technical state of war existed. Vilna, the historic capital of Lithuania, was awarded to Poland by the League of Nations in 1923. Lithuania, however, wanted to regain its old capital. The problem was left to the League to resolve, which sought to prevent war between the two states. (Underwood & Underwood/Corbis)

national legislature, the Seimas, was eventually reconstituted, but the scope of its responsibilities was severely reduced. The government, which had previously been elected by the Seimas, was now appointed by the president, thereby reducing the powers of the legislature to performing a largely formalistic advisory role. All of these institutional changes became part of the Constitution of 1938. Finally, leftist parties were virtually denied the right to political participation for the remainder of the interwar period. The Lithuanian Communist Party was officially outlawed, and the Social Democratic Party was subjected to harassment and arrests.

Despite the collapse of democratic rule in Lithuania, the interwar period was marked by a revival of Lithuanian culture, which was reflected as well in the patriotism that led to the coup installing a nationalist president. A symbol of this nationalism was the heroism of two Lithuanian-American pilots, Steponas Darius and Stasys Girėnas, who achieved worldwide acclaim in 1936 by crossing the Atlantic Ocean in a single-engine aircraft. Their fame was further heightened in Lithuania by the fact that the two pilots perished in a mysterious crash in Germany after crossing the Atlantic. The country also won international recognition in sports, highlighted by the national men's basketball team winning the European championship in 1937 and repeating in 1939.

WORLD WAR II

The rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany and the consolidation of power by Josef Stalin in the Soviet Union ultimately emerged as a much greater threat to Lithuanian security and independence than the continued Polish occupation of the Vilnius region. Lithuania's problems with these two dictatorships began in earnest in 1939. Early in that year, Germany issued an ultimatum for the return of Klaipėda (Memel), to which Lithuania had no choice but to accede. In secret, however, the Germans were at the same time engaging in a prolonged negotiation with the Soviet Union over the division of Eastern Europe between them. The agreement, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, was signed in August 1939. The pact's secret protocol (not made public in the USSR until decades later) initially assigned Lithuania to the German sphere of influence. However, when Lithuania refused to attack Poland as a German ally in September 1939, the country was reassigned to the Soviet sphere in a second secret protocol signed on September 27.

The invasion and division of Poland by the forces of the German *Wehrmacht* (armed forces) and the Soviet Red Army, which marked the beginning of World War II, resulted in the return of the Vilnius region to the Lithuanian Republic. However, the country was also forced to permit the stationing of Soviet troops on its territory. In a treaty of mutual assistance signed by both countries at the insistence of the Soviet Union, Lithuania agreed to "host" 20,000 Soviet troops. In the summer of 1940, with the German Army about to take Paris, the Soviet Union, suddenly wary of its German ally and Berlin's future designs, accused the Lithuanian government of violating the agreement and presented it with an ultimatum to permit the Soviet Army to enter and operate within the country freely. The Lithuanian government acceded to the demands, and President Smetona fled the country on 15 June 1940.

The Soviet Army occupied Lithuania and seized control of the government on the same day. A puppet government was established, and elections to a new legislature were organized. On 21 July, the deputies to the new legislature, many of whose elections had been rigged, voted unanimously to request formal incorporation into the Soviet Union. A few weeks later, Lithuania became the fourteenth republic of the Soviet Union, on 3 August 1940.

The Soviet regime immediately set about integrating Lithuania's largely free market into the Soviet politically managed economic system. Banks, industrial enterprises, retail shops, and land were nationalized, peasants were organized into collective farms, and culture was Sovietized. Those capable of organizing any form of resistance to these efforts, no matter how small, as well as those who were suspect by virtue of being from the former upper class or middle class (including anyone who owned property or possessed a higher education), were subject to arrest and deportation to Siberia. On the night of 11 July 1940, two thousand Lithuanian statesmen and party leaders were arrested. Thirty-four thousand subsequently were rounded up and deported almost a year later in the mass arrests of 14–18 June 1941. Tens of thousands of others were arrested randomly throughout the period.

These purges were brought to a halt by the German invasion of the Soviet Union, which began in June 1941. The German advance through Lithuania was rapid. Within a few days the entire country was occupied. The Soviets, however, executed thousands of those whom they had detained before leaving the country; the most notorious of these atrocities was the mass execution of thousands of prisoners at Červenė on 24 and 25 June 1941.

Lithuanians were divided in their reaction to the German occupation (which lasted until 1944). Some welcomed the Germans with open arms, but were troubled by the Nazi campaign to liquidate the Jews. Others, however, appear to have collaborated in the Nazi attempt to eradicate Europe's Jews, Hitler's Final Solution.

Before the war, Vilnius was home to one of the most thriving Jewish communities in the world. Ninety-six percent of that community was liquidated in the Holocaust. While some deny any Lithuanian complicity in the Holocaust, it is difficult to imagine that it could have occurred without the active involvement, or passive acquiescence, of at least some part of the Lithuanian community. Countercharges that some Jews were implicated in what Lithuanians believe to have been the Soviet genocide of their nation during the occupation in no way excuses the actions of those involved. Fortunately, not all Lithuanians supported the German occupation. In fact, the Front of Lithuanian Activists (FLA), formed by Lithuanians who had fled to Germany during the Soviet occupation, declared the formation of a provisional Lithuanian government when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union. However, the Germans did not recognize the FLA government and banned the organization itself. This action, along with other factors, convinced many in the country that the German occupation was no better than that of the Soviet Union. As a result, a substantial resistance movement operated in the country throughout the entire period of Nazi occupation. Many of these organizations had formed during the Soviet occupation as well and continued the effort to restore Lithuanian independence by now combating the Germans. Among these organizations were the Lithuanian Front, the Union of Lithuanian Fighters for Freedom, the Lithuanian Freedom Army, the Lithuanian National Party, and the Lithuanian Solidarity Movement. Some published underground newspapers, while others were involved in illegal political efforts; still others fought an on-going guerrilla war against the German Army. As the Soviet Army advanced toward Lithuania in late 1943, these organizations united into the General Lithuanian Liberation Committee.

THE SOVIET ERA

After Lithuania was reincorporated into the Soviet Union in 1944, the Lithuanian Communist Party (LCP) became an arm of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). It was declared the only legal political party in the country; all other parties were banned and actively suppressed by the Soviet authorities. Communist Party members staffed all social, economic, and political positions of importance. Reincorporation into the Soviet Union as well as the Soviet system also resulted in the forced collectivization of agriculture, nationalization of all businesses and property that had been returned to their owners by the Germans, and organized repression of the Lithuanian people. In response, Lithuanians continued the armed independence struggle under the umbrella of many of the same organizations that had led the effort during the German occupation. The armed resistance movement lasted for eight years (1945–1953) and covered the entire country. Almost 100,000 persons were involved in the resistance, which was highly organized and so effective that the Soviets were confined to the major towns and cities at night.

The Soviet response to continued resistance, Lithuanian nationalism, and the independence of native institutions was further deportations and executions. There were eight large-scale deportations to Siberia during the period of the resistance: September 1945, 18 February 1946, 17 December 1947, 22 May 1948, 24–27 March 1949, 27–28 May 1949, March 1950, and 2 October 1953. The largest of them occurred on 22 May 1948, when approximately 80,000 people were sent to Siberia. As a consequence of deportations, mass executions, the resistance struggle, the Jewish Holocaust, forced labor sent to Germany, and emigration, Lithuania lost an estimated one-third of its population from 1941 to 1951.

Even after the decision was made by Lithuanian partisans, also known as the Forest Boys *(Broliai Miško),* to end the armed resistance and return to civilian life, resistance to Soviet rule continued in one form or another throughout the Soviet period. The 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia did much to strengthen opposition to the Soviet occupation, as did the intensified efforts to force the Russian language and culture on the population from 1970 to 1982, during the Brezhnev era. Romas Kalanta, a young student, became a symbol of national resistance to these efforts when he set himself on fire publicly in the city of Kaunas in 1972. The act sparked spontaneous student protests that had to be forcibly suppressed by the Soviet secret police, the KGB. The most durable and longest lasting form of resistance was the illegal publication of the *Chronicles of the Catholic Church,* which appeared for the first time in 1973, a defiant act in a system that constitutionally permitted religious freedom but actively suppressed it. The *Chronicles* were later joined by secular publications of illegal human rights groups that formed following the 1976 signing of the Human Rights agreements by the United States, the Soviet Union, and the European countries in Helsinki, Finland.

This prolonged resistance to Soviet rule helped Lithuanians to define their national identity more precisely. More than for most nations, language is central to that identity. Nothing else served as well to unite those identifying themselves as Lithuanians as did the language. Different regions of the country demonstrate wide variation in traditions and even symbols. Even religion does not unite the nation. While a plurality are professing Catholics, a large part of the nation is Protestant or even pagan, holding to the earliest traditions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as the last pagan state in Europe. Indeed, the Lithuanian language serves as more than a means of transmitting culture. It is itself virtually the only way of identifying that one is or is not culturally Lithuanian.

The centrality of the Lithuanian language to the national identity is not surprising, given the forty-year long effort by the Russian Empire to abolish the language in its written form as well as the fifty-year Soviet occupation, during which Russian was the language of political and economic discourse. During the independence struggle of 1988–1991, language played an important role in helping to define Lithuanian identity and shape the struggle against outsiders.

THE RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENCE

With the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in the 1980s in Moscow and the launching of his policy of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring), it became easier for people to engage in formerly prohibited forms of protest. The first such act in Lithuania occurred on 23 August 1987, when a small public meeting was held near a monument to a national poet to commemorate the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which had led to the forcible incorporation of the country within the Soviet empire. The official Soviet position had been that Lithuania had voluntarily entered the Soviet Union and that no secret protocols of the pact existed. A year later, a group of intellectuals, drawn from discussion clubs, the Lithuanian Writer's Union, and a number of small groups concerned with the protection of the environment and historical buildings, declared the creation of the Lithuanian Reform Movement, Sąjūdis, also known as the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika. The movement's initial goals were largely concerned with the protection of Lithuanian culture, particularly the language. This was reflected in the very first platform, which called for proclaiming the Lithuanian language as an official state language of the republic, strengthening the teaching of Lithuanian in schools, establishing language schools for national minorities, and correcting misrepresentations of Lithuanian history.

These and other demands were adopted at Sąjūdis's founding congress in October 1988, an event of enormous importance in the movement toward restoring independence. Aired on television and on radio, the congress stirred the Lithuanian nation and resulted in a dramatic change in the movement's membership. Almost overnight, Sąjūdis was transformed from an intellectual movement to a mass one. Within a short time, previously prohibited national myths and symbols were once again being displayed throughout the republic. The movement's changing demographics radicalized Sąjūdis. In response, many of the movement's initial founders became some of its harshest critics. The centrality of the cultural concerns that had united the intellectuals of the initiative group now gave way to the politicization of nationalism. Within a year, initial demands for economic sovereignty within the Soviet Union were replaced by insistence on the restoration of the country's prewar independence, reflecting a tidal wave of nationalism that was taking place throughout the crumbling Soviet Union.

Such political activity outside of official party channels signaled the emergence of a de facto multiparty system and threw the Lithuanian Communist Party (LCP) into a state of crisis. Particularly troubling was the popular groundswell that formed behind Sąjūdis. Popular support for the movement was so high that a number of its candidates were successfully elected to the highest legislative institution in the Soviet Union, the Congress of People's Deputies. Hoping to moderate the movement's demands for full independence, the congress proclaimed Lithuania's sovereignty within the Soviet Union. This did little, however, to quell the rising tide of public sentiment in favor of full independence. In August 1989 over two million people linked hands in a human chain stretching 650 kilometers from Vilnius to the capital city of Estonia, Tallinn, in protest of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Concerned that it would be decimated in the upcoming elections to the newly created republican-level Supreme Council, the Lithuanian Communist Party held an extraordinary congress in December 1989, at which it debated whether to formally split from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). A majority voted for the split and formed an independent Lithuanian Communist Party. Those who opposed the breakup with Moscow formed their own party, which retained formal ties with the CPSU, the LCP(CPSU). Despite these efforts, the independent Lithuanian Communist Party (LCP) was dealt a severe blow in the 1990 elections to the Supreme Council. Sąjūdis candidates won an absolute majority in the legislature. The newly elected assembly elected Vytautas Landsbergis, Sąjūdis's leader, as its chair and declared the formal restoration of independence for Lithuania. Within a month, Gorbachev issued an ultimatum, demanding that the republic's legislature recant its declaration. When it refused to do so, the Soviet leader ordered that Lithuania be subjected to an economic blockade.

Despite the party's minority status in the Supreme Council, the legislature elected an LCP government. Renaming themselves the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDLP) at a congress in December 1990, the former communists were unable to sustain their government for long. After securing the concurrence of the Supreme Council for a moratorium on the act of the restoration of independence as a precondition for getting the Soviets to the bargaining table, the LDLP government found itself subjected to attempts at micromanagement by the legislative majority. The situation came to a head in January 1991, in the wake of public protests over proposed government increases in food prices. When Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskienė flew to Moscow to hold talks with Gorbachev, she was accused of plotting to reestablish Soviet rule. Upon her return, her government was displaced by a Sąjūdis government, headed by Albertas Šimėnas.

The subsequent annulment of the government's planned price increases should have ended the crisis; however, Moscow's actions over the next several days continued to inflame the situation. Citing calls by Communist Party front groups (which included an organization calling itself the National Salvation Committee) for the imposition of direct presidential rule in the republic, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev issued an open demand for the immediate revocation of the acts restoring the republic's independence. He further stated that he was considering dissolving the republic's legislature and imposing direct presidential rule. The next day (11 January 1990) the National Salvation Committee announced that it was assuming all political authority in the republic. Simultaneously, the Soviet Army surrounded the press center and radio and TV tower and threatened to seize the Supreme Council building itself.

The public response to the Soviet actions was immediate. Tens of thousands of citizens surrounded the legislature in an act of defiance that may have dissuaded the military from an assault. Crowds surrounding the radio and TV tower, however, failed to deter its seizure; fourteen people lost their lives in the effort. The Soviet Army also seized the press center.

At the peak of the crisis, on the night of the assault on the radio and TV tower, Prime Minister Šimėnas mysteriously disappeared. Not to be found in the parliament, he later claimed that he had been working at another location to ensure the proper functioning of the government. Whether his story is true or whether he panicked, the Supreme Council voted only a few days after his confirmation as prime minister to replace him with Gediminas Vagnorius.

The following month, Lithuania's citizens voted overwhelmingly in favor of independence in a popular referendum. Nevertheless, the standoff with Moscow continued, as both sides claimed control over the country. A "war of laws" ensued, creating confusion as to whether the laws of Lithuania or those of the Soviet Union were to take precedence. Making the situation even more tense was the presence on the streets of both Lithuanian and Soviet armed police and military patrols, whose paths often crossed. Indeed, the potential for violence was underscored in July (1991) when several Lithuanian border guards were murdered at their post at Medininkai.

Further complicating the situation were the concerns within the country's minority populations about reemerging Lithuanian nationalism. The articulation of the Lithuanian national idea, requiring as it did the rejection of Polish and Russian culture, combined with the insistence that the Lithuanian language should become the primary vehicle for political and economic discourse, gave rise to anxieties among the republic's national minorities. The politicization of the national idea within Sąjūdis led to nationalist exclusivity that further exacerbated their concerns. The movement's demands that an independent Lithuania be a national state, with priority given to the Lithuanian culture and language, appeared to be a clear threat of oppression or perhaps even forcible assimilation for minorities, particularly those of Polish or Russian origin or descent. This threat was reflected in the fact that Sąjūdis was almost totally a Lithuanian movement. At the 1988 Constituent Congress, 980 of the 1021 deputies were Lithuanian; only nine were Poles and eight were Russians.

The response was predictable. Many Russians and smaller Russian-speaking minority groups—including Belarusians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Tatars—formed Edinstvo. This movement, formed with the encouragement of Moscow (indeed, almost certainly at the instigation of the KGB, to help undermine political stability in the breakaway republic), stood in open opposition to Sąjūdis, and in particular to the demands to make Lithuanian the official state language. But Edinstvo never succeeded in fully organizing the Russian-speaking community. While this was partially due to the organization's open support of the Soviet regime, it also reflected the highly fragmented nature of the Russian community itself. Hardly a community with a common interest, it was divided both socioeconomically and by varying degrees of integration into Lithuanian society. Large numbers of Russians, particularly those living in Vilnius, were descended from families that had lived in the region for centuries. Others were relatively new arrivals, who had been brought to the republic to provide a labor force in Soviet

The Two Bookends of Lithuanian Politics

Vytautas Landsbergis and Algirdas Brazauskas tower above all other Lithuanian politicians in leading Lithuania during the transition from being one of fifteen republics in the former Soviet Union to independence. Although they were allies in the struggle to free Lithuania from Soviet rule, they personified different approaches to achieving that goal. The competition between the two continued in the post-independence era, as they led opposing parties with conflicting visions of the country's economic and political future. Whereas in the West Landsbergis is seen as the main symbol of the Lithuanian struggle for independence, Brazauskas is more popular among the Lithuanian population.

Brazauskas, the son of a state official and a farmer in the first Republic of Lithuania, had a long and successful career in the Communist Party. He became the leader of the Communist Party of Lithuania (the General Secretary) in 1988 and remained in that position until the party renamed itself the Democratic Labor Party in December 1990.

Landsbergis was born into a family of intellectuals that had been actively involved in the Lithuanian national movement since the nineteenth century. He was a professor of music and an expert on the most famous Lithuanian painter and composer, Čiurlionis.

Landsbergis demonstrated a strong sense of patriotism, personal courage, and nerve in leading the Lithuanian people in their struggle with the Soviet Union. Believing that the Soviet Union was in decline, he called for a quick break with Moscow, which he believed would be successful. His view proved to be more accurate than that of Brazauskas, who believed that the Soviet Union remained internally strong and capable of quashing a rebellion. As a consequence, Brazauskas was much more cautious in his approach, advocating a policy of slow steps toward independence in order to avoid a direct conflict with Moscow, whose power he feared.

Landsbergis and Brazauskas had radically different visions of an independent Lithuania. Landsbergis held romantic notions about restoring the country to its pre-Soviet status. His vision was that of an idealized Lithuania whose culture, values, Catholic traditions, and symbols would occupy center stage, uniting the country and informing its politics. His preoccupation with the defense of the national identity de-emphasized the importance of social and economic development. A strategic thinker, he is noted for his lack of interest in and unwillingness to deal with administrative, financial, and legal details.

Brazauskas's character stands in stark contrast to that of Landsbergis. He rarely speaks about culture or national identity, preferring to focus instead on economic matters. For Brazauskas, the state's first responsibility is to be an efficient administrator. His sober, down-to-earth positions were attractive to the Lithuanian population during the years of economic crisis that followed independence, when personal financial considerations, not national survival, occupied people's minds.

The two are also distinguished by their different political styles. Landsbergis is famous for his rhetorical, complicated, sarcastic way of speaking. He makes frequent indirect and ironic remarks about looming international threats to Lithuania, his speeches often referring to the threat from Russia, domestic enemies, and invidious Western cultural influence. This, together with his demagogic and vicious verbal attacks on political opponents, has seriously eroded his public support and undermined his claim to being the Father of the Nation since independence. As a consequence, he has thus far failed to achieve his personal goal of being elected president.

Brazauskas, on the other hand, avoids personal attacks on his political opponents, in particular Landsbergis. His uncomplicated speech is far more appealing to the public than the academic style of Landsbergis. Furthermore, his speech and mannerisms reflect a deeper understanding of the public mood as well as a greater concern for the plight of the average Lithuanian. Elected president in 1993, he has retained the public's trust. As a consequence, following four years of retirement, he returned to politics in 2002, becoming prime minister.

In general, it is fair to say that Brazauskas remains one of the most popular politicians in Lithuania. As for Landsbergis, his political influence has waned significantly, and he is struggling to regain his symbolic status as the leader of the Lithuanian independence movement.

factories and projects, including the nuclear power station in the Ignalina region.

Poles, on the other hand, were a good deal more socioeconomically and historically united. Unlike the Russians, who were spread across many of the urban centers of the republic, Poles were largely concentrated in the regions in and around Vilnius that had been forcibly seized and occupied by Poland during the interwar period. The community's major weakness was the lack of an intelligentsia; most of its members were peasants with low levels of education. The Polish intelligentsia had fled during and after World War II. Those who had not were in many cases liquidated. Lacking an intelligentsia, and subjected to the Russification efforts of the Soviet era, the language spoken by Lithuanian Poles was a dialect of Polish with strong Russian and Belarusian influence. In this context, Sąjūdis's demands that Lithuanian be the state language appeared to many to be an effort to assimilate the Polish minority. As a consequence, they formed the Union of Poles in Lithuania to counter these efforts and came into direct conflict with Sąjūdis.

The demands of the Union of Poles contributed to fears among Lithuanian nationalists within Sąjūdis of a reemergence of Polish cultural dominance or, worse, the loss once again of the Vilnius region. Their demands included increasing the quality of Polish language instruction in schools, creating a Polish university, and forming an autonomous Polish region in the area around Vilnius where the Polish population was in the majority. In pursuit of these goals, the political leadership of the Polish regions openly opposed Lithuanian independence and negotiated with Moscow for greater autonomy from Vilnius.

Despite opposition from Moscow and from within its borders, Lithuania nevertheless achieved its independence in the wake of the abortive coup in the Soviet Union in August 1991. Hard-liners, hoping to arrest the disintegration of Communist Party rule (as well as the disintegration of the empire), had arrested Mikhail Gorbachev in his Crimean retreat and declared emergency rule throughout the Soviet Union. However, the coup collapsed three days later, as the Soviet Army refused to back the putschists. Soviet Army units that had occupied the Lithuanian press center and television and radio tower since January now abandoned their occupation. In September 1991 Gorbachev, who had opposed any territorial change in the Baltic region, now recognized Lithuania's independence. International recognition immediately followed. The United States recognized Lithuania on 11 September, and the country was admitted to the United Nations on 17 September.

INDEPENDENT LITHUANIA

Having obtained the goals uniting most of the country and the restoration of independence, Prime Minister Vagnorius directed his government's attention to two highly contentious social and economic issues: de-Sovietization and privatization. These two issues, as it turned out, quickly led to the collapse of his government, by mid-1992. In the immediate aftermath of the collapse of Soviet rule in the country, the Vagnorius government launched a campaign to nationalize the property and assets of the former communists, to include those of the LDLP (previously the LCP). Among the assets seized were two newspapers. The LDLP protests drew support from much of the republic's independent press, which feared that the confiscations could ultimately be directed against all opposition media.

At the urging of the government, the legislature also considered broadening a law that banned former informants and employees of the Soviet KGB from government service for a period of five years so that the law would include former members of the Communist Party who had held positions of responsibility at virtually any level. This not only threatened members of the LDLP, but also affected the members of almost every political party, since many of them had been members of the Communist Party (either through belief in the system or as a means of advancement). The proposal resulted in significant opposition to the new government.

The opposition was further increased by the privatization of state-owned property. Although legislation to return land and property to prewar ownership had been passed in the summer of 1991, formal opposition did not emerge until after the government began implementing the law in the fall (following independence). By November, the LDLP formally declared itself in opposition to the government's program, arguing that the legislation encouraged land speculation and that only those farming the land should be permitted to own it. By spring, the Sąjūdis coalition had seriously fragmented over both the de-Sovietization and privatization efforts, and the Supreme Council moved to severely curtail government efforts to undertake both.

Fragmentation of the Sąjūdis movement was further exacerbated by the government's strained relations with the country's national minorities, particularly the Poles. Governors of the Polish districts of Vilnius and Šalčininkai had aligned themselves with the Soviet authorities during the independence struggle, going so far as to support the effort by Communist Party hard-liners in the August 1991 coup to reestablish Soviet rule in the republic. Many of these same governors were also either making overtures toward Warsaw or demanding autonomy following independence. The fear was that these regions would ultimately sue for independence or union with Poland. Concerns were openly expressed that Warsaw might even raise the "Vilnius question," with the grave repercussions that a struggle over territory might bring. In response to this threat, the Lithuanian government introduced direct rule in these regions in September 1991.

This action led to serious strains in relations with Poland, which despite its renunciation of any territorial claims on Vilnius or the Polish regions, found itself unable to reduce Lithuanian fears. The Lithuanian government further poisoned the atmosphere between the two countries by insisting on a Polish apology for and condemnation of the interwar seizure of Vilnius. Although the demand was motivated by Lithuanian concerns that their own claims to the capital were questionable (given that they had regained the city as a "gift" from the Soviet authorities), nationalist

Gediminas Vagnorius. (Reuters/Rich Clement/Archive Photos/Getty)

yearnings to "correct" the historical record by establishing Polish guilt and Lithuanian innocence were just as apparent. Whatever the motives on the part of the Lithuanian government, the Poles would not agree to the demands, fearing that in doing so they might provide the pretext for further repression of the Polish minority in Lithuania. When Vilnius reneged on its promise to restore self-rule in the Polish regions, Poland was left with no other option than to engage in formal protest, an action that led to Lithuanian charges that Warsaw was interfering in Lithuania's internal affairs.

The introduction of direct rule in the Vilnius and Šalčininkai regions heightened tensions between the Lithuanian government and the country's Polish population, leading to fears that the new state was bent on assimilating them. These fears were increased by statements from nationalist leaders—among them the head of the Independence Party, a close personal confidant of Sąjūdis chair Vytautas Landsbergis—that the country's Poles were in reality Polonized Lithuanians who had been deprived of their true identity and culture by centuries of Polish rule, particularly in the regions in which they lived.

Those supporting the actions of the government in dealing with the internal threat posed by "disloyal" Poles stayed with the Sąjūdis parliamentary group. Others who wanted even more resolute action gravitated toward several smaller nationalist parties, including the Union of Lithuanian Nationalists, the Union of Political Prisoners and Deportees, the Independence Party, and the Christian Democrats. Those opposed to the government action left Sąjūdis to join parties taking more moderate positions on the national issue (the Center Union, the Liberal Union, the Social-Democrats, and even the Democratic Labor Party).

By May 1992, the political situation reached crisis proportions: the legislature was deadlocked for several weeks, during which time the government's supporters and those in opposition refused to sit together in joint session, each holding separate plenary sessions. The impasse was overcome only after a referendum to establish a strong presidency failed. All parties agreed to hold elections to a new assembly (renamed the Seimas) in October, and it was later agreed that a referendum on a strong presidency would be held at the same time as the elections; the referendum passed in October. Vagnorius resigned, and Aleksandras Abišala became prime minister in July 1992, after the opposition refused to form a government until the fall elections. Essentially a provisional government lacking majority coalition support in the Supreme Council, the Abišala cabinet avoided any new initiatives and attempted to defend the Vagnorius economic reforms against legislative cutbacks until the promised fall elections.

The 1992 elections were a stunning victory for the former Communist Party, renamed the Democratic Labor Party (LDLP). The LDLP won an absolute majority in the Seimas. This victory was followed in early 1993 by the election of the LDLP's leader, Algirdas Brazauskas, as the first president of the republic (an office created by the Constitution of 1992, which was approved in the referendum of fall 1992).

The electoral victory of the Democratic Labor Party, which was owed in part to the support the party enjoyed with the overwhelming majority of the country's national minorities, helped to greatly reduce ethnic tensions in Lithuania. Entering office at the same time as direct rule was being lifted in the Polish regions, the leftist government made economic matters its first priority and de-emphasized national issues.

This in turn permitted the president to achieve several foreign policy successes during his term in office. (The Lithuanian constitution assigns primary responsibility for the country's foreign policy to the president.) Lithuania was admitted to the European Council in May 1993. Soviet military forces withdrew from the country in August of the same year. Finally, relations with Poland were normalized, and a treaty between the two countries was signed in 1995. Furthermore, by the end of his presidential term, Brazauskas had established the three priorities of Lithuanian foreign policy: membership in NATO, membership in the European Union, and good relations with its neighbors.

Vytautas Landsbergis. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The LDLP government, headed by Prime Minister Šleževičius, did not, however, fare as well. Although it continued privatization of the country's economy, it did so over the opposition of parliamentary deputies from its own party. As the economy worsened, an "Initiative Group" formed within the LDLP faction calling for abandonment of the commitment to free market reforms. The opposition, for its part, accused the government of carrying out privatization in a manner that most directly served the economic interests of LDLP members. The charge was a particularly difficult one for the LDLP to deny, given the enterprises that many of its members acquired; among those members was former prime minister Bronislavas Lubys, a personal friend of President Brazauskas who headed the government from the fall 1992 legislative elections until the presidential elections of 1993.

Even more damaging for the LDLP, however, were the scandals that plagued the government. Among them were the resignation of the head of the Central Bank on charges of corruption, the dramatic rise in Mafia-related crime, and a scandal arising over the government's participation in a conference of former Soviet states on investment and access to Russian energy resources. (The Lithuanian constitution prohibits the country from entering into any collective agreements with countries of the former Soviet Union.) The most pressing crisis, however, was the series of bank failures that occurred in 1995. Šleževičius was accused of withdrawing personal savings from one of these banks prior to its collapse, benefiting from insider information on its financial situation. Ultimately, the prime minister was forced to resign under pressure from the president, owing to this scandal.

As a consequence of the continuing economic crisis and the scandals associated with the LDLP, the Homeland Union (the political party emerging out of the right-wing remnants of Sąjūdis) won the 1996 legislative elections. Hence, President Brazauskas during his last year and a half in office was faced with an opposition government, once again headed by Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius. The latter pursued an economic program that mixed a free market with a considerable degree of state regulation. Of greater concern to the International Monetary Fund was the fact that the government consistently overspent. As a result, the country's businesses became increasingly monopolistic and less competitive.

Valdas Adamkus, a Lithuanian-American, was elected president in the 1998 elections. Brazauskas chose not to run and threw his support behind the former prosecutor general, Artūras Paulauskas, who barely lost in the final vote count. Assuming office amid doubts that he knew Lithuania's political situation well enough to serve effectively as president, Adamkus moved quickly to dispel such concerns. Employing his enormous public popularity, he was able to successfully pursue a number of major initiatives early in his term. Collectively these initiatives had a significant impact on the further development and interpretation of the Lithuanian constitution, redefining not only the role of the presidency but executive-legislative relations as well.

Despite a Constitutional Court decision denying him the right to appoint a prime minister, Adamkus succeeded in requiring the entire cabinet to retake the oath of office. (The Constitutional Court had ruled that a newly elected president was required to resubmit a sitting prime minister's name for a renewed vote of confidence from the Seimas; in the event that the Seimas refused to reaffirm its confidence in the government, the president could then appoint a new prime minister.) Shortly thereafter, the president successfully pursued rationalization of the government, reducing the number of ministries from seventeen to eleven. He also promised to continue Lithuania's commitment to "rejoining Europe" (NATO membership, European Union membership, and good relations with the country's neighbors) and to clean up government corruption. The latter promise resulted in a large number of high-level government resignations in 1998. Among them were the minister of health, the minister of internal affairs, the minister of communications, the general director of the Security Department, the chief of the Special Investigations Division, the chief of the tax inspectorate, and the chief of customs. Several of these resignations involved scandals related to the personal use of government property, as in the case of the minister of communications. Others occurred over alleged incompetence, as was the case with the chief of customs.

Ultimately, however, the president had to deal with Prime Minister Vagnorius himself. Although early in his term the president seemed to be working in tandem with the head of the government, by late 1998, it was increasingly evident that there were significant policy differences between the two, particularly regarding the economy. With the support of his economic and political advisers, the president called for cuts in government spending, while Prime Minister Vagnorius and his staff favored spending as a means to get the economy going in the wake of the downturn caused by the Russian ruble crisis. (The Russian ruble rapidly lost value in fall of 1998, making Lithuanian products unaffordable for Russian consumers and thereby reducing Lithuanian exports.) In pursuit of this objective, the government provided loans and direct assistance to Lithuanian industries hurt by the loss of the Russian market. This caused a growing budget deficit and ultimately drew the criticism of the European Union, which was concerned that the government was propping up inefficient businesses.

Convinced that part of the problem was a lack of accountability and transparency in government expenditures, the president nominated Kęstutis Lapinskas for the post of state controller, an office charged with responsibility for checking the government's financial activities. Lapinskas, who was not a member of the ruling coalition, ran into fierce opposition from the prime minister and was ultimately rejected by the parliamentary majority. Despite this, the president submitted Lapinskas's candidacy yet a second time, again unsuccessfully. The political conflict created a breach between the president and the prime minister, one that was further widened when the president criticized the government's economic program in his annual report to the Seimas.

The rift between the two carried over into spring of 1999, as they continued to publicly disagree over how best to deal with the economic crisis in the face of a growing government revenue loss. Further adding to the difficulties between the two was the political storm that emerged when it was revealed that Belarus was not paying its bill for imported Lithuanian electrical power. As the crisis unfolded, news surfaced that the government was selling the electrical power through a third party. Numerous rumors spread concerning personal interests related to the third party; however, it never became clear how that third party had come to be involved or whether it indeed was involved in the sale of electrical power to Belarus.

The rift between the president and the prime minister came to a head in April 1999, when Adamkus officially expressed a lack of confidence in Vagnorius and asked him to resign. In a press release, Vagnorius agreed to withdraw from the post of prime minister to prevent further escalation of political tensions; however, the Seimas announced its official support for the prime minister by a vote of 77 in favor and 46 opposed. Seimas Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis stated the resolution was an independent assessment of the prime minister, indicating the parliament's desire for Vagnorius to maintain his position. According to Lithuania's constitution, only the Seimas can remove a prime minister. Hence, the president found himself faced with the prospect that the prime minister might continue to serve. The crisis was resolved, however, on 30 April 1999, when Prime Minister Vagnorius resigned of his own accord.

Adamkus's efforts to force the resignation of the prime minister, together with his earlier heavy-handedness in trying to appoint Lapinskas as state controller, irritated many in the Seimas ruling coalition, particularly within the key party of the parliamentary majority, the Homeland Union (Conservatives of Lithuania). As a consequence, the Conservatives initially refused to enter a new government and called upon Adamkus to ask another party to form a governing coalition within the Seimas. Ultimately, however, the Conservatives agreed to the appointment of the popular Conservative mayor of Vilnius, Rolandas Paksas. In June 1999, Paksas received widespread support from the Seimas, where his appointment was confirmed on a vote of 105 to 1, with 31 abstentions.

Upon assuming his responsibilities as the prime minister, Paksas committed his government to reduced spending along the lines supported by the president. This in turn created a rift within the Conservative majority in the Seimas, as former prime minister Vagnorius publicly criticized the new government's spending priorities. Paksas's position was further undermined by the fact that almost

Rolandas Paksas after announcing his resignation as prime minister in Lithuania's capital, Vilnius, on 20 June 2001. (AFP/Getty Images)

half of the Vagnorius cabinet retained their ministerial portfolios. With his legislative support tenuous, the new prime minister was dependent upon presidential support to remain in office. Hence, when he went on national television on 18 October, to announce his unwillingness to sign the agreements with Williams International permitting the American company to purchase a management stake in Mažeikiai Nafta (the country's oil industry), an agreement recently approved by the Seimas majority and supported by the president, the fate of his government was sealed. After only four months in office, Paksas tendered his resignation at the request of President Adamkus on 27 October 1999.

The country's third government in 1999 was confirmed in a Seimas vote on 3 November. Andrius Kubilius, a member of the Homeland Union (Conservatives of Lithuania) received 82 votes. Twenty deputies voted in opposition to his confirmation, and 36 abstained. Kubilius pledged himself to continue a policy of reduced government expenditures as the best strategy for resolving the economic crisis. He further called for measures to promote foreign investment and indicated his support for the Williams deal. The latter had created the greatest political storm in the entire post-Soviet era, as political leaders, particularly those on the left, and numerous public demonstrations demanded that the agreement be abrogated. At the end of the year the government was still in office, but there were growing calls for early parliamentary elections in 2000.

The political turmoil of 1999 carried over into 2000, as the economy continued to suffer from the prolonged recession brought on by the devaluation of the Russian ruble and the consequent loss of the eastern market to Lithuanian goods and produce. Public frustration with the economic situation found expression in continued opposition to the Williams deal and was reflected in falling trust in political institutions and a major realignment of the country's party system. As the ruling Homeland Union's popularity fell precipitously, parties on the political left, particularly the Democratic Labor Party, were able to capitalize on the public's growing discontent by championing populist platforms eschewing further privatization of state enterprises, demanding reconsideration of the pace of entry into the European Union and NATO, and questioning budget priorities.

The political turmoil gave rise to some troubling phenomena, not the least of which was the election of Vytautas Šustauskas, a poorly educated man prone to anti-Semitic and anti-Western rhetoric, as mayor of Kaunas, the republic's second largest city. This, together with the emergence of former prosecutor Arturas Paulauskas as a major political figure (whom many on the political right suspected of having family ties to Soviet-era security structures), led to concerns in some corners that a Red-Brown Coalition (that is, a communist-fascist coalition) was threatening to come to power in the country. Despite these concerns, the country's commitment to democratic norms remained steadfast. Indeed, prior to the October 2000 elections to the national legislature, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) announced that it would not be sending observers.

By the end of the millennium, the Baltic country was continuing its commitment to full global and regional integration. In 2001 it became the 141st member of the World Trade Organization (WTO); and, in 2004, the country gained membership in both NATO and the European Union (EU). More importantly, the country's political systems had endured ten years of reforms without any significant threat of turning back from its commitment to democratic norms. The ability of Lithuanian political institutions to weather these political storms says much about the degree to which democracy and democratic institutions are consolidated.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, adopted in a national referendum in October 1992, makes it abundantly clear that the new state is a national state. The preamble makes the unambiguous claim that the state is the creation of the Lithuanian nation and that the Lithuanian language is the state language. Further, the national identity of the Lithuanian people as it had emerged during the independence period is laid out. The Lithuanian people, having "established the State of Lithuania many centuries ago" and having "defended its freedom and independence and

Mažeikiai Nafta

The Lithuanian oil refinery at Mažeikiai is the only oil refinery in the Baltic States. It supplies the majority of Lithuania's gasoline and much of that used in Estonia and Latvia as well. Nafta (Mažeikiai Oil) consists of the Mažeikiai oil refinery, capable of refining 300,000 barrels of crude oil a day; the Naftotiekis pipeline; and the Butinge oil terminal, with a capacity of 160,000 barrels of oil a day, according to the Department of Statistics of the government of Lithuania.

In 1998 the government of Lithuania merged the Mažeikiai oil refinery with the mostly state-owned pipeline and terminal companies into a single entity, AB Mažeikiai Nafta. Owing to extensive debt and poor management, the government decided to seek an investor to manage the enterprise. The privatization process that had been undertaken following the collapse of Soviet rule and the return to independence was charged with political emotions and had led to the collapse of two governments in one year. At the center of the public debate was the question of which side—Russia or the West—should be allowed to have managing control of Lithuania's most important industry. One view in the debate held that selling shares to a Russian investor would deepen the country's economic dependence on Russia. The alternative view questioned the transparency of the negotiations with American investors.

In the fall of 1999 an American company, Williams International, acquired 33 percent of the shares of Mažeikiai Nafta, as well as control over management decisions, for $150 million, according to Lithuania's Ministry of Economics. An additional 7.4 percent of the company was sold to various Lithuanian and foreign investors. Owing to the economic and political importance of the company, the government decided to retain the remaining 59.6 percent of the shares in the enterprise.

Despite hopes that new management would help Mažeikiai Nafta to resolve its financial difficulties, the Lithuanian company is still struggling. In January 2002, the company announced an unaudited loss of 277.2 million Litai ($69.3 million) for the year 2001, according to the Department of Statistics. In the first quarter of 2002 revenues from refining were about $30 million less than had been projected. The most important factors accounting for these losses were a sharp decline in crude oil and oil product prices and a drop in sales in Lithuania. The company also struggled with oil supply problems. Its primary oil suppliers are Russian companies, which did not provide the enterprise with a consistent, uninterrupted supply of crude. In an effort to resolve this problem, Mažeikiai Nafta signed a deal with Yukos permitting the Russian oil supplier to purchase a 26.85 percent stake in the Lithuanian enterprise for $75 million. In return Yukos was obligated to supply 4.8 million tons of crude oil per year. The deal reduced the government's stake to 40.66 percent. Williams's stake was also lowered to 26.85 percent, but it remained the chief operator of the plant, with Yukos having advisory input. However, in 2002 Williams sold its management stake to Yukos.

Mažeikiai Nafta is one of the largest taxpayers in the country, and its economic performance is of enormous importance to the overall economy. It is the primary determinant of gas prices in Lithuania, with its performance influencing the prices of all oil products and services on the Lithuanian market. The future development and economic performance of Mažeikiai Nafta will have much to say about the success of market reform in Lithuania.

preserved its spirit, native language, writing, and customs," are nevertheless a tolerant people desiring to foster "national accord" and a "harmonious civil society."

Lithuania has a premier-presidential system similar in design to the French political system. The key institutions established by the 1992 constitution are a legislature (the Seimas), a split executive comprising a popularly elected president and a prime minister nominated by the president and confirmed by the Seimas, and a split court system. The Supreme Court serves as the last court of appeal, and the Constitutional Court rules on issues of constitutionality (judicial review). The major differences from the French political system are that the Seimas is a unicameral legislature and the president is somewhat weaker. Nonetheless, in contrast to a parliamentary system based on the British Westminster model, the president as the head of state has substantial de jure powers in both the policy-making and government-forming processes.

The legislature, the Seimas, is composed of 141 deputies. Until the summer of 2000, 71 of them were elected in majority fashion in single-mandate districts. If no one candidate received more than 50 percent of the vote in the first round, a second round was required between the two top vote getters. In the hopes of gaining a larger number of seats in the upcoming elections, the former legislative majority changed the system to the first-past-the post (plurality)

The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania

The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania was approved in a referendum on 25 October 1992. The document was a compromise between a parliamentary system, in which the legislative branch would dominate a figurehead president, and a presidential system, in which the legislature would be coequal with the president. This mixed system, similar in design to that of France, is often referred to as a semipresidential system.

The constitution states that Lithuania is a unitary state, no part of which may become independent. Lithuania's constitution includes the Act on the Non-Alignment of the Republic of Lithuania to Post-Soviet Eastern Alliances, which is intended to prohibit the country from entering into any alliances or multilateral forums uniting the country with the former Soviet Union. The constitution further establishes that Lithuania is a democratic republic with sovereignty vested in the people. Fundamental human rights and democratic values, including freedom of speech, religion, and conscience are guaranteed. Certain social guarantees are also provided, among them free medical care, retirement pensions, unemployment compensation, and state support for families and children.

Governmental powers are divided between the legislature, executive, and judiciary. The legislative powers are vested in a parliament called the Seimas. Elected every four years, the Seimas comprises 141 members, 70 of whom are elected from party lists on the basis of proportional representation. The remaining 71 are elected in winner-take-all contests in single-member districts. The Seimas exercises a significant degree of control over the government. Not only does it pass the laws that the government implements, it must confirm the head of government, the prime minister, and the prime minister's program. It can also vote the prime minister and the cabinet out of office.

The executive consists of a president, the head of state, and a prime minister, the head of government. The government, with its constituent ministries, exercises broad authority over day-to-day affairs, particularly in the economic realm. The prime minister is appointed by the president with the approval of the Seimas and can be removed by the Seimas.

As the head of state, the president is concerned with broad policy questions, particularly in the security and foreign affairs fields. The president also selects the prime minister (with the approval of the Seimas), approves ministerial candidates, and appoints the commander in chief of the armed forces (with the approval of the Seimas). The president is elected directly by the people for a five-year term and a maximum of two consecutive terms. Candidates must be at least forty years old. For a candidate to be elected in the first round, 50 percent of the voters must participate, and the candidate must receive more than half of the total votes cast. If the first round does not produce a president, a second round is held between the two top candidates, and a plurality vote is sufficient to win.

The judiciary is composed of the Supreme Court and subordinate courts, which decides on cases in law, and a Constitutional Court, which decides on the constitutionality of acts of the Seimas, the president, and the government.

rules, used in the American and British system to elect members to the lower house. The remaining 70 seats in the Seimas are decided on the basis of a party-list vote, with parties achieving the 5 percent threshold (7 percent in the event of party blocs) being allotted a proportion of the deputies roughly equivalent to the percentage of the vote they receive. (The actual proportion of deputies is almost always greater, given the large number of voters who cast their ballots for parties and blocs that do not achieve the minimum threshold.)

The government is responsible for the day-to-day running of the country. The head of the government is the prime minister, who is nominated by the president but elected by the Seimas. Upon confirmation, the prime minister selects his cabinet and presents a program to the Seimas. The government program must be approved by the Seimas. Although the president may ask for the resignation of the prime minister, only the Seimas is constitutionally empowered to remove a prime minister in a vote of no confidence.

The government comprises the prime minister and his cabinet, who collectively serve as the political masters of the bureaucracy of the government's ministries. The bureaucracy remains one of the political problems facing the country. Although much has been done to consolidate the political institutions of state power (the legislature, the prime minister, and the president), little if any reform of state administrative institutions has been effected. This neglect owes largely to both the lack of a coherent strategy for reform and the persistence of Soviet-era bureaucratic operating patterns. The high turnover rate of Lithuania's governments (there were eight governments from the implementation of the 1992 constitution to the turn of the century) has not given elected politicians the time to plan and execute a comprehensive reform of the bureaucracy. Only the government of Andrius Kubilius, which served for one year from the end of 1999 to the elections in fall of 2000, attempted to do so. Subsequent governments have not yet been able to fully implement these reforms.

The most meaningful reforms undertaken thus far that have in any measurable way contributed to better performance and greater coordination within and between the ministries have been those mandated by the European Union in anticipation of Lithuania's entry into the organization. However, many of these reforms have been adopted without any proper understanding of how they actually operate.

The office of the president was created in the 1992 constitution to resolve the paralysis that gripped the legislature in the summer of 1992. The introduction of the presidency has done much to ensure against a repeat of this situation. (It is significant to note in this regard that of the three governments removed by majority vote of the Seimas, two were removed at the initiative and request of the president.) Nevertheless, although the president has substantial powers, which include the right of veto, initiation of legislation, and appointment of the prime minister, all of these powers are limited in scope, so that the president has no guaranteed check over either the legislature or the government. Although the president can veto legislation, an absolute majority of the Seimas can override that veto. (A simple majority of legislators present for a quorum is all that is required to initially pass most bills.)

Just as importantly, the government is ultimately responsible to the Seimas. Although the president alone has the right to nominate a prime minister, only the Seimas can confirm or remove the prime minister in a majority vote. The vote to remove a prime minister triggers a choice for the president. The president can either abide by the decision of the Seimas and agree to the removal of the prime minister or instead call for early elections to the Seimas. There are only two other conditions under which the president may dissolve the legislature prior to its serving out its elected term: if the Seimas fails to confirm a government program two times in succession within a sixty-day period or is not able to reach a decision on a nomination to prime minister within thirty days. This power is, however, subject to important qualifications based on the time remaining of the president's term and the amount of time served by the Seimas since it was elected to office.

As is the case for the bureaucracy, the primary problem facing the country's court system is the persistence of Soviet attitudes and work methods. There is a dearth of judges and lawyers trained in the rules and procedures of the new court system; like most areas of public life in Lithuania (as well as throughout Eastern Central Europe), the ideological nature of communist rule created atrophy within institutions and a body of professionals whose first duty was to the state. A professional code of ethics has been drafted, but one still needs to be written for lawyers and other legal professionals. The independence of the courts is also not yet fully established. The Ministry of Justice continues to intervene in court decisions, and both judges and lawyers often look to central ministries and political authorities for clues on how to resolve cases.

Despite these problems, the courts have played an important role in habituating political elites and the public to the rule of law and democratic values. Although the public remains cautious in its evaluation of the courts, it is significant that most would nonetheless refer disputes with state authorities to these same courts. The Constitutional Court in particular has issued important decisions contributing to the strengthening of the rule of law as well as the independence of the judiciary. Its most important challenge thus far involved a series of rulings that eventually led to the impeachment and removal of the country's president, Rolandas Paksas, in 2004. (Paksas had been accused of violating his authority by interceding in the privatization process on behalf of businessmen and leaking classified information to businessmen.)

Lithuania has a multiparty system. In the early stages of development from 1989 to 1992, parties were concerned with the issue of the restoration of the country's independence. Reflecting this unidimensional concern, the party system was divided into two highly polarized blocs, one (the Sąjūdis bloc) supporting a radical and rapid break with Moscow, the other (members of the Communist Party who had broken with Moscow and formed an independent party) a more gradual and rational one.

The achievement of independence led to divisions within each of the two blocs (particularly the Sąjūdis bloc) as other issues became more salient. These divisions in turn resulted in the formation of new parties and the emergence of a multiparty system, beginning in 1992. However, the Lithuanian public has yet to fully identify with parties and has demonstrated a significant degree of disillusionment with the party system.

Despite the presence of a multiparty system, most of the first decade of independence has been marked by the continued dominance of the two core parties of the pre-independence struggle. There were three legislative elections in the first decade after the restoration of the republic. The Democratic Labor Party (LDLP) won a majority in the 1992 elections. The right-wing remnants of Sąjūdis, the Homeland Union (Conservatives) won a plurality in the elections to the second Seimas in 1996. They formed a government with their allies, the Christian Democratic Party. Although in both the first and second Seimas the ruling parties (and their coalition allies) served out a full term, each experienced problems with governmental stability. The Democratic Labor Party majority in the first Seimas elected the governments of Bronislavas Lubys (1992–1993), Adolfas Šleževičius (1993–1996), and Mindaugas Stankevičius (1996). The coalition led by the Homeland Union in the second Seimas elected the governments of Gediminas Vagnorius (1996–1999), Rolandas Paksas (1999), and Andrius Kubilius (1999–2000).

The rise and fall of governments in the first two Seimases was not, however, related to coalition instability in the Seimas. Rather, the primary cause was scandal revolving around economic crises. The Šleževičius LDLP government fell as a consequence of the prime minister having transferred bank deposits using insider information in the midst of a bank crisis. The Vagnorius Conservative–Christian Democratic government resigned when the prime minister was not able to adequately explain his personal financial interests in the sale of energy to Belarus in the midst of a continuing economic crisis brought on by the collapse of the Russian ruble. Of the remaining four governments, two were care-taker LDLP governments—the Lubys government led by a prime minister who was pledged to resign once a new president was elected, and the Stankevičius government, which served until the end of the term of the Seimas. A third was the Paksas Conservative–Christian Democratic government, which resigned over policy differences with the parliamentary majority concerning the privatization of the country's oil industry. The fourth was the caretaker Kubilius Conservative–Christian Democratic government of 1999–2000.

The October 2000 elections to the third Seimas marked the first time in the post-Soviet era that one party did not capture a majority or overwhelming plurality (as in the case of the Homeland Union, which won 69 of 141, 2 seats short of an absolute majority) in the legislature. This departure has ushered in a new era of coalition politics, in which agreements between two or more parties are essential to the formation and maintenance of governments. The first government elected by the third Seimas was led by Rolandas Paksas and was backed by the right-wing Liberal Union, the left-of-center New Union (Social Liberals), and a consortium of smaller parties, none of which was rewarded with any positions in the new government. The Paksas government (the second one he had headed) lasted only a few short months, from 2000 to mid-2001. The coalition behind it was simply too ideologically diverse. The government of Algirdas Brazauskas (the country's first president) was elected in mid-2001, and was backed by a left-wing coalition uniting the Social Democratic Party and the Social Liberals. It should be noted that the old Social Democratic Party merged with the Democratic Labor Party (the former Communist Party) to form the new Social Democratic Party in late 2001. The new party is dominated by the core of the Democratic Labor Party, as attested to by the fact that Brazauskas is the party's leader.

To be sure there are problems, as reflected in the inability of the state bureaucracy to deal effectively with the economic crisis brought on by the collapse of the Russian markets in late 1998. Overall, however, Lithuania's political institutions have achieved a substantial degree of stability. This stability was demonstrated in the 2004 impeachment of President Paksas, the country's third president. Despite the trauma associated with an impeachment, the Seimas and the Constitutional Court successfully led the country through the process. There is nonetheless much that remains to be accomplished. The party system is still forming and the courts are still transitioning to Western ethical standards and practices. The most important goal, however, is to increase public trust in state institutions.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Lithuanian state was the last pagan state in Europe, resisting conversion to Christianity for many centuries. Even when the country's rulers were finally Christianized at the end of the fourteenth century, the peasantry remained pagan for several centuries afterward. Even today, Lithuanian culture is heavily influenced by pagan mythology. This is particularly evident in folk art and music. Wood carvings, sculptures, and wooden masks date back to pagan times. The images of demons, trolls, and gods that provide the themes for these wood carvings all have pagan origins. The wooden poles that are found alongside many of the country's roads in the rural areas were familiar in pagan times as well. Christian symbols such as crosses were merely added to them. Musical instruments, particularly wind flutes, as well as the folk songs of Lithuania, possess the haunting quality familiar to those who have participated in Scandinavian nature festivals.

Many supposedly Christian holidays celebrated in the country are marked with pagan symbols and traditions. For example, the arrangements made of dyed meadow grasses, forest flowers, berry leaves, moss, and corn ears used to celebrate Palm Sunday in the Vilnius region have their origin in pagan festivals. Indeed, paganism has worked to transform some of the core themes of Christianity in the country. The image of the mourning Christ that is so much a part of folk

Statuette in the town of Stripeikiai. (Corel Corporation) art transforms Jesus from an all-powerful savior with the power to change lives to a grieving deity unable to bear the sufferings of the Lithuanian people. The devil as well is little more than a bumbling, humorous character who is more to be pitied for his ineptness than feared for any evil power.

Pagans worship nature. (Their gods are gods of fire, thunder, water, and the forest, among other natural objects.) This nature worship is reflected in the strong attachment that Lithuanians have to nature. During the Soviet era, Lithuanians would spend their summers looking for the remains of those deported to Siberia in order to return them to Lithuania where they could rest in peace in their own soil. It is therefore not at all surprising that environmental concerns were among the key issues that led to the initial formation of the Sąjūdis movement, which ultimately led the country to regain its independence from the Soviet Union.

LITHUANIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

Lithuanians are also extremely proud of their language. Believed to be one of the oldest extant languages in Europe, it is considered by scholars to have retained with the least changes most of the elements of Proto-Indo-European, the original language from which all of the languages spoken in Europe have evolved. (For that reason it is studied in many linguistics programs across the globe.) Nationalistic pride in their language has formed within the Lithuanians a strong attachment to it and determination to protect it. The nation and culture survived a two-hundred year-long union with the more numerous Poles (the Polish-Lithuanian state), repeated efforts by the Russian tsars to assimilate Lithuania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and Soviet repression during and after World War II. Since the restoration of statehood in 1991, the Lithuanian state has funneled substantial resources into the preservation of the national language and culture, in order to sustain them against Polish cultural domination and Russian influence. Commissions have been established at all levels of governance charged with surveying government documents for grammatical errors or the use of foreign words in place of Lithuanian words. To avoid using foreign loan words when their own language does not have a suitable term (as frequently occurs when new ideas and concepts emerge from technological innovation), the Ministry of Culture has even gone so far as to create a Lithuanian word to replace the foreign one.

Such efforts suggest that the Lithuanians are a stubborn people, a characteristic noted by more than one observer. This stubbornness may indeed account for their having been the first people within the Soviet Union to have demanded full independence, against what could have only have been viewed as impossible odds at the time. The independence drive was further fueled by a strong sense of moral superiority vis-à-vis the country's neighbors. Lithuanians view themselves as having first been invaded by crusaders intent on forcing a religion upon them that they did not want, then subjected to Polonization of their culture and society by the more numerous Poles, and finally humiliated on two occasions by prolonged Russian occupations (first occupation by the Russian Empire beginning in the late eighteenth century, then occupation by the Soviet Union in the latter half of the twentieth century). In contrast, Lithuanians point to their own tolerance of others. Indeed, Jews settled in Lithuania in the twelfth century seeking safe harbor from the crusading knights of Europe. There they built one of the great centers of Judaism. Tatars also came to the country and freely practiced Islam.

This focus on the oppression they have suffered and their own virtue has fueled a national myth that Lithuanians are a nation of "innocent sufferers." The Lithuanian self-image as a nation of innocent sufferers manifests itself in the form of a distinct distrust of outsiders. While not resulting in overt hostility—indeed Lithuanians are outwardly quite tolerant—this distinctive form of xenophobia is more than mere national pride. It is informed by a sense that all foreigners, not just representatives of historically repressive nations such as the Poles or Russians, have little to contribute to Lithuania. Indeed, there is a pervasive belief that the Lithuanian nation is so unique that it defies understanding by outsiders. Hence, there is a decided resistance to advice or assistance proffered by foreigners. This resistance is all the more pronounced when Lithuanians believe that the outsider has engaged in what they consider immoral conduct against them. For example, many Lithuanians feel intense moral disdain for the United States on two counts. First, the United States never came to the assistance of the Forest Boys, who carried out an eight-year armed struggle against Soviet occupation at the end of World War II, despite repeated promises to do so. Second, the official U.S. position throughout the Cold War was that Lithuania had been illegally incorporated into the Soviet Union. Yet when the country declared its independence in 1990, the United States did not recognize it. In fact, the United States actively encouraged the country to remain within the Soviet Union in order not to undermine Mikhail Gorbachev's legitimacy or endanger his rule. In other words, at the moment of truth, the United States, in the minds of Lithuanian nationalists, forsook its decades-long stance, simply because it did not fit the larger geopolitical reality of the moment.

None of this is to suggest that Lithuanians are anti-American. Nothing could be further from the truth, all the more so given the country's desire to enter NATO and strong U.S. support of that goal. Younger generations in particular admire American material wealth and popular culture, especially music and films. But it does perhaps help to account for the fact that Lithuanians can appear to the outsider to be cool, haughty, and indifferent.

A HISTORY OF CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Given their rich history, it is not surprising that the Lithuanian people are credited with many achievements in education and the sciences. The development of science began in Lithuania with the establishment of Vilnius University in 1579 by the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). The university gave prominence to scholasticism, a theological and philosophical system of education based on the authority of the church fathers and the traditions of the Roman

Catholic Church. An order of the Catholic Church, the Jesuits were established as part of the Counter-Reformation to fight the rise of Protestantism among the educated classes of Europe. Their presence in Lithuania did much to deepen the faith of both the nobility and the peasantry in Catholicism, a faith that had never been very strong. (As discussed above, paganism had persisted among the Lithuanians long after their supposed Christianization.) It also accomplished its intended purpose. The country rejected the Protestant Reformation. The only Lithuanian Protestants in the modern era are those from the westernmost regions around the port of Klaipėda, which was founded by the Livonian Order, an order of crusading knights.

Despite the openly religious purpose of the university, by the seventeenth century, much of the scholarship was increasingly informed by the classical humanism of the Renaissance, and the classical ideas of the Greeks and Romans began to become more prominent in Lithuanian cultural life. The first works by Lithuanians on mathematics and the sciences occurred about the same time. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Enlightenment came to be the main influence on Lithuanian ideas. The influence of scholasticism among Lithuanian scholars and intellectuals had waned considerably by then. When the Jesuit Order was disbanded in 1773, Vilnius University became a state university (it was known as the Highest School of Vilnius until 1803, after which it once again became known as Vilnius University), and scholasticism was no longer in evidence.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, faculties in physics, medicine, mechanics, probability theory, statistics, and agronomy were added, as science became increasingly more prominent in the curriculum. Influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution, scholars were also in the forefront of the national reawakening. They undertook to write a history for the Lithuanian people, study its language, and identify its culture. This activity helped to arouse a sense of nationalism among the population. Among the more important scholars involved in this effort was Simonas Daukantas (a student of Zegota Ignac Onacewicz, the first to lecture on Lithuanian history), who was the first to write about the history of Lithuania in Lithuanian. Joachim Lelewel was another important figure. He paid less attention to the role of kings and the nobility in history and focused instead on social movements and society as a whole. All of this fostered a sense of social and political activism on the part of the university's students, which led them to participate in the unsuccessful 1830 November Uprising against Russian rule.

After the insurrection was suppressed, Vilnius University was closed by order of Nicholas I, and Lithuanian scholars had to continue their work abroad or illegally within the country; despite this, they kept alive the dream of an independent Lithuanian state. Their efforts to develop the Lithuanian language, history, and culture were also important during a time of intense Russification (the promotion of Russian language and culture among the ethnic population of the Russian Empire, particularly in the western regions). Noteworthy in this regard was the work of Motiejus Valančius, a Catholic bishop who had been a student at Vilnius University. He helped resist Russification by writing a critical history of Lithuania and educating his parishioners on the history of the country and its people.

In the wake of the January Uprising of 1863 (another failed revolt), the use of the Latin alphabet was prohibited, and only the Cyrillic alphabet, in which Russian was written, was allowed. All courses in schools also had to be taught in Russian. These decrees were intended to reduce the amount of literature available on Lithuanian history and culture, in the hope of ending any threat of yet another nationalist popular uprising against the rule of the Russian tsar. However, the population steadfastly resisted the Cyrillic alphabet, which they came to hate. In many cases, they continued to use old textbooks written in Lithuanian, rather than accept the newer texts provided by the tsarist government. Lithuanians even refused to purchase prayer books written in Cyrillic, making their publication unprofitable. They relied instead upon books printed in Prussia and illegally smuggled into the country.

Bishop Valančius remained active in the years after the 1863 uprising. He urged parishioners to hide books from the police, to organize secret meetings to study the Lithuanian language, to refuse to learn the Russian alphabet or read books in Russian, and to burn the Russian books. He was also instrumental in organizing the publication and smuggling of books into Lithuania. The bishop's actions did much to bring about a broad-based resistance to Russification and Russian rule.

While Valančius was important in keeping Lithuanian nationalism alive, others continued to further its development. In 1883 Jonas Basanavičius began a monthly newsletter, *Aušra,* which he published in Prussia. The newsletter, which was written in Lithuanian, contained poems, literature, historical notes, and commentaries on current events. Other newsletters followed the example of *Aušra.* Illegal political organizing was spurred by these publications, as many political parties, among them the Social Democratic, were secretly founded. Faced with the failure of the decree against the use of the Lithuanian language, the Russian government lifted the ban in 1904. The changes that came in the wake of the general strike following the disastrous Russian defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 and of the Revolution of 1905 ended censorship and permitted the use of the Lithuanian language in the schools and in public discourse.

Lithuanian culture blossomed during the period of relative freedom from 1905 to the declaration of independence on 16 February 1918. It was during this period that the country's most celebrated painter and composer, Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, produced his works. A romantic, he wrote a musical score interpreting his paintings of nature, which were infused with a strong pantheistic sentiment, emphasizing the pagan elements of Lithuanian culture. It was not, however, until independence in 1918 and the creation of a Lithuanian republic that the country was left to develop its arts and culture without foreign interference.

The greatest challenge to the new state was the high level of illiteracy. Moreover, there was no university in which Lithuanian was the primary language of instruction. While

Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875–1911)

M. K. Čiurlionis (1875–1911) is considered the founder of Lithuanian symphonic music. In addition, his paintings are the most significant Lithuanian contribution to European culture. Indeed, his work is so extraordinary that it has no parallel in Lithuanian art.

Čiurlionis's paintings, embracing the symbolism and romanticism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, constitute the core of his artistic contribution. His early works deal with religious, philosophical, and psychological issues related to the origins and development of the universe. Most are imaginary or allegorical landscapes. His later works show a diversity of themes and artistic images, touching on existentialism and occult aspects of nature. By the end of his short thirty-six-year life, Čiurlionis had developed a style that unmistakably distinguishes him from any other artist.

Čiurlionis introduced many new themes and original images to Lithuanian art. His work is marked by silhouettes, symbolic figures, and graceful waves. Particularly noteworthy is his ability to represent ideas that transcend the physical universe, elevating the viewer to a position beyond the temporal.

Čiurlionis is also the founder of modern Lithuanian music. His work consists of symphonic music, compositions for piano, and choral compositions (primarily harmonized Lithuanian folk songs). Given his short life, his having written more than three hundred musical scores is truly impressive. What is even more remarkable, however, is the originality of these works. For example, *The Sea,* the greatest symphonic work by Čiurlionis, is rich in dramatic effect, expression, and fantasy. Reflecting the artist's search for the meaning of life, it is noteworthy for its depth of emotion and loftiness of purpose.

Both Čiurlionis's paintings and music aroused much controversy in his day. While their originality was appreciated by some, both were rejected as too modern by the greater part of the public of the time. These same works are now considered to be the greatest that Lithuanian art has yet produced.

significant progress was made in establishing a system of mandatory primary and secondary education, a national university was not established until 1922. The original intent had been to reopen Vilnius University; however, the seizure of Vilnius by Poland forced Lithuania to establish the university at the new capital of Kaunas. A teachers' college was also established in Klaipėda in 1935, but a few years later it had to relocate to Panevežys, following the German occupation of the city.

Independence did much for the development of Lithuanian art, theater, and music as well. A state opera company was established in 1920, the number of choirs grew, national music festivals were instituted, and several new theaters came into existence. Literature also experienced a revival, fueled by the increase in the literacy rate.

Although the Soviet era was one of general repression, it was also a period in which the state provided massive subsidies to the arts. Hence, Lithuanians continued to excel in education, science, and the arts. Marija Alkekaitė-Gimbutienė, for example, was a renowned archaeologist who was instrumental in the development of theories concerning the early origins of the Baltic peoples. Her theorizing about the Goddess, influenced by her upbringing in a still half-pagan Lithuania, has made her well known (under the name of Marija Gimbutas) far beyond the academic world of archaeology.

Further, many took advantage of state largesse to advance the cause of maintaining and further developing the Lithuanian national consciousness. This was particularly the case for Jonas Kubilius, the rector of Vilnius University from 1958 to 1991. Resisting intense pressure to Russify the university's curriculum, he managed to restore the Lithuanian language and culture to a place of preeminence at the university (which had been returned to Lithuania by the Soviets). Kubilius was also an accomplished mathematician, noted for his significant mathematical discoveries (the Lemma of Kubilius and the Inequality of Kubilius), as well as his work in the theory of probability.

Artists also did much to further the cause of Lithuanian nationalism. Muza Rubačkytė was an internationally known pianist who was prohibited from traveling abroad due to her intense nationalist views, and Justinas Marcinkevičius was a renowned poet and writer whose works helped to develop Lithuanian national consciousness. In theater, the work of Juozas Miltinis gained international recognition. In film, Vytautas Žalakevičius achieved fame as a director. His best-known film, *Nobody Wanted to Die,* filmed in 1965, is still widely considered to be the best example of Lithuanian cinematography. The film explores the post–World War II conflict between communists and the anticommunist resistance in a Lithuanian village, celebrating the struggle of Lithuanians against the Soviet occupation.

Post-Soviet Lithuania has been able to build on the achievements of the past. Indeed, many of those trained in the Soviet era continue to perform today. For example, the conductor and violinist Eglė Spokaitė has continued to perform as a ballet soloist, winning numerous international awards, and Šarūnas Bartas continues his work as a film director. Among well-known playwrights of the Soviet era who have continued their work in the aftermath of the restoration of independence are Oskaras Koršunovas and Eimuntas Nekrošius. Koršunovas is famous for his original staging of the production of *There to Be Here.* Known for blending expressionism and surrealism, he was recognized as the country's best young artist in 1994. He has won numerous awards for his directing of performances at international theater festivals in Europe. Nekrošius became famous in the mid-1980s. In 1994 he was awarded the New European Theater Realities prize by the European Theater Union. In the same year, he was named the best stage manager of the year in Lithuania; and in 1998, his production of *Hamlet* won an award as the best performance of the year. He has performed his plays throughout Europe and the United States.

Juozas Miltinis

Juozas Miltinis (1907–1994) is considered the patriarch of Lithuanian theater. Miltinis received his education in the arts in Western Europe. Disillusioned by the repressive control of the Soviet state in the arts, he left for France in 1932. Returning to Lithuania in the fall of 1940, he founded the Panevežys Drama Theater, the first theater in Lithuania. His plays were so out of line with the sterile and overly formalistic style of the Soviet theater that he was dismissed from the theater in 1954. However, he was reinstated in 1959 and remained at the theater until 1983.

Despite his rebellious ideas, Miltinis was named a National Artist of the Soviet Union in 1973. In 1977 he received the Order of National Peace and in 1995 the French government awarded Miltinis the Order of Knight for his achievements in art and literature. After his death, the Panevežys Drama Theatre was renamed in his honor.

In violation of the general dictates of the Soviet theater, with its focus on socialist realism (ideologically based art glorifying Soviet life), Miltinis concentrated on portraying life as it was. Although his style of directing was considered somewhat dictatorial, it meant that he demanded of his artists their maximum effort physically, emotionally, and intellectually. By sheer determination, he managed to stage many Western plays despite official opposition, thanks to which his theater was visited by audiences from all parts of the Soviet Union as well as the West. Indeed, the Panevežys Drama Theater was famous outside of the Soviet Union and was permitted to tour in Western Europe during the Cold War.

The restoration of Lithuanian independence has not only brought with it a renewed emphasis on folk art, it has been marked by the flourishing of traditional art forms that had formerly been subsidized by the Soviet state. Many of the institutions organized during the Soviet era or funded by the Soviet government also continue to operate in present-day Lithuania. The country has eighty-five museums, the most famous of which are the National Gallery, the Vilnius Picture Gallery, the M. K. Čiurlionis Art Museum, the Radvila Palace Museum, the Trakai Historical Museum, and the Museum of the Devil. The numerous churches and other architectural treasures of Vilnius's Old Town caused the whole area to be placed on the World Heritage list by UNESCO in 1994. In the arts and entertainment, the country boasts a national symphony orchestra (conducted by Gintaras Rinkevičius), a national opera and ballet, and a national theater.

Finally, one would be remiss if consideration were not given to Lithuania's achievements in sports. The country is one of the great basketball powers in international competition. Indeed, basketball is the most popular sport in the country, followed by soccer and hockey. Lithuania's basketball team won the bronze medal in the 1992 and 1996 Olympic Games. During the Soviet era, Lithuanian basketball players provided the best players for the Soviet Union's Olympic basketball teams. One of the country's most celebrated players, Arvydas Sabonis, was on the 1982 Soviet basketball team that was the first in Olympic history to take the gold medal away from the United States. He has played for the Portland Trailblazers in the NBA since 1996. Another player on that same Olympic team was Šarūnas Marčiulionis. Marčiulionis also played in the NBA from 1994 to 1997. He is now the president of the Lithuanian Basketball League.

Other celebrated sports figures include Virgilijus Alekna, the 2000 Olympic gold medal winner in discus, Diana Žiliutė, the 1998 world champion cyclist, and Vidmantas Urbonas, five time runner-up in world triathlon competition. Vladas Vitkauskas is a renowned mountain climber, who climbed and raised the Lithuanian flag on the highest peak on each continent of the globe from 1993 to 1996.

Finally, one must also note the country's passion for flying. Virtually every town of any size in the country has a flying field and sport club. Since Steponas Darius and Stasys Girėnas's ill-fated single-engine trans-Atlantic flight in 1936, flying has been among the country's most popular pastimes. Many of the Soviet Union's best pilots were Lithuanians. The current world champion in high altitude flying is Jurgis Kairys.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Throughout its history, the Lithuanian economy was often deeply affected by foreign occupiers. The partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, which resulted in the country falling under tsarist rule, tied Lithuania to the most backward economy of any of the great powers. Although a reorientation toward the West began to develop during the interwar period, the end of World War II brought the communists to power. The imposition of the Soviet command

ŠTOMBERGAS
7
LIETUVA
TIMINSKAS
6
MASIULIS
12

Lithuania's Šarūnas Jasikevičius (2nd L) puts the ball under his shirt as he celebrates with teammates after beating Australia in the men's bronze medal match at the Olympic Games in Sydney, 1 October 2000. Lithuania won 89–71. (Reuters/Corbis)

economy not only retarded economic development, it also left the country facing difficult economic times following the collapse of the Soviet empire.

Following the restoration of the republic's independence, Lithuania was faced with two enormous challenges: constructing a political democracy and creating a market economy. Neither had existed in the Soviet Union, which was defined by the political and economic dominance of the Communist Party. All property was owned and operated by the government bureaucracy under the direction of the Party.

Serious reform of the Lithuanian economy was discussed as early as 1988. While still a constituent republic of the Soviet Union, the government of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR) prepared a plan for severing Lithuania's economy from Moscow. The key element in the plan was the privatization of state property. However, enabling legislation was not passed until May 1990, two months after the newly installed Sąjūdis-led legislature had declared its intent to reestablish Lithuania's full prewar independence. The new legislation, the Law on Enterprises, legalized private and collective ownership of enterprises. In June 1991, subsequent legislation was adopted returning lands nationalized by the Soviet Union to their former owners. Together these two laws created the legal basis for the privatization of the economy.

Privatization begin in earnest following the August Coup in Moscow (in which communist hard-liners temporarily seized control of Moscow and placed Mikhail Gorbachev under house arrest) and international recognition of Lithuania's independence in fall 1991. The process proceeded with citizens receiving vouchers with which to purchase shares in state-owned property. The intent was to make it possible for all citizens to become owners of private property and thereby reduce the likelihood of the economy being dominated by a small class of wealthy enterprise owners. The approach further recommended itself as a precaution against the former communist ruling elites seizing control of much of the private economy.

Despite this measure, capital tended to accumulate in the hands of a small business elite, comprised in large part of Soviet-era enterprise directors. This occurred for two reasons. First, the majority of the population, having no experience with the concept of share holding, sold their vouchers for next to nothing. Second, following the elections to the national legislature at the end of 1992, the Democratic Labor Party (the former Communist Party) used its majority to substantially modify the privatization process. The initial privatization law gave employees of the enterprise in question the right to purchase up to 10 percent of shares on favorable terms. Amendments to the law increased this to 50 percent. Furthermore, the auction of shares was limited in some cases by the administrative fiat of central government ministries. These changes had the effect of severely limiting competition in the bidding process and weighting the process strongly in favor of the previous enterprise directors.

At the same time, foreign investment, critical for the reorientation and rejuvenation of the economy, was minimal. Unlike Latvia and Estonia, which moved quickly to permit foreign capital to purchase land, Lithuania had as part of the constitution adopted in a popular referendum in October 1992 an article, Article 47, that limited ownership of land to Lithuanian citizens. This article was eventually changed in the summer of 1995 under pressure from the European Union, but the change was not implemented until the country was admitted to the EU. In addition, foreign banks were not permitted to operate in the country until the summer of 1996. Even so, the banking crisis of that year greatly reduced both foreign investment and banking operations.

As a consequence, the privatization process introduced numerous distortions in the Lithuanian economy. Not only did substantial social inequality result, but the country's economic development lagged significantly in comparison to the other Baltic states, a fact that contributed to the overall economic stress felt by the population. The former enterprise directors, now owners, were for the most part unable to make the transition to the realities of a competitive market. This problem, coupled with the loss of markets in the former Soviet Union, resulted in large-scale layoffs and the widespread threat of bankruptcy. Furthermore, the fact that enterprises had been auctioned off at bargain prices for vouchers instead of cash, and that foreign investment had been largely barred from participating in the process, meant there had been no infusion of new capital. Hence, little money was available for those seeking to start new business ventures that might potentially provide jobs for the growing number of unemployed and underemployed.

Nevertheless, a significant portion of state-owned assets were privatized in the first round from 1991 to 1995, and the basis for a middle class had been laid. During this initial phase, 92.8 percent of industrial enterprises, 85.1 percent of the construction sector, and 83 percent of the agriculture sector were turned over to private owners. Also during that span of time, most Soviet-era collective farms were turned over to individuals, in accordance with the Law on Privatization of Agricultural Enterprises. As a consequence, almost 71 percent of state-owned assets were privatized, and 6,000 new farms were created, leading to the emergence of a private sector that dominated the economy by 1996. The legal basis for the second phase of privatization was contained in the Law on the Privatization of State-Owned and Municipal Property passed by the legislature in July 1995. Properties to be privatized under this law differed from those sold in the first round in that they constituted higher-value property. The rules for their privatization were also different. According to the law, this kind of property was to be sold to the highest bidder for cash. Further, foreign investors were permitted to engage in the auction. This second round of privatization began in 1996 and continues to the present. Thus far, a significant number of the 3,135 state enterprises to be privatized have been auctioned off in phase two, enticing a substantial degree of foreign investment. The two most important enterprises sold have been Lietuvos Telekomas, the national communications monopoly, and Mažeikiai Nafta, the oil industry. Yet to be privatized are Lietuvos Avialinijos, the national airline; the national passenger rail system; the national energy system; Lietuvos Dujos, the natural gas monopoly; state-owned banks, including the Lithuanian Agricultural Bank, the Lithuanian Savings Bank, and the Lithuanian Development Bank; and LISCO, the Lithuanian Shipping Company. The list also contains real estate properties. The intent is to sell the land as well as the buildings on it, the first time this has been done.

The launching of the second phase of privatization has been attended by a significant increase in direct foreign investment. Although the free economic zones that have been established have generally failed to attract any significant investment, such major international corporations as Phillip Morris International, Kraft Foods International, Williams International, the Coca-Cola Company, Shell Overseas Holdings Limited, and Siemens AG have invested in the Lithuanian economy. Sweden accounted for 21.6 percent of all foreign direct investments, Denmark for 15.9 percent, Finland for 11.8 percent, the United States for 8.5 percent, and Germany for 6.4 percent, according to figures compiled by the Department of Statistics of the Government of Lithuania.

One of the reasons that Lithuania has been relatively attractive to foreign investors is that the country has a well-trained, low-cost labor force. The proportion of university graduates in the labor pool is one of the highest in Central Europe. All five major cities have universities. The average monthly wage is one-tenth that of industrialized countries, and the cost of living is low by Western standards. The normal workweek is forty hours, and employees are entitled by law to twenty-eight days of paid vacation time each year (plus national holidays). The law also requires employers to permit paid maternity and childcare leave (up to the age of three years). A disincentive to foreign investment has been the relatively early retirement age. The retirement age for women is fifty-five years and four months, for men sixty years and two months. Another disincentive is the requirement for employers to contribute 31 percent of an employee's salary toward social security, health insurance, and disability insurance. (On the other hand, these employer contributions are tax deductible.)

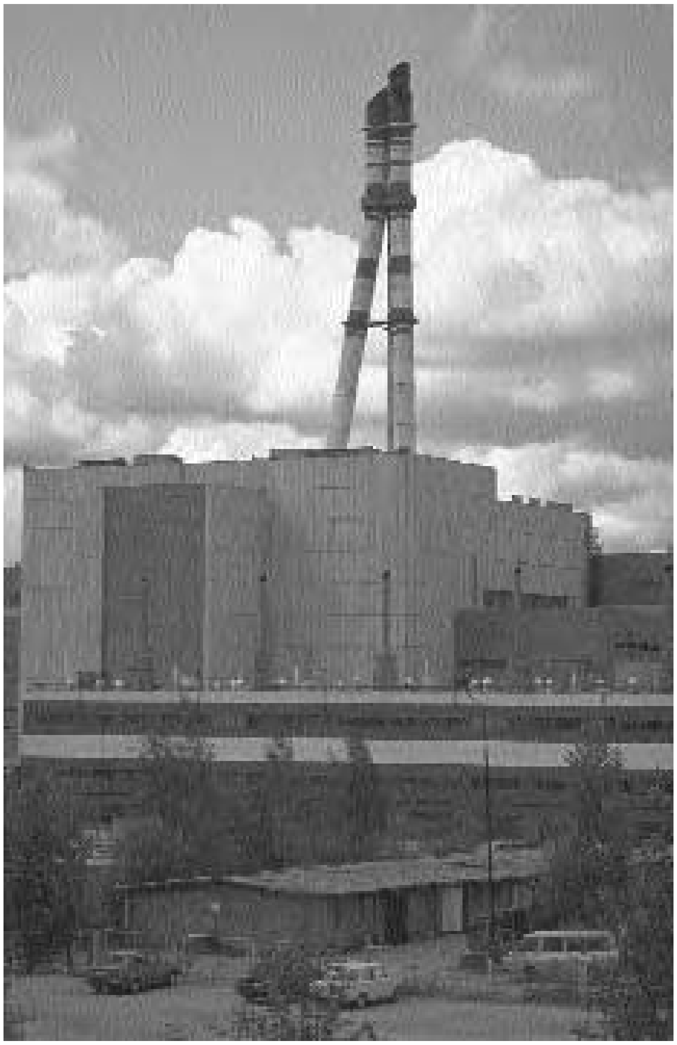
The country has a well-developed transportation system that is also increasingly attractive to potential investors. The EU Transport Commission has designated the country as the hub for the region. Two of the ten priority European corridors intersect in Lithuania, and European-standard four-lane highways link the country's industrial centers. The country also has a well-developed rail network (although the rail passenger system is currently not operating at a profit), four airports, and an ice-free seaport (Klaipėda). All are slowly being modernized, as is the communications system.

With the private sector now accounting for most of the country's GDP, Lithuania has one of the fastest growing economies in East Central Europe. From 1995 to 1998, the average annual growth rate was 5.1 percent. Owing to the economic crisis at the end of 1998 in Russia, which substantially reduced Lithuanian exports to that country, the growth rate slowed in 1999, the GDP falling 3.9 percent, according to government statistics. By 2000, the government had succeeded in stabilizing the financial markets, and the country's economy was reorienting toward Western markets. Economic growth rebounded to 3.8 percent in that year. The growth rate in 2001 was 5.9 percent.

Part of the reason for the country's strong economic growth is its stable monetary policy. Until 2002, the Lithuanian currency, the Litas, was fixed to the U.S. dollar at a rate of four Litai to one U.S. dollar. In preparation for entry into the European Union, the Litas was instead fixed to the euro. Thanks to the successful operation of the fixed currency rate, managed by a currency board, the inflation rate has been brought under control. Inflation in the immediate post-Soviet period was quite high (189 percent in 1993, 45 percent in 1994, and 36 percent in 1997), but by 1996 government statistics showed that the inflation rate had been reduced to 13.1 percent. In 1998 it had dropped to 2.4 percent from a rate of 8.4 percent in 1997. It was at 0.3 percent in 1999, 1.4 percent in 2000, and 2.0 percent in 2001. The government hopes to abandon the currency board and permit the value of the Litas to float on international currency exchange markets at some point in the next several years.

Given the small size of its domestic market, Lithuania is dependent on foreign trade to maintain economic stability and growth. The country exports electrical power, but must import oil and natural gas. Major agricultural exports include sugar beets and grain. Based on customs declarations over the period from January to September 2002 (as compared to the same period in 2001), compiled by the Department of Statistics, exports increased by 3.5 percent, while imports increased by 12.3 percent, thus representing a negative trade balance. Lithuania's exports were to the United Kingdom (15.7 percent), Latvia (9.5 percent), Germany (10.8 percent), and Russia (13.6 percent). It imported most of its goods from Russia (21.4 percent), Germany (17.7 percent), Poland (4.8 percent), and Italy (4.4 percent). Overall, 50.1 percent of its exports were to European Union (EU) member states in 2002, while 21.3 percent were to the states of the former Soviet Union. Lithuanian exports to the United States constituted only 3 percent of its total exports. As for imports, 46.2 percent of its imports trade were from EU states, 25.9 percent from the former Soviet Union, and 3.1 percent from the United States.

The industrial sector includes electronics, chemicals, machine tooling, metal processing, construction materials, food processing, textiles, clothing, furniture, household appliances, petroleum products, and fertilizers. The most dynamic sectors are light industry, food products, beverages, and oil refining. More recently, gains have been registered in the manufacture of electronics and communications equipment, textiles, and beer production. The increased purchasing power of the country's citizens, combined with greater consumer confidence in Lithuanian goods, has resulted in an increased share of the domestic market going to Lithuanian enterprises in recent years.



Ignalina nuclear power station in Lithuania. (Dan Vander Zwalm/ Corbis Sygma)

The country is self-sufficient in agriculture, but a very large portion of the rural population is engaged in little more than subsistence-level farming. No more than 5 percent of the population is engaged in profitable farming. These farmers own the largest farms and best equipment. In most cases, they are the former directors and agricultural specialists on the Soviet collective farms. The return of land to prewar owners has also resulted in the return of some of these farm families to agricultural activity as well.

Petroleum products, nuclear energy, and natural gas account for the majority of the energy sector. The absence of long-term contracts with Russian oil suppliers plagued Williams International's operations at Mažeikiai Nafta. Many believe that the Russians were attempting to convince Williams to abandon its investment in the country. If so, they succeeded. Williams sold its shares to a Russian oil company in 2002. The main source of electrical power for the country is generated at the nuclear power station at Ignalina. Lithuania has had problems settling accounts with

Belarus and Russia for electrical energy provided to those two countries. Citing concerns with the safe operation of the Chernobyl-style reactor, the European Union has also demanded that Lithuania decommission the power plant as a precondition for membership. The inexpensive power that Ignalina provides the country has led many politicians, including the president, to insist on keeping one of the reactors in operation until at least 2009. Some politicians have even called for the station to operate until 2020.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

Lithuania considers the prolonged period of tsarist rule followed by the Soviet occupation as periods of isolation from Europe, with which the country shares a common set of political and social values. Not surprisingly, therefore, Lithuanian foreign policy has been dominated since the restoration of independence by a concern to "return to Europe." The primary indicator that the country has indeed broken out of its isolation and returned to its natural place in the international arena is its membership in the two primary institutions of Europe: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). It achieved both goals in 2004.

Although there is broad consensus among Lithuania's political elites that the country will best be served by membership in NATO, there is disagreement over why. The political right insists that Russia remains the greatest threat to the country's security; therefore, Lithuania must seek security within the European defense organization. Reflecting this view, the Constitution of 1992 declared that the country may not enter into any multilateral forums uniting the post-Soviet states. This has kept Lithuania out of the Commonwealth of Independent States (the successor to the Soviet state after its breakup) and its many arenas of interaction even when participation would have been beneficial, as would be the case with access to cheap Russian energy resources. For its part, although the political left worries that NATO membership might irritate Russia and thereby deny Lithuania access to its markets, they believe that the security organization offers the best means for securing critical Western investments in the country by raising confidence in the stability of its economic and political institutions. Hence it was Algirdas Brazauskas, a left-wing politician, who formally requested membership in NATO in 1994 during his term as president.

Paradoxically, the campaign for NATO membership had to be conducted by way of Poland. Given the troubled

During the ceremony of hoisting the NATO flag in front of the parliament building on the celebration of Lithuania's entry into NATO. (Petras Malukas/Itar-Tass/Corbis) interwar relations between the two countries owing to Poland's seizure of Vilnius, relations between the two remained less than friendly in the early years following the restoration of independence. Relations were also aggravated by the imposition of direct rule by the central government over the country's Polish-dominated regions, as well as by Lithuania's insistence on a formal apology for the interwar annexation of the Vilnius region. Given that Poland was likely to be among the first postcommunist countries to be invited to join NATO, however, President Brazauskas succeeded in normalizing relations between the two countries in a formal treaty signed in 1995. This treaty both opened the door for Lithuania's bid for membership and gained Poland as an ally for that bid.

Lithuania's second president, Valdas Adamkus, affirmed his commitment to seek NATO membership in his inaugural speech in 1998. As a demonstration of that commitment, he announced that Lithuania would commit 2 percent of its gross domestic product to defense spending, the standard established by NATO for its members. Despite the economic hardships that this has entailed, Lithuania has maintained that commitment. Adamkus's former career in the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) provided him with many contacts in the U.S. executive branch. Moreover, his former status as an American citizen (which he surrendered in order to campaign for president of Lithuania) removed some of the concerns that the West had had about Lithuania when under the leadership of President Brazauskas, the former leader of the Communist Party. Several high-level discussions during 1998 helped raise the visibility of the country's campaign for NATO membership. In July of that year, NATO Secretary General Javier Solana visited Vilnius and reaffirmed that all countries wanting membership in the security organization would eventually be granted entry. In October, Adamkus visited with President Bill Clinton to discuss the country's accession to NATO, reminding him that there was "unfinished business" in Europe as long as Lithuania remained outside of European security structures. The country also participated in the Baltic Challenge naval exercises with eleven member and candidate-member states of NATO. However, the election of Social Democrat Gerhard Schroeder as chancellor in Germany resulted in a notable diminution in German support for NATO expansion eastward. The newly elected German chancellor called for the full integration of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into the alliance before any new invitations were made.

In mid-1999 President Adamkus announced that Lithuania was making progress in its bid for NATO membership. He cited Lithuania's commitment to democratic principles and good relations with the country's neighbors as critical examples of Lithuania's preparedness for NATO membership. On the other hand, Adamkus criticized lingering psychological barriers as the main force impeding full NATO membership. The president contended that the East fears NATO because of its Cold War roots, while the West fears expansion because of possible adverse effects on Russian relations. He urged swift Lithuanian entrance into NATO, arguing that such a move would strengthen stability and positively affect the development of NATO-Russia relations, and declared 2002 as the year in which Lithuania aimed to achieve full NATO membership.

Despite the economic recession of 2000–2001, which began in late 1999 and was brought on by the loss of the Russian markets in the wake of the devalued Russian ruble, Lithuania's preparations for entry to NATO continued unabated. Ties with Western militaries increased. The country received 100 armored personnel carriers from Germany and 40,000 rifles from the United States, and in September 2000 joint military training exercises were conducted with Italy. Furthermore, the newly elected government confirmed the commitment of the previous Conservative-led government to devote 2 percent of the GDP to the military, this despite campaign promises by key elements of the new ruling coalition to reduce that commitment. The decision was all the more noteworthy as the New Union had led an effort earlier in the year to collect the signatures necessary to force consideration of a legislative bill transferring $37 million from defense to education.

The country received several assurances during the course of 2000 concerning its prospects for becoming a NATO member. The most important came in February, when U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott announced that the Baltic states' integration into Western structures served the national interest of the United States. Then the results of the U.S. presidential elections of 2000 put the question of NATO accession into question by the end of the year. The country was unsure of the new Bush administration's position on the issue.

These concerns were overcome in 2001, as the new American administration made it clear that Lithuania would be among the countries invited to join NATO in the next round of expansion. In response, in a remarkable show of unity, the country's ten largest parties, covering the political spectrum from left to right, signed a statement in May emphasizing the country's commitment to entering NATO and its willingness to boost the defense budget as much as needed. Solid majorities on both sides of the aisle in the national legislature voted in April 2001 to extend Lithuania's participation in peacekeeping operations in both Bosnia and Kosovo. Lithuania also sent contingents to support U.S. operations in Iraq. These efforts were continued by the country's third president, Rolandas Paksas, who accepted NATO's invitation to membership in 2004.

Along with the successful effort to gain membership in NATO, integration into the European Union (EU) was one of the most important foreign policy goals of Lithuania. The country sought EU membership for both symbolic and economic reasons. In the symbolical sense it would mark the country's return to Europe and its legitimation as part of Western Europe. During his first term in office, President Valdas Adamkus occasionally referred to Lithuania as a bridge connecting East and West Europe. In economic terms, membership would provide the country with the benefits of the European free trade area, including greater product availability, lower prices, increased trade, greater efficiency, and more competition.

Lithuania declared its intent to become part of the EU (at the time it was referred to as the European Community) almost immediately following the declaration of independence in 1990. The European Community recognized the independence of Lithuania on 27 August 1991. On 18 July 1994, a free trade agreement between the EU and Lithuania was signed. The Europe (Association) Agreement was signed on 12 June 1995, and came into force on 1 February 1998. The Europe Agreement recognized Lithuania's aspiration to become a member of the European Union. An official membership application was submitted on 8 December 1995, and on 15 February 2000, Lithuania started negotiations for EU membership.

Every year the European Commission rendered a report on Lithuania's progress toward fulfilling the requirements for EU membership. The commission's regular report in November 2001 noted that Lithuania had continued to implement the Europe Agreement and had contributed to the smooth functioning of various joint institutions. Lithuania met all the political criteria for membership, which included the establishment of democratic institutions, the rule of law, support for human rights, and respect for the rights of minorities. On the other hand, Lithuania encountered some problems related to the restructuring of its agricultural and energy sectors, setting up appropriate administrative structures for financial control and regional policy, and the protection of intellectual property rights.

The only major obstacle to EU membership was the continued disagreement over the date of the decommissioning of the nuclear power station at Ignalina. The EU insisted that the Chernobyl-style nuclear reactor at Ignalina be closed by 2009. That demand generated considerable debate within Lithuania. Many worried that closing the country's primary energy source would leave Lithuania overly dependent on others for energy. Others questioned whether Lithuania could survive economically were it to replace the cheap energy provided by Ignalina with expensive electricity generated in other parts of Europe. President Adamkus stated publicly that he favored continued operation of the plant until 2014. However, all EU member states continued to press Lithuania to decommission the last reactor in 2009. In the end, Lithuania acceded to the EU's demands and ultimately won full membership in the union in 2004.

THE RUSSIAN QUESTION

Given Russia's opposition to NATO expansion, relations between the two countries have been strained for the last several years and are likely to remain so. Russia has avoided the use of military threats, which would only serve to underscore Lithuanian security concerns. However, many believe that the Russian government is behind the use of what appear to be a set of economic sanctions meant to punish the country. The most serious of these has been the exploitation of Lithuania's energy dependence. While there have been no overt threats of formal sanctions, the continued disruption of oil supplies to Mažeikiai Nafta seems to be the strongest evidence of this policy. Further substantiating these concerns is the fact that Russia has impeded Kazakhstan from selling crude oil to Mažeikiai Nafta by imposing prohibitive transit tariffs. Although oil supplies have become less of a problem since Williams sold its shares in Mažeikiai Nafta to a Russian oil company, Yukos, the Russian government's subsequent legal proceedings against Yukos continue to raise concerns in Lithuania regarding Russian intentions.

Since 11 September 2001, however, improved relations between the United States and Russia have led to a relaxation in relations between Lithuania and Russia as well. In October 2001 Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov signaled a new Russian position on Lithuania's possible NATO membership when he said Russia was "open to any form of cooperation" that strengthened security and stability in the Baltic.

One remaining concern between the two countries is what to do with the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad. A small piece of land to the west of Lithuania separated from Russia, the region was given to the Soviet Union following World War II. Given its western location, Kaliningrad is a heavily militarized zone. Russian concerns for the region have as much to do with the EU as NATO. Should all the countries surrounding Kaliningrad become members of the EU, as it appears will be the case, the region could be denied important economic trade ties. Russia has asked for special consideration for the region's citizens and economy. In particular, it desires that Kaliningrad's residents be granted visa-free travel rights. This request, together with Russian demands for unimpeded transit across Lithuanian territory, complicated Lithuania's bid for entry to the EU. The EU thus took responsibility for negotiating the outstanding issues with Russia following Lithuania's entry into the union in 2004.

THE TRIPLE TRANSITION

The greatest challenge facing Lithuania, however, remains what the scholar Claus Offe has called "the triple transition." The country is faced with simultaneously creating a functioning market, democratizing, and building an integrated state. The latter two have proven to be the easiest challenges to meet. Owing largely to its relatively homogeneous population (over 80 percent of the country's citizens are ethnically Lithuanian), Lithuania has not been faced with impediments to creating a unified, integrated state to the degree that Latvia and Estonia, the two other Baltic states, have. The only major difficulty it has faced has been in the regions surrounding Vilnius (in which the country's Polish citizens are concentrated). In many districts near Vilnius they comprise an absolute majority. While these districts demanded full autonomy in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the demands soon died out, owing to a lack of support from Poland. Indeed, improving relations between Vilnius and Warsaw have put an end to any such demands.

Lithuania's progress toward democracy has been equally successful. Democracy can even be said to have consolidated in the country, as there is no evidence of the existence of opposition to democratic rules and procedures on the part of either the political elites or the general public. The party system, while still forming, is moving away from polarization and has avoided extremism. There is no broad support for either a communist party calling for a return to the past or a fascist party. The presidency (instituted in the 1992 Constitution) has played a particularly important role in the development of the country's democratic system. Manipulating the powers of appointment, dissolution, and veto, Lithuania's presidents have been active in sustaining and removing governments in response to the changing economic and social environment. In so doing, they have contributed significantly to stabilizing both the constitutional and political order.

The primary political institution in which there has been insufficient progress is the state bureaucracy. Essentially outside of the reach of most of the reforms, it possesses too much autonomy and is largely unaccountable to political authorities. Hence, the Lithuanian government has been severely limited in its capacity to effectively manage economic change. Indeed, conversion to a free market economy is the one challenge that Lithuania has yet to sufficiently address. This problem was most evident in the haphazard response to the crisis in Russia and the economic recession that that crisis produced in Lithuania's market from 1998 to 2000. Lithuania has been slower than the rest of the Baltic states in carrying out market reform in general. While continued economic difficulties could ultimately undermine faith in democracy, at present Lithuania's prospects appear hopeful. Reform of the state bureaucracy has begun; and more important, entry into EU will open the economy to greater investment and competition.

The resiliency and stability of Lithuania's democracy is evidenced by the impeachment of the country's third president in the post-Soviet era, Rolandas Paksas. Although there is likely to be some fallout from the impeachment for some years to come, the essential strength of the country's democratic institutions, particularly the parliament and the Constitutional Court, is not in doubt. Lithuania is the first country in East Central Europe to impeach a head of state. Paksas had narrowly defeated the incumbent, Valdas Adamkus, in 2003. However, Paksas, whose two terms as prime minister had been marked by political conflict, found himself embroiled in political scandal by the end of the year. During a speech before the parliament, the outgoing head of the State Security Department (SSD) spoke of direct attempts by the Russian structures to influence politics in Lithuania. A few days later, a secret memorandum prepared by the SSD was leaked to the Lithuanian mass media, exposing information that the president's adviser on national security matters had links with the criminal world. Subsequent parliamentary investigations charged with looking into whether Paksas himself might be implicated determined that the president was vulnerable, due to the influence over him exercised by a Russian businessman known to have ties to criminal organizations. Further, the president was charged with leaking classified information when he informed the businessman that his telephone conversations were being taped by the SSD. Finally, he was accused of overstepping his authority by attempting to influence the privatization process in favor of the same businessman. Following these findings, parliament voted to initiate impeachment proceedings. Throughout the proceedings, Lithuania's political elite increasingly pressed the president to resign; however, Paksas stubbornly refused to do so, insisting on his innocence. He was ultimately removed from office in the spring of 2004.

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CHRONOLOGY

700–600 B.C.E.	Finno-Ugric people settled in the area of modern Lithuania.
1–100 C.E.	Baltic cultural identity begins to emerge.
100–500 C.E.	Expansion and conflict with Scandinavians and Slavs.
1009	Lithuania is first mentioned in written records in the Latin chronicle *Annales Quedinburgenses.*
1236	The Teutonic Order expands into the Baltics to forcibly Christianize the pagan peoples of the region.
1251	Mindaugas accepts Christianity.
1253	Mindaugas is crowned king of Lithuania by the Catholic pope.
1263	Assassination of King Mindaugas and renewal of the struggle against Christianity.
1266	The Lithuanians defeat the Knights of the Sword.
1316–1377	Expansion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.
1386	Grand Duke Jogaila marries the Queen of Poland.
1387	Lithuania, the last remaining pagan state in Europe, is baptized into the Christian faith.
1392–1430	The Grand Duchy of Lithuania reaches the zenith of its power under Grand Duke Vytautas the Great.
15 July 1410	Lithuania and Poland defeat the Teutonic Knights at the Battle of Grünwald.
1 February 1411	The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Teutonic Knights sign a treaty, ending the threat that the order had posed to the Grand Duchy for almost two centuries.
1522	The first publishing house is founded in Vilnius.
1529	The country's first legal code is adopted.
1566	Lithuania's legal code is redrafted.
1569	The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland sign the Treaty of Lublin vesting the titles of king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania in the same person.

1573	The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth becomes the first republic in Europe.
1576	The titles “king of Poland” and “grand duke of Lithuania” are transferred to the Poles.
1576–1795	Polish political, economic, social, and cultural domination of Lithuania.
1579	The Jesuit Order founds Vilnius University.
1588	Lithuania’s legal code is redrafted.
1654–1667	Lithuania is invaded on successive occasions by the Swedes and the Russians.
1698	Polish is declared the official language of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which becomes the Polish Republic, of which Lithuania is a constituent part.
1700–1721	The Great Northern War is fought in Lithuania between Russia and Sweden.
1772	The first partition of the Polish Republic.
1775	The first literary work written in Lithuanian is published, Kristijonas Donelaitis’s poem *Metai* (The Seasons).
1793	The second partition of the Polish Republic.
1795	The third partition of the Polish Republic; Lithuania becomes part of the Russian Empire.
1812	Napoleon is greeted as a liberator in Lithuania.
1831	Insurrection against tsarist rule. Vilnius University is closed, and the legal code of 1588 is replaced with the Russian legal code as part of the suppression of the insurrection.
1861	The emancipation of the serfs.
1863	Second insurrection against tsarist rule. The use of the Latin alphabet is banned.
1864–1904	The period of national awakening.
1904–1905	The Russo-Japanese War.
1905	The National Seimas forms and demands full autonomy within the Russian Empire.
1905	The tsar accedes to demands for Lithuanian autonomy.
1914–1918	World War I.
1915	Germany occupies Lithuania.
16 February 1918	Lithuania declares the restoration of its independence.
November 1918	Germany withdraws from Lithuania following its defeat in World War I, leaving Lithuania de facto independent.
1918–1920	The military struggle to defend the independence of the Lithuanian state.
July 1920	Lithuania defeats the Bolshevik Army and signs a treaty with the Russian Bolshevik regime recognizing Lithuanian independence.
1920	The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania is adopted.
1920–1940	Poland occupies Vilnius and the surrounding regions.
1921	Lithuania joins the League of Nations.
1923	Lithuania annexes the port of Memel.
1926	The Social Democrats and Populists gain an electoral victory and form a coalition government.
1926	A military coup deposes the government.
1926–1940	Antanas Smetona rules as president with dictatorial powers.
1938	A new constitution is written, granting virtually all political powers to the president.
1939	Germany issues an ultimatum for the return of the port of Memel.
1939	The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact is signed; subsequent changes to the Secret Protocols assign Lithuania to the Soviet Union.
1940	Poland is occupied by Germany and the Soviet Union, and Vilnius is returned to Lithuania.
15 June 1940	The Soviet Union occupies Lithuania.
11–12 July 1940	The First Deportation.
21 July 1940	The People’s Seimas requests formal incorporation into the Soviet Union.
3 August 1940	Lithuania is formally incorporated into the Soviet Union.
14–18 June 1941	The Second Deportation.
Summer 1941–1944	The German Third Reich occupies Lithuania.
1944	Lithuania is reincorporated into the Soviet Union.
1945–1948	Soviet repression of Lithuanian nationalism.
1945–1953	The Miško Broliai (Forest Boys) resist Soviet rule.
1968	Lithuanian nationalism is reignited by the Prague Spring and the Soviet suppression of Czechoslovakia.
1970–1982	The Soviet Russification campaign in Lithuania.
1972	The public self-immolation of Romas Kalanta in Kaunas sparks student protests.
1973	The *Chronicles of the Catholic Church* begin illegal publication of human rights abuses in Lithuania under Soviet occupation.
1985	Mikhail Gorbachev becomes general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
1986	The Soviet Union embarks upon the perestroika reforms.
23 August 1987	A small public meeting is held to mark the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and Lithuania’s forced incorporation into the Soviet Union.

October 1988	The Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika, Sąjūdis, holds its founding congress.
1988–1990	Sąjūdis radicalizes, its demands evolving from autonomy within the Soviet Union to the full restoration of Lithuania's independence.
August 1989	Hands across the Baltic protests the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union.
December 1989	The Communist Party of Lithuania declares its independence from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
March 1990	Sąjūdis supported deputies win 100 of the 140 seats in the newly established republican legislature.
11 March 1990	The newly elected Supreme Council declares the restoration of Lithuania's independence and appoints a communist government.
May 1990	The Soviet Union initiates an economic blockade against Lithuania, demanding that the legislature recant the declaration of the restoration of independence.
December 1990	The Communist Party of Lithuania renames itself the Democratic Labor Party.
January 1991	The Democratic Labor Party government is replaced by a Sąjūdis government in the wake of mounting public protests over increases in food prices.
11 January 1991	The National Salvation Front announces it is assuming all political authority in Lithuania, and the Soviet Army forcibly occupies the TV tower and press center in Vilnius.
February 1991	A public referendum votes overwhelmingly for independence.
July 1991	Lithuanian border guards are murdered at Medininkai.
August 1991	A conservative coup fails in Moscow.
September 1991	The Soviet Union and the United States recognize Lithuanian independence.
17 September 1991	Lithuania is formally admitted to the United Nations.
September 1991	Direct rule is introduced in the ethnically Polish regions surrounding Vilnius.
May 1992	The legislature reaches deadlock, immobilizing the government.
Summer 1992	Agreement is reached over a new constitution.
October 1992	The new constitution is approved in a public referendum. The Democratic Labor Party wins elections to the newly constituted legislature.
February 1993	Brazauskas is elected president.
1993	Direct rule is lifted in the Polish regions.
May 1993	Lithuania is admitted to the European Council.
August 1993	Soviet troops leave Lithuania.
1995	Relations are normalized with Poland.
1995	The banking crisis and public scandals lead to the collapse of the Šleževičius government.
October 1996	The Homeland Union wins the legislative elections.
1998	Adamkus is elected president; the government is reorganized.
April 1999	Conflict with the president and an economic recession related to the Russian ruble crisis leads to the resignation of the Vagnorius government.
Summer 1999	A public storm erupts over the oil privatization deal with an American firm.
October 1999	The Paksas government refuses to sign the oil privatization deal. Paksas resigns.
November 1999	The Kubilius government signs the oil privatization deal. Public protests continue unabated.
October 2000	For the first time legislative elections do not return a majority party. A coalition of parties forms a government headed by Paksas.
Spring 2001	The Paksas government resigns and is replaced by a new coalition government headed by Brazauskas.
2001	Lithuania joins the World Trade Organization.
2002	Lithuania is extended invitations to membership in NATO and the European Union (EU).
2003	Paksas is elected president.
December 2003	Impeachment proceedings are initiated against President Paksas.
2004	Paksas is removed as president.
2004	Lithuania joins NATO and the EU.

EASTERN EUROPE

EASTERN EUROPE

An Introduction to the People, Lands, and Culture

VOLUME 2

EDITED BY RICHARD FRUCHT

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PREFACE

In *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999) and *Longitudes and Attitudes* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2002), the award-winning reporter for the *New York Times* Thomas L. Friedman observed that the world has made a remarkable transition during the past quarter century from division to integration. What was once a world of separation, symbolized by the Cold War and "the Wall," evolved, especially with the collapse of the Soviet Union, into a world of globalization and global interconnectedness, symbolized by "the Net." That new reality has led to remarkable changes. Moreover, it is not merely a passing trend; it is a reality that affects every facet of human existence.

Regrettably, however, not everyone has become part of what amounts to a revolution; in some cases, an antimodernism has caused a lag in the developments of the critical trends of democratization and economic change. That gap, epitomized by the difference between the world of the Lexus and that of the olive tree, forms the core of Friedman's analysis of the Middle East, for example. As perceptive as he is of this clash in that region, in many ways Friedman's observations regarding the necessity of seeing the world in a more global and integrated manner are prophetic for many in the West as well. Although Friedman's emphasis is on an antimodernism that creates a gap between the world of the olive tree and the world of the Lexus, preventing interconnectedness from being fully realized, there are other barriers, more subtle perhaps, but no less real, that create gaps in the knowledge of so many areas of the world with which we are so closely linked.

Certainly in the United States, knowledge of other parts of the world is at times regrettably and, some might argue, even dangerously lacking. The events of September 2001 and the actions of a handful of al-Qaeda fanatics are but one example of an inattention to the realities of the post–Cold War world. Despite the fact that the organization of Osama Bin-Laden had long been a sworn enemy of the United States (and others) and his followers had already launched attacks on targets around the globe (including an earlier attempt on New York's World Trade Center), many, if not most, Americans knew very little (if anything) about al-Qaeda, its motives, or its objectives. What is troubling about that limited knowledge is the simple fact that if an organization with such hostile designs on those it opposed could be so overlooked or ignored, what does that say about knowledge of other momentous movements that are not so overtly hostile? In a world that is increasingly global and integrated, such a parochialism is a luxury that one cannot afford.

Although educators have at times been unduly criticized for problems and deficiencies that may be beyond their control, it is legitimate to argue that there are occasions when teaching fails to keep pace with new realities. Language training, for example, hasn't changed much in the United States for decades, even though one can argue that languages critical to the future of commerce and society, such as Japanese, Chinese, or Arabic, are less often taught than other "traditional" languages. Thus the force of tradition outweighs new realities and needs. Such myopia is born out of a curricular process that almost views change as an enemy. Similarly, "Western Civilization" courses, on both the high school and college level, for the most part remain rooted in English and French history, a tunnel-vision approach that not only avoids the developments of globalization or even a global outlook, but also ignores key changes in other parts of Europe as well. Provincialism in a rapidly changing world should only be a style of design or furniture; it cannot afford to be an outlook. In a world of rapid change, curriculum cannot afford to be stagnant.

Such a curriculum, however, especially on the high school level, is often the inevitable by-product of the materials available. When I was asked to direct the Public Education Project for the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in the early 1990s, I had the opportunity to review countless textbooks, and the regional imbalance (overwhelmingly Eurocentric in presentation, with a continued focus on England and France) present in these books was such that it could lead to a global shortsightedness on the part of students. Despite the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the books usually contained more on obscure French kings that on Kosovo. Educators recognized that, and from their input it was clear that they needed, more than anything else, resources to provide background material so that they could bring to their students some knowledge of changes that only a few years earlier had seemed unimaginable.

This need for general resource works led to the publication of *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the Fall of Communism* (Garland, 2000). Its goal was to provide information on the rich histories of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The reception the book received was gratifying, and it has led to this work, which is designed to act in tandem with the information in the *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe* to offer the general reader a broad-based overview of the entire region running from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. In addition, this

book expands the coverage to other areas in the region not addressed in the encyclopedia.

The three volumes of this work cover three groups of countries, each marked by geographical proximity and a general commonality in historical development. The first volume covers the northern tier of states, including Poland and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. The second volume looks at lands that were once part of the Habsburg Empire: Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia. The third volume examines the Balkan states of Serbia and Montenegro, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Greece, lands all once dominated by the Ottoman Empire. Each chapter looks at a single country in terms of its geography and people, history, political development, economy, and culture, as well as the challenges it now faces; each also contains short vignettes that bring out the uniqueness of each country specifically and of the area in general. This structure will allow the reader not only to look at the rich developments in each individual nation, but also to compare those developments to others in the region.

As technology makes the world smaller, and as globalization brings humankind closer together, it is critical that regions once overlooked be not only seen but viewed in a different light. The nations of East Central and Southeastern Europe, that is, "Eastern" Europe, are increasingly a vital part of a new Europe and a new world. What during the Cold War seemed incomprehensible to many, namely, the collapse of totalitarianism and the rise of democracy in these countries, is now a reality all should cherish and help nurture; first, though, it has to be understood. It is the hope that this series may bring that understanding to the general reader.

Putting together this work would have been impossible without the scholarship, dedication, professionalism, and patience of the authors. The words are theirs, but the gratitude is all mine. In addition, I would like to thank a number of students and staff at Northwest Missouri State University who helped with the mountain of work (often computer-related) that a project of this size entails. Chief among them is Patricia Headley, the department secretary, who was not only my computer guru but also someone whose consistent good cheer always kept me going. I would also like to thank Laura Pearl, a talented graduate student in English who filled the role of the "general reader" by pointing out what might make sense to a historian but would not make sense to someone without some background in the region. Other students, including Precious Sanders, Jeff Easton, Mitchell Kline, and Krista Kupfer, provided the legwork that is essential to all such projects. And finally, I would like to thank the staff at ABC-CLIO, especially Alicia Merritt, for keeping faith in the project even when delivery of the manuscript did not match initial projections; Anna Kaltenbach, the production editor, for navigating the manuscript through the various stages; the copy editors, Silvine Farnell and Chrisona Schmidt, for their thoughtful and often painstaking work; Bill Nelson, the cartographer; and the photo editor, Giulia Rossi, for creating such a diverse yet balanced presentation.

And finally there are Sue, my wife, and Kristin, my daughter. Words can never express how important they are, but they know.

Richard Frucht
September 2004

Introduction

The use of the term "Eastern Europe" to describe the geographical region covered here is standard, but it is nevertheless something of a misnomer. The problem is that it not only makes a geographical distinction between this area and "Western Europe"; it also implies a distinction in development, one that ignores the similarities between Western and Eastern Europe and instead separates the continent into two distinct entities. It even suggests that Eastern Europe is a monolithic entity, failing to distinguish the states of the Balkans from those of the Baltic region. In short, it is an artificial construct that provides a simplistic division in a continent that is far more diverse, yet at the same time more closely linked together, than such a division implies.

Western Europe evokes images of Big Ben and Parliament in London, the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre in Paris, the Coliseum and the Vatican in Rome, the bulls of Pamplona in Spain. Eastern Europe on the other hand brings to mind little more than the "Iron Curtain," war in Kosovo, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, orphanages in Romania, and the gray, bleak images of the Cold War and the Soviet Bloc. Just as colors convey certain connotations to people, so too do the concepts of "Western" and "Eastern" Europe convey very different impressions and mental images. The former is viewed as enlightened, cultured, and progressive; the latter is seen as dark, uncivilized, and static. Western Europe is democratic; Eastern Europe is backward and totalitarian, plagued by the kind of lack of fundamental humanity that leads inevitably to the horrors of Srebrenica.

Some of these stereotypes are not without some degree of justification. Foreign domination—whether German, Habsburg, Ottoman, or Russian (later Soviet)—has left parts of the region in an arrested state of development. All the peoples of the region were for much of the last half-millennium the focus and subjects of others rather than masters of their own destinies. Accordingly, trends found in more favored areas were either delayed or stunted. Albanian nationalism, for example, did not take root until a century after the French Revolution. The economic trends of the West as well as the post-1945 democracy movements (notably capitalism and democracy) are still in their infancy.

But labels are often superficial, and they can blind individuals to reality. Certainly, Tirana would never be confused with Paris. Estonia is not England. At the same time, the Polish-Lithuanian state was at its height the largest empire in Europe. Prague stuns visitors with its beauty no less than Paris; in fact, many remark that Prague is their favorite city in Europe. Budapest strikes people in the same way that Vienna does. The Danube may not be blue, but it does run through four European capitals, not just Vienna (Bratislava, Budapest, and Belgrade being the other three). The painted monasteries in Romania are no less intriguing in their design and use of color than some of the grandiose cathedrals in "the West." The Bulgarian Women's Chorus produces a sound no less stunning than that of the Vienna Boys' Choir. In short, to judge by labels and stereotypes in the end produces little more than myopia.

To dismiss Eastern Europe as backward (or worse, barbaric) is to forget that many of the Jews of Europe were saved during the Inquisition by emigrating to Poland or the lands of the Ottoman Empire. To cite the Magna Carta as the foundation of democracy in England, even though in reality it meant little more than protection for the rights of the nobility, is to ignore the fact that first written constitution in Europe was not found in the "West" but rather in the "East" (Poland). And although backwardness and even barbarity certainly can be found in the recent past in the region, no country in Europe is immune from a past that most would rather forget (the Crusades, the Inquisition, religious wars, the gas chambers of World War II, to name but a few). Myths are comfortable, but they can also be destructive. They can ennoble a people to be sure, but they can also blind them to reality and lead to a lack of understanding.

Eastern Europe is not exotic, and an understanding of it is not an exercise in esoterica. Rather the region has been and will continue to be an integral part of Europe. In one sense Europe became a distinct entity when Christianity, the cultural unifier, spread through the last outposts of the continent. In another sense, it has again become a unified continent with the demise of the last great empire that held sway over so many.

When former president Ronald Reagan passed away in June 2004, the media repeatedly recalled perhaps his most memorable line: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall," a remark made in 1984 as the American president stood in front of the Berlin Wall. In this case the American leader was referring to the concrete and barbed wire barrier behind him erected in the 1960s by the former Soviet Union to seal off its empire from the West. Yet, in many respects, the modern history of Eastern Europe was one of a series of walls, some physical (as in the case of the Iron Curtain), others geographical (all of the nations in the region were under the domination of regional great powers), and, one could argue, even psychological (the at times destructive influence of nationalism that created disruption and violence and has been

a plague in the lands of the former Yugoslavia on numerous occasions in the past century). These walls have often determined not only the fate of the nations of the region but the lives of the inhabitants as well.

The past is the DNA that tells us who we are and who we can be. It is the owners' manual for every country and every people. Without that past there would be no nation and no nationalism. It is that past that provides the markers and lessons for nations and peoples. It gives direction to the present. It provides a bedrock upon which we build our societies. Whether it leads to myths that embody virtues or myths that cover up what we don't wish to acknowledge, it is the shadow that we can never lose. Thus, when each of the nations of East Central and Southeastern Europe was reborn in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries (in some cases twice reborn), the past was the compass directing them to the future.

Nations are a modern concept, but peoples are not. Poland, for example, once a great and influential European state in the Middle Ages, was partitioned in the late eighteenth century, only to rise again, like a phoenix, in 1918. And even when it again fell prey to the domination of outside influences following World War II, it was the people, embodied in Solidarity, the workers' union, who toppled the communist regime. Despite the fact that at one time or another all of the peoples and nations addressed in these volumes were under the rule or direction of a neighboring great power, the force of nationalism never abated.

Nothing is more powerful than an idea. It can inspire, unify, give direction and purpose; it can almost take on a life of its own, even though it may lie dormant for centuries. In his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind), the eighteenth-century German philosopher Johann Herder captured the essence of nationalism in his analysis of the *Volk* (the people). Herder emphasized that a spirit of the nation (which Georg Hegel, the nineteenth-century German philosopher most noted for his development of the concept of the dialectic of history, later termed the *Volkgeist,* or "spirit of the people") existed that transcended politics. From the point of view of Herder and the other German idealist philosophers, peoples developed distinct characteristics based upon time and place (reflecting the *Zeitgeist,* the "spirit of the time"). Societies were therefore organic, and thus each had to be viewed in terms of its own culture and development. Accordingly, each culture not only was distinct but should recognize the distinctiveness of others, as characteristics of one culture would not necessarily be found in another. To ignore that uniqueness, which gives to each Volk a sense of nobility, would be to ignore reality.

For the peoples of Eastern Europe, language, culture, and a shared past (even if that past was mythologized, or in some cases even fabricated), exactly that spirit of the Volk that Herder, Hegel, and others saw as the essence of society, proved to be more powerful and more lasting than any occupying army or dynastic overlordship. And when modern nationalism spread throughout Europe and for that matter the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, culture became the genesis of national revivals.

For centuries, Eastern Europe served as a crossroads, both in terms of trade and in the migrations (and in some cases invasions) of peoples. The former brought prosperity to some parts of the region, notably the northern and central parts of the belt between the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, while the latter left many areas a mosaic of peoples, who in the age of nationalism came to struggle as much with each other for national dominance as they did with their neighbors who dominated them politically. As the great medieval states in the region, from the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dušan to the First and Second Bulgarian Empires, to the Hungarian and Polish-Lithuanian states, fell to stronger neighbors or to internal difficulties, no peoples were left untouched by outsiders. Greece may have been able to remain outside the Soviet orbit in the 1940s, but for centuries it was a key possession of the Ottoman Empire. Poland may have been the largest state of its time, but it fell prey to its avaricious neighbors, the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians. Yet, despite centuries of occupation, in each case the Volk remained.

One of the dominant elements in modernization has been the establishment of modern nations. While the rise of the modern nation-state was late arriving in Eastern Europe, and some in Eastern Europe had failed to experience in the same manner some of the movements, such as the Renaissance or the rise of capitalism, that shaped Western Europe, it was no less affected by the rise of modern nationalism than its Western neighbors. Despite the divergent and, in some cases, the retarded development of the region in regard to many of the trends in the West, the nations of Eastern Europe in the early twenty-first century are again independent members of a suddenly larger Europe.

The story of Eastern Europe, while often written or at least directed by outsiders, is more than a mere tale of struggle. It is also a story of enormous human complexity, one of great achievement as well as great sorrow, one in which the spirit of the Volk has triumphed (even though, admittedly, it has at times, as in the former Yugoslavia, failed to respect the uniqueness of other peoples and cultures). It is a rich story, which will continue to unfold as Eastern Europe becomes more and more an integral part of Europe as a whole (a fact evident in the expansion of the European Union and NATO into areas of the former Soviet Empire). And in order to understand the story of that whole, one must begin with the parts.

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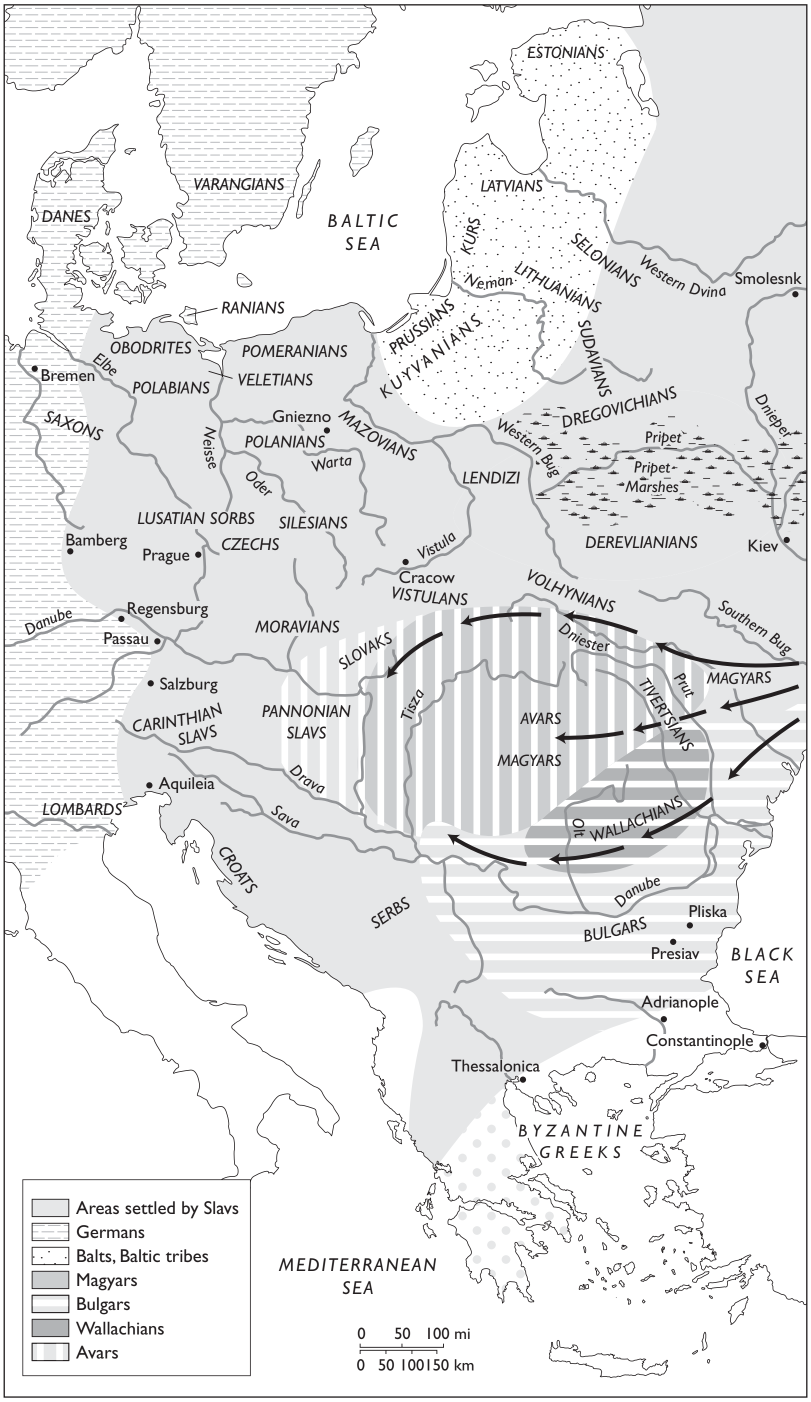
ESTONIANS
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RANIANS
PRUSSIANS
KUYVANIANS
SUDAVIANS
OBODRITES
POMERANIANS
Bremen
Elbe
POLABIANS
VELETIANS
Dnieper
DREGOVICHIANS
SAXONS
Gniezno
MAZOVIANS
Western Bug
Pripet
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Warta
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Oder
LENDIZI
LUSATIAN SORBS
SILESIANS
DEREVLIANIANS
Bamberg
Vistula
Kiev
Prague
CZECHS
Cracow
VOLHYNIANS
VISTULANS
Southern Bug
Regensburg
Danube
MORAVIANS
Dniester
Passau
SLOVAKS
MAGYARS
Salzburg
Prut
PANNONIAN SLAVS
CARINTHIAN SLAVS
Tisza
AVARS
TIVERTSIANS
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Drava
Aquileia
LOMBARDS
Sava
WALLACHIANS
Olt
CROATS
Danube
SERBS
Pliska
BULGARS
Presiav
BLACK SEA
Adrianople
Constantinople
Thessalonica
BYZANTINE GREEKS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Areas settled by Slavs
Germans
Balts, Baltic tribes
Magyars
Bulgars
Wallachians
Avars
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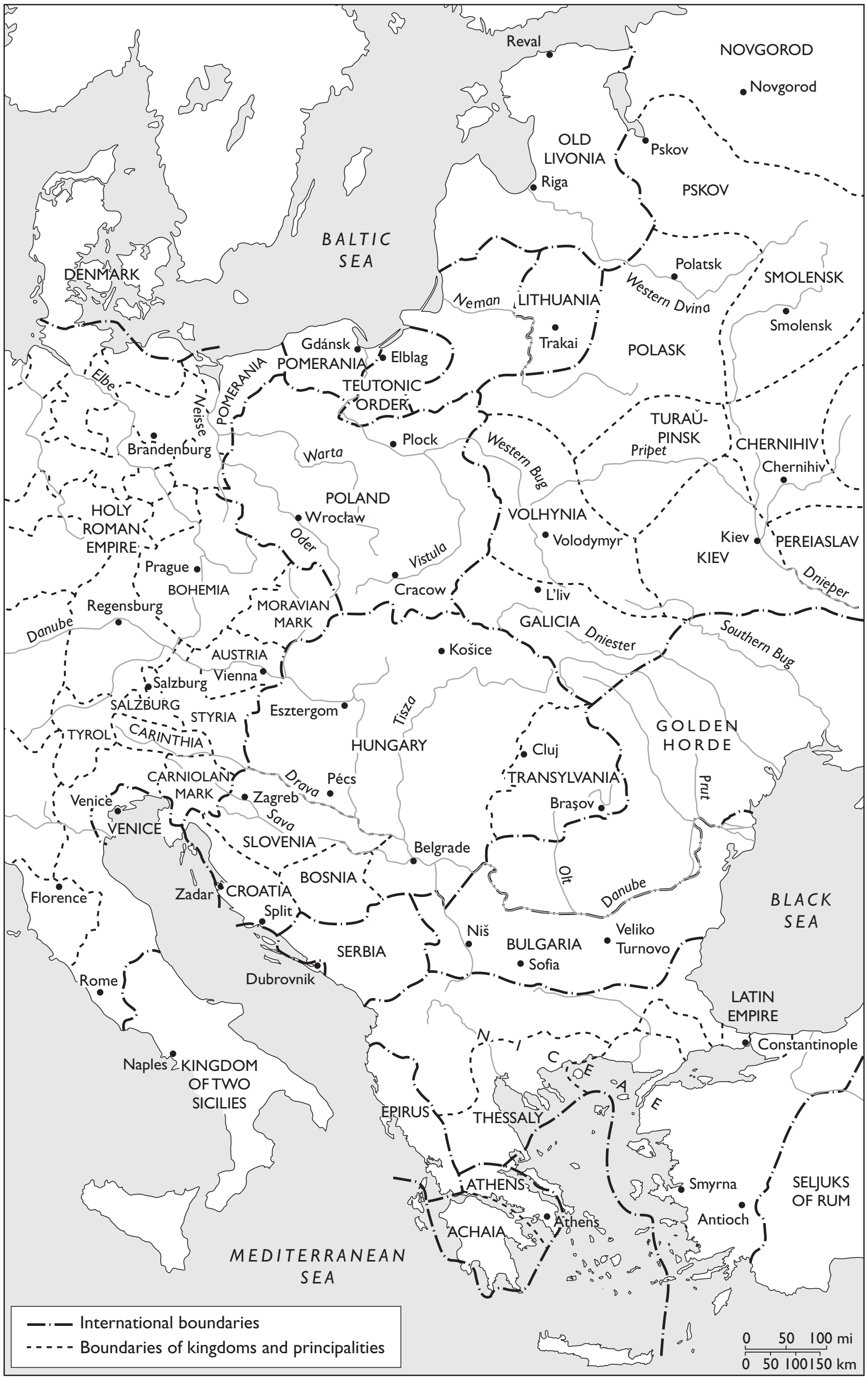
The peoples of Eastern Europe in the ninth century.


NOVGOROD
Reval
Novgorod
OLD LIVONIA
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PSKOV
BALTIC SEA
Polatsk
SMOLENSK
DENMARK
Neman
LITHUANIA
Western Dvina
Smolensk
Trakai
Gdánsk
Elblag
POMERANIA
POLASK
POMERANIA
TEUTONIC ORDER
Elbe
Neisse
TURAŬ-PINSK
Plock
Western Bug
CHERNIHIV
Brandenburg
Warta
Pripet
Chernihiv
POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Wrocław
VOLHYNIA
Oder
Kiev
PEREIASLAV
Volodymyr
KIEV
Prague
Vistula
BOHEMIA
Cracow
L'liv
Dnieper
Regensburg
MORAVIAN MARK
Danube
GALICIA
Dniester
Southern Bug
AUSTRIA
Košice
Salzburg
Vienna
SALZBURG
Esztergom
STYRIA
Tisza
GOLDEN HORDE
TYROL
CARINTHIA
HUNGARY
Cluj
CARNIOLAN MARK
Drava
Pécs
TRANSYLVANIA
Prut
Venice
Zagreb
Braşov
VENICE
Sava
SLOVENIA
Belgrade
Olt
BOSNIA
Danube
Zadar
CROATIA
Florence
Split
BLACK SEA
Niš
Veliko Turnovo
BULGARIA
SERBIA
Sofia
Dubrovnik
Rome
LATIN EMPIRE
NICEAE
Constantinople
Naples
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
EPIRUS
THESSALY
ATHENS
Smyrna
SELJUKS OF RUM
Antioch
ACHAIA
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of kingdoms and principalities
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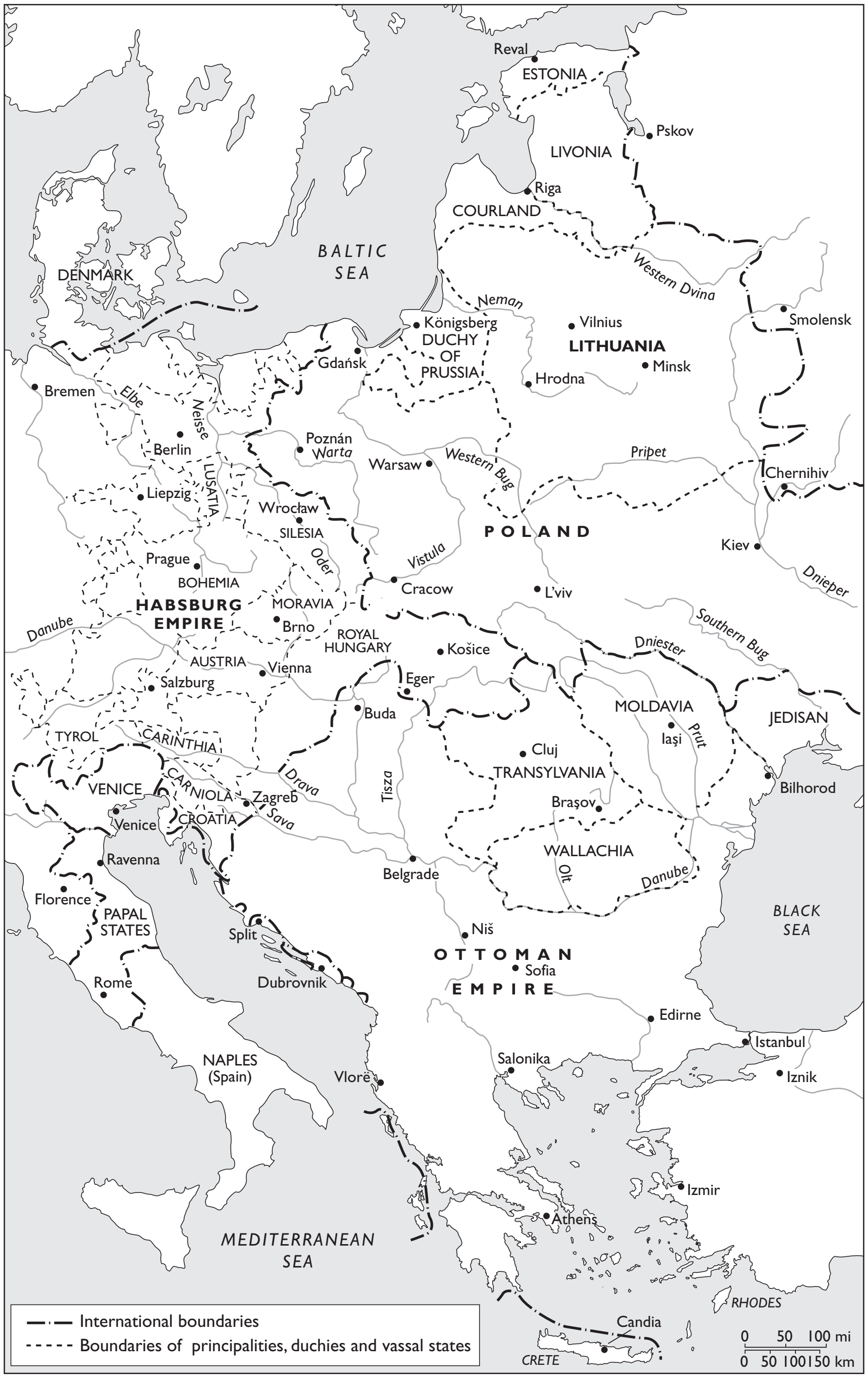
Territorial divisions in Eastern Europe in the thirteenth century (at the time of the Mongols).


BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
Reval
ESTONIA
Pskov
LIVONIA
Riga
COURLAND
Western Dvina
Neman
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DUCHY OF PRUSSIA
Vilnius
LITHUANIA
Minsk
Smolensk
Hrodna
Gdańsk
Bremen
Elbe
Neisse
Berlin
LUSATIA
Poznán
Warta
Warsaw
Western Bug
Pripet
Chernihiv
Liepzig
Wrocław
SILESIA
POLAND
Kiev
Dnieper
Prague
BOHEMIA
Oder
Vistula
Cracow
L'viv
HABSBURG EMPIRE
MORAVIA
Brno
Danube
ROYAL HUNGARY
Košice
Southern Bug
Dniester
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Salzburg
Eger
Buda
MOLDAVIA
Iaşi
Prut
JEDISAN
TYROL
CARINTHIA
Cluj
TRANSYLVANIA
Bilhorod
VENICE
CARNIOLA
Drava
Zagreb
Tisza
Braşov
Venice
CROATIA
Sava
Ravenna
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
Olt
Danube
Florence
PAPAL STATES
BLACK SEA
Split
Niš
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Sofia
Rome
Dubrovnik
Edirne
Istanbul
NAPLES (Spain)
Vlorë
Salonika
Iznik
Izmir
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RHODES
Candia
CRETE
International boundaries
Boundaries of principalities, duchies and vassal states
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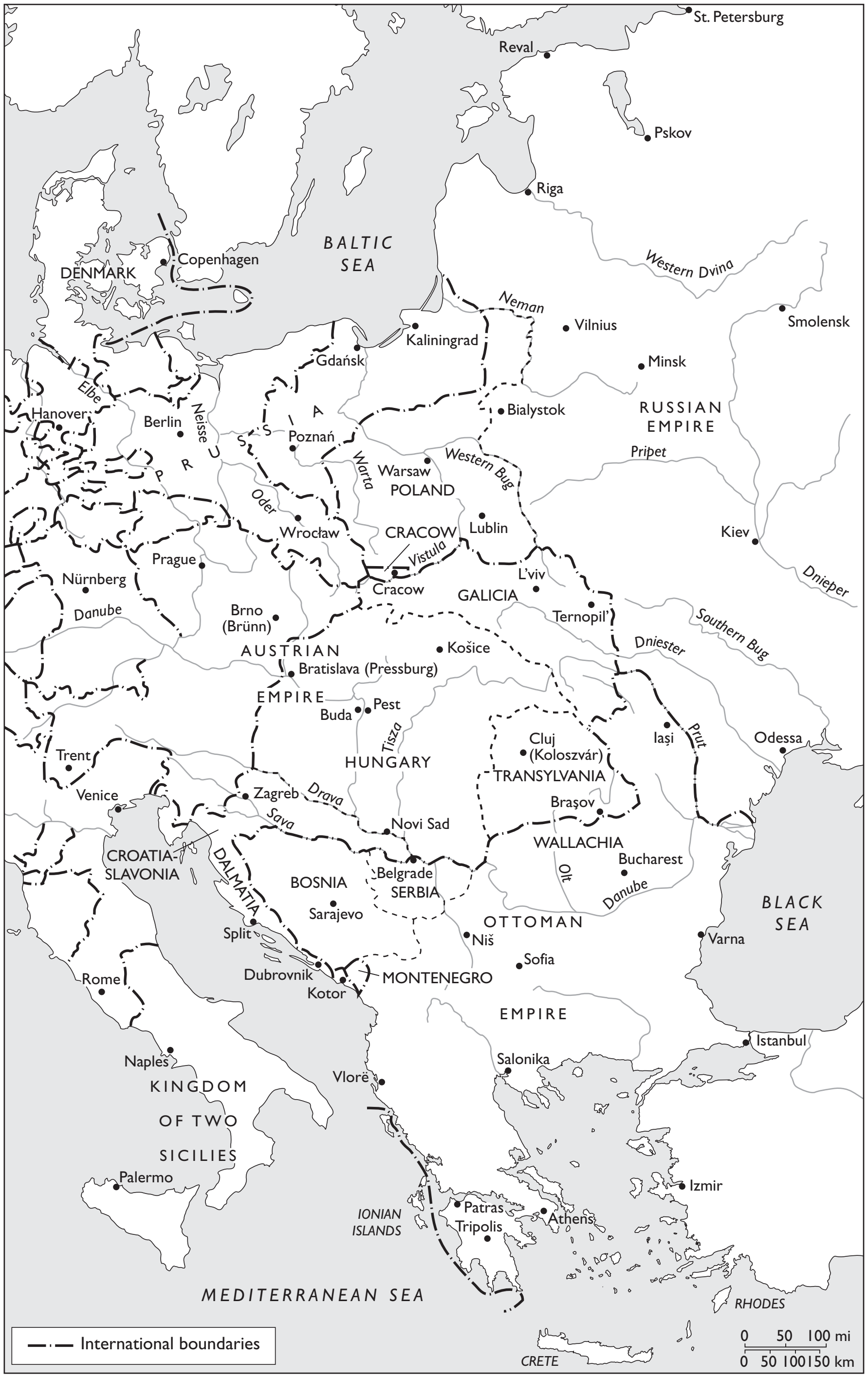
Eastern Europe in the late sixteenth century.


St. Petersburg
Reval
Pskov
Riga
BALTIC SEA
Western Dvina
Copenhagen
DENMARK
Neman
Vilnius
Smolensk
Kaliningrad
Minsk
Gdańsk
Bialystok
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Elbe
Hanover
Berlin
Neisse
PRUSSIA
Poznań
Pripet
Warsaw
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Ternopil'
Southern Bug
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Košice
Dniester
Bratislava (Pressburg)
EMPIRE
Pest
Buda
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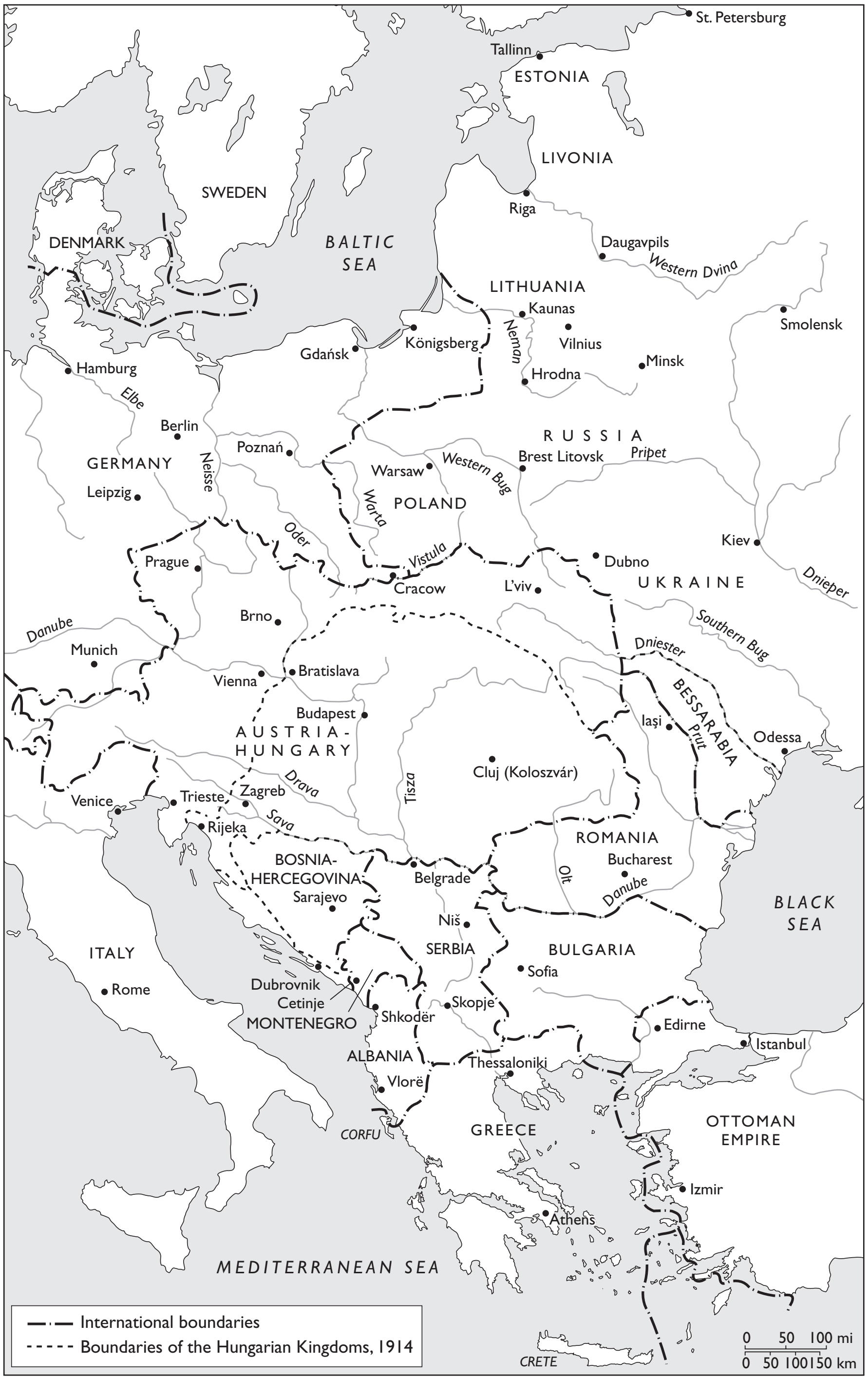
Eastern Europe after the Congress of Vienna (1815).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Boundaries of the Hungarian Kingdoms, 1914
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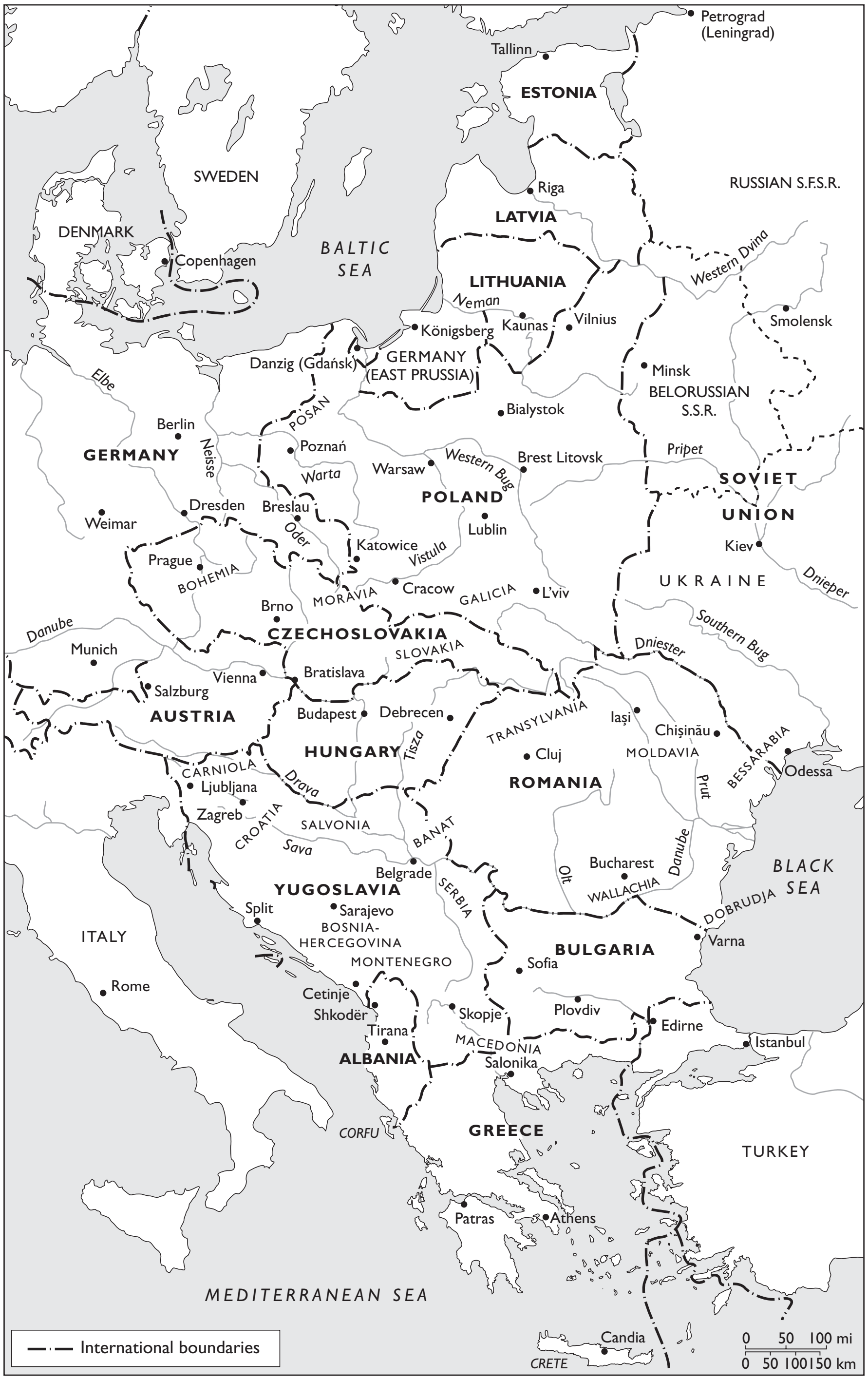
Eastern Europe in 1914.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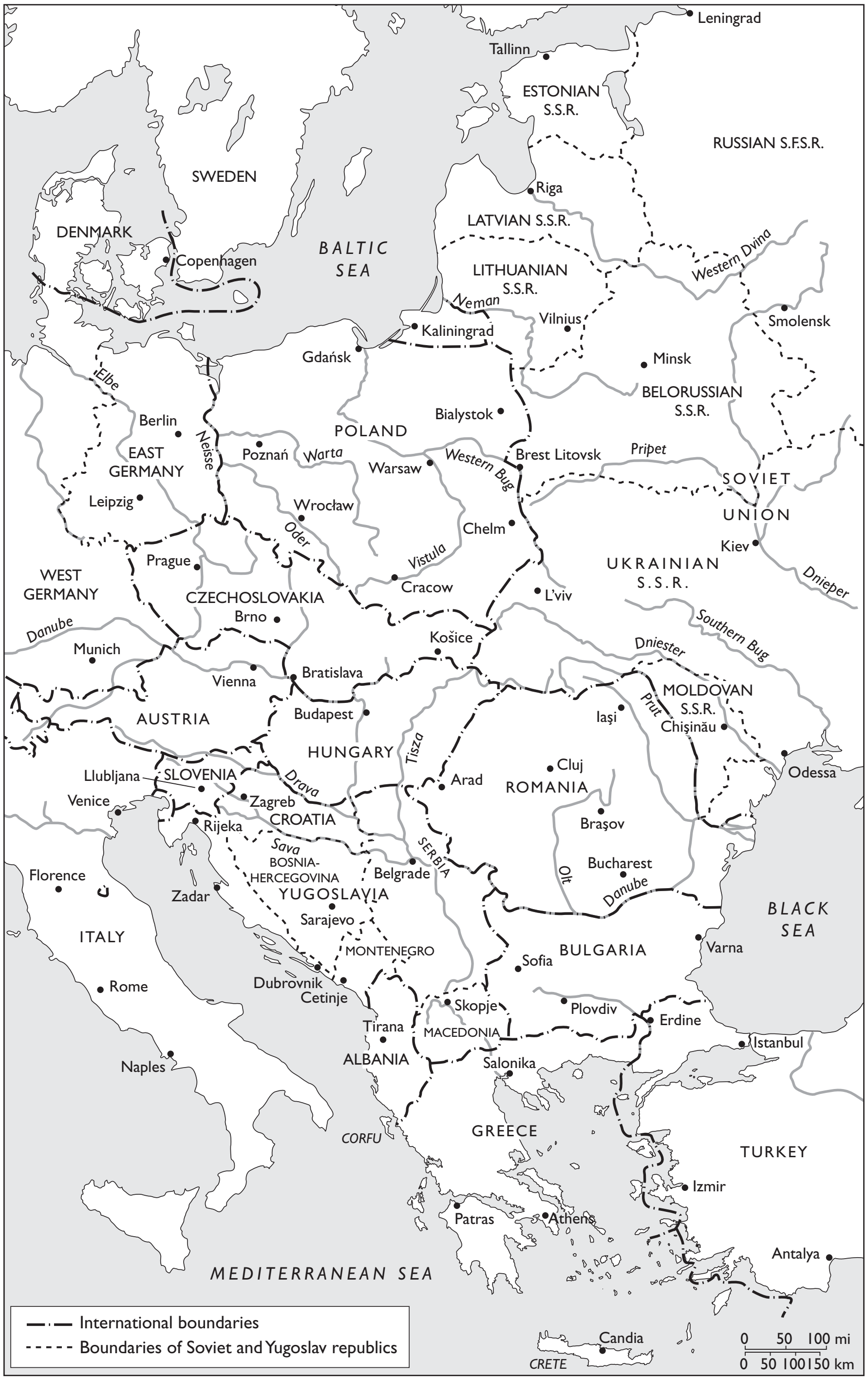
Eastern Europe between the World Wars.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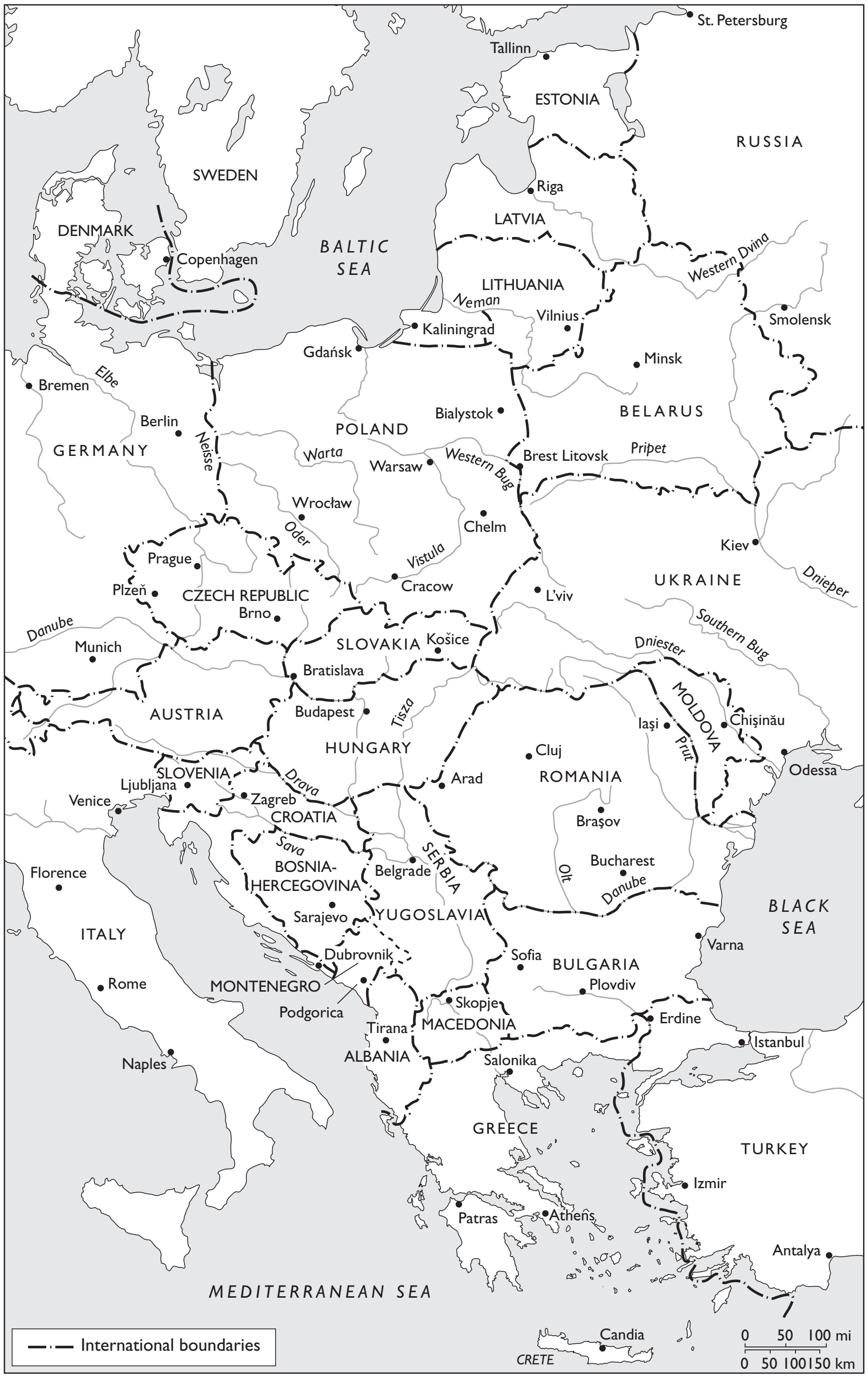
Eastern Europe after World War II.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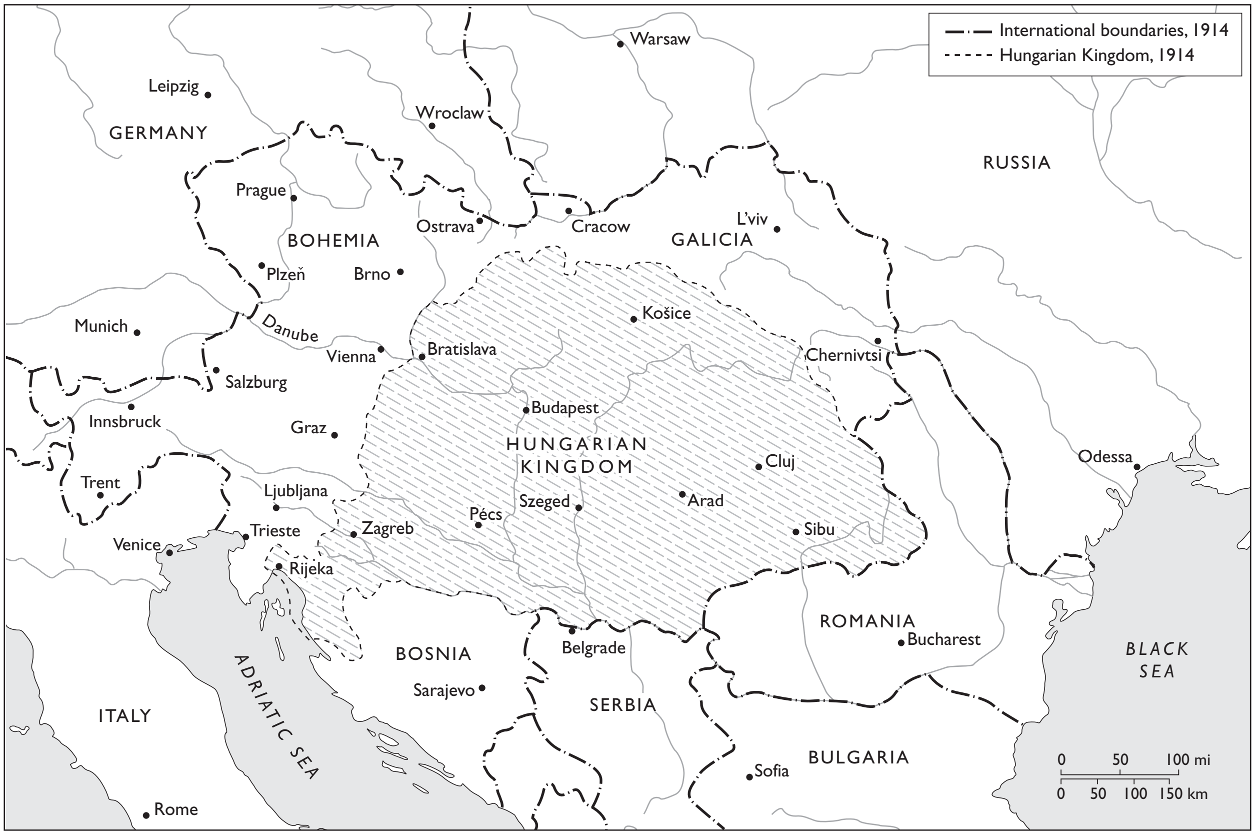
Eastern Europe in 2004.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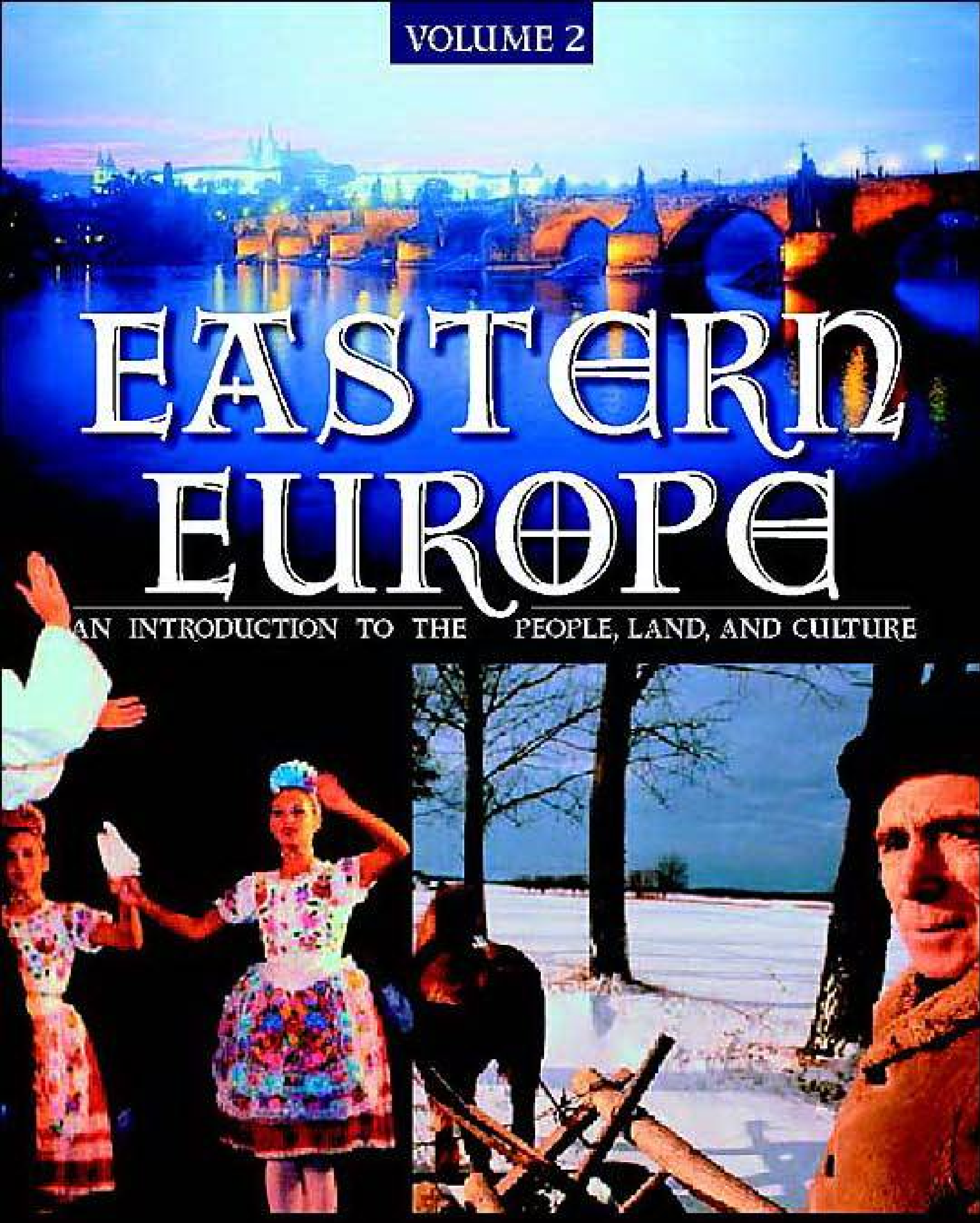
EASTERN EUROPE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PEOPLE, LAND, AND CULTURE



RICHARD FRUCHT

EASTERN EUROPE

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An Introduction to the People, Lands, and Culture

VOLUME 2

EDITED BY RICHARD FRUCHT

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PREFACE

In *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999) and *Longitudes and Attitudes* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2002), the award-winning reporter for the *New York Times* Thomas L. Friedman observed that the world has made a remarkable transition during the past quarter century from division to integration. What was once a world of separation, symbolized by the Cold War and "the Wall," evolved, especially with the collapse of the Soviet Union, into a world of globalization and global interconnectedness, symbolized by "the Net." That new reality has led to remarkable changes. Moreover, it is not merely a passing trend; it is a reality that affects every facet of human existence.

Regrettably, however, not everyone has become part of what amounts to a revolution; in some cases, an antimodernism has caused a lag in the developments of the critical trends of democratization and economic change. That gap, epitomized by the difference between the world of the Lexus and that of the olive tree, forms the core of Friedman's analysis of the Middle East, for example. As perceptive as he is of this clash in that region, in many ways Friedman's observations regarding the necessity of seeing the world in a more global and integrated manner are prophetic for many in the West as well. Although Friedman's emphasis is on an antimodernism that creates a gap between the world of the olive tree and the world of the Lexus, preventing interconnectedness from being fully realized, there are other barriers, more subtle perhaps, but no less real, that create gaps in the knowledge of so many areas of the world with which we are so closely linked.

Certainly in the United States, knowledge of other parts of the world is at times regrettably and, some might argue, even dangerously lacking. The events of September 2001 and the actions of a handful of al-Qaeda fanatics are but one example of an inattention to the realities of the post–Cold War world. Despite the fact that the organization of Osama Bin-Laden had long been a sworn enemy of the United States (and others) and his followers had already launched attacks on targets around the globe (including an earlier attempt on New York's World Trade Center), many, if not most, Americans knew very little (if anything) about al-Qaeda, its motives, or its objectives. What is troubling about that limited knowledge is the simple fact that if an organization with such hostile designs on those it opposed could be so overlooked or ignored, what does that say about knowledge of other momentous movements that are not so overtly hostile? In a world that is increasingly global and integrated, such a parochialism is a luxury that one cannot afford.

Although educators have at times been unduly criticized for problems and deficiencies that may be beyond their control, it is legitimate to argue that there are occasions when teaching fails to keep pace with new realities. Language training, for example, hasn't changed much in the United States for decades, even though one can argue that languages critical to the future of commerce and society, such as Japanese, Chinese, or Arabic, are less often taught than other "traditional" languages. Thus the force of tradition outweighs new realities and needs. Such myopia is born out of a curricular process that almost views change as an enemy. Similarly, "Western Civilization" courses, on both the high school and college level, for the most part remain rooted in English and French history, a tunnel-vision approach that not only avoids the developments of globalization or even a global outlook, but also ignores key changes in other parts of Europe as well. Provincialism in a rapidly changing world should only be a style of design or furniture; it cannot afford to be an outlook. In a world of rapid change, curriculum cannot afford to be stagnant.

Such a curriculum, however, especially on the high school level, is often the inevitable by-product of the materials available. When I was asked to direct the Public Education Project for the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in the early 1990s, I had the opportunity to review countless textbooks, and the regional imbalance (overwhelmingly Eurocentric in presentation, with a continued focus on England and France) present in these books was such that it could lead to a global shortsightedness on the part of students. Despite the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the books usually contained more on obscure French kings that on Kosovo. Educators recognized that, and from their input it was clear that they needed, more than anything else, resources to provide background material so that they could bring to their students some knowledge of changes that only a few years earlier had seemed unimaginable.

This need for general resource works led to the publication of *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the Fall of Communism* (Garland, 2000). Its goal was to provide information on the rich histories of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The reception the book received was gratifying, and it has led to this work, which is designed to act in tandem with the information in the *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe* to offer the general reader a broad-based overview of the entire region running from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. In addition, this

book expands the coverage to other areas in the region not addressed in the encyclopedia.

The three volumes of this work cover three groups of countries, each marked by geographical proximity and a general commonality in historical development. The first volume covers the northern tier of states, including Poland and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. The second volume looks at lands that were once part of the Habsburg Empire: Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia. The third volume examines the Balkan states of Serbia and Montenegro, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Greece, lands all once dominated by the Ottoman Empire. Each chapter looks at a single country in terms of its geography and people, history, political development, economy, and culture, as well as the challenges it now faces; each also contains short vignettes that bring out the uniqueness of each country specifically and of the area in general. This structure will allow the reader not only to look at the rich developments in each individual nation, but also to compare those developments to others in the region.

As technology makes the world smaller, and as globalization brings humankind closer together, it is critical that regions once overlooked be not only seen but viewed in a different light. The nations of East Central and Southeastern Europe, that is, "Eastern" Europe, are increasingly a vital part of a new Europe and a new world. What during the Cold War seemed incomprehensible to many, namely, the collapse of totalitarianism and the rise of democracy in these countries, is now a reality all should cherish and help nurture; first, though, it has to be understood. It is the hope that this series may bring that understanding to the general reader.

Putting together this work would have been impossible without the scholarship, dedication, professionalism, and patience of the authors. The words are theirs, but the gratitude is all mine. In addition, I would like to thank a number of students and staff at Northwest Missouri State University who helped with the mountain of work (often computer-related) that a project of this size entails. Chief among them is Patricia Headley, the department secretary, who was not only my computer guru but also someone whose consistent good cheer always kept me going. I would also like to thank Laura Pearl, a talented graduate student in English who filled the role of the "general reader" by pointing out what might make sense to a historian but would not make sense to someone without some background in the region. Other students, including Precious Sanders, Jeff Easton, Mitchell Kline, and Krista Kupfer, provided the legwork that is essential to all such projects. And finally, I would like to thank the staff at ABC-CLIO, especially Alicia Merritt, for keeping faith in the project even when delivery of the manuscript did not match initial projections; Anna Kaltenbach, the production editor, for navigating the manuscript through the various stages; the copy editors, Silvine Farnell and Chrisona Schmidt, for their thoughtful and often painstaking work; Bill Nelson, the cartographer; and the photo editor, Giulia Rossi, for creating such a diverse yet balanced presentation.

And finally there are Sue, my wife, and Kristin, my daughter. Words can never express how important they are, but they know.

Richard Frucht
September 2004

INTRODUCTION

The use of the term "Eastern Europe" to describe the geographical region covered here is standard, but it is nevertheless something of a misnomer. The problem is that it not only makes a geographical distinction between this area and "Western Europe"; it also implies a distinction in development, one that ignores the similarities between Western and Eastern Europe and instead separates the continent into two distinct entities. It even suggests that Eastern Europe is a monolithic entity, failing to distinguish the states of the Balkans from those of the Baltic region. In short, it is an artificial construct that provides a simplistic division in a continent that is far more diverse, yet at the same time more closely linked together, than such a division implies.

Western Europe evokes images of Big Ben and Parliament in London, the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre in Paris, the Coliseum and the Vatican in Rome, the bulls of Pamplona in Spain. Eastern Europe on the other hand brings to mind little more than the "Iron Curtain," war in Kosovo, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, orphanages in Romania, and the gray, bleak images of the Cold War and the Soviet Bloc. Just as colors convey certain connotations to people, so too do the concepts of "Western" and "Eastern" Europe convey very different impressions and mental images. The former is viewed as enlightened, cultured, and progressive; the latter is seen as dark, uncivilized, and static. Western Europe is democratic; Eastern Europe is backward and totalitarian, plagued by the kind of lack of fundamental humanity that leads inevitably to the horrors of Srebrenica.

Some of these stereotypes are not without some degree of justification. Foreign domination—whether German, Habsburg, Ottoman, or Russian (later Soviet)—has left parts of the region in an arrested state of development. All the peoples of the region were for much of the last half-millennium the focus and subjects of others rather than masters of their own destinies. Accordingly, trends found in more favored areas were either delayed or stunted. Albanian nationalism, for example, did not take root until a century after the French Revolution. The economic trends of the West as well as the post-1945 democracy movements (notably capitalism and democracy) are still in their infancy.

But labels are often superficial, and they can blind individuals to reality. Certainly, Tirana would never be confused with Paris. Estonia is not England. At the same time, the Polish-Lithuanian state was at its height the largest empire in Europe. Prague stuns visitors with its beauty no less than Paris; in fact, many remark that Prague is their favorite city in Europe. Budapest strikes people in the same way that Vienna does. The Danube may not be blue, but it does run through four European capitals, not just Vienna (Bratislava, Budapest, and Belgrade being the other three). The painted monasteries in Romania are no less intriguing in their design and use of color than some of the grandiose cathedrals in "the West." The Bulgarian Women's Chorus produces a sound no less stunning than that of the Vienna Boys' Choir. In short, to judge by labels and stereotypes in the end produces little more than myopia.

To dismiss Eastern Europe as backward (or worse, barbaric) is to forget that many of the Jews of Europe were saved during the Inquisition by emigrating to Poland or the lands of the Ottoman Empire. To cite the Magna Carta as the foundation of democracy in England, even though in reality it meant little more than protection for the rights of the nobility, is to ignore the fact that first written constitution in Europe was not found in the "West" but rather in the "East" (Poland). And although backwardness and even barbarity certainly can be found in the recent past in the region, no country in Europe is immune from a past that most would rather forget (the Crusades, the Inquisition, religious wars, the gas chambers of World War II, to name but a few). Myths are comfortable, but they can also be destructive. They can ennoble a people to be sure, but they can also blind them to reality and lead to a lack of understanding.

Eastern Europe is not exotic, and an understanding of it is not an exercise in esoterica. Rather the region has been and will continue to be an integral part of Europe. In one sense Europe became a distinct entity when Christianity, the cultural unifier, spread through the last outposts of the continent. In another sense, it has again become a unified continent with the demise of the last great empire that held sway over so many.

When former president Ronald Reagan passed away in June 2004, the media repeatedly recalled perhaps his most memorable line: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall," a remark made in 1984 as the American president stood in front of the Berlin Wall. In this case the American leader was referring to the concrete and barbed wire barrier behind him erected in the 1960s by the former Soviet Union to seal off its empire from the West. Yet, in many respects, the modern history of Eastern Europe was one of a series of walls, some physical (as in the case of the Iron Curtain), others geographical (all of the nations in the region were under the domination of regional great powers), and, one could argue, even psychological (the at times destructive influence of nationalism that created disruption and violence and has been

a plague in the lands of the former Yugoslavia on numerous occasions in the past century). These walls have often determined not only the fate of the nations of the region but the lives of the inhabitants as well.

The past is the DNA that tells us who we are and who we can be. It is the owners' manual for every country and every people. Without that past there would be no nation and no nationalism. It is that past that provides the markers and lessons for nations and peoples. It gives direction to the present. It provides a bedrock upon which we build our societies. Whether it leads to myths that embody virtues or myths that cover up what we don't wish to acknowledge, it is the shadow that we can never lose. Thus, when each of the nations of East Central and Southeastern Europe was reborn in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries (in some cases twice reborn), the past was the compass directing them to the future.

Nations are a modern concept, but peoples are not. Poland, for example, once a great and influential European state in the Middle Ages, was partitioned in the late eighteenth century, only to rise again, like a phoenix, in 1918. And even when it again fell prey to the domination of outside influences following World War II, it was the people, embodied in Solidarity, the workers' union, who toppled the communist regime. Despite the fact that at one time or another all of the peoples and nations addressed in these volumes were under the rule or direction of a neighboring great power, the force of nationalism never abated.

Nothing is more powerful than an idea. It can inspire, unify, give direction and purpose; it can almost take on a life of its own, even though it may lie dormant for centuries. In his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind), the eighteenth-century German philosopher Johann Herder captured the essence of nationalism in his analysis of the *Volk* (the people). Herder emphasized that a spirit of the nation (which Georg Hegel, the nineteenth-century German philosopher most noted for his development of the concept of the dialectic of history, later termed the *Volkgeist,* or "spirit of the people") existed that transcended politics. From the point of view of Herder and the other German idealist philosophers, peoples developed distinct characteristics based upon time and place (reflecting the *Zeitgeist,* the "spirit of the time"). Societies were therefore organic, and thus each had to be viewed in terms of its own culture and development. Accordingly, each culture not only was distinct but should recognize the distinctiveness of others, as characteristics of one culture would not necessarily be found in another. To ignore that uniqueness, which gives to each Volk a sense of nobility, would be to ignore reality.

For the peoples of Eastern Europe, language, culture, and a shared past (even if that past was mythologized, or in some cases even fabricated), exactly that spirit of the Volk that Herder, Hegel, and others saw as the essence of society, proved to be more powerful and more lasting than any occupying army or dynastic overlordship. And when modern nationalism spread throughout Europe and for that matter the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, culture became the genesis of national revivals.

For centuries, Eastern Europe served as a crossroads, both in terms of trade and in the migrations (and in some cases invasions) of peoples. The former brought prosperity to some parts of the region, notably the northern and central parts of the belt between the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, while the latter left many areas a mosaic of peoples, who in the age of nationalism came to struggle as much with each other for national dominance as they did with their neighbors who dominated them politically. As the great medieval states in the region, from the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dušan to the First and Second Bulgarian Empires, to the Hungarian and Polish-Lithuanian states, fell to stronger neighbors or to internal difficulties, no peoples were left untouched by outsiders. Greece may have been able to remain outside the Soviet orbit in the 1940s, but for centuries it was a key possession of the Ottoman Empire. Poland may have been the largest state of its time, but it fell prey to its avaricious neighbors, the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians. Yet, despite centuries of occupation, in each case the Volk remained.

One of the dominant elements in modernization has been the establishment of modern nations. While the rise of the modern nation-state was late arriving in Eastern Europe, and some in Eastern Europe had failed to experience in the same manner some of the movements, such as the Renaissance or the rise of capitalism, that shaped Western Europe, it was no less affected by the rise of modern nationalism than its Western neighbors. Despite the divergent and, in some cases, the retarded development of the region in regard to many of the trends in the West, the nations of Eastern Europe in the early twenty-first century are again independent members of a suddenly larger Europe.

The story of Eastern Europe, while often written or at least directed by outsiders, is more than a mere tale of struggle. It is also a story of enormous human complexity, one of great achievement as well as great sorrow, one in which the spirit of the Volk has triumphed (even though, admittedly, it has at times, as in the former Yugoslavia, failed to respect the uniqueness of other peoples and cultures). It is a rich story, which will continue to unfold as Eastern Europe becomes more and more an integral part of Europe as a whole (a fact evident in the expansion of the European Union and NATO into areas of the former Soviet Empire). And in order to understand the story of that whole, one must begin with the parts.

CONTRIBUTORS

VOLUME 1

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suggestions of Gregory X. Ference of Salisbury University, Lenka Kocková and Pavel Kocek (on several aspects of Czech culture and history), Alex Švamberk (on Czech popular music), and Ivan Lalák (on modern architecture).

VOLUME 3

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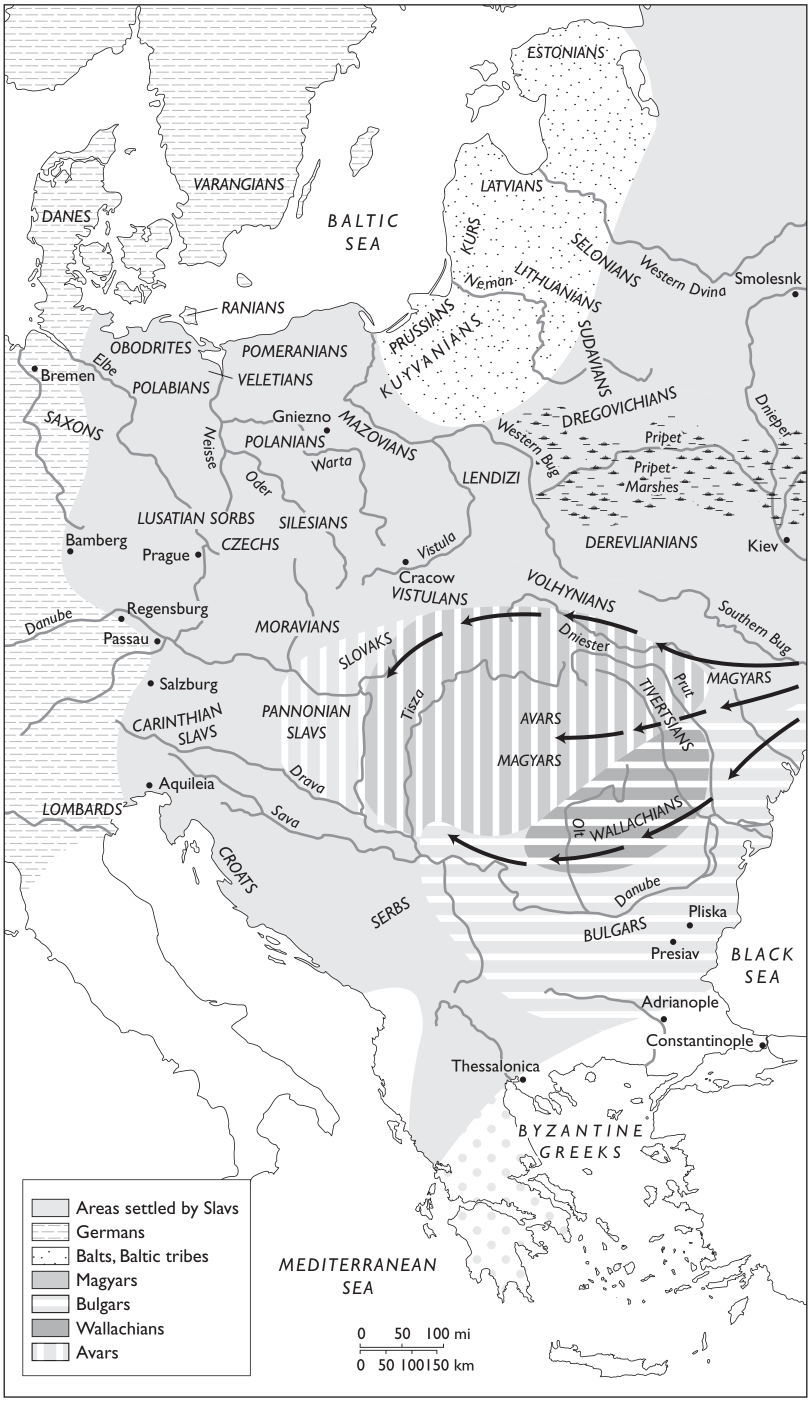
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Prut
TIVERTSIANS
CARINTHIAN SLAVS
PANNONIAN SLAVS
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Aquileia
LOMBARDS
Sava
WALLACHIANS
Olt
CROATS
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Constantinople
Thessalonica
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Areas settled by Slavs
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Wallachians
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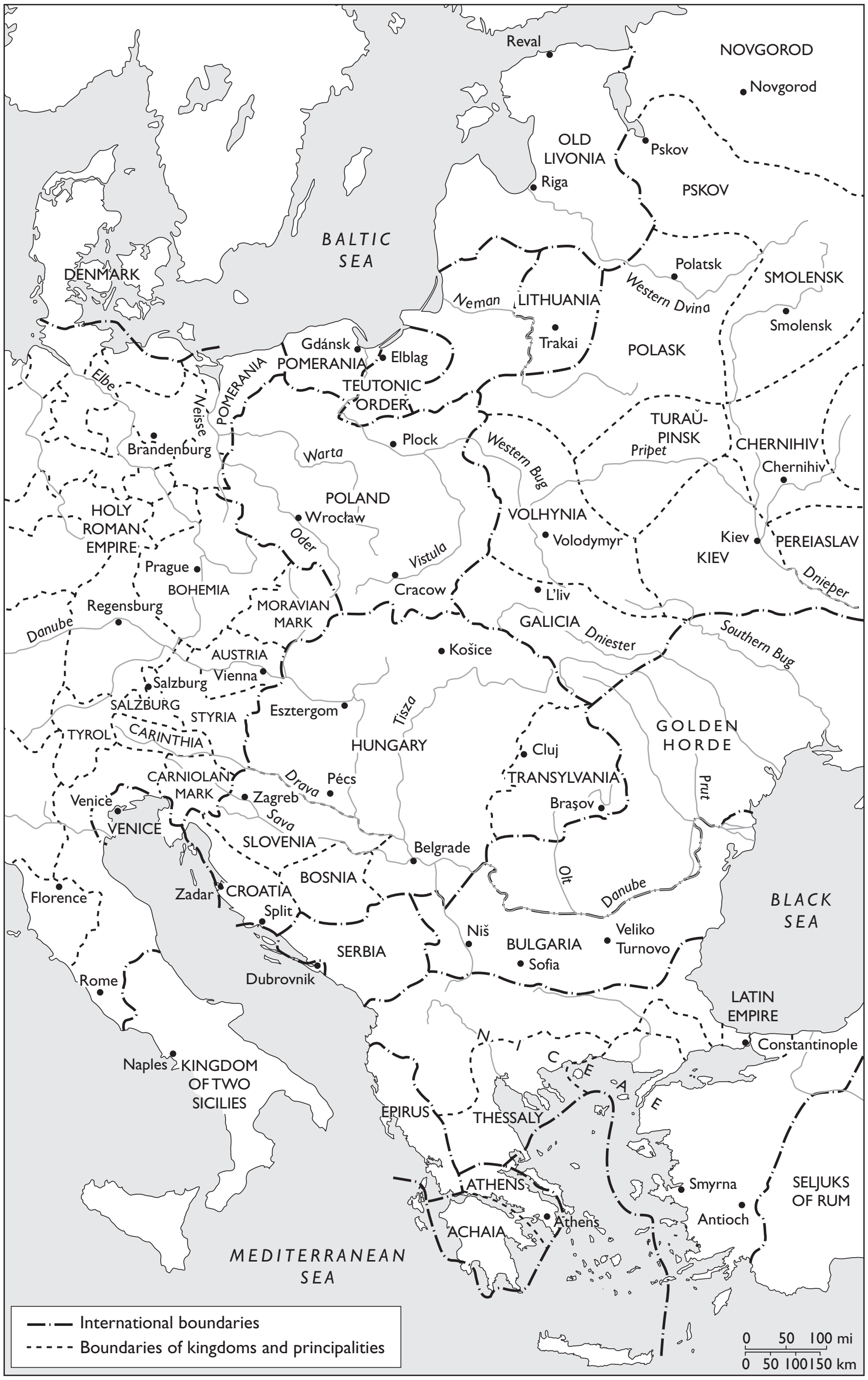
The peoples of Eastern Europe in the ninth century.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Gdánsk
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POLASK
Elbe
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Niš
Veliko Turnovo
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Sofia
Dubrovnik
Rome
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Constantinople
Naples
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
EPIRUS
THESSALY
ATHENS
Smyrna
SELJUKS OF RUM
Antioch
Athens
ACHAIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of kingdoms and principalities
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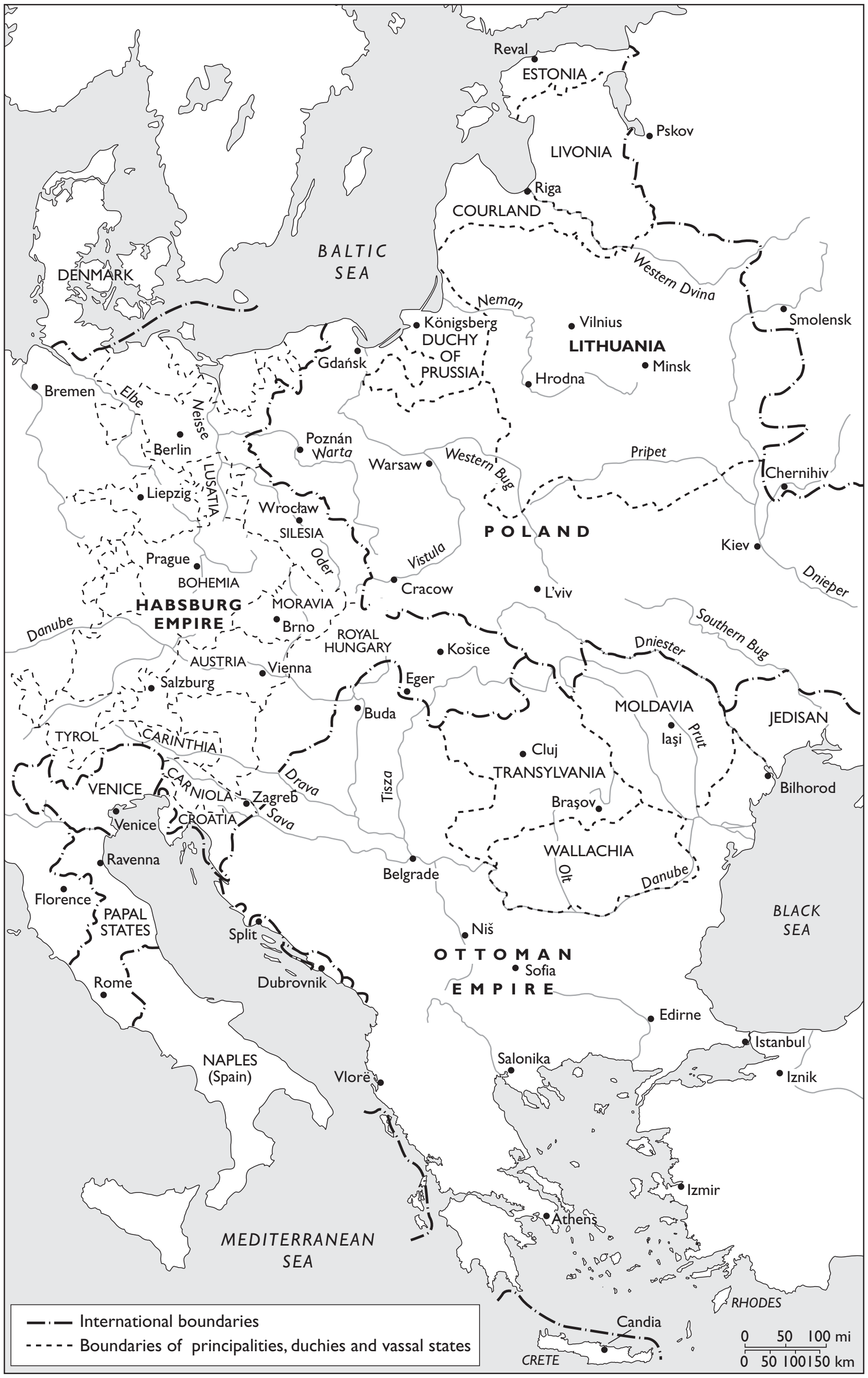
Territorial divisions in Eastern Europe in the thirteenth century (at the time of the Mongols).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Hrodna
Bremen
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Warsaw
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LUSATIA
Liepzig
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SILESIA
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Vistula
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ROYAL HUNGARY
Košice
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Eger
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TYROL
CARINTHIA
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Tisza
Braşov
Venice
CROATIA
Sava
Ravenna
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
Olt
Danube
Florence
PAPAL STATES
BLACK SEA
Split
Niš
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Sofia
Rome
Dubrovnik
Edirne
Istanbul
NAPLES (Spain)
Vlorë
Salonika
Iznik
Izmir
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RHODES
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CRETE
International boundaries
Boundaries of principalities, duchies and vassal states
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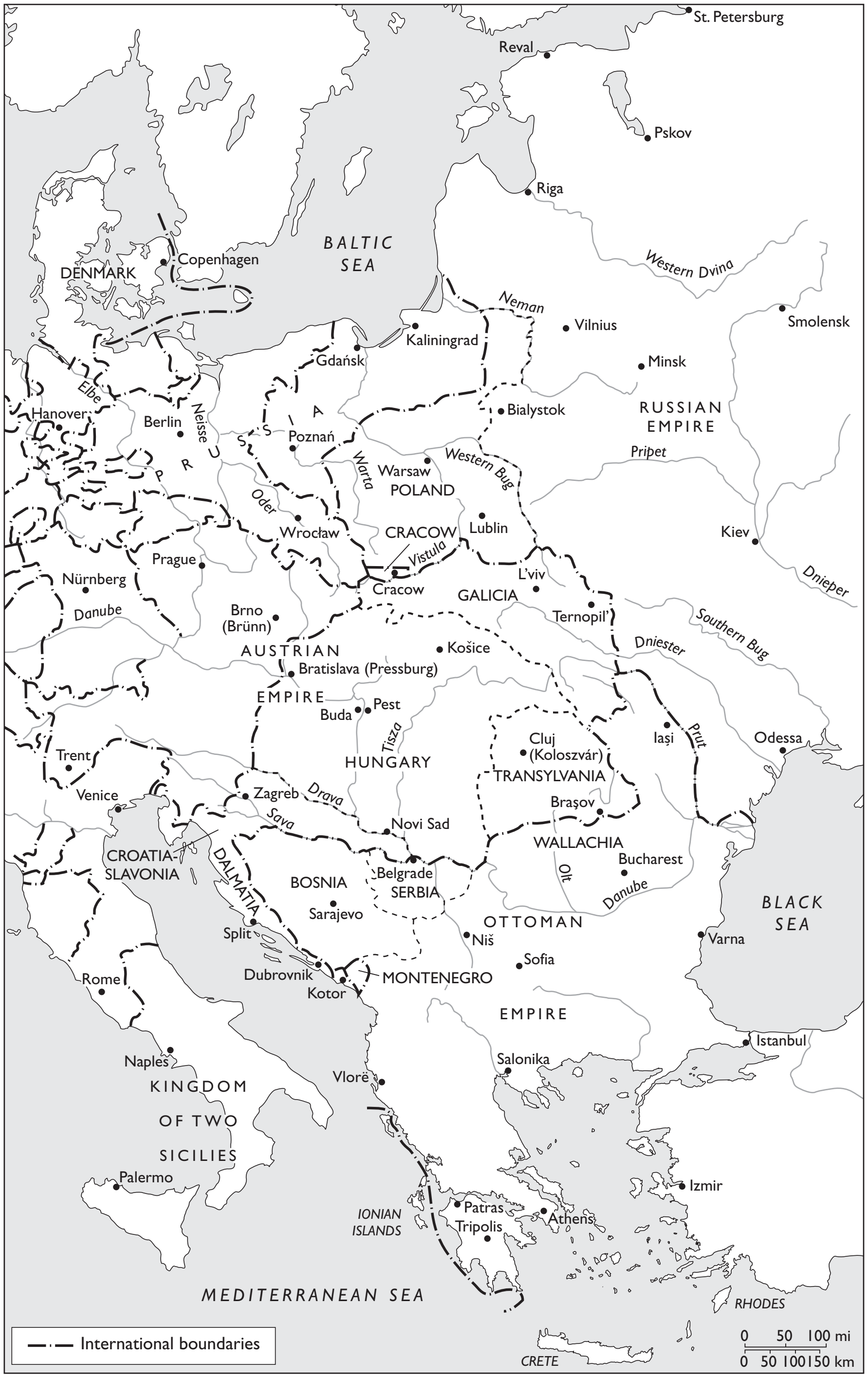
Eastern Europe in the late sixteenth century.



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Berlin
Neisse
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Oder
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L'viv
Nürnberg
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Brno (Brünn)
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Bratislava (Pressburg)
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Tisza
Iași
Prut
Odessa
Trent
Cluj (Koloszvár)
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Rome
Dubrovnik
MONTENEGRO
Kotor
Istanbul
Salonika
Naples
Vlorë
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
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International boundaries
CRETE
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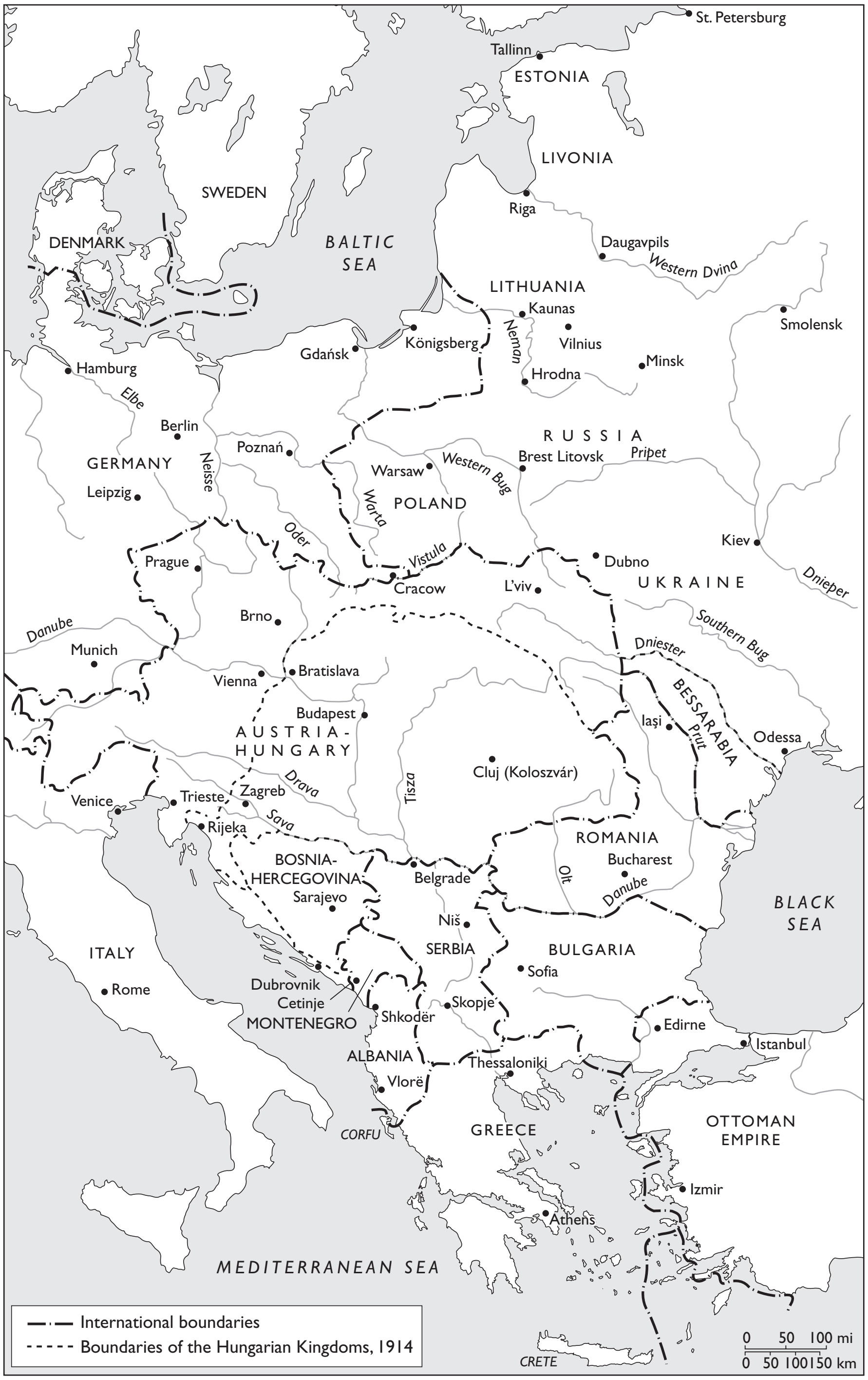
Eastern Europe after the Congress of Vienna (1815).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Berlin
RUSSIA
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Dubrovnik
Cetinje
Skopje
Shkodër
Edirne
MONTENEGRO
Istanbul
ALBANIA
Thessaloniki
Vlorë
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
CORFU
GREECE
Izmir
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of the Hungarian Kingdoms, 1914
CRETE
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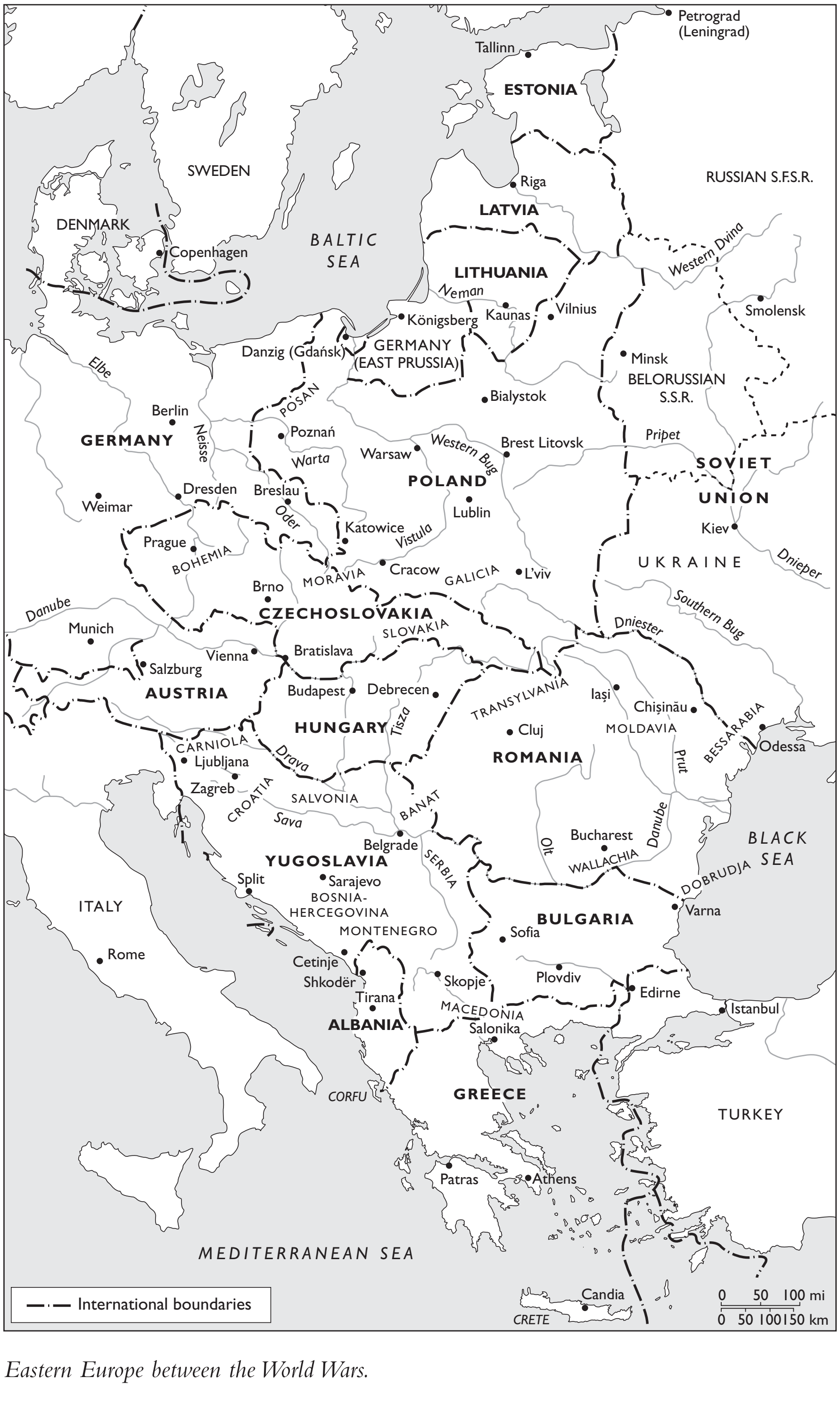
Eastern Europe in 1914.


Petrograd (Leningrad)
Tallinn
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RUSSIAN S.F.S.R.
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Vilnius
Smolensk
Königsberg
Danzig (Gdańsk)
GERMANY (EAST PRUSSIA)
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BELORUSSIAN S.S.R.
Elbe
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Bialystok
Berlin
Poznań
GERMANY
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Warsaw
Western Bug
Brest Litovsk
Pripet
Warta
SOVIET UNION
POLAND
Dresden
Breslau
Weimar
Oder
Lublin
Katowice
Vistula
Kiev
Prague
BOHEMIA
Cracow
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Split
Sarajevo
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Shkodër
Skopje
Plovdiv
Edirne
Tirana
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CORFU
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TURKEY
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MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Candia
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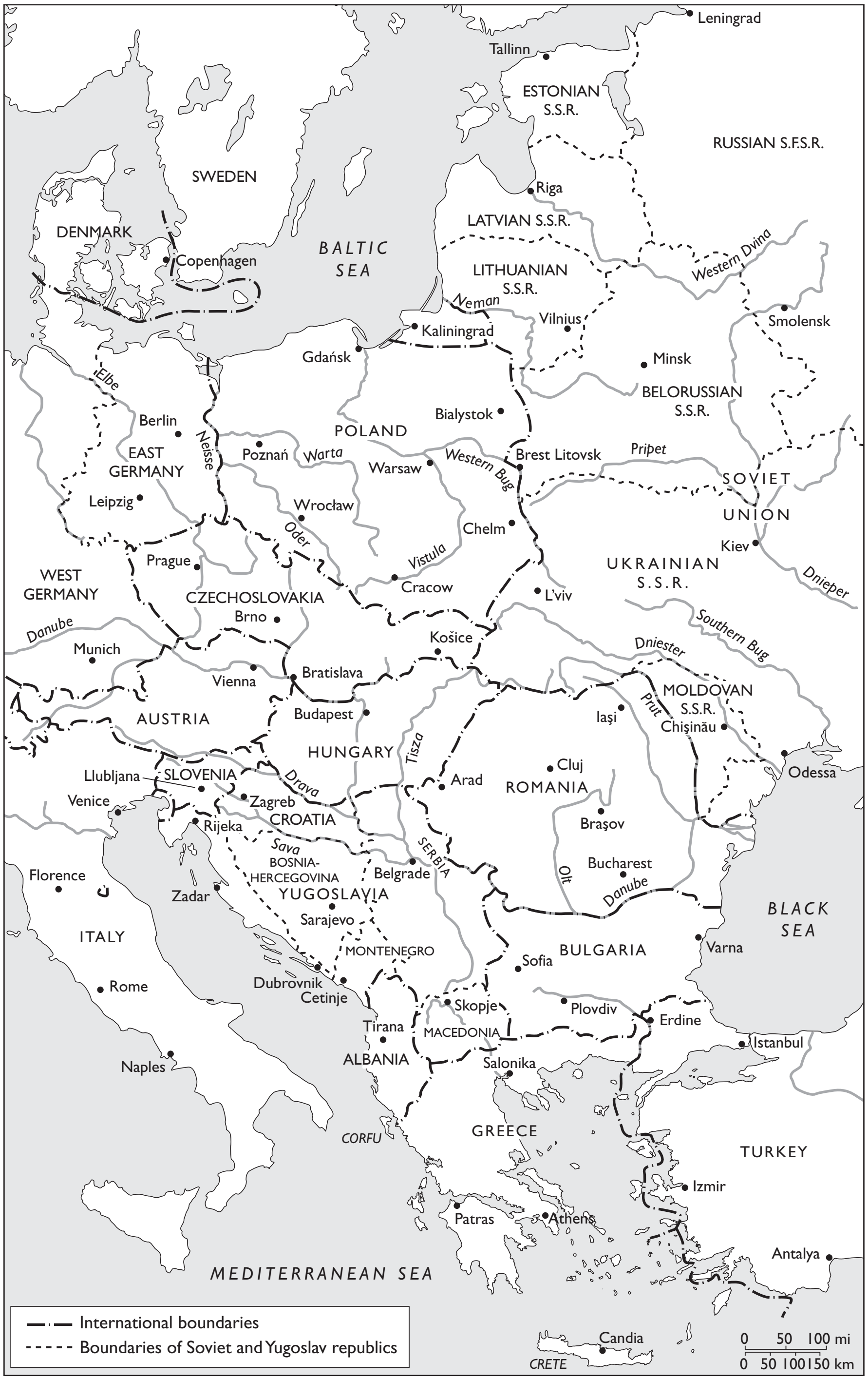
Eastern Europe between the World Wars.


Leningrad
Tallinn
ESTONIAN S.S.R.
RUSSIAN S.F.S.R.
SWEDEN
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DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
LITHUANIAN S.S.R.
Western Dvina
Neman
Kaliningrad
Vilnius
Smolensk
Gdańsk
Minsk
Elbe
BELORUSSIAN S.S.R.
Bialystok
Berlin
POLAND
Neisse
EAST GERMANY
Poznań
Warta
Warsaw
Western Bug
Brest Litovsk
Pripet
SOVIET UNION
Leipzig
Wrocław
Chelm
Oder
Kiev
Prague
Vistula
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
WEST GERMANY
Cracow
Dnieper
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
L'viv
Brno
Danube
Southern Bug
Munich
Košice
Dniester
Bratislava
Vienna
MOLDOVAN S.S.R.
AUSTRIA
Budapest
Iaşi
Prut
Chişinău
Odessa
HUNGARY
Tisza
Llubljana
SLOVENIA
Cluj
Arad
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Venice
Zagreb
CROATIA
Rijeka
Braşov
Sava
SERBIA
BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA
Belgrade
Bucharest
Florence
Olt
Danube
Zadar
YUGOSLAVIA
BLACK SEA
Sarajevo
ITALY
MONTENEGRO
BULGARIA
Varna
Sofia
Rome
Dubrovnik
Cetinje
Skopje
Plovdiv
Erdine
Tirana
MACEDONIA
Istanbul
ALBANIA
Naples
Salonika
CORFU
GREECE
TURKEY
Izmir
Patras
Athens
Antalya
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of Soviet and Yugoslav republics
Candia
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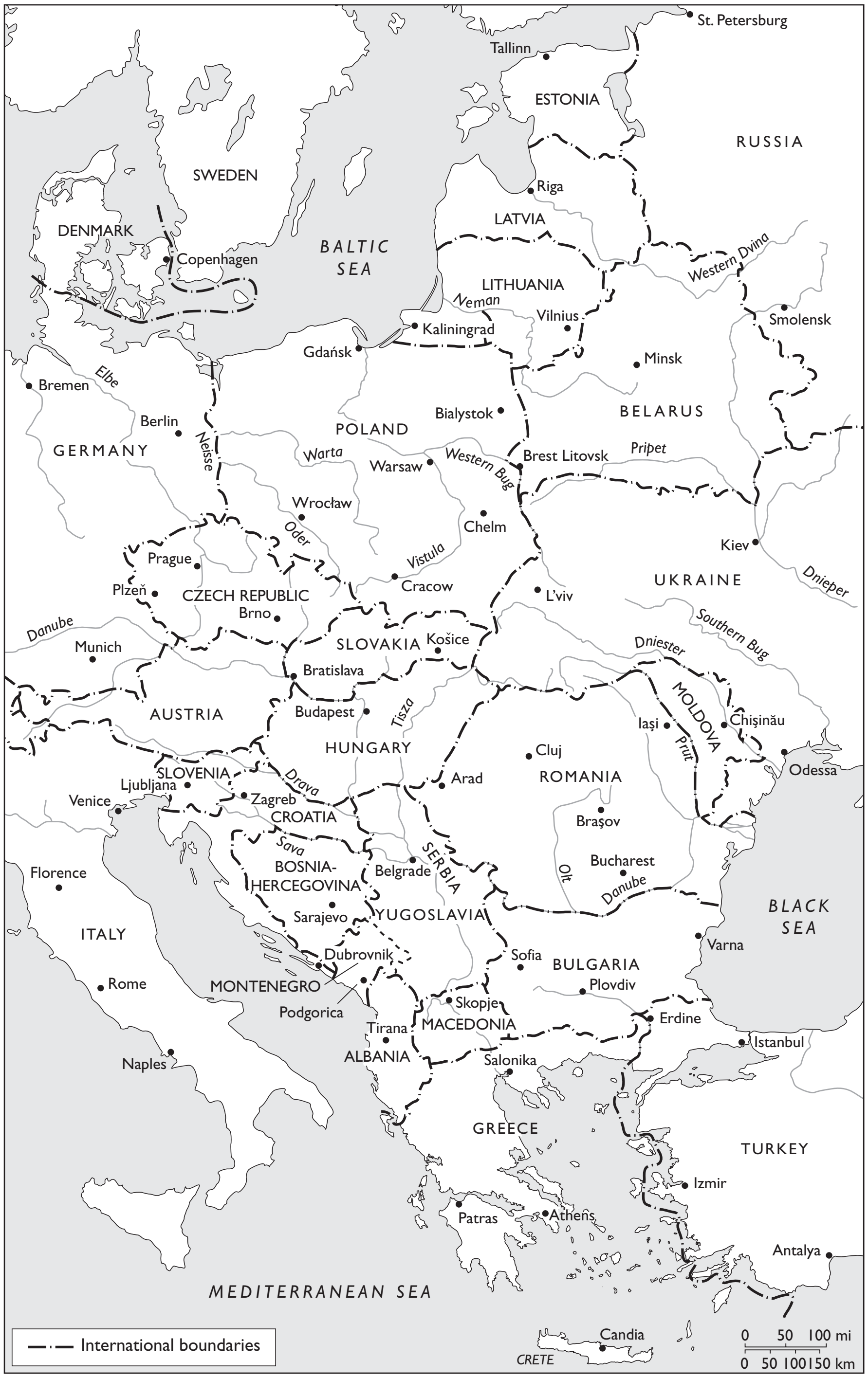
Eastern Europe after World War II.


St. Petersburg
Tallinn
ESTONIA
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LATVIA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
Western Dvina
LITHUANIA
Neman
Vilnius
Smolensk
Kaliningrad
Gdańsk
Minsk
Bremen
Elbe
Berlin
Bialystok
BELARUS
POLAND
GERMANY
Neisse
Warta
Warsaw
Western Bug
Brest Litovsk
Pripet
Wrocław
Oder
Chelm
Kiev
Prague
Vistula
Dnieper
Plzeň
CZECH REPUBLIC
Cracow
UKRAINE
L'viv
Brno
Danube
Southern Bug
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SLOVAKIA
Košice
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SLOVENIA
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ROMANIA
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CROATIA
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Florence
BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA
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SERBIA
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Sarajevo
YUGOSLAVIA
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Rome
Podgorica
Skopje
Erdine
Tirana
MACEDONIA
Istanbul
ALBANIA
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Naples
GREECE
TURKEY
Izmir
Patras
Athens
Antalya
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Candia
CRETE
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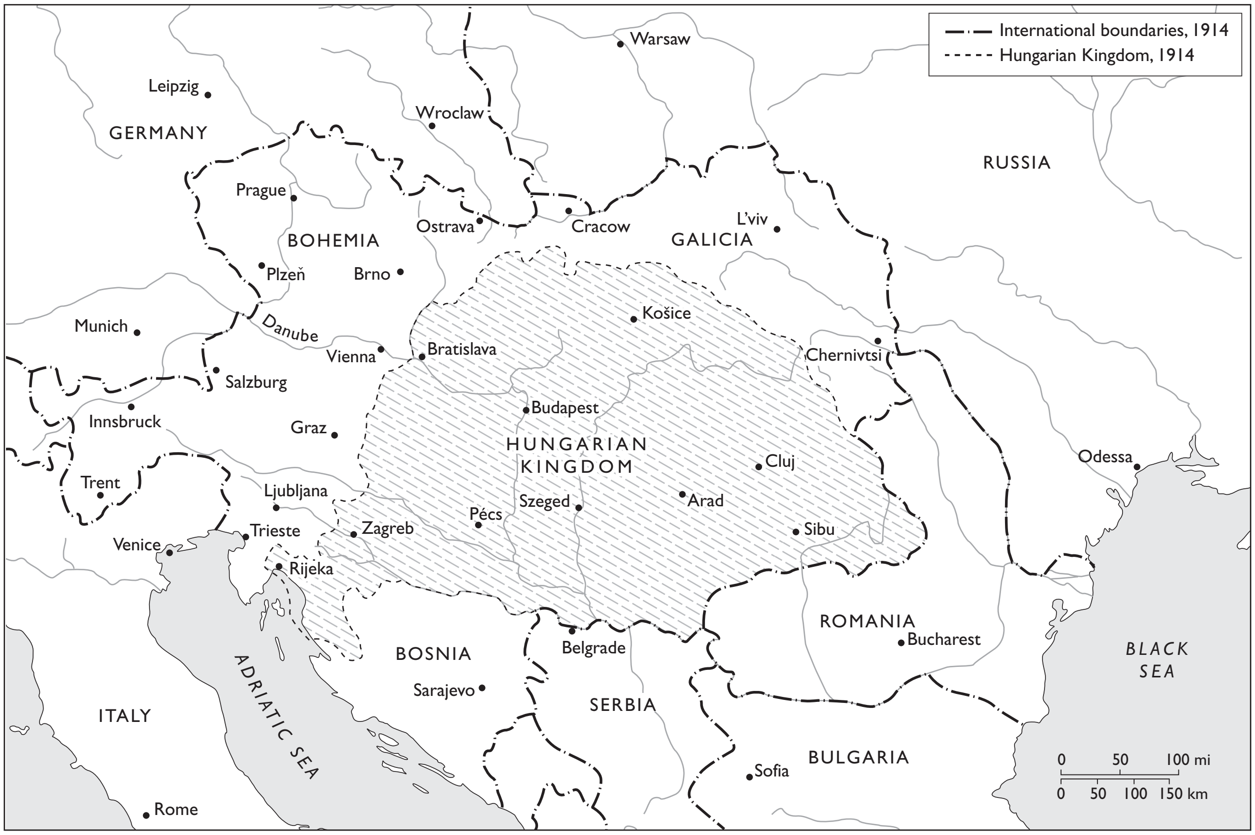
Eastern Europe in 2004.


International boundaries, 1914
Hungarian Kingdom, 1914
Warsaw
Leipzig
GERMANY
Wroclaw
RUSSIA
Prague
Ostrava
Cracow
L'viv
BOHEMIA
GALICIA
Plzeň
Brno
Košice
Munich
Danube
Vienna
Bratislava
Chernivtsi
Salzburg
Budapest
Innsbruck
Graz
HUNGARIAN
KINGDOM
Cluj
Odessa
Trent
Ljubljana
Arad
Szeged
Pécs
Venice
Trieste
Zagreb
Sibu
Rijeka
ROMANIA
Bucharest
BOSNIA
Belgrade
BLACK SEA
Sarajevo
ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Sofia
Rome
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The Habsburg Monarchy, 1867–1914.

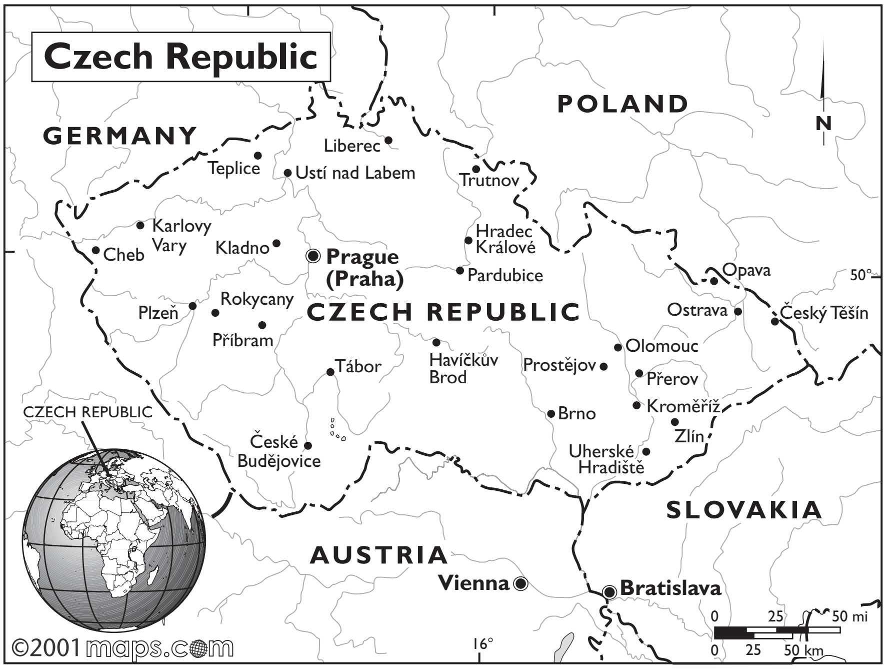
THE CZECH REPUBLIC

DANIEL E. MILLER

LAND AND PEOPLE

Situated in the geographic center of Europe, the Czech Republic encompasses 78,866 square kilometers and is about the size of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts combined. The Czech Lands, as historians often term them, consist of three historic provinces: Bohemia (Czech, Čechy) in the west, Moravia (Czech, Morava) in the east, and two small portions of Silesia (Slezsko) in the northern part of the province of Moravia-Silesia. Historically, the state had eight administrative regions: Prague (Czech, Praha; German, Prag), the capital; Central Bohemia; Southern Bohemia; Western Bohemia; Northern Bohemia; Eastern Bohemia; Southern Moravia; and Northern Moravia. The government has recombined the political divisions over the years; in 2000 it created fourteen regions *(kraje),* most named after the cities that serve as administrative centers: Prague, Středočeský (Central Bohemia, with administrative offices in Prague that are distinct from those of the capital city of Prague), Karlovarský (Karlovy Vary; German, Karlsbad), Ústecký (Ústí nad Labem), Liberecký (Liberec; German, Reichenberg), Královéhradecký (Hradec Králové; German, Königgrätz), Pardubický (Pardubice), Plzeňský (Plzeň; German, Pilsen), Jihočeský (Southern Bohemia, with České Budějovice; German, Böhmisch Budweis, as the administrative center), Vysočina (Jihlava), Jihomoravský (Southern Moravia, with Brno as the administrative center), Olomoucký (Olomouc; German, Olmütz), Zlínský (Zlín, known in the communist era as Gottwaldov), and Moravskoslezský (Moravo-Silesia, with Ostrava as the administrative center).

About 10.3 million people inhabit the Czech Republic—Czechs (94.9 percent of the population—Czechs in Bohemia, 81.2 percent; Moravians, 13.2 percent; and Silesians, 0.4 percent), Slovaks (3.1 percent), and the remaining 2 percent Poles (59,400), Germans (48,600), and Roma or Gypsies (32,900, although the actual number may be four times higher). Prague has 1.16 million people and is a typical major European city, with a modern airport and an excellent mass transit system that includes a subway. The second largest city is Brno in Southern Moravia, the capital of Moravia, with nearly 317,000 inhabitants. Other key cities are Ostrava in Northern Moravia (314,000 inhabitants), Plzeň in Western Bohemia (164,000 inhabitants), Olomouc in Northern Moravia (102,000 inhabitants), Liberec in Northern Bohemia (98,000 inhabitants), Hradec Králové in Eastern Bohemia (96,000 inhabitants), České Budějovice in Southern Bohemia (96,000 inhabitants), and Ústí nad Labem in Northern Bohemia (95,000 inhabitants).


Czech Republic
POLAND
GERMANY
N
Liberec
Teplice
Ustí nad Labem
Trutnov
Hradec Králové
Karlovy Vary
Cheb
Kladno
Prague (Praha)
Pardubice
Opava
50°
Rokycany
Plzeň
CZECH REPUBLIC
Ostrava
Český Těšín
Příbram
Olomouc
Tábor
Havlíčkův Brod
Prostějov
Přerov
CZECH REPUBLIC
Brno
Kroměříž
Zlín
České Budějovice
Uherské Hradiště
SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Bratislava
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0 25 50 km
16°
©2001 maps.com

The Czechs are historically Roman Catholic but underwent a successful reformation known as the Hussite movement nearly three-quarters of a century before the

The Old Town of Prague. Jan Palach Square and the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University are in the foreground; Týn Church is in the background. (PhotoDisc, Inc.)

birth of Martin Luther, and most Czechs in the fifteenth through the sixteenth centuries were essentially Protestant. In the seventeenth century the Counter-Reformation eradicated Protestantism in the Czech Lands, but it reemerged with religious toleration in the eighteenth century. After World War II, the communists persecuted Protestant and Catholics alike, and church membership dropped precipitously. Jews were present in the Czech Lands from the Middle Ages. In Bohemia they encountered the same blend of toleration and persecution that their coreligionists encountered elsewhere in Central Europe. With the advent of official religious toleration in the eighteenth century and the elimination of restrictions on Jews, some middle-class Jews began to assimilate. Under Nazi occupation, the Jews in the Czech Lands faced renewed persecution, exclusion from society, and extermination, and few remained after the war. According to the latest published statistics (2001), Catholics compose 26.8 percent of the population. There are also small numbers of Orthodox, Byzantine Catholics (also known as Greek Catholics or Roman Catholics, Eastern Rite), and Old Catholics in the republic. Members of churches in the Hussite tradition account for about 4 percent of the population. About 3 percent of the population are adherents of other Protestant sects. There are only 1,300 practicing Jews in the country. A total of 59 percent of the population lacks any religious affiliation, and the religious preference of 8.8 percent of the population is unknown.

The Czech Republic's distinctive diamond-like shape on the map is due to the mountains of the Bohemian Massif, which help form the perimeter of the state. In the northeast, dividing the Czech Republic from Poland are the Sudety (German, Sudeten; English, Sudetes), which consist of the Hrubý Jeseník and Nízký Jeseník Mountains in Moravia and the Krkonoše (German, Riesengebirge; English, Giant Mountains) in Bohemia. In the Krkonoše, close to Trutnov, is the highest peak in the republic, Sněžka (1,602 meters). The Krušné hory (German, Erzgebirge; English, Ore Mountains) in the northwest divide the Czech Republic from the German state of Saxony. The Šumava group, including Český les (German, Böhmerwald; English, Bohemian Forest) and the Šumava Mountains, form the border with the German state of Bavaria and Austria. Between Moravia and Slovakia are the Carpathian Mountains, specifically portions of the Outer Carpathians—from south to north the Biele Karpaty (White Carpathians), Moravskoslezské Beskydy (Moravian-Silesian Beskids), and Javorníky. In the interior are the Bohemian Plateau, the Berounka system of uplands and highlands, which includes the fertile plain of the Labe River, the Central Bohemian

The Czech Language

Czech is a Western Slavic language related to Slovak (its closest linguistic relative), Sorbian (the language of a small Slavic ethnic group scattered in eastern Germany and western Poland), and Polish. It has several dialects, a modern colloquial form, and a modern literary form that dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. Czech uses the Latin alphabet, as does English, with diacritical marks. A haček (as in *č*) has a softening, or palatizing effect on certain letters. With the letters *d* and *t,* sometimes an apostrophe immediately after the letter replaces the haček, strictly for the sake of typographical aesthetics. The *čárka* (acute accent: ´) lengthens vowels. A *kroužek* (°) is used to lengthen a *u (ů)* only when the letter is not in the initial position, when it would receive a čárka (*ú*). The language has a series of dipthongs built with vowels and the letter *j* (e.g., *ej, aj, uj, áj, ůj*). The dipthong *ou* is pronounced like the *ow* in *low;* the dipthong *au,* like the *ou* in *out.* Stress is always on the first syllable, and there is no secondary stress. Czech is essentially phonetic, making pronunciation relatively simple. The language has three genders, each with hard and soft endings. Nouns and pronouns decline in seven cases. Verbs conjugate in five classes and reflect tense, aspect, gender, voice, mood, person, and number. Note that all female last names end in *-ová* (nominative case).

Czech Pronunciation Guide

An asterisk (*) indicates letters only used in foreign words.

á	long *a,* as in *awful*
č	*ch* as, in *champion*
ď	soft *d,* as in *duress*
é	long *e,* as in *edible*
ě	soft *e,* as in *yet*
h	voiced, not merely aspirated
ch	*ch,* as in *Bach*
í	long *e,* as in *eel*
j	*y* as in *yellow*
ň	soft *n,* as in *onion*
ó	long *o,* as in *absorb**
q	*kv**
r	trilled or rolled
ř	simultaneous trilled *r* and *zh,* approximately the *tr* in *tree*
š	*sh,* as in show
ť	soft *t,* as in *tulip*
ú	long *u,* as the *oo* in *brood* (only in initial position)
ů	long *u,* as the *oo* in *brood* (other than initial position)
w	*v**
x	*ks**
ý	long *y,* as the *ee* in *bee*
ž	*zh,* as the *s* in *pleasure*

Upland, the South Bohemian Basins, the Brno system of uplands and valleys, the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands, and the Odra Lowland.

The rivers of the Czech Republic facilitate contacts with its neighbors and place it on the one of the major crossroads between Danubian Europe and the Great Northern European Plain. All the major rivers of Bohemia empty into the Elbe River (Czech, Labe), which flows through Germany to the North Sea. The most important tributary of the Elbe is the Vltava (German, Moldau), which is 433 kilometers long. It begins in the Šumava, supplies the Lipno Reservoir, and turns north toward České Budějovice, where it takes on the Malše River, which begins in Austria and forms part of the border between Austria and the Czech Republic. The Lužnice River flows through Třeboň, a town surrounded with lakes and ponds that have supported a lively fish farming industry since the Middle Ages, passes through the historic city of Tábor, and meets the Vltava at Týn nad Vltavou. The Vltava continues north to Prague, where it gracefully bends around the hills to lend the city a special charm.

Mělník, within view of the legendary dome-shaped Říp Mountain (also visible on clear days from the heights of Prague), is the confluence of the Vltava and the Elbe. Beginning in the Sudety, the Elbe follows a course through the Czech cities of Hradec Králové, Pardubice, Chrudim, Kolín, Poděbrady, Nymburk, Brandýs nad Labem, Mělník (where it meets the Vltava), Roudnice nad Labem, Litoměřice, Ústí nad Labem, and Děčín before heading toward Dresden, the first German city on its way to the North Sea. Moravia's major rivers link it to lands in the south by way of the Danube River. The Morava River begins in the Sudety and flows through Olomouc, Kroměříž (German, Kremsier), Uherské Hradiště, and Hodonín. The Dyje River, which passes through Znojmo, joins the Svratka River, which runs through Brno, at the Nové Mlýny reservoir. The Dyje then progresses toward Břeclav and forms a few miles of border between the Czech Republic and Austria. The confluence of the Dyje and Morava is the intersection of the Czech-Austrian-Slovak border, and the Morava continues, forming the Slovak-Austrian border until it reaches the Danube. The Odra River (German, Oder) begins in the Jeseník Mountains and with its tributary, the Opava, which runs for a few kilometers along the border between the Czech Republic and Poland drains what was once the historic province of Silesia. The major city of this region is Ostrava, which is on the Ostravice, another tributary of the Odra. After flowing through the southern part of Poland, the Odra forms the border between Germany and Poland and empties into the Baltic Sea.

Both maritime and continental effects and elevation influence the climate in the Czech Republic. The low-lying areas, such as Prague, have warm summers and cold winters, while the higher elevations are cooler. Average temperatures in Prague are about -2.7 degrees Celsius in January, generally the coldest month along with February, and around 19.5 degrees Celsius in July, which is the warmest month, along with August. Rainfall is adequate for crops, but Western Bohemia historically receives less rain than do other parts of the country. Most precipitation falls in the winter, although the spring and summer also may be wet. As a result, flooding is a recurrent problem in some areas; the floods that occurred in August 2002 were the worst in recorded history. Climate combines with soils, especially the chernozems (black soils) of the Polabí region, to create favorable conditions for agriculture.

The Czech Republic has a wide range of natural resources. The rich soils support a variety of large-scale agricultural enterprises that grow such crops as wheat, barley, oats, rye, and corn. Also important are root crops, including potatoes and sugar beets; industrial crops, such as rapeseed, sunflower seeds, poppy seed, and flax, along with fodder and vegetables. Livestock farming is focused on pork, cattle, and poultry. Fisheries in Southern Bohemia raise trout and carp, a popular fish and the highlight of the traditional Christmas Eve dinner. The country has a number of mineral resources that support its industrialized economy. There is plenty of coal in the north, which has made the region an important center of manufacturing since the eighteenth century. Other minerals include lead, zinc, tin, copper, peat, graphite, antimony, uranium, manganese, silver, and gold. There is also some natural gas.

The Czech Republic has emerged from the socialist era with a thriving industrialized economy. Its workforce in 2002 was well educated, with 18.6 percent having a basic education, 57.5 percent completing secondary school, and 8 percent having university degrees. In 2002 the unemployment rate was 8.8 percent. The economy had a gross domestic output (GDP) in 2000 of 1,959.5 billion Czech crowns (Kč; the annual average exchange rate for the U.S. dollar in 2000 was 38.59 Kč). The country has a lively import and export business with countries throughout the world, but its most important trading partners are states with developed economies, especially those members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU). Germany is its single most important trading partner; other countries in order of importance include Slovakia, Austria, Russia, France, Italy, Poland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In 2000 the Czech Republic imported Kč1,244,243 million while exporting Kč1,121,198 million worth of goods, leaving a negative trade balance of Kč123,045 million.

According to standard international trade classifications (SITC) in 2000, machinery and transportation equipment accounted for the largest amount of imports (40.1 percent), followed by producer goods (20.73 percent), chemicals (11.18 percent), finished goods (10.31 percent), mineral fuels and related products (9.64 percent), food and live animals (4.04 percent), raw materials (3.17 percent), beverages and tobacco (5.94 percent), animal and vegetable oils, fats, and waxes (0.21 percent), and commodities and miscellaneous items (0.03 percent). The value of specific imports in 2002 in order of importance included automatic data processing machines, natural gas, pharmaceuticals, crude oil, automobiles, telecommunication equipment, plastics, rolled stock of iron and steel, fruits and nuts, chip-removing metal-working machines, iron ore, vegetables, television receivers, leather footwear, pig iron, synthetic rubber, cotton, refrigerators and freezers, sheet glass, wool, vegetable fat and oil, washing machines, tobacco, fish, natural rubber, nonalcoholic beverages, cocoa, zinc, and copper.

Exports in order of importance were machinery and transportation equipment (44.46 percent), producer goods (25.43 percent), finished goods (12.53 percent), chemicals (7.1 percent), raw materials (3.53 percent), mineral fuels and related products (3.05 percent), food and live animals (2.94 percent), beverages and tobacco (0.75 percent), animal and vegetable oils, fats, and waxes (0.11 percent), and commodities and miscellaneous items (0.09 percent).

In 2002 specific exports from the Czech Republic in order of importance based on value included automobiles, paper and cardboard, tires, electrical power, rolled stock, coal, pharmaceuticals, tubes and pipes, chip-removing metal-working machines, fabrics of synthetic fibers, timber, artificial casings, iron and steel scrap, coke and semi-coke, beer (mainly from Plzeň, České Budějovice, and Prague),

The Pattern of Interrupted State Building

Similar to other ethnic groups in East Central Europe and the Balkans, the Czechs have experienced a discontinuous state-building process that has resulted in major shifts in the nature of politics that often correlate with significant abrupt social, cultural, or economic transformations. While some of these dramatic changes may have been positive, many have been disastrous. Historic discontinuity has left its mark on the Czech political culture, that is, the way in which Czechs perceive their state. The average Czech is likely to be cynical about governments, leaders, major new state policies, and official ideologies used to justify state actions. Most Czechs accept some form of Christianity, although the Hussite revolution of the fifteenth century, the excesses of the Counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century, and the persecution of religion under the communists from 1948 until 1989 has engendered in Czechs a strong current of ambivalence toward religion. Still, Czechs count on the state to provide an advanced, complex system of social services similar to those found in the EU, expectations rooted in the legacy of the Czechoslovak First Republic and the socialist era. The drama of the twentieth century has left a deep impression on Czechs. They desire stability for their state, but they are skeptical about the permanency of regimes, institutions, and allies. In the international arena, Czechs view their state as a small player at best, or in the worst case a pawn of other powers, particularly strong neighbors.

The Czech mind-set evolved over many centuries. The Kingdom of Bohemia emerged in the early Middle Ages to become a powerful regional player under the rulers of the native Přemyslid and then the Luxemburg dynasty. In the first part of the fifteenth century it suffered from the Hussite Wars. At the end of the conflict, Bohemia became the first European country where those professing variations of Christianity could live side by side. The subjects of the Kingdom of Bohemia did not perceive the accesion of the Habsburgs, who ruled in Austria and added Bohemia and Hungary to their possessions in 1526, as anything more than another change in dynasties. Their perception altered, however, when the Catholic Habsburgs sought to integrate Bohemia into their domains and persecuted Protestants. When the Bohemian estates rebelled in 1618 and lost the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, the Habsburgs treated Bohemia as a conquered territory, eliminated their enemies within the nobility, suppressed all Protestant religions, and ruled the country from Vienna. In the nineteenth century the Czechs, armed with notions of liberalism and nationalism, hoped to restore Bohemia's lost legal status. The failed revolution of 1848 was one manifestation of this hope. After the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* (Compromise) of 1867, when the Austrian political system took on the character of a developing democracy, the Czechs had renewed optimism that the state would better serve their interests, perhaps in a monarchy that placed Bohemia on an equal footing with Hungary and Austria.

In the twentieth century the Czechs faced a number of discontinuities in state building—nearly every generation experienced at least one change in the state's structure. Near the end of World War I, the Czechs abandoned their hopes for a reformed, fully democratic Habsburg monarchy and united with Slovaks and Rusyns to embark on a new experiment—an independent state. The Czechoslovak First Republic was a democracy that treated its minorities well, although the Germans, Hungarians, Poles, and even Slovaks aired valid complaints. The machinations of

(continues)

milk and milk products, tractors, semi-finished iron and steel products, leather footwear, fertilizer, lignite, vegetables, hops, butter, sugar, bicycles, cement, wheat, motorcycles, gravel, and beef. The Czech Republic produces high-quality art glass and stemware, porcelain, pianos, and toys, although they are not significant export factors.

Tourism is an important component of the Czech economy. In 2002 alone, approximately 4.6 million foreign tourists visited the Czech Republic. More than 2.2 million foreigners traveled to Prague to see the imposing Hrad or Prague Castle, wander through its twisting and narrow medieval streets, visit its galleries and museums, attend its many concerts, find repose in its cathedrals and churches, and marvel at its Gothic and baroque architecture. (Prague also has phenomenal examples of Romanesque, classical, art nouveau, cubist, socialist realist, modern, and postmodern structures.) Not just Prague but nearly each city and town can boast of an architectural and historical heritage. Several UNESCO world cultural heritage sites are located in the Czech Republic. All of Prague's major attractions are on the list—the Hrad, Strahov monastery, Old Town and its famed Jewish Quarter, Lesser Town, and New Town. Other sites in Bohemia are the city of Kutná Hora, with its St. Barbara Church and the royal palace and mint in the Italian Court (Vlašský dvůr); Holašovice, where charming "peasant baroque" homes line the village square; and Český Krumlov, a town on the Vltava with Renaissance and baroque architecture. On the register from Moravia are the

(continued)

Adolf Hitler brought an end to the state in 1938, and Czech society developed in the shadow of Nazi Germany. The Czechoslovak Second Republic had a short existence as a German ally from 1938 to 1939, when Germany incorporated the Czech Lands into the German Reich as the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, created an independent Slovakia, and returned Ruthenia to Hungary. During World War II, the future of the Czech nation was precarious, given Hitler's desire for eastward expansion and his policy of subjugation and elimination of Slavs. After the war, Czechoslovakia reemerged with new hopes for permanency and undisturbed development. The state expelled the Germans and many of the Hungarians to ensure that irredentist minorities would never again negatively influence Czechoslovak politics. It also enacted political, social, and economic reforms to correct some of the ills of the First Republic. The Third Republic, however, faced a new threat because of its location in the European "shatter zone" of the Cold War. In 1948 the Czechoslovak Communist Party, with the support of the Soviet Union, came to power in Prague. State ownership of industry and commerce, the development of agricultural collectives, and economic planning combined with the imposition of totalitarian rule under the Communist Party to yield disastrous results. After an attempt at reform in 1968, which the invasion of the Soviet Union and its allies in the Warsaw Pact brought to a halt, Czechoslovakia faced two more decades of political and cultural restrictions along with economic stagnation. The reactionary Communists' adoption of a federal constitution to satisfy Slovaks, a product of the reformist period, was little more than window dressing.

The Velvet Revolution of 1989 that overthrew the Communist Party's monopoly of power was accompanied with unbridled optimism, which soon diminished. The population gained a pluralistic, representative democratic political system but now faced the legacy of communism—ecological damage, outdated industries, and a poor work ethic. The Slovaks alleged continued unfair treatment, and leading politicians demanded independence, achieving it peacefully on 1 January 1993. The majority of Czechs and Slovaks felt betrayed that their leaders had brokered the so-called Velvet Divorce without a referendum, reinforcing cynicism in both countries about government leaders. The independent Czech Republic continued to face new hurdles after 1993. Economic restructuring progressed slowly, and it was fraught with closings of inefficient factories, tunneling schemes, lack of transparency, and other failings. Politicians—those who had not left public service in disgust or as a result of some scandal—lost the confidence of the population. Yet there were some reasons for optimism. The Czech Republic has had a stable political system, and its president until 2003, Václav Havel, achieved worldwide respect and recognition. The Czech Republic has had a relatively low overall unemployment rate and plenty of investment from abroad. Membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) offers the Czech Republic a reliable network of defense. Its most recent significant step occurred in 2004 with its entry into the European Union.

archbishop's palace and medieval town center of Kroměříž; the Holy Trinity Column in Olomouc; the baroque town of Telč; the baroque-Gothic St. Jan Nepomuk Pilgrimage Church in Zelená Hora, Žďár and Sázavou, by the Bohemian architect Jan Blažej (Giovanni) Santini-Aichel (1677–1723), who came from a family of Italian masons in Prague; the palaces at Valtice and Lednice; and the palace at Litomyšl. The newest UNESCO world cultural heritage site added in 2003 is the centuries-old Jewish ghetto in Třebíč, Moravia. Many tourists gravitate to the more than thirty spas throughout the country, the most famous being in Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně, Františkovy Lázně, and Janské Lázně.

The country has a large number of national parks, protected landscape areas, nature reserves, and nature monuments. It also boasts of several UNESCO biosphere reserves: Krkonoše, Šumava, Bílé Karpaty, Křivoklátsko in Central Bohemia, Pálava in Southern Moravia, and the lakes of Třeboňsko in Southern Bohemia. Considering that a third of the country is covered with largely coniferous forests, stunning vistas and romantic woodland paths abound. The Czech Republic also boasts of many unusual natural features. There are the Soos peat bogs in the Ore Mountains. In the Český ráj (Bohemian Paradise) and elsewhere in Northern Bohemia are sandstone formations, and the Pravčická brána natural bridge is on the Labe River near Hřensko. Volcanic domes grace the forests of Lužické hory, and over a thousand caves are scattered in the Moravský kras area. A steppe lies above a lush valley at Mohelnik. A massive basalt outcropping casts its spell over the landscape at Panská skála just outside Kamenický Šenov. The republic lacks only a desert and a seacoast. In the winter, the main sporting attraction in the countryside is skiing. Though the courses are not as challenging as those in Alpine regions, skiers from all over Europe flock to the Czech Republic to join Czechs on the slopes. No matter what draws them to the Czech Republic, tourists drink Czech beer and sample such traditional dishes as pork,

Hradcany Castle, Prague, Czech Republic, with St. Nicholas in the Lesser Town (foreground, left). (Courtesy of Daniel Miller)

sauerkraut, and the ubiquitous Czech bread dumpling *(vepřoknedlozeli).* Afterward they enjoy crepes *(palačinky)* or pastries for desert.

HISTORY

SETTLEMENT OF THE SLAVS AND EARLY RECORDED HISTORY

During the great movement of Indo-European people, the Slavs settled in the area around the Pripet Marshes. In the fifth and sixth centuries, the Slavs migrated again. Those who went west became the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Lusatian Sorbs (today in Saxony). Slavs who migrated into the Balkans and around the Danube River became South Slavs—Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgarians. Those who remained in the east were the Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Rusyns. Before the arrival of the Slavs, the Czech Lands hosted other Indo-Europeans. The first were the Celtic tribe of Boii, from which the name Bohemia is derived. Remnants of a few of their hill fortresses, known as *oppida,* are still scattered throughout the republic. Next, a few Germanic tribes inhabited the area. By the seventh century, the Slavs in what was to become the Czech Lands had assimilated all other ethnic groups, aside from parts of Southern Moravia. That area was under the Avars, a Turkic tribe that also settled around the Danube in the sixth century and established a powerful kingdom that subjugated the surrounding Slavs. As the Avars weakened (the remnants of the tribe being assimilated by the turn of the ninth century), the Slavs in the Czech Lands and Slovakia began to unite.

The first Slavic political entity emerged in the seventh century when the Frankish merchant Sámo (who died in 658 or 659) united Slavs in parts of what is now Moravia and Slovakia against the Avars, warred against the Franks, and expanded his kingdom. After Sámo's death, his kingdom vanished from the historical record. The next known Slavic state began between 833 and 836, when Prince Mojmír I of Moravia took the territory around Nitra in Western Slovakia from Prince Pribina and created the Great Moravian Empire. The first known Christian church was in Nitra during the reign of Pribina, and records as early as 852 mention the Great Moravian Empire as Christianized. Prince Rastislav sought to limit the influence of the Franks over his kingdom and invited the Byzantine emperor to send Slavic-speaking missionaries from the Orthodox Christian tradition to Moravia. The task fell on two monks, Cyril and Methodius, whose mother was Slavic. Before departing on their mission, Cyril devised a Slavic alphabet, known as Glagolithic, which eventually evolved into Cyrillic, and translated some church writings into Slavic (other translations came later, including the Old Testament, which Methodius translated in 883).

Cyril and Methodius arrived in Moravia in 863 or early 864, and they made great progress in Christianizing the bulk of the population, partly because the Slavic ceremony and writings were understandable, as opposed to the Latin liturgical language of the church in Rome. The Latin and Slavonic Christian traditions coexisted uneasily in Moravia, even after the pope appointed Methodius bishop in 869, although the Slavonic tradition enjoyed greater prestige. In 870, however, Rastislav lost his throne to the intrigues of his nephew, Svatopluk, who had Frankish backing. After Methodius died in 885, the pope forbade the Slavonic liturgy in Moravia, and Svatopluk upheld the decision. Only at the monastery in Sázava, Bohemia, did the liturgy survive until 1097, although not without interruptions. The disciples of Methodius had to leave Moravia and went to Bulgaria, which had adopted the Slavonic liturgy.

The Moravian Empire was on the eastern fringe of European civilization and eventually succumbed to nomadic hordes. The Magyars (Hungarians) menaced Moravia beginning in 889. Torn by internal strife, weakened by the separation of the Czechs in Bohemia and the Lusatian Sorbs, both of whom came under the protection of the Franks, and plagued with continued skirmishes with the Franks, particularly the Bavarians, Moravia could not withstand the advance of the Magyars. By 908, the Magyars precipitated the collapse of the Great Moravian Empire, seizing control of the Pannonian Plain and Slovakia. The Magyar conquest disrupted the political and cultural links of the West Slavs on either side of the Carpathian Mountains, ensuring the eventual differentiation between Czechs and Slovaks. Moreover, the Magyars joined with the Austrian Germans and Romanians in separating the West Slavs from the South Slavs.

THE PŘEMYSLID DYNASTY OF BOHEMIA

The early history of leaders in Bohemia is enshrouded in legend, some of which may be contained in the chronicle of Kosmas (ca. 1045–1125). Great grandfather Czech was said to have climbed Říp Mountain, proclaiming the land he saw around him to be the home of the Czechs. A battle fought between men and women resulted in a matriarchal government that enslaved men. Equally romantic is the story of how, in the eighth century, Princess Libuše chose as a husband a peasant, Přemysl Oráč (Přemysl the Ploughman), who subsequently established the Přemyslid dynasty, the only native Czech dynasty in Bohemian history. The first historical evidence of the Přemyslids comes from the time of Prince Bořivoj (died c. 894) and his wife, Ludmila. Methodius baptized the couple during a mission to Bohemia in 885, and Bořivoj built the first church at Prague Castle, where he established his capital. In 895 Bořivoj's successor, Spytihněv, took Bohemia out from the suzerainty of Greater Moravia, placing it directly under the Franks.

Prince Vratislav continued to strengthen Přemyslid control over competitors in the Czech Lands and warded off the Magyar threat. Vratislav's two sons, Václav (English, Wenceslas; German, Wenzel) and Boleslav, were young when Vratislav died, and two camps formed around the princes. Václav, who succeeded his father, came under the influence of his grandmother, Ludmila, while Boleslav had the support of his mother, Drahomíra. As the tension between the two camps heightened, Drahomíra had Ludmila murdered, and Ludmila was later proclaimed a saint. Boleslav arranged or actually participated in the assassination of Václav, in 929 or 935, during the baptism of Boleslav's son in the town of Stará Boleslav. As Václav opened the church door to attend morning mass, an assassin stabbed him in the back. The Church quickly canonized Václav, and St. Wenceslas became popular in the West through the nineteenth-century English Christmas carol. Boleslav reversed Václav's preference for weakening Frankish influence in Bohemia, and he undertook an active and expansive foreign policy. Boleslav extended his realm eastward, acquiring Silesia and Cracow, and he married his daughter to the Polish Prince Mieszek, who accepted Christianity from the Czechs.

His son and successor, Boleslav II, further expanded his territories in the east while becoming involved in a conflict between Bavaria and the Roman Empire. He completed the consolidation of the Přemyslids in Bohemia when he murdered the entire Slavníkov family, a clan that competed with the Přemyslids for power. In 973 he acquired for Bohemia an independent bishopric and established the country's first monastery, the Benedictine Convent of St. George at the Prague Castle. The new bishopric removed the Bohemian Church from the control of the German bishopric in Regensburg, although it was still responsible to the archbishop in the German city of Mainz. The first bishop in Prague was a German, but the second, in office from 982 to 997, was St. Vojtěch, a member of the Slavníkov clan who had escaped the fate of his relatives. Vojtěch studied abroad, was an adviser at the Ottonian court of the Roman Empire, and is Bohemia's first internationally recognized intellectual. After Boleslav's death, the Poles, under Bolesław I Chrobry (the Brave), took territory from Bohemia and entered Prague. They captured the Czech prince, Boleslav III, whom they blinded and imprisoned. The Czechs, with German assistance, expelled the Poles, at first from Bohemia and then from Moravia. The era of Bohemian expansion in the direction of Poland came to an end, aside from the later reacquisition of Silesia.

Only a few Czech rulers formally acknowledged their vassalage to the Holy Roman Emperor, yet the Czechs, as part of the empire, were entangled in the political contests among the German rulers, including the emperor. Bohemia, like other political entities within the empire, attempted to improve its status through military alliances when the emperor was weak. Strong emperors, however, frequently intervened in Bohemian affairs, and the Bohemian rulers respected their authority. As a result of shrewd diplomacy, Bohemia won special status within the empire. The emperor made the Bohemian prince Vratislav II a king in 1085, although the title did not apply to his successors. In 1114 the rulers of Bohemia became cupbearers to the emperors, a position that later enabled them to become one of the electors of the emperor. In 1158 Frederick Barbarossa granted a hereditary crown to Vladislav, but owing to dynastic difficulties, the title lapsed after Vladislav's death. Barbarossa then attempted to weaken the position of the Bohemian ruler. He divided Bohemia, creating the margrave of Moravia in 1182 and five years later granting the title of prince to the bishop in Prague, whom he appointed. Later developments in Bohemia reversed the effect of these changes. In 1181 the margrave of Moravia acknowledged the suzerainty of the prince of Bohemia, as did the bishop of Prague in 1197, whom Vladislav Jindřich had installed in defiance of the Roman emperor. Bohemia's rulers continued to install bishops afterward.

Bohemia renewed its strength under Přemysl Otakar I, who came to the throne for a short time in 1192–1193 and then returned in 1197. He exploited disorder in the empire to obtain the title of king in 1198. In 1212 the Imperial Golden Sicilian Bull confirmed the hereditary title of king, made Moravia and the Prague bishopric inseparable from the Bohemian kingdom, and guaranteed the Bohemian king a powerful position in the emperor's court. As the coat of arms of his kingdom, Přemysl Otakar I received the double-tailed lion, the basis of the current state symbol of Bohemia. Přemysl Otakar I regularized the succession to the throne, firmly establishing primogeniture, yet he had the nobles in the Bohemian diet elect his successor, setting a precedent for when the dynasty would become extinct. His son, Václav I (the change in numbers reflected the new kings of Bohemia), attempted to acquire Austria, where the Babenberg dynasty had become extinct in 1246, and fought the advance of the Tatars (Mongols) in Southern Moravia. The daughter of Přemysl OtokarI, Anežka (1211–1282), became a nun and established a Franciscan convent (the Poor Clares) and an associate Franciscan monastery—Prague's first Gothic structure, which is known as Anežka's Monastery. She was canonized in 1989.

Václav's son and successor, Přemysl Otakar II, who came to the throne in 1253, was progressive and ambitious. He chartered towns and attracted German immigrants to improve trade, increase the production of goods, and create a counterweight to the nobility. He strengthened the feudal system in Bohemia with the establishment of the Provincial Court of Justice (Zemský soud), which dealt with such items as the exchange of noble property, debts, privileges, and sentences. Its records are contained within the famous Provincial Record (Zemské desky). Přemysl Otakar II had led the Czechs in occupying Austria before he came to the throne but later had to divide the country with the Hungarian king. He pursued other adventures, such as the acquisition of territory to the Adriatic Sea, the failed attempt to capture today's Slovakia from Hungary, and in 1255 a crusade against the Prussians, a pagan Baltic tribe, during which he established the city of Königsberg (today Kaliningrad). He also sought election to the imperial throne. Many Bohemian nobles grew dissatisfied with Přemysl Otakar's exploits, and they joined with the new emperor, Rudolf of Habsburg, to force Přemysl Otakar to surrender his provinces outside Bohemia and acknowledge Bohemia and Moravia as fiefs of the emperor. Přemysl Otakar attempted to regain his territories and position through force, but the emperor defeated him on 26 August 1278, and Přemysl Otakar died in battle. Rudolf occupied Moravia for five years and appointed a regency under the Brandenburgs for the young Václav II. Once he assumed control of his kingdom, Václav became king of Poland, although not all Polish nobles were satisfied with his reign. Václav attempted to install his son as king of Hungary after the death of the last Árpád ruler, which alienated the pope, emperor, and many Hungarian nobles. After he suddenly died in 1305, his son, Václav III, managed to placate the emperor. He was prepared to invade Poland to keep his title, but he was assassinated in 1306 and had no heir.

With the extinction of the Přemyslid dynasty, Rudolf of Habsburg was strong enough to have his son elected as the king of Bohemia. He died the next year, however, and the Bohemian diet elected Heinrich of Carinthia, who had married into the Přemyslid family. The nobles were still dissatisfied and negotiated with the new Holy Roman Emperor, Heinrich von Luxemburg, to have his son Johann marry into the Přemyslid family and become king of Bohemia. Heinrich of Carinthia fled the country when Johann von Luxemburg arrived in 1310.

The Přemyslids provided Bohemia with roughly 450 years of stability under one family whose legacy was to secure Bohemia an important role in the affairs of East Central Europe. They solidified the country's borders and gave Bohemia several rulers whose capable military and diplomatic skills acquired Polish and Austrian territory. The consolidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia under the Přemyslids cast aside the Czech flirtation with Orthodoxy and the Cyrillic alphabet. The Přemyslids provided the Czechs with their first saints, Ludmila and Václav, for a total of three Přemyslid saints after Anežka's canonization in 1989. They fostered the creation of an independent Bohemian Church administration with a bishopric in Prague. During the Přemyslid rule, the medieval cultural heritage of the Czechs, like their political, social, and economic development, became bound to the West. The beginnings of feudalism along with Romanesque and Gothic trends in Bohemian art, date from the time of the Přemyslids. The dynasty strengthened the position of Bohemia with respect to the country's neighbors, especially the Roman Empire. The struggle between Prince Václav and his brother Prince Boleslav demonstrates the importance the empire had in Bohemian affairs and illustrates Czechs' persistent efforts to accommodate themselves to their powerful neighbor, benefit from their close association with the German world, and keep the Germans at bay. The Přemyslids' political skill with respect to the empire was shown in their acquisition of a hereditary royal title. The crown also demonstrated Bohemia's independence from the Roman Empire and its strength and importance to the Western world. Finally, during the time of the Přemyslids, the Czechs attracted German colonists to towns and the mountain areas, spurring the economy and laying the foundations of the dual German-Czech ethnic character of the Czech Lands.

THE LUXEMBURG DYNASTY

Jan Lucemburský (Johann von Luxemburg), who reigned in Bohemia from 1310 to 1346, was one of Europe's great medieval knights. He enjoyed tournaments as much as he reveled in the success of his dynasty. His relationship with the Bohemian nobles was often shaky, at first because he appointed Germans to high positions in Prague and intimidated the nobles with his foreign troops. The nobles limited his involvement in Bohemian internal affairs, although not foreign policy, when they forced him to sign the Peace of Domažlice in 1318. Jan acquired Cheb (German, Eger), the ethnically German town on the western fringes of Bohemia at the juncture of the Ore and Bohemian Forest Mountains. By 1335 Jan gained all of Silesia, which Přemysl Otakar II had lost, after Jan renounced his claim to the Polish Crown. He attempted to expand in other directions and even acquired portions of northern Italy, where he positioned his son Václav (who later changed his name to Charles, or Karel in Czech) as ruler. Jan also made Václav margrave of Moravia, and in that position Václav negotiated in 1344 with his former tutor and close friend, Pope Clement VI, to have Prague elevated to an archbishopric, freeing it from the German Catholic hierarchy in Mainz. The new archbishop crowned the kings of Bohemia, and under him came the bishopric of Olomouc and the new bishopric of Litomyšl. Concurrent with the establishment of the archbishopric was the groundbreaking for a new high Gothic St. Vitus Cathedral (Chram sv. Víta) in Prague Castle. Lucemburský was blinded in a crusade in the Baltic but continued his adventures. He fought at the Battle of Crécy to aid his brother-in-law, the king of France, against the invading English at the opening of the Hundred Years War. On 26 August 1346, he fell victim to the English longbowmen; the legend that the blind king died charging the English on his horse, which he had tied between the horses of two noblemen, is incorrect. Thus he died on the anniversary of the day Přemysl Otakar II died on the field in 1278—and Czechs still consider 26 August fateful.

Charles of Luxemburg came to rule in Bohemia in 1346 after ascending to the throne of the Roman Empire as Charles IV just before the Battle of Crécy. He was cosmopolitan, having a German father, a Czech mother, and a French education, but he felt himself to be Czech. He had a string of major political, economic, and cultural accomplishments in Bohemia, ushering in what historians recognize as Bohemia's golden age. He strengthened the succession laws in Bohemia to ensure that the throne would pass to his descendents, and as part of his plan he had his son, Václav IV, elected king of Bohemia in 1363. Charles IV made the king of Bohemia a principal elector of the emperor, and he reaffirmed the independence of the Kingdom of Bohemia within the empire. In 1355 he was crowned in Rome as Holy Roman Emperor. Charles IV added Upper and Lower Lusatia to the Bohemian Crown and secured Bavaria and Oberpfalz for his sons. He accomplished this expansion through diplomacy, using as tools his four marriages (his fourth wife was Alžběta Pomořanská, a Polish noblewoman who reportedly broke swords and horseshoes and bent steel with her bare hands) and the marriages of his many children. One of his children, Anna, became the wife of King Richard II, which facilitated cultural ties between England and Bohemia and promoted the spread of English teachings regarding church reform. Before Charles IV died in 1378, he partitioned his realm among his three sons, and Václav IV came to the throne in Prague. Unlike his father, Václav had little political sense. The German princes deposed him as emperor because he neglected the affairs of empire. At home, he failed to extinguish a pogrom in Prague in 1389 that killed 3,000 Jews. The Bohemian nobles revolted, partly because Václav wished to weaken the nobility and appointed lower nobles and burghers to positions that traditionally were reserved for the upper nobility. He even alienated his half brother, Zikmund, then king of Hungary, who conspired to take the Bohemian throne, capturing Václav and deporting him to Vienna. Václav managed to escape and made peace with the Bohemian nobles.

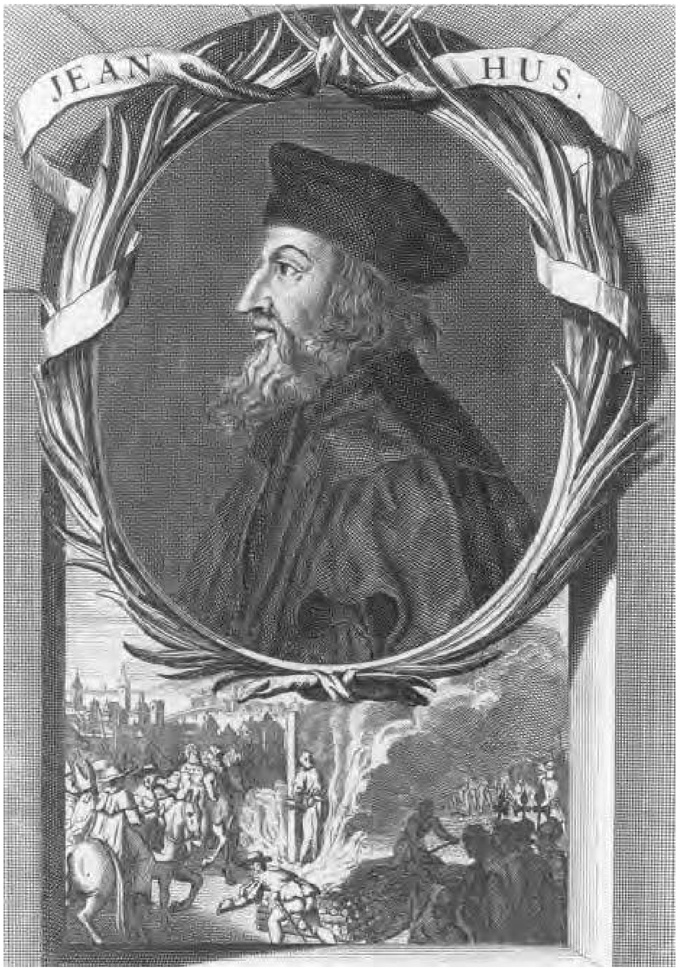
Václav also had difficulties with the Catholic Church. In an attempt to form another diocese within Bohemia in order to weaken the archbishop, he arrested and tortured several clerics, one of whom died and was canonized in 1729 as St. Jan Nepomuk. During Václav's reign, Rome began to sell indulgences in Bohemia to augment its finances. Many Czech clerics, with the backing of the Czechs at the university, intensified the cry for drastic reform that had inspired earlier clerics, like Milič of Kroměříž. The most vocal was Jan Hus (ca. 1371–1415). Under Václav and his half brother, Zikmund, the last Luxemburg king of Bohemia, religious controversy broke into open schism and civil war.

THE HUSSITE ERA

The Hussite era, a pre–Martin Luther reformation of the Catholic Church in Bohemia, witnessed a complex interaction of religious disputes, Czech and German nationalism, politics between the nobility and the king, and a reaction to certain aspects of feudalism. In 1403 Germans at the Prague University, in an effort to preserve their control over decision making at the university, condemned the writings of the English cleric John Wycliffe as heretical. Czech opponents of the Germans rallied around Jan Hus, who taught at the university and since February 1402 had been preaching at Prague's Bethlehem Chapel (erected in 1391). The controversy continued, and in 1409 Václav IV granted Czechs majority status at the university to gain the support of Czech professors in his struggle against the archbishop of Prague, who had opposed Václav's solution to the Great Schism and the divided papacy in the Roman Catholic Church. In retaliation, several hundred German professors and students left Prague for Leipzig, Saxony, where they participated in the founding of the university there. Hus became the new rector of the university. The archbishop and Václav came to terms in support of the election of Pope Alexander V, but the archbishop continued to condemn the Czech reformers, particularly Hus, and placed Prague under an interdict (i.e., a prohibition of most rites and sacraments, including Communion and Christian burial). The archbishop's death eased the tension, but some reformers, including Hus, began to attack the sale of indulgences, and they had the support of Queen Sophie, who had appointed Hus as her confessor. In another attempt to cool tempers, Václav expelled the anti-indulgence clerics from Prague, prompting Hus and others to carry their teaching to the countryside. When the Council of Constance, which finally solved the Great Schism, decided to have Hus explain his teachings, Zikmund, as emperor, guaranteed Hus safe passage. Nevertheless, Hus was arrested in November 1414, tried as a heretic, and burned at the stake on 6 July 1415 (now a national holiday in the Czech Republic along with the feast of Cyril and Methodius on 5 July, thus satisfying both Hussites and Catholics).

The fate of Hus deepened the schism in the Bohemian Church. Reformers of various stripes set aside their disagreements and united with Bohemian nobles to protest the arrest and execution of Hus, in part because the Czechs felt belittled by foreigners. Czech reformers latched on to the practice of offering their faithful not only the wafer but the wine during Communion under both species (Lat., *sub utraque specie*). Hus approved the practice from prison after an associate, Jakoubek ze Stříbra, resurrected the ancient practice in November 1414. The Council of Constance condemned the Czechs who sided with Hus, and in May the council burned another reformer who had traveled with Hus, Jeronim Pražský (Jerome of Prague). In 1418, with the university now closed, the archbishop refusing to ordain priests, and the queen and nobles dismissing priests who sided with the archbishop, Pope Martin V demanded that Václav enforce the orders of the Catholic Church. Václav, however, had no control over the reformers, who continued to say mass, or the crowds that supported them. In July 1419 a mob of reformers marched on the New Town Hall to demand that several of their adherents be released from prison. When the king's counselors refused, demonstrators broke into the town hall and threw the king's counselors to the crowd below, who killed them. Historians generally accept this act, known as the first defenestration of Prague, as the beginning of the Hussite Wars.

Certain beliefs united all Hussites, such as the right to receive Communion under both species, the validity of transubstantiation (the transformation of bread and wine during the mass into the body and blood of Christ, challenged by other reformers), a married clergy that shunned material luxury, and the belief that statues, vestments, and ornaments were superfluous, although not sinful. Yet there were significant differences between sects of the Hussite reformers. The Utraquists desired moderate church reform, accepted many teachings of the early Christian Church, and were close to the Catholics. The more radical Hussites accepted teachings based only on the Bible, held millennarian beliefs, and advanced social policies that won them the support of the rural and urban underprivileged. Radical Hussites rebuilt the town of Hradiště in Southern Bohemia in 1420 and renamed it Tábor. They came under the leadership of Jan Žižka, who was an experienced military leader, despite being blind in one eye since 1416 and totally blind after a war injury in 1421. Faced with the Catholic threat after the defenestration at the New Town Hall, the two major Hussite groups rallied around Žižka and proclaimed the Four Articles of Prague in June 1420, a crucial document in the history of religious toleration. It called for freedom of religion in Bohemia for both the Hussite and Catholic traditions, the right to receive Communion under both species, the requirement of poverty for the clergy, and the punishment of all mortal sins in order to preserve the reputation and advance the welfare of the country. Hussite unity, however, was superficial. Žižka found the Táborites too radical and in 1423 established another center of Hussites in Hradec Králová, often called the Lesser Tábor. After Žižka's death, the group referred to itself as the Orphans. In addition to the Utraquist, Táborite, and Lesser Táborite groups, many other sects emerged. One group under Jan Želivský took control of Prague in June 1421, with the support of some of its poor inhabitants, and opposed the rich. In March 1422 burghers in the Old Town captured and executed Želivský and several of his associates. Prague essentially remained in moderate hands for the remainder of the Hussite Wars. Táborites expelled a group known as Pikartists, who rejected transubstantiation and even permitted other foods to be used during the mass instead of bread and wine. Another small sect originating from Tábor was



Jan Hus (ca. 1371–1415), the Czech religious reformer. (Library of Congress) the Adamites, who advocated a return to nature, nudity, and sexual openness. To them, God was in the goodness of man, while the devil was in man's evil acts. Žižka eliminated both of these communities.

In March 1420 at a battle outside of the village of Sudoměř, Žižka's forces engaged those of Zikmund and the Hussites won the day. Hussite success in this and other battles was the result of innovations in weapons, capable leadership, and dogged determination and novel means of boosting morale, such as singing hymns and displaying the host in a monstrance above the warriors. The Hussites never lost a campaign, and their self-confidence and reputation for success struck fear in the enemy. In 1420 the pope declared a crusade—the first of five—against the Czechs, and the Catholic forces met their defeat at the hands of the Hussites in July at Vítkov, near the modern-day Czech Republic's military museum and the gigantic equestrian statue of Žižka in Prague. Žižka's forces were victorious over those of Zikmund a second time at Vyšehrad Castle in Prague that October. Now the Hussites drove Catholics from Prague, razed Vyšehrad, took Prague Castle, and in a rage of iconoclasm destroyed church ornaments. Zikmund, who had managed to be crowned king in Prague earlier, fled the capital, attacking the estates of Hussite nobles as he retreated. For the rest of 1420 and into 1421, Hussite forces, which had received enormous popular support in the countryside and towns, secured most of Bohemia in a series of significant battles, with the city of Plzeň being a notable exception. By the end of 1420, Hussitism became associated with Czechs in Bohemia, while Catholicism remained the religion of Germans.

In August 1421 a second crusade of five armies under the leadership of Zikmund approached Bohemia, but its soldiers scattered in fear of Žižka's troops before the armies ever met. The Hussites repelled yet another army of Zikmund in January 1422 at Kutná Hora, and another supporting him fell apart in October 1422. Bohemia was free of foreign interference beginning in the fall of 1422, but sporadic conflict broke out within the country between Hussite and Catholic forces. During this time, the Hussites ventured into Moravia and in June 1424 won the bloody battle of Malešova, near Kutná Hora. Žižka died in October 1424, and according to legend, he commanded that his skin be used to make war drums. The leadership of the Hussite troops passed to the Hussite priest and warrior, Prokop Holý. A third crusade succumbed to the Hussites at the battle of Ústí nad Labem in June 1426. Armies of the fourth crusade in August 1427 broke and ran when they heard the Hussites singing their hymn, "Ye Warriors of God" (Ktož jsú boží bojvoníci). Over the next three years, the Hussites invaded neighboring territories, being most active in 1429, when they advanced into Silesia, Upper Lusatia, Saxony, and Bavaria. The fifth, last, and largest crusade confronted the Hussites near Domažlice in August 1431, and once again the crusaders fled when they heard the Hussite hymn.

From time to time, both sides had made overtures for compromise, but now the Czechs were weary of the hostilities and the Catholics realized they could not defeat the Hussites. Prokop Holý and a delegation of Hussites went to Basel, Switzerland, in January 1433 to negotiate with the Catholics. They demanded that all Christians in Bohemia receive Communion under both species, but the Catholics could not agree. Hoping to force their hand, the radical Hussites decided to eliminate the Catholics in Plzeň. Prokop Holý broke with the moderates and led the Táborites and Orphans in an attack on Plzeň. The Utraquists joined with the Catholics to defeat the extremists, first by taking the New Town in Prague and then by meeting Prokop Holý and his forces on the battlefield. On 30 May 1434, at Lipany, the Utraquists and Catholics defeated the radicals. Prokop Holý died in the battle. Moderate Hussites renewed the negotiations at Basel, where they reached an agreement with the Catholics. In 1436 Jan Rokycana became archbishop of Prague, the Bohemian diet having approved his selection (although not the Catholic Church), and Zikmund officially became king. Finally, on the basis of the Four Articles discussed at Basel in 1433, the Council of Basel reached a compromise between the Catholics and Utraquists (the radical Hussites were not included) known as the Compactata of 1437. It permitted Communion in both kinds in Bohemia and for Utraquists elsewhere, required the punishment of mortal sins, granted priests the freedom to preach their beliefs, and demanded that priests honor the vow of poverty. Catholics and Utraquists were to live side by side in Bohemia without fear of persecution.

Historians long have debated the meaning and significance of the Hussite era of Czech history. Some see it as primarily a progressive movement that paved the way for the Protestant Reformation. Many concentrate on the national aspect of the Hussite Wars, a time when Czechs advanced their political agenda and cultural goals, including the use of Czech as the country's official language as opposed to German. Faults with this interpretation become apparent when one considers that many of the wealthy, moderate Czech Utraquists aligned with Catholic Germans. Still other historians, principally the socialists during the communist era, focus on the triangulated class struggle among the serfs and poor urban dwellers, who wanted relief from feudal oppression, the Catholic Church, which sought to maintain its status and wealth, and the nobles and burghers, who hoped to control the masses and take the wealth of the Catholic Church. One difficulty with the socialist interpretation is that no single class was solidly behind one social and religious program. In the end, moderate voices predominated, and Hussite radicals of all stripes fell in defeat. The Hussite era redefined politics and society in the Kingdom of Bohemia. It strengthened the nobles and towns with respect to what had been a powerful Catholic hierarchy and Crown. The compromise solution to the military struggle left Bohemia a country of religious toleration a century before Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door in Wittenberg. Nevertheless, the fact that Bohemia was both Hussite and Catholic isolated it to some extent in European affairs. Finally, the economic devastation and depopulation from the wars encouraged nobles to find ways to legally tie peasants to the land, which facilitated the process of neoserfdom as a result of further economic dislocation during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

THE HUSSITE KING

In 1437 both the Bohemian and Hungarian diets elected the Habsburg Albert II of Austria to their respective thrones, the first time a Habsburg united Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. Albert resented the Hussites, causing a great deal of dissension. When he died in 1439, the diet, unable to find a successor, established a regency. In 1444 the regency came under the control of Jiří z Poděbrad, a Utraquist who had defended the Compactata of 1436 and the Utraquist archbishop, Jan Rokycana. The Bohemian diet had recognized Albert's underage son, Ladislav Posthumous, as the heir to the throne in 1444, and he ascended to the throne in 1453. Jiří z Poděbrad remained as the administrator of the realm. When Ladislav Posthumous died two years later, the diet elected Jiří z Poděbrad as king.

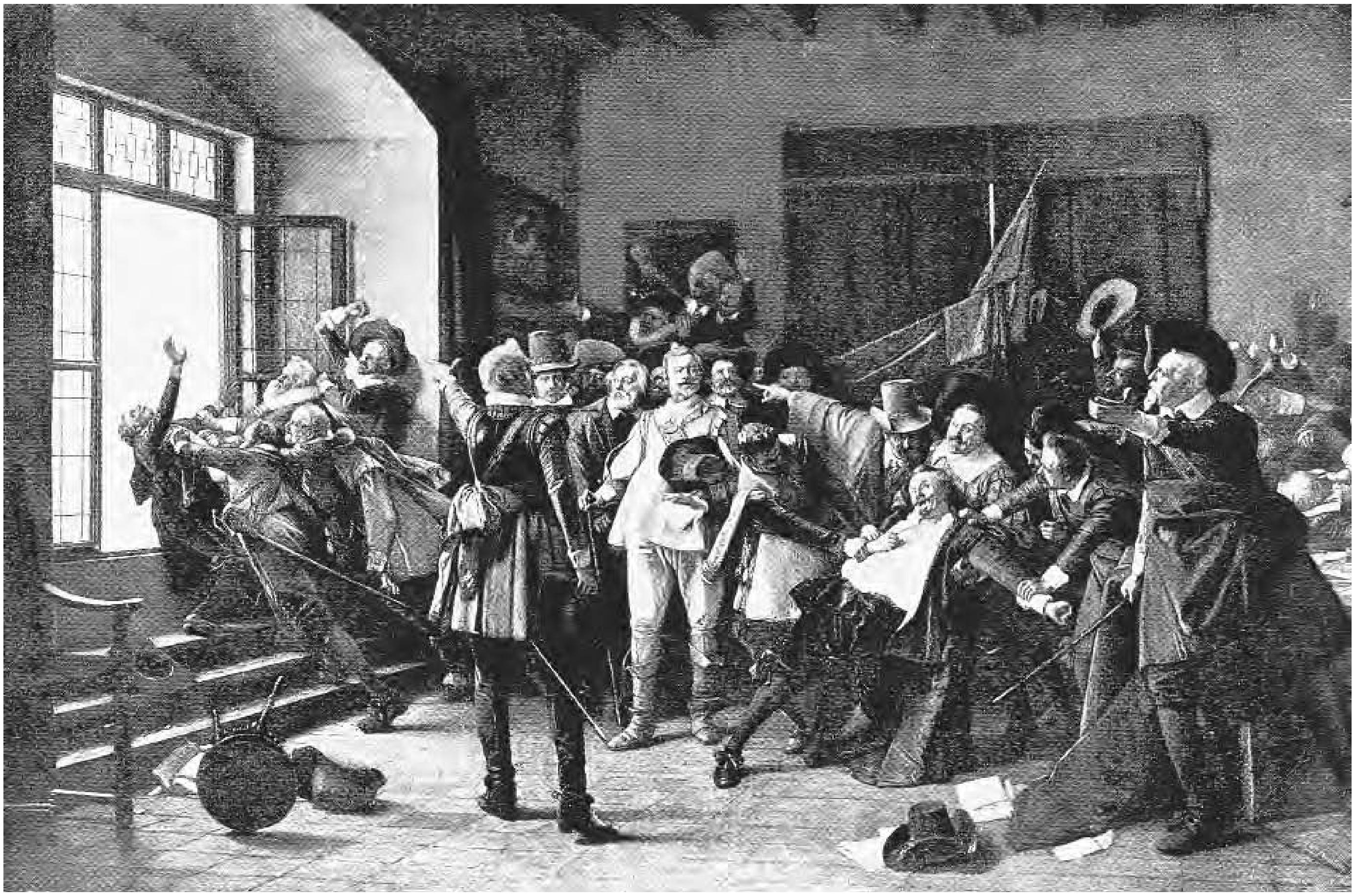
Jiří z Poděbrad, known as the "Hussite king" even though he was a moderate Utraquist, had difficulties with Popes Pius II and Paul II, both of whom wanted him to renounce the Compactata and persecute the Utraquists. Jiří z Poděbrad refused to do so, and Paul II excommunicated and deposed him in 1466. Some Catholic nobles, with the aid of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus, attempted to remove Jiří z Poděbrad, but their efforts failed (Jiří z Poděbrad even captured Matthias Corvinus at one point). From 1462, the year Pius II renounced the Compactata, until 1464, Jiří z Poděbrad attempted to consolidate his position against the pope by advancing a European-wide union of Christian states to settle disputes, thereby preventing war among them, and to halt the Turkish threat, if necessary through war. The French king was to convene the union, which would reach decisions through a majority vote, with one vote each to the kings of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Decisions were to be binding on all members. The envoys of Jiří z Poděbrad unsuccessfully sought to convince Europe's leaders to accept the proposal. Although the proposal for a Christian union aroused a great deal of interest, no ruler subscribed to the plan. An organization with a similar goal of preserving peace did not appear until the twentieth century with the League of Nations and the United Nations. It was also during the reign of Jiří z Poděbrad in the 1450s that a certain Brother Řehoř, the nephew of Rokycana, established the Jednota bratrská, also known as the Unitas Fratrum, Bohemian Brethren, or Moravian Brethren. The Brethren's most noted early thinker and leader was Petr Chelčický, who wrote *Sít' víry* (The Net of Faith) and other works. Chelčický accepted the Hussite reforms but held that believers should return to the teachings and lifestyles of the early Christians and preach strict nonviolence. Eventually the Brethren influenced several Protestant sects, including the Quakers.

Before Jiří z Poděbrad died, he excluded his sons from the throne of Bohemia, realizing that his family's Utraquism had a divisive influence on politics, and successfully encouraged the Bohemian diet to turn to the Jagiellonian dynasty of Poland. In 1471 the Bohemian diet elected Vladislav II Jagiellonian to the throne. Matthias Corvinus of Hungary also wanted the crown, and he managed to place Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia (as well as part of Austria, including Vienna) under the Hungarian Crown until his death in 1490. At that time, the Hungarian diet too elected Vladislav Jagiellonian as king, which effectively reunited the Kingdom of Bohemia. In 1515 Vladislav concluded a double marriage agreement with Maximilian of Austria that enabled the Habsburgs to come to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary if the Jagiellonian family died without an heir and stipulated that the Jagiellonian family would inherit Austria should the Habsburg family expire. It was one of the most fateful marriage agreements of history. When Vladislav II Jagiellonian died in 1516, his son, Ludvík Jagiellonian, who had married Maximilian's granddaughter, came to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary. The Turks, having conquered the entire Balkan Peninsula with the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, now set their sites on Central Europe. They attacked Hungary, and the Hungarian forces, with Ludvík Jagiellonian at the lead, suffered a terrible defeat at Mohács on the Danube River. As he retreated, Ludvík Jagiellonian drowned; after his horse reared, he fell into a swamp, and his heavy armor prevented him from standing. The Turks advanced northward, ravaging nearly all of Hungary.

BOHEMIA IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE HABSBURG MONARCHY (1516–1618)

With the death of Ludvík, the Jagiellonian-Habsburg marriage agreement was to take effect. Nevertheless, the diets of Bohemia and Hungary each had to accept the Habsburgs, and the accession of Ferdinand I of Habsburg to both thrones paved the way for the Habsburgs to rule in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary for the next four hundred years.

Whereas Ferdinand had to resort to force to secure the throne in the case of Hungary, diplomacy sufficed in Bohemia. Shortly after Mohács in 1526, the Bohemian diet elected Ferdinand as king of Bohemia based on Ferdinand's acceptance of Bohemia's existing laws, including the Compactata, limits on the Crown's rights to impose taxes, and exempting the nobles from participating in any war outside the Kingdom of Bohemia. In 1541 a fire devastated the Lesser Town of Prague and spread up the hill toward Hradčany and the Hrad. In its path, it consumed the building that housed the archives, including the agreement Ferdinand had made in 1526. Many believed that Ferdinand may have been involved in setting the fire to rid himself of the document. In 1546 German Protestants in the Schmalkaldic League rebelled against the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, Ferdinand's brother. The Bohemian nobles and towns refused to help Ferdinand, and in 1547 they actually assisted the Protestants by preparing to attack him. Ferdinand styled the creation of the army an act of treason, and after defeating the Bohemian estates with an army he borrowed from Charles, Ferdinand tightened his control over Bohemia. He executed four Protestant leaders (although not the most prominent ones), confiscated property, and meted out other punishments. Most of the towns in Bohemia (unlike Moravia) had opposed Ferdinand, and he removed their privileges, most of which were restored over time; Ferdinand placed the towns under royal control and



Members of the Bohemian Estates throw three representatives of the Habsburg emperor from a window of the Prague Castle on 23 May 1618. (North Wind Picture Archives)

taxation. The diet met in August-September 1547 and accepted the Habsburgs' hereditary right to the throne, canceled the right of the estates to form confederations, and recognized the king's prerogative to call the diet and regional assemblies and appoint provincial officials. The dominant theme in the political history of Bohemia from 1547 until 1620 was the effort by the estates to regain their lost privileges and limit the Crown.

Ferdinand divided his realm among his three sons, with Maximilian II receiving Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and the empire and holding the strongest position (unity came in 1611). Maximilian was sympathetic to the Protestants, but he had promised his father that he would remain faithful to the Catholic Church, and he feared open religious division should he declare his support for Protestantism. Nevertheless, when some Bohemian nobles agreed on a document to unite Protestants, Utraquists, and Bohemian Brethren to form the Bohemian Confession in 1575, Maximilian refused to approve it. Czech non-Catholics lost their chance for unity. Many of the Utraquists gravitated toward Catholicism, and Maximilian, under pressure from the Catholic princes in Germany, resumed persecution of the Bohemian Brethren.

The next Habsburg ruler, Rudolf II, moved the capital from Vienna to Prague. Rudolf's policies brought the nobility in some areas of his realm to rebel in 1606, forcing him to turn over Moravia, Austria, and Hungary to the control of his brother, Mathias, in 1608. The diets of Bohemia and Silesia remained loyal to Rudolf and used the opportunity to force him into a legal compromise. Despite Rudolf's tolerance for the accepted religions of the Czech Lands, the estates in 1609 persuaded Rudolf to sign the letter of majesty, which guaranteed freedom of religion in Bohemia for Catholics and Protestants, placed control of the Utraquist Consistory in the hands of the diet, created a group of thirty representatives from the diet to ensure freedom of religion, returned control of the University of Prague from the Jesuits to the Utraquists, and enabled the nobility and royal cities to build churches where they saw fit. The religious question in Bohemia seemed solved, and the diet successfully limited the king.

In 1611 Rudolf II faced another enemy, the bishop of Passau, who had invaded Bohemia. Rudolf turned to Mathias for protection, and Mathias forced Rudolf's abdication in Bohemia. Mathias I reunited the monarchy. He moved the capital back to Vienna and left a group of governors, all devout Catholics, in Prague. Mathias, like Rudolf, had no heir, and his successor was his cousin, Ferdinand II. Like his cousin and uncle before him, Ferdinand II accepted the letter of majesty, although he violated it on many occasions.

Within a short time, the tense relations between Ferdinand II and the Bohemian nobility exploded over the destruction of two Protestant churches that had been built on Catholic Church lands. On 23 May 1618, the Protestant nobility met with Habsburg representatives in Prague at the Hrad. After a heated exchange, the nobles seized two governors and a scribe and threw them from the window. All survived, thanks to the presence of a dung heap below, although not without injuries. Reminiscent of the defenestration nearly two hundred years before, the events of 1618 symbolized the estates' defiance of the Habsburgs. The estates formed a directorate of thirty nobles, and in July 1619 they deposed the Habsburgs and elected as king Frederick of the Palatine. The estates hoped that his wife, who was the daughter of England's James I, would help cement diplomatic and military ties with Protestant states throughout Europe.

The subsequent war between Austria and Bohemia was the first round of the Thirty Years' War. Although initially the Bohemian estates successfully defended the kingdom, Bohemia received only minor assistance from its allies. Although the Bohemian army advanced as far as Vienna in June 1619, it had to withdraw because it lacked sufficient forces to lay siege to the city. The Austrians advanced toward Prague and defeated the Bohemian forces at White Mountain outside Prague on 8 November 1620. Instead of regrouping, relying on the defenses of Prague, and accepting the assistance of allies—a Transylvanian army was only a few kilometers from Prague—the Bohemian estates panicked. Thurn and others fled the country, as did King Frederick, whose flight during the coldest season of the year won him the epithet "the Winter King."

Once again in control of Bohemia, Ferdinand made sure that the kingdom would never again rebel. On 21 June 1621, twenty-seven leaders of the rebellion—three nobles, seven knights, and seventeen burghers—were publicly executed. Included among the victims were three men who had been important figures in Prague's intellectual life since the reign of Rudolf II: Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdružic, a nobleman, a composer, and the author of a popular book (1608) about his travels to the Middle East; Jan Jesenský-Jessenius, the personal physician of Rudolf II and Mathias, philosopher, and rector of Prague University who conducted the first public anatomical dissection in 1600 in Prague; and Václav Budovec z Budova, a member of the Bohemian Brethren who was among the members of the Bohemian diet responsible for Rudolf's acceptance of the letter of majesty. The heads of twelve of those executed were displayed in iron cages suspended on the tower of the Old Town side of Charles Bridge for just over a decade, until Protestant forces occupying Prague in 1632 removed them. Today, twenty-seven crosses in the pavement before the Old Town Hall mark the location of the executions.

In May 1627 Ferdinand issued the Renewal Ordinance, in effect a new constitution for Bohemia, an act that Ferdinand claimed was his right because he had suppressed a rebellion (he issued similar ordinances for Moravia and Silesia). To weaken the nobility, Ferdinand II readmitted the Catholic Church to the diet as the first estate, giving it more powers than any other estate. He required towns to pay special taxes for their part in the rebellion, with the exception of the loyal towns of České Budějovice and Plzeň. The diet could not attach conditions to money appropriations and lost the right of legislative initiative. Convoking the diet became the sole responsibility of the king. The king reserved the right to appoint royal officials without the approval of the diet. Bohemia lost its status as a kingdom, its component parts becoming mere provinces of Austria; the Habsburgs became the hereditary dynasty in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia following the male and female lines. Ferdinand revoked the letter of majesty and made the Roman Catholic Church the only legal faith. Finally, he made German legally equal to Czech in the courts.

Reprisals, confiscations, and religious persecution caused approximately 36,000 families, including many noble families, to flee from Bohemia to the neighboring countries of Saxony, Poland, and Hungary. Two individuals who went into exile were Augustin Heřman and Frederick Philips (Bedřich Filip). After first going to the Netherlands and later to New Amerstdam (today's New York City), Heřman finally settled in Maryland, where he received a tract of land (Bohemian Manor). There, he produced the first accurate map of Maryland and Virginia. Philips settled in New Amsterdam and became an adviser to the new English governor when the English took control of the colony. Some exiles went to Germany, where they found refuge on the estate of Count Nikolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf. Here they revived the Moravian Church, which spread in 1735 to England and America. The Moravian Church continues to exist, especially in America, Europe, and Africa. Another Czech to leave his country was the educator and cleric of the Bohemian Brethren Jan Amos Komenský (also known as Johann Amos Comenius), who contributed to the development of education in several European states.

Ferdinand's confiscation of three-quarters of all the country's estates not only removed resistance to the Crown but also augmented the coffers of the court in Vienna and strengthened the bureaucracy. The defeat of the Bohemian estates at White Mountain thus helped pave the way for absolutism in the realm of the Habsburgs. Ferdinand guaranteed Bohemia's subjugation by transplanting Catholic nobility from all over Europe to Bohemia to take possession of confiscated landed estates. One of those who acquired property in this manner was Filip Fabricius, the scribe whom representatives of the rebel Bohemian estates had cast from the window in the Hrad in 1618. Ferdinand II had honored him with the title Hohenfall, "high fall," adding to the title that Rudolf II had granted him. He thus became known as Filip Fabricius z Rosenfeldu a Hohenfallu. Another who benefitted from the acquisition of confiscated land was Count Albrecht z Valdštejna (Albrecht von Wallenstein), who led Habsburg troops during the Thirty Years' War and commanded the executions in Prague in 1621. Wallenstein was born to Czech nobility of the Bohemian Brethren; for political reasons he decided to Germanize and convert to Catholicism, although he had more faith in astrology than the mass. Wallenstein made a vast fortune through a strategic marriage and the acquisition of confiscated estates. He eventually purchased the Friedland estate in Northern Bohemia, which brought him great status. His pretentiousness and political ambition are apparent in the scale and grandeur of his baroque palace and gardens in Prague (constructed by Italian architects), now housing the Senate of the Czech Republic.

Although Ferdinand conquered Bohemia, the Thirty Years' War continued. After the Bohemian period came the Danish, the Swedish, and the International or Franco-Habsburg periods. In the Danish period (1625–1629), Wallenstein continued to fight the Protestant Danes, who had given military support to the Bohemians, until he imposed a treaty on Denmark. This marked the apogee of Habsburg strength in the wars. At the conclusion of this period, Ferdinand dismissed Wallenstein for good reason. In 1630 Wallenstein received a letter from the Swedish monarch Gustavus Adolphus, who tempted Wallenstein with a principality in exchange for peace. Meanwhile, exiled Bohemians spoke of giving Wallenstein the crown of Bohemia. Spain, Austria's ally, wanted to continue hostilities, since there had been no clear Catholic victory, and Wallenstein's army objected to peace because it meant fewer estates and spoils. Nonetheless, he continued his contacts with the Swedes and opened discussions with the Saxons, Brandenburgers, and even the French—and alienated all of them. The Swedish period (1630–1635) brought initial success for the Protestants when the Saxons occupied Prague for a few weeks in 1632 and enabled exiled Bohemian Protestants to return to the city. Meanwhile, the Swedes, with Catholic French support, advanced toward Austria. Ferdinand had to reappoint Wallenstein as commander, and within a few weeks he ejected the Saxons from Bohemia. After Gustavus Adolphus died in battle in 1632, Wallenstein was less than indispensable for the Habsburgs. In early 1634 Wallenstein began to plot against Ferdinand, but not all of his generals remained loyal to him. Before he was to meet with the Swedes and Saxons, troops loyal to Ferdinand murdered Wallenstein. The Swedish period of the war ended with the Treaty of Prague in 1635, in which Saxony received Lusatia, which never returned to the Bohemian Crown.

In the International or Franco-Habsburg period (1635–1648), Protestant Sweden became allied with Catholic France, demonstrating that politics motivated rulers more than religion. The Swedes entered Bohemia in 1639, and their engagements with the Habsburg forces ravaged the countryside. In 1648 the Swedes took the Prague Castle and Lesser Town, but they were unable to capture the Old Town because of the resistance from the inhabitants, including the Jews. The Swedes plundered Bohemia, confiscating the bulk of paintings from the Hrad that Rudolf II had acquired, transported the library of the noble Petr Volk from Třeboň to Sweden, and sent to Sweden the statues Wallenstein had commissioned for his palace. It became apparent to all belligerents that neither side could claim ultimate victory. Negotiations began for a general peace, but sporadic conflicts erupted. The Peace of Westphalia (24 October 1648) ended the war and extended to Calvinist princes the religious provisions of *cuius regio eius religio* (whose the region, his or hers the religion; in other words, subjects must accept the religion of their ruler) of the Peace of Augsburg (1555). After thirty years, the Habsburgs had the luxury of peace in Europe to reshape the economy and culture of the devastated Czech Lands.

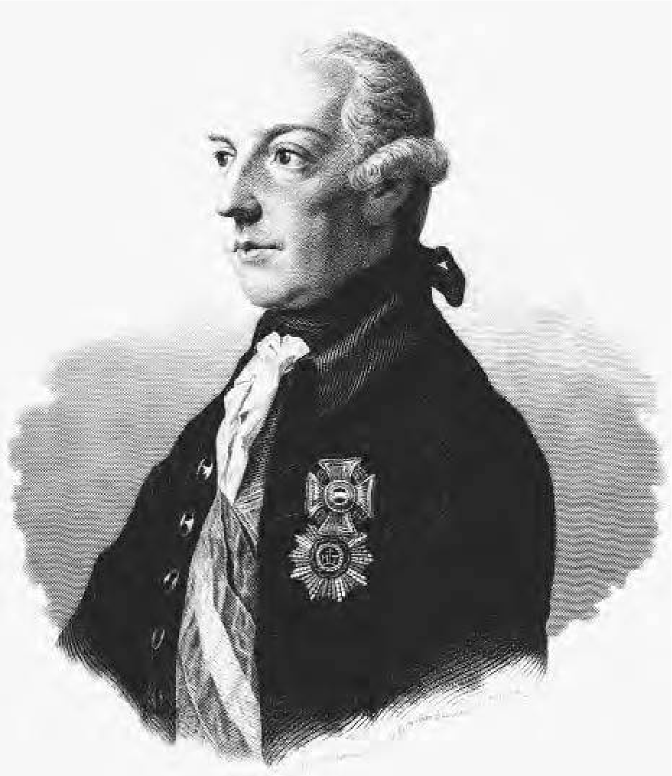
Charles VI, having no male heirs, strove to secure the throne of Austria for his daughter, Maria Theresa, and the Holy Roman Empire for her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine. The Hungarian diet accepted Charles's Pragmatic Sanction with renewed Habsburg recognition of the Hungarian legal system and diet; however, the Bohemian estates approved the Pragmatic Sanction without wresting any concessions from Vienna. Foreign powers also accepted the Pragmatic Sanction, but Frederick the Great, who had come to the Prussian throne in 1740 (the same year Maria Theresa took the Austrian throne), did not honor the agreement his father had made. The ensuing War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) included two conflicts over Silesia (1740–1742; 1744–1748). In the first, Frederick the Great took Kladsko and most of Silesia (aside from Těšíňsko and Opavsko) from Bohemia, losses that Austria recognized with the Treaty of Berlin. In 1741 the Bavarian duke, Charles Albert, invaded Bohemia with the assistance of France and Saxony and took the throne. Charles Albert became Holy Roman Emperor in 1742, but in the same year, Austria occupied Munich and Prague, forcing him into exile. Maria Theresa was crowned in Prague in 1743. She rescinded Charles Albert's patent (decree) that had granted freedom to serfs who had supported him against the Habsburgs. Francis Stephen came to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire in 1745, after Charles Albert's death. In the second Silesian War, the Prussians seized Prague for a short while, and the 1745 Treaty of Dresden between Prussia and Austria acknowledged once again Prussia's hold over most of Silesia. Because they supported the Prussians, Maria Theresa issued a decree expelling the Jews from Prague and the Czech Lands by February 1745. (International pressure along with economic necessity however forced Maria Theresa to permit Jews to resettle in the Czech Lands; the expulsion orders were rescinded in 1755.) The War of Austrian Succession, which continued in Italy and Western Europe with France and Spain as allies against Austria, finally ended in 1748. During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the Prussians and Austrians again fought over Silesia. The Prussians invaded Bohemia several times, and in 1757 they bombarded Prague. In February 1763 at the Peace of Hubertsburg near Leipzig (the Seven Years' War had ended a few days earlier with the Treaty of Paris), Austria again recognized Prussia's hold over Silesia.

Maria Theresa's military, fiscal, and administrative reforms were consistent with those of other absolutist monarchs in the eighteenth century who sought to centralize the state and eliminate the last vestiges of feudalism. Maria Theresa dramatically increased the size of the standing army and made it more professional to keep Austria's military readiness on a par with that of other major European states. She also hoped a stronger military would help her regain Silesia, where a nascent textile industry had begun to take on economic significance before she came to the throne. To support the military reform, Maria Theresa's chancellor, Count Friedrich Wilhelm Haugwitz, dramatically increased taxes in Austria and Bohemia, which bore the heaviest burden, through the Decennial Recess, so named because the taxes were payable over a period of ten years. To ensure that the proper amount of revenue reached the state coffers, Maria Theresa ordered the First Theresian Cadaster (1748), which surveyed rustical land (i.e., the land the peasants worked), and the Second Theresian Cadaster (1756), which registered the lands of the estates (dominical lands). The tax rate on rustical land was much higher than on dominical land.

Maria Theresa modernized the state administration and centralized it in Vienna. She abolished the separate Austrian and Bohemian Chancelleries in Vienna and replaced them with a Directory of Public and Financial Affairs, under Haugwitz, and a Supreme Court for both Bohemia and Austria. She later abolished the directory and created the Bohemian and Austrian Court Chancellery, which no longer had fiscal powers, other than collecting taxes, and a Treasury. Previously the diets of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia (like those in Austria) had elected governors, but Maria Theresa began appointing governors selected from the local nobility. She abolished the administrations under the diets and replaced them with a bureaucratic hierarchy centered in Vienna. Maria Theresa's other reforms included the transfer of censorship from the church to the state and the elimination of most forms of torture. Because Maria Theresa realized that Hungarian nobles would resist any reforms that centralized power in Vienna, she extended few of her reforms to Hungary.

Maria Theresa realized that augmenting the level of education throughout the monarchy would advance the economy, increase state revenues, and improve military efficiency, so she established a system of primary schools, created a network of schools to train teachers, and transferred the *Gymnasia,* college-preparatory high schools that focused on the humanities, from the Jesuits to the Piarists after the pope banned the Jesuits in 1773. She placed the universities under the control of the state, which modernized the curricula, for example, by adding agriculture along with administration and commerce as subjects.

After Francis Stephen died in 1765, Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, served as coregent and Holy Roman Emperor. After Maria Theresa's death, Joseph began a rapid process of reform that represents the culmination of enlightened absolutism in Austria. He was arguably the most "enlightened" of European monarchs. Shortly after coming to the throne, he issued the toleration patent of 1781, which legalized the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Orthodox faiths but did not grant full equality with Catholics. Toleration had its limits, however, and Joseph persecuted those professing religions not enumerated in his toleration patent, frequently sending their adherents to internal exile in Transylvania. The Jews benefited from decrees that eliminated proscriptions regarding their clothing, permitted them to enter schools and universities, allowed them to engage in agriculture, and enabled them to take up specific trades. Because Jews no longer had to live in ghettos, the Jewish population grew in urban areas, such as Prague. Joseph further restricted the power of the Catholic Church. General seminaries under state auspices, including one in Prague and another in Olomouc, became the only means of training priests. Joseph eliminated the contemplative orders, closed 71 out of 154 monasteries and convents in Bohemia and 41 out of 74 in Moravia, and closed 37 churches and many more church-related buildings in the Czech Lands. Joseph earmarked the financial windfall from these closures to fund poor parishes.



Joseph II (1741–1790); Holy Roman Emperor, 1765–1790; King of Austria, 1780–1790. (Library of Congress)

Joseph continued to centralize administrative power in Vienna, systematically destroying what little control over local affairs remained in the hands of the diets. In 1783 he eliminated the Permanent Committee of the Bohemian Kingdom, which since 1714 had managed the affairs of the estates when they were not in session, and transferred its duties to the provincial governor. In 1788 he announced that he would no longer convene the Bohemian diet on an annual basis. Joseph instituted several legal reforms, including the reorganization of the court system of the Czech Lands, the requirement that judges be trained lawyers, the elimination of all forms of torture, and the restriction of capital punishment. He made commoners and nobles equal before the law. In 1786 he issued a decree with respect to individual rights and responsibilities and family law that included the recognition of marriage as a civil contract and the ability of women and illegitimate children to inherit property. Finally he prepared a complementary reform regarding civil matters that became law in 1811. Centralization and the broadening network of schools under Maria Theresa replaced Latin, which had become increasingly cumbersome, with German as the language of administration and education. Joseph went a step further and decreed in 1784 that German was the official state language, even for Hungary.

Hungarian opposition to Joseph's reforms caused him to eliminate all but the toleration and serfdom patents and his monastic reforms in Hungary in 1790 just before he died. He considered himself a failure, despite the fact that many of his reforms had a lasting impact on the monarchy. Joseph's brother, Leopold II, who succeeded him in 1790, undid more of Joseph's reforms, including the tax and urbarial patent and the general seminaries. He reformed Joseph's penal code and placed limits on Joseph's secret police. Inspiration for Leopold's changes came in part from public opinion and the standpoint of the representatives of the upper classes in the diets.

THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

Joseph II opposed the French Revolution, which began in 1789, but he had no desire to involve Austria in French affairs. Leopold II also hesitated to become embroiled in the revolution. For political reasons, in February 1792, he concluded an agreement with Prussia to attack France, should the proper alliance with Britain come about. Leopold died a month later. His successor was Francis II (I) (Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire, 1792–1806; Francis I of the Austrian Empire, 1804–1835), and just weeks after he came to the throne, France went to war against what became known as the First Coalition, ultimately comprising Austria, Prussia, Britain, Spain, and Holland. Russia and Prussia became preoccupied with the second partition of Poland in 1793, and in 1795 Prussia, Russia, and Austria partitioned Poland into oblivion. The First Coalition gradually disintegrated, ending with the peace of Campo Formio in October 1797 between Austria and France. In 1798–1799 Britain organized the Second Coalition against France, which included Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Prussian and then Russian troops marched through the Czech Lands, evoking in some segments of Czech society a sense of Slav solidarity. The Second Coalition ended with the French defeat of Austria and the 1801 Treaty of Lunéville.

In France, Napoleon rose from the position of a general to become First Counsel and then proclaimed himself emperor in 1804. A few months later, Francis, correctly fearing for the fate of the Holy Roman Empire and the loss of his imperial title, proclaimed Austria an empire. In 1805 the British brought together the Austrians and Russians in the Third Coalition against France, which on the Continent appeared unstoppable. In November Napoleon took Vienna and in December defeated Russian and Austrian troops at Slavkov (Austerlitz), not far from Brno, Moravia. In the Treaty of Pressburg (Hungarian Poszony; Slovak Bratislava), the capital of today's Slovak Republic, Austria lost an extensive amount of territory. In 1806 Francis announced the end of the Holy Roman Empire, and Napoleon combined several German states into the Confederation of the Rhine. The Third Coalition ended with the defeat of Prussia and the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 between Russia and France. In 1809 the Austrians attempted to fight Napoleon alone. The French again marched into Vienna and defeated the Austrians at the Battle of Wagram in July. During this campaign French troops destroyed the Castle Děvin near Bratislava. In early October Francis called on the German Prince Clemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich-Winneburg to salvage what he could from Austria's defeat. At the Treaty of Schönbrunn, the summer residence of the emperors in Vienna, Austria lost even more territory.

Metternich's intelligence, strategic thinking, cynicism, and perceptiveness with regard to his enemies (i.e., Napoleon) and his allies aided in the defeat of France and the elevation of Austria to one of the great powers of Europe. Metternich must be counted among the outstanding statesmen of modern Europe. In March 1812 Metternich formally allied Austria with France as Napoleon was about to lead his Grand Army eastward in June to defeat Russia, which in 1810 had ended its involvement in the Continental System, Napoleon's grand scheme to boycott Britain, cutting off all trade.Napoleon took Moscow late in the year but had to retreat in 1813, mainly because of the harsh Russian winter. Metternich, who long had been scheming behind Napoleon's back, devised the Fourth Coalition of Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia. In the ensuing conflicts, armies of both sides occupied the northern parts of the Czech Lands. The most important engagement was the Battle of Přestanov and Chlumec on 29–30 August, 1813, which the French forces lost. The Fourth Coalition followed through, overcoming the French and their allies at the Battle of Nations on 16–19 October near Leipzig. Finally, Austria and its allies concluded the defeat of France in May 1814 and secured the abdication and exile of Napoleon. Although Napoleon escaped a year later, his defeat at Waterloo brought the wars to an end. Metternich and British prime minister Viscount Castlereagh were the principal negotiators of the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, which restored dynasties to their thrones and redrew the map of Europe.

THE CZECH RENAISSANCE (1781–1848)

The national awakening, or Czech Renaissance, began during the reign of Joseph II and continued until the revolutions of 1848. The Theresian and even more so the Josephinian reforms encouraged an already bourgeoning interest in Czech language and history. As the nineteenth century progressed, economic and political liberalism, nationalism, and romanticism strengthened throughout Europe, and in the Czech Lands they inspired what became known as the Czech Renaissance.

Much of the interest in the history and culture of Bohemia in the late eighteenth century originated with the nobility, even though many of them did not have Czech roots. The *Landespatriotismus* (national patriotism) of the nobility was not merely a result of curiosity. The nobility sought legal grounds for having the Czech Lands regain their long-lost political rights. With the growth of an educated Czech middle class, Landespatriotismus gave way to nationalism.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Czech nationalism was largely cultural. The literary work of Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) and Josef Jungmann (1773–1847) inspired increased literary activity among Czechs, as well as a broader interest in history and ethnicity. Next, historian František Palacký (1798–1876) and others blended history with politics to advance the Czech nation. Aiding the Czechs in discovering their past and planning their political, cultural, social, and economic future were a series of new institutions, such as theaters and museums, which received broad popular support.

The shift to political nationalism did not come with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, when the Czechs were loyal to the Habsburgs, despite some intellectuals' flirtation with the idea of Russian assistance in advancing Czech interests in Austria. Political nationalism came late in the *Vormärz* (pre-March) period—the time before the revolutions of 1848, that began in 1835 with the reign of Ferdinand I, known as Ferdinand the Benign because of his limited mental capacity. In 1842 a change in the bylaws of the Society for the Promotion of Industry in Bohemia (Jednota k povzbuzení průmyslu v Čechách), originally an aristocratic organization, extended membership to Czech and German intellectuals and industrialists. The Czechs soon used the society as a forum for cultural and political demands. The first truly politically oriented organization was a secret group that began in 1844 known as Repeal, named after the Irish society that opposed English rule. In 1845 the Citizens Club (Měšt'anská beseda) formed as a social group, but it was a haven for political debates.

Espousing a political stand in the first half of the nineteenth century was dangerous. Managing the affairs for Ferdinand I was a state conference of a half dozen men, including Metternich and the Czech noble Count Franz Anton Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky. Metternich continued to concentrate on foreign affairs while Kolowrat, as minister of state, handled the internal administration. To limit the spread of the political aspects of nationalism and liberalism, Kolowrat relied on the Karlsbad Decrees, which Metternich negotiated at a conference in 1819 of the German Confederation in Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), Bohemia. The Karlsbad Decrees empowered the states of the German Confederation to control universities, prohibit student organizations, provide for strict censorship, and maintain a blacklist of unreliable individuals. One of the victims of the Metternich-Kolowrat regime was the Prague-born priest, mathematician, and philosopher Bernard Bolzano, the son of an Italian art dealer and German mother (Bolzano wrote in German). In 1819, immediately after the proclamation of the Karlsbad Decrees, Bolzano lost his professorship at the University in Prague, in large part due to his efforts to demystify Catholicism and his criticism of social inequality. He had the good fortune to continue his intellectual pursuits through the generosity of a close friend, but he had difficulty publishing his writings. Bolzano is respected today for his work in mathematics as well as logic, methodology, and epistemology.

Aside from the conference in Karlovy Vary that resulted in the Karlsbad Decrees, the other congresses and less important conferences designed to maintain the post-1815 order took place in other cities in the Czech Lands and Austria. From October to December 1820, Metternich hosted a congress in Opava (Troppau), which decided to suppress liberal and nationalist revolts in Naples, Spain, and Portugal. At the Congress of Ljubjana (Laibach), Slovenia, the participants decided to employ Austrian troops against the Neapolitans. At another conference in Mnichovo Hradiště (Münchengrätz), Bohemia, in September 1833, Austria, Russia, and Prussia agreed that Cracow, a small, neutral, and independent republic under the protection of its neighbors since the Congress of Vienna, would lose its independence should the Cracow government prove incapable of restraining nationalism and liberalism.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

The revolution that erupted in Prague in the spring of 1848 was related to the revolutions elsewhere in Europe: liberalism and nationalism were at its core; intellectuals, students, and the middle class were its leaders; moderate and then radical demands were its ideological fuel; and military intervention brought its end and the reimposition of the old regime. When news of the 22 February revolution in Paris reached Prague, Repeal organized the St. Václav Committee to draft a petition to the emperor. Initially radicals dominated the discussions, but the involvement of moderates, such as Palacký and the journalist Karel Havlíček Borovský, increased. The lawyer František A. Brauner drafted the petition and another lawyer, Adolf Maria Pinkas, revised it. The final draft, which the emperor received on 22 March, called for a yearly diet to manage the internal affairs of Czech Lands, the equality of Czechs and Germans, the abolition of the *robota,* the service serfs owed their lords, and freedom of the press, assembly, and religion. Seemingly empty promises of change from Vienna prompted the St. Václav Committee to revise its petition, again the work of Brauner, to demand an elected representative body instead of a diet and the creation of a separate ministry in Vienna for the Bohemian Crown. Vienna's answer on 8 April promised an expanded diet that was to include representatives from urban centers and agricultural landholders. The unity of the Czech Lands was to be the subject of further discussion. On 10 April the Advisory Commission of conservatives, which the governor of Bohemia, Rudolf Stadion, had created on 1 April as a counterweight to the liberals, merged with the moderates of the St. Václav Committee to form the National Committee. Radical voices were weaker still. In debating the political restructuring of Bohemia, moderates prevailed in proposing limited franchise and an upper chamber appointed by the lower chamber. Havlíček opposed these measures, while Palacký and Brauner supported them.

The atmosphere in the Czech Lands was electric. The newly gained freedom of the press brought a plethora of newspapers, including *Národní noviny* (National News), with Havlíček as the editor, and the radical *Pražský večerní list* (Prague Evening Gazette). The newspapers as well as leaflets contained songs, poems, editorials, and cartoons. Political groups abounded, notably the liberal and increasingly radical *Slovanská lípa* (Slavonic Linden). Strikes were frequent. Peasants, in a surprising burst of political consciousness, sent about five hundred petitions to the National Committee that demonstrated their frustration with the robota and aired a number of other political and social grievances. The National Committee urged the petitioners to be patient until a constitution could empower an elected legislature to deal with their complaints. German liberals in the Czech Lands supported the Frankfurt Assembly and sought to include Austria in a politically unified Greater Germany. When invited in April 1848 to travel to Frankfurt as a delegate, Palacký responded with his famous dictum: "Certainly, if the Austrian monarchy had not already existed for a long time, then it would be necessary, for the good of Europe—yes, for the good of humanity—now without delay to bring it into being." The question about Austria's inclusion in a restructured Germany sparked a great debate between Germans and Czechs. At times, it had a nasty tone.

As the debates over reforms in Bohemia continued, intellectuals in Prague organized a Slavic Congress. Initially it was to be an Austro-Slavic affair, with Slavs from outside the Austrian Empire attending as observers, but the delegates gathering in June decided to grant the more than three hundred representatives equal status, transforming the congress into a pan-Slavic affair. The congress issued the Manifesto to the European Nations, which extolled the glorious Slavic past and called for equality among nations and an international body to resolve disputes. The Slavic Congress prepared a petition for the Austrian emperor, but it never had the opportunity to approve the document. The greatest achievement of the Slavic Congress was to bolster the national pride of Slavic ethnic groups both inside and outside the monarchy.

Prague was relatively quiet from March through May, in comparison to Vienna, where protests on 13 March forced Metternich's resignation and continued unrest in May prompted the court's flight to Innsbruck. In Prague, the worst violence during this time was a riot against Jews on 1–2 May that resembled the 1844 strike of the cotton printers against the largely Jewish textile entrepreneurs that had degenerated into an anti-Jewish pogrom. The visibility of the military in Prague under General Alfred Windischgrätz provoked the students in particular, and a confrontation between protesters and the military on 12 June resulted in an uprising that lasted until 17 June. Windischgrätz was determined to end the revolt not only because he opposed liberalism but also because a stray bullet had killed his wife on the first day of the revolt. Moreover, Windischgrätz preferred military solutions to negotiation, an attitude that had contributed to the tense atmosphere in Prague before the uprising. With the violence mounting, on 15–16 June Windischgrätz bombarded the Old Town with cannons he had placed strategically on the hills of the left bank of the Vltava. Mostly workers and students were among the approximately fifty killed on the side of the revolutionaries. Buildings in the Old Town sustained some damage, and the Old Town Mills, in a prominent position next to Charles Bridge, lay in ruins. On 17 June, the moderates abandoned the barricades, and the revolt ended. Windischgrätz imposed martial law and hunted down revolutionaries and perceived conspirators.

Czech liberals were among the delegates to the Imperial Parliament that opened in July 1848 in Vienna. After rioting again occurred in Vienna, the court fled in October to Olomouc, and the Imperial Parliament relocated a short distance away in Kroměříž. The liberals favored ending the robota but demonstrated their moderate tendencies through their advocacy of compensation to the nobles for their economic losses. The most important work of the Imperial Parliament was to abolish the robota in September 1848. Palacký wrote two drafts for a constitution, the first based on administrative divisions existing before 1848 and the second on provinces determined by ethnicity, but he resigned after the committee did not approve his second plan. František Ladislav Rieger was the only Czech member of the constitutional committee to advocate universal male suffrage. Another lively debate centered on the bill of rights, which considered wording by Rieger that would maintain the monarchy but give sovereignty to the people.

The revolution in Vienna was over by the end of October 1848. In December 1848 Emperor Ferdinand abdicated and took up residence in the Prague Castle until his death in 1875. The new emperor was Ferdinand's nephew, Franz, who added Joseph to his name, thus invoking the image of the earlier revolutionary emperor, to become Franz Joseph I. The new emperor disbanded the Imperial Parliament, and on 7 March 1849, he issued a constitution (referred to, since it was "decreed," as an *octroyed* constitution) and a bill of rights, and a decree compensating the nobility for losses they sustained from the elimination of the robota. In the spring of 1849 Prague German and Czech radicals, mainly students, cooperated with the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin to plan a revolt in May that was to follow an uprising in Dresden. The action in Dresden began a few days early, catching the Prague revolutionaries unprepared. Police arrests ended the venture in Prague, and the so-called May Conspirators received prision sentences of various lengths. With imperial power secure in Bohemia and Austria, conflict remained only in Hungary; in August 1849, the Habsburg military, with the help of the Russian army, forced the Hungarians to surrender.

A year and a half of turmoil gave way to a decade of absolutism under Alexander Bach, who was justice minister and later interior minister in the government of the Bohemian Count Felix Schwarzenberg. Bach became the prime minister after Schwarzenberg's death. The government restricted personal freedoms and completely suppressed political liberalism. The Catholic Church received increased powers, including censorship. Symbolic of the repression was Havlíček, who spent nearly four years (1851–1855) in internal exile in Brixen (now in Italy) for having criticized the *octroyed* constitution. Palacký was under police surveillance. A popular joke at the time claimed that the Austrian Empire was the bureaucrat sitting, the priest kneeling, the army standing, and the spy rampant.

THE ERA OF CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTATION

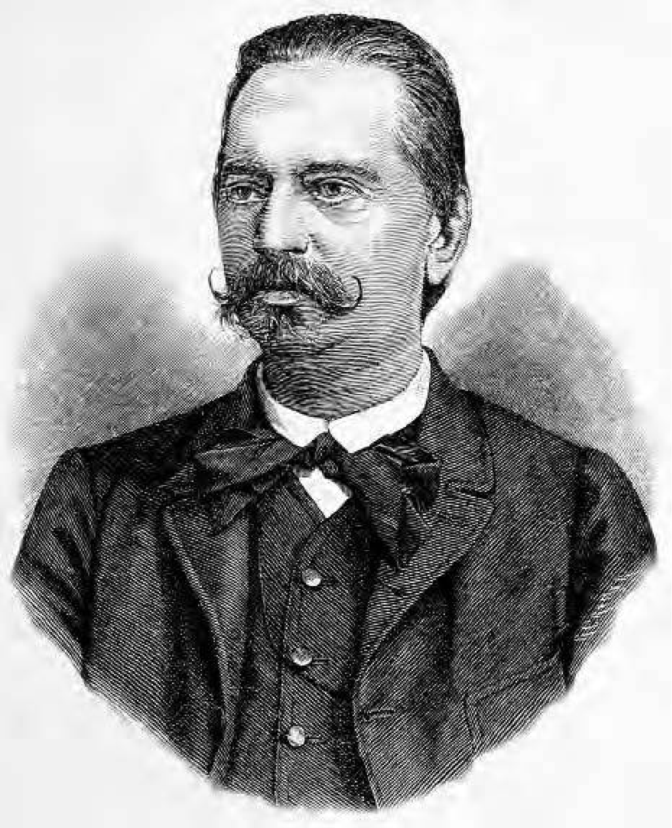
After Austria's embarrassing defeat at the Battle of Solfarino at the hands of Piedmont-Sardinia and France in 1859 and the loss of Lombardy, Franz Joseph endeavored to reform Austria's political system. In March 1860 he enlarged the appointed Reichsrat (Imperial Council) to include representatives from the nobility, clergy, towns, and countryside. It was to have an advisory capacity, particularly in economic matters. In his October Diploma of 1860 he proposed to reorganize the empire using a federal approach. To complement the Reichsrat, Franz Joseph planned to give broad powers over local affairs to the diets. The October Diploma faced opposition from the German liberals, who feared that weakening the central authority would strengthen the position of the non-German nationalities, as well as invite fierce resistance from the Hungarians, who wanted greater autonomy for Hungary and the return of Croatia and Transylvania to Hungarian administration. Franz Joseph's response was to implement a highly centralized system with the February Patent of 1861. The Reichsrat became a bicameral legislature that, unlike its predecessor, had the right of legislative initiative and control over the budget. The Crown appointed the House of Lords, while the local diets, now weaker than they would have been under the October Diploma, appointed the three hundred members of the House of Representatives. In turn, elections to the diets were based on the curial system, which divided the qualified electors, about a quarter of the adult population, into four groups: great estate owners (first curia), members of chambers of commerce (second curia), urban inhabitants (third curia), and rural inhabitants (fourth curia). Once it convened in 1861, the Reichsrat accomplished little. Hungarians, Croats, and Italians refused to participate, and the remaining representatives split among those in favor of centralism, largely the Germans, and those who opposed it. In July 1865, after years of political impasse, the first government of Prime Minister Archduke Ferdinand Rainer and Minister of State Anton von Schmerling resigned. The new prime minister, Count Richard Belcredi, a Moravian, was no more successful than his predecessors, and in September 1865 Franz Joseph dismissed the Reichsrat. Belcredi opened negotiations with the Hungarians, and many Czechs saw the talks as a first step toward the adoption of a truly federated political system. When Prussia defeated Austria in the Seven Weeks' War at the Battle of Sadová (near Hradec Králová, i.e., Königgrätz), Bohemia, in 1866, the stalemated talks between the Crown and the Hungarians resumed. Just as in the aftermath of Solfarino, Franz Joseph sought a quick solution to stabilize the country; this time he and his chief negotiator, Count Friedrich Ferdinand Beust, conceded to the Hungarians.

The 1867 *Ausgleich* (Compromise) between Austria and Hungary formed two separate political entities known jointly as Austria-Hungary, or the Dual Monarchy: the Empire of Austria, consisting of Austria, Bohemia, Galicia, Slovenia, and Bukovina (also informally referred to as Cisleithania, using the Leitha River as a border), and the Kingdom of Hungary, including Hungary, Ruthenia, Slovakia, Transylvania, and Croatia (also referred to as Transleithania). Austria and Hungary shared a common ruler, foreign policy, military, and finances to fund the court, diplomatic corps, and military. Otherwise, each half of the monarchy managed its own affairs. The non-German and non-Magyar ethnic groups viewed the Ausgleich as a model for further reforms that would elevate their ethnic group to equality with Germans and Hungarians. Their aspirations remained unfulfilled.

While the Ausgleich enabled the Hungarians to pursue their assimilationist magyarization policies that favored only Hungarian political and cultural advances, it enabled the Austrian portions of the monarchy to construct a dynamic developing democracy. In this respect, the compromise was arguably the most important positive turning point for state building in the Czech Lands since the Battle of White Mountain. Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia had their own diets, managed more of their own affairs over time, enjoyed increasing political and cultural freedoms, and hosted complex multiparty political systems. Of course, the gains were painfully slow, and long agendas for reform remained before World War I. The greatest obstacle to genuine, representative, pluralistic, parliamentary democracy was the Reichsrat's inability to appoint or remove the government, whose appointment and dismissal remained the prerogative of the Crown. In short, the Reichsrat had no ministerial or governmental responsibility.

POLITICS IN THE CZECH LANDS (1859–1914)

With the October Diploma of 1860, Czech liberals organized in the National Party, but an ever deepening division plagued their ranks. On the one side were the traditional liberals or Old Czechs, under the leadership of Palacký and Rieger; on the other were the Young Czechs, the new generation of liberals grouped around Emanuel Engel, the brothers Edvard Gréger and Julius Grégr, and František Tilšer. The gulf between the two became public when Palacký criticized the Polish uprising of 1863. More significantly, the Young Czechs grew weary of the older liberals' lack of initiative, their close relationship with the conservative Bohemian nobility, and their abstention from participating in the Reichsrat and frequently in the diets, a policy they initiated in June 1863. Although divergent with respect to strategy, all the liberals found common ground in what they referred to as Bohemian state's rights. Formulated over time in a number of venues, a concise exposition of Bohemian state's rights appeared in a declaration Czech liberals presented in the Bohemian diet in August 1868. The most important aspect of state's rights was the unity of the Czech Lands (before the compromise the Hungarians had sought the same with respect to Croatia and Transylvania). The demand for self-government was a corollary to the notion of unity. The greatest hope for the realization of Bohemian state's rights and a turn from "abstention" to "activism" occurred in 1871, when Prime Minister Count Karl Hohenwart struck a bargain with the Czechs that would have given the Czech Lands a single diet and broad autonomy and would have resulted in the Czech language



Count Eduard Taaffe (1833–1895), prime minister of the Austrian portion of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1878 to 1893. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

essentially being equal to German in the Czech Lands. Hohenwart scrapped the plan, however, largely because Hungarians opposed any change to the balance of power the compromise had created.

An open break occurred between the Old Czechs and Young Czechs in 1874 during the elections to the Bohemian diet. After the election, the seventy-seven Old Czech deputies refused to attend the sessions of the diet. Meanwhile, the seven Young Czechs not only participated in the diet's proceedings but formally established themselves as the National Liberal Party. Their newspaper was *Národní listy* (National Gazette), which Julius Grégr had established in 1861. Before the 1878 elections to the Bohemian diet, the Young Czechs and Old Czechs reached an agreement to campaign independently but to enter the diet as a single club, thus ending the Old Czech policy of abstention. The Czech liberals participated in the elections to the Reichsrat in 1879, came to terms with the prime minister, the Bohemian noble Count Eduard Taaffe, and entered the Reichsrat.

Taaffe combined several parties, including the Czech liberals, into what was known as the Iron Ring. His government, with many changes in personnel, lasted from 1879 until 1893. One of his first concrete accomplishments in the direction of satisfying Czech demands was the 1880 order placing the Czech language on an equal footing with German in the administration. In 1882 the government divided Prague University into German and Czech sections. Taaffe's government lowered the requirements for voter qualification for the second, third, and fourth curiae in 1882 and 1884. In the election of 1885, undertaken with the participation of more voters, Taaffe's Iron Ring remained in power. Differences in strategy between the Old Czechs and Young Czechs remained, and in 1887 the unity of the Czech Club appeared threatened. In 1888 Edvard Grégr established a rival club. In early 1890 the Old Czechs participated in a series of talks with the Germans in Bohemia under the auspices of the government and charted several reforms, known as the *punktace,* designed to solve the nationality problem in Bohemia and bring the Germans back to the Bohemian diet, which they had refused to enter since 1886. The Young Czechs charged the Old Czechs with compromising the historic unity of the nation. Only a few aspects of the proposed changes ever came into effect. Some Old Czechs in the Bohemian diet deserted their party and joined the Young Czech Party, which now had the majority of seats in the diet. In the electoral campaign for the Reichsrat in 1891, the Young Czechs waged a successful campaign against the Old Czechs, winning thirty-seven seats as opposed to two for the Old Czechs. Given the progress in the areas of culture and civic freedoms of the late nineteenth century, Bohemian state's rights often seemed to become merely a mandatary slogan for any Czech politician, yet it could be a powerful weapon if it appeared that a politician or party was not serving Czech interests. A number of difficulties combined with opposition from the Young Czechs, now in the majority in the Reichsrat, to bring down the Iron Ring in late 1893. Taaffe, who once said that the goal of politics in Austria was to keep all the ethnic groups "in the same well-tempered dissatisfaction," is a prime example of Austrian *Schlamperei und Gemütlichkeit,* the characteristic of being easy-going and carefree or the act of muddling through (quoted in Jászi 1961, 115–116). In reality, he attempted and often succeeded in enacting positive reform. In many respects, he was a politician who sought to accommodate differences and undertake small steps designed to tackle monumental problems, masking it all with a generous dose of the cynicism for which Central Europe is famous.

After Taaffe came Prince Alfred August Windischgrätz and Count Erich Kielmansegg, neither of whom attempted any major reform. The most noteworthy event of this two-year period was the Omladina conspiracy, which the police concocted. In a trial in 1894, sixty-eight out of seventy-six students and workers received prison sentences up to eight years. Although all were amnestied in 1895, the government's actions further shook the confidence of Czechs. In October 1895 Count Kazimir Badeni became prime minister. The greatest accomplishment of his two-year tenure was the Reform Bill of June 1896, which added to the Reichsrat a fifth curia with seventy-two seats (the other four curie had 353 seats) elected on the basis of universal suffrage for males above the age of twenty-four. At the end of the year, Badeni further broadened the franchise by reducing the tax qualification of voters for the third and fourth curiae. In 1897 Badeni attempted to solve the language conundrum in the Czech Lands by issuing the so-called Badeni Decrees, requiring that civil proceedings be conducted in the language of the applicant and that officials have a command of both Czech and German by 1901. Badeni brought about the end of Czech obstruction in the Reichsrat that had begun in 1891 but replaced it with German obstruction and demonstrations in the streets. Badeni had no choice but to resign in November 1897, and his successor, Paul von Gautsch, attempted to limit the selection of languages to mixed areas. Gautsch's compromise satisfied neither the Czechs nor the Germans, and when he resigned in March 1898, the Bohemian noble Count Franz Thun became prime minister. Thun failed to resolve the debate, and the short-lived government of Count Manfred Clary-Aldringen formally withdrew the Badeni Decrees on coming to office in October 1899. Now the Germans were satisfied, but the Czechs formally went into opposition. The government of Ernst von Koerber, which lasted from January 1900 to December 1904, offered a reprieve from the language issue by focusing on the economy, partly through such initiatives as railway and canal expansion and social reforms, including old age and health insurance. Following Koerber were the short governments of Gautsch from January to May 1906 and Prince Konrad Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst from 2 May to 28 May 1906. No prime minister ever found a language formula satisfactory to either nationality.

One glimmer of hope in settling the nationality problem in the Czech Lands came from Moravia through the so-called Moravian Pact (also known as the Moravian Compromise). In November 1905, after seven years of negotiations, the Moravian diet approved changes to the administration of Moravia, regulations regarding the official use of German and Czech, new procedures for elections to the Moravian diet, and education reforms. The laws effectively divided the election rolls and schools along nationality lines. The curiae of the Moravian diet remained, but the reform created a fourth, popularly elected curia (similar to the fifth curia in the Reichsrat), expanded the number of seats in each of the other three curiae for a total of 151 seats (including the archbishop of Brno and the bishop of Olomouc as ex officio representatives), and allotted a specific number of seats in the second, third, and fourth curiae to Czechs (73 seats—a few seats shy of a guaranteed majority) and Germans (46 seats). There was no division along ethnic lines for the first curia of great estate representatives and in the second curia for the cities of Brno and Olomouc, each with three seats. In January 1906, although technically not part of the Moravian Pact, the diet adopted measures to limit obstruction in its proceedings. The Moravian Pact stayed in force, despite its shortcomings, throughout the remaining years of the monarchy, and the Moravian diet continued to function, unlike its Bohemian counterpart. The Moravian Pact reduced ethnic tensions and simultaneously thwarted efforts to introduce universal male suffrage in the diet.

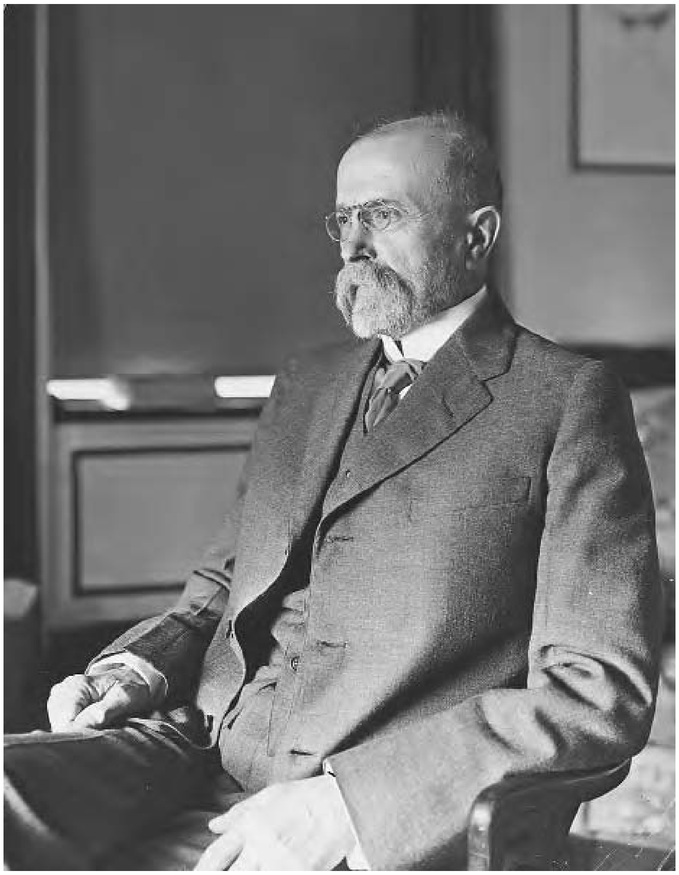
After the fall of Taaffe, Franz Joseph hopelessly sought a prime minister who could bring stability to the administration and the government and calm the politicians in the Reichsrat, who subordinated every major issue to the nationality question. The quick succession of prime ministers after Taaffe was linked with the turmoil on the floor of the Reichsrat, but the deputies' preoccupation with nationality issues was in turn connected to tensions rooted in ideology. For Czechs and Germans, the liberalism of the generation of 1848 had lost nearly all of its credibility. Although it had brought economic progress, it was defenseless against the protracted depression that began of 1873. Despite the cultural achievements to its credit, traditional liberalism could not offer Germans in the Czech Lands a secure position for their culture nor could it elevate Czech culture to at least equal status with German culture. The anticlericalism of traditional liberalism alienated the Catholic Church and its lay supporters. Finally, the ideology of the wealthy and established bourgeois had no appeal to the growing number of workers and the many tradesmen, small business owners, and professionals. The heated debates over cultural issues during the period of the Taaffe government and through the early years of the twentieth century were associated with the decline of liberalism and the rise of competing ideologies and, ultimately, political parties.

After Rieger died in 1903, the leadership of the Old Czechs was insufficient for the party to recapture its former strength. The Young Czechs dominated politics in Bohemia in the early and mid-1890s. Their most important politician was Josef Kaizl and then, after Kaizl's death, Karel Kramář. In the Moravian People's Party, an extension of the Young Czechs, Adolf Stránský was the leading figure. The Reichsrat elections of 1891 marked the first of three electoral victories for the Young Czechs. They handily won the elections to the Bohemian diet in November 1895, emerging with eighty-nine seats to the Old Czechs' three. When the elections to the Reichsrat took place in March 1897, the Young Czechs won sixty seats, and the Old Czechs had none. However, after the elections to the Reichsrat in 1900–1901, the Young Czechs had only fifty-three seats, with rival groups gaining ground. After the 1901 elections to the Bohemian diet, the Young Czechs won only sixty-six seats. They still had the largest number of deputies in the diet, but other parties strengthened their appeal to the voters.

Like the Old Czechs before them, the Young Czechs could not maintain their universal appeal in an increasingly diverse society. Generational differences complicated matters, as they did in nearly all the parties, and young politicians in the liberal and socialist movements formed what became known as the progressive movement. Some socialist progressives actually established a short-lived party, but the movement had a greater impact on the Young Czechs. A liberal group of Young Czechs broke from the party in 1897 to form the Radical Progressive Party. Meanwhile, young nationalist and antisocialist activists, including Alois Rašín, Karel Baxa, and Jaroslav Preiss, coalesced among the Young Czechs and established themselves as the State-Rights Radical Party in 1899.

The most powerful political party to emerge from the Young Czechs was the Agrarian Party. In the 1880s most nobles and well-to-do farmers (as opposed to peasants, most of whom could not vote) lent their support to the Young Czechs, despite their party's weak commitment to rural issues. In the elections to the Moravian diet of 1884 two independent politicians successfully ran on the promise of specifically serving their agrarian constituents. The first Agrarian Party in Bohemia emerged from the Young Czechs in 1891 under the leadership of Alfons Šťastný, and it sent two deputies to the Bohemian diet in 1895. In 1899 agriculturalists in the Young Czech Party sponsored Karel Prášek in an election to fill a vacancy in the Bohemian diet; days after he was elected, the group broke with the Young Czechs to create the Agrarian Party. Šťastný's party merged with the Agrarians the next year. In the Reichsrat elections of 1901 the Agrarians sent five deputies to Vienna. In the elections to the Bohemian diet in 1901 the party secured twenty-one seats and was second in strength to the Young Czechs. The Agrarian Party grew in membership, in part through its sponsorship of auxiliary agricultural organizations throughout the Czech Lands. Crucial among them was the Union of Sugar Beet Growers, which came under the leadership of Antonín Švehla, one of the party's most influential young politicians. In 1905 Moravian politicians merged with the Agrarians in Bohemia. The Agrarians had the third strongest party in the Moravian diet in 1906. In late 1905, when Švehla and his allies amended the conservative 1903 party program to support universal male suffrage, the Agrarian Party was poised to become one of the largest mass parties in the Czech Lands.

The Realist Party, which had its roots in the Young Czech Party, was small but influential. Its founder was Tomáš G. Masaryk, a professor at Charles-Ferdinand University. In 1890 he was elected as a Young Czech to the Reichsrat. Three years later, he left the party, and in 1900 he established the Realist Party (technically the Czech People's Party, later the Progressive Party), which had the backing of a number of respected intellectuals. Although it would be several years before the Realists would send a deputy to the Reichsrat, Masaryk strove to build support for his program. Realism, as best understood through Masaryk's works, including *Česká otázka* (Czech Question; 1895) and *Naše nynější krise* (Our Current Crisis; 1895), as well as *Ideály humanitní* (Ideals of Humanity; 1901), advocated a rational, objective approach to all social, political, and national questions of the day grounded in the principle of humanitarianism, which Masaryk believed was a constant thread through Czech history. Masaryk's views and willingness to take unpopular stands for the sake of the moral foundation of the nation can be seen in two cases. The first was a manuscript controversy that occurred in 1886 when he led a small group of scholars in revealing as forgeries two manuscripts allegedly demonstrating that the Czech literary heritage was one of the oldest in Europe. Then in 1899, during the Hilsner trial, he discredited the crime of ritual murder and commuted the death sentence of a Jew convicted of the crime.


Tomáš G. Masaryk (1850-1937), who became the first president of Czechoslovakia in 1918. (Bettmann/Corbis)

The socialist movement in the Czech Lands had a long history separate from other political parties. In a pub in the Prague district of Březno in April 1878, just over a dozen activists established the Social Democratic Workers Party. At first, socialists throughout the monarchy attempted to maintain one party, in accordance with the theory of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that workers were to transcend the capitalist-imposed limits of nationality that prevented or deterred the workers from overthrowing the capitalists. In 1896, however, the Czech socialists voted to maintain a separate party. With Badeni's electoral reforms, the workers could vote in the fifth curia, and in 1897 they elected five Social Democrats to the Reichsrat. In 1897 the Czech National Socialist Party (similar to Germany's Nazi Party only in name) emerged from the Social Democratic movement, its adherents setting aside Marxist internationalism in favor of Czech nationalism and, unlike the Social Democrats, supporting Czech state rights. The National Socialist Party also was decidedly reformist rather than revolutionary in character. As a result of the elections of 1900–1901 to the Reichsrat, the National Socialists sent three deputies and the Social Democrats two deputies to Vienna. In the 1901 elections to the Bohemian diet, neither party gained enough votes to enter the diet, but five Social Democrats entered the Moravian diet after the election of 1905.

To counter the anticlericalism of the liberals and the atheism of the socialists, Catholics organized their own political parties. In September 1894 the Christian Socialist Party began in Moravia, whose population historically was more supportive of Catholicism than that of Bohemia. The

Tomáš G. Masaryk (1850–1937)

Several outstanding individuals are in the pantheon of great historical figures in Czech history, including Charles IV, who in the fourteenth century led the Kingdom of Bohemia during its golden age, and Jan Hus, who in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth inspired Bohemia's pre-Lutheran reformation. The most significant personality of the modern age is Tomáš G. Masaryk. Americans and West Europeans know Masaryk as the founder of Czechoslovakia and champion of its democracy, and his image in this regard is exaggerated. It took the effort of many to create Czechoslovakia during World War I. Between the world wars, Masaryk himself could not sustain Czechoslovak democracy. Nevertheless, Masaryk was a major figure in the culmination of the national movement in the early twentieth century and a key player in the Czechoslovak political arena until shortly before his death.

Masaryk was born in March 1850 in Moravia to a Slovak coachman on an imperial estate and his Moravian wife. He studied at the University of Vienna, where he taught from 1878 until 1882. There he completed his dissertation, published in English as *Suicide and the Meaning of Civilization* (published in German as *Der Selbstmord als sociale Massenerscheinung der modernen Civilisation* in 1881 and in English in 1970). In 1882 he relocated to Prague and began teaching at the newly formed Czech branch of Prague University, where he became a professor in 1897. His publications on sociology, then an emerging field, dealt with work ethics, women's rights, and alcoholism. His interest in philosophy led him to examine the tenets of classical liberal thought. Czech affairs and politics occupied most of his efforts. He analyzed the lives of Hus, Havlíček, and Palacký. He addressed political concerns in such works as *Česká otázka* (The Czech Question) and *Naše nynější krise* (Our Current Crisis), both published in 1895. He helped publish three journals, *Athenaeum, Čas* (Time), and *Naše doba* (Our Age).

After joining the Young Czech Party, Masaryk ran for the Reichsrat and served as a deputy from 1891 until he resigned in 1893 over differences with the party's leadership. With several others, he established the Czech Populist (Realist) Party in 1900, which became the Czech Progressive Party in 1906 and was always popularly known as the Realist Party. This political party had limited success, but it put Masaryk in the Reichsrat from 1907 until 1914.

As a professor and politician, Masaryk became involved in several controversies, advancing his reputation of taking the side of the underdog in the interest of truth and fairness. As a professor in 1886, Masaryk exposed the forged medieval Králův Dvůr and Zelená Hora manuscripts that would have assigned Czech a literary heritage equal to that of the Germans. Then in 1899 he came to the defense of Leopold Hilsner, a Jew falsely accused of ritual murder. Masaryk's efforts moved Emperor Franz Joseph to commute Hilsner's death sentence to life imprisonment, and Emperor Karl pardoned him in 1918. Masaryk discredited the legal basis for ritual murder. In 1909 he proved that the government had used forged documents against Serb students being tried for conspiracy, and Masaryk's efforts brought the repeal of their sentences. He also exposed a forgery in 1909–1910 designed to justify the strong anti-Serb policy of Austro-Hungarian foreign minister Count Lexa von Aehrenthal.

In 1878 Masaryk married the American-born Charlotte Garrigue (1850–1923), whose maiden name Masaryk took as his middle name on their marriage. They had four children: Alice, who was prominent in the Red Cross and YWCA in Czechoslovakia; Herbert, an artist; Jan Masaryk, who became an ambassador between the world wars and Czechoslovakia's foreign minister during and after World War II; and Olga, the youngest.

When World War I erupted, Masaryk left Austria-Hungary and traveled to Italy, Switzerland, France, and finally Britain. With Edvard Beneš and Milan Štefánik, Masaryk established the National Council and the Czechoslovak Legions to liberate the Czech Lands and Slovakia from Habsburg rule. Masaryk and his associates worked tirelessly to create the state, with no guarantee of success until late in the war. Masaryk's old contact in America, the industrialist Charles R. Crane, with whom he shared a common interest in Russian affairs, helped Masaryk meet the American President Woodrow Wilson, who at first was not sympathetic to the destruction of Austria-Hungary. Masaryk toured America, meeting with Czech and Slovak groups and signing documents committing his movement to the creation of a democratic state. The most famous was the Pittsburgh Agreement of May 1918. The desire of other nationalities to separate from the monarchy, the popularity of Masaryk in influential Allied circles, the forcefulness of the Czech and Slovak cause, the exploits of the Czechoslovak Legions, and the pressure of émigré communities of Slovaks and Czechs abroad led the Allies in early 1918 to recognize Masaryk's National Council as the legal representative of the new state.

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Masaryk returned to Czechoslovakia in November 1918, after the Revolutionary National Assembly had elected him president in absentia. Masaryk, now sixty-eight years old, had no intention of assuming a role as a symbolic head of state. When the Revolutionary National Assembly drafted a constitution, Masaryk lobbied for a strong president, achieving only partial success. Masaryk ensured the president would play an active role in foreign affairs, in part through his support of Beneš as perennial foreign minister. He assembled a competent staff of advisers in the Hrad, to which gravitated prominent politicians from all the major political parties. Masaryk was involved as a power broker for coalition governments, particularly in cooperation with Antonín Švehla, the Republican leader. When politicians were unable to reach decisions, Masaryk and the Hrad helped broker deals. When Švehla became ill in late 1927, the Hrad and Masaryk's involvement in political affairs increased. Although as president, Masaryk was never a member of any political party, he favored moderate Social Democratic policies.

Slovaks and Czechs hailed Masaryk as the president-liberator and showered him with admiration when he attended functions or toured the countryside. *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem* (Conversations with T. G. Masaryk, 1928; released in English in 1938 as *Masaryk on Thought and Life),* based on interviews Karel Čapek had with Masaryk, became one of the most widely read books among Czechs and Slovaks. Masaryk resigned from the presidency in December 1935 because of ill health, and he died on 14 September 1937. Czechs and Slovaks mourned his passing. A cult of personality surrounded Masaryk when he was alive, and it intensified after his death. Thousands of laudatory speeches, articles, pamphlets, and books appeared about Masaryk in a variety of languages. Only some are truly useful in gaining an understanding of this career.

Masaryk's devotion to democracy, despite the shortcomings of the Czechoslovak First Republic, motivated many Czechs and Slovaks during the dark days of World War II and in their efforts after 1945 to rebuild the state. After the Communist coup d'état in 1948, the Communist authorities criticized Masaryk for having led a regime that had suppressed the workers and peasants. The efforts of historians and journalists to place Masaryk in a more objective light during the Prague Spring of 1968 ended with the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968. Masaryk once again fell out of favor. Nevertheless, the Communist government could not eradicate the positive memory of Masaryk, and flowers always adorned his grave in Lány, Bohemia, in the cemetery not far from the president's residential palace. The openness that accompanied the Velvet Revolution of 1989 brought renewed respect for Masaryk. Václav Havel, the president of Czechoslovakia and later the Czech Republic between 1989 and 2003, openly expressed his desire to return to the office of president the respect Masaryk had brought it. Scholars once again attempted to examine his activities. The significance of Masaryk long after his death can be seen in the high regard Czechs and Slovaks have for him, the painstaking efforts of the Communist regime to discredit him, and the revived interest since 1989 in understanding Masaryk and his role in Czech and Slovak politics.

basis of its ideology was the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum,* issued three years earlier, which condemned capitalism for the poverty it created and called for socialist parties and trade unions based on Catholic, rather than atheistic Marxist, principles. The most important Christian Socialist politician in the Czech Lands, Jan Šrámek, was a Catholic priest, but his party was not subservient to the Vatican or the Catholic hierarchy. Šrámek cooperated with Mořic Hruban, who established the National Catholic Party in Moravia in 1896 that appealed to the upper classes, as opposed to the workers, and was closely tied with the Moravian National Party (i.e., the Old Czechs in Moravia). Other smaller Catholic parties emerged in Bohemia and Moravia. In the Bohemian diet and the Reichsrat, the Catholic parties never gained more than a few seats. The Catholics' greatest strength, however, was in Moravia, and in the 1906 Moravian diet, the Catholic parties had twenty-four seats, the largest bloc in the diet.

Still important in politics at the turn of the twentieth century was the German and Czech alliance of nobles in the Conservative Estate Owners' Party, which in the 1890s cooperated with the Young Czechs. Its prominent members were Karel Buquoy, Alfred August Windischgrätz, Jiří Kristián Lobkovic, Franz Thun, and members of the Belcredi, Clam-Martinic, and Schwarzenberg families.

In the era of the Taaffe government, traditional German liberalism throughout Austria gave way to new forms of politics, as did Czech liberalism. For younger Germans, traditional liberalism had failed to guarantee the superiority of German culture, and the cooperation of the Slavs in the Iron Ring served as proof. The German Liberal Party, which had undergone several name changes, became the German Progressive Party in 1897. It attempted to attract more small business owners and agriculturalists, but it could not hope to unify German politics or regain its popularity. In 1878 it had eighty-three seats and was the strongest party in the

Bohemian diet, but in the election of 1901 it had only twenty-six seats. Challenges to the German Progressives came mainly from two directions. First, going well beyond the Linz Program of 1882, which called for the unity of German lands in Austria, the Austrian politician Georg von Schönerer advanced his concept of a single German state and his intense anti-Semitism. His supporters in the Czech Lands formed the German National Party in 1891, which became the German People's Party (the Populists) in 1895. The party drew from the German Liberals, and in the 1883 election to the Bohemian diet had thirty-six seats. The movement split, and in 1902 Karl Hermann Wolf, a German in Bohemia who had been close to Schönerer, formed the Free Pan-German Party, eventually known as the German Radical Party. Wolf was not as committed to the division of Austria as Schönerer. Second, German Catholics banded together in the German Christian Socialist Party, led by Karl Lueger in Austria. The agriculturalists formed the German Agrarian Party, which had little influence for several years, and there was a small German Social Democratic Party. In Silesia there were some small Polish parties that reflected the political spectrum elsewhere in the Czech Lands.

The successful struggle for universal male franchise in Belgium in 1893, and more importantly, the Russian Revolution of 1905 encouraged younger politicians, including Social Democrats and politicians from several parties eager to expand their constituencies, to demand universal male suffrage in Austria. An earthquake in Austrian politics came in 1907, when Franz Joseph eliminated the five curiae in the Reichsrat and created one body elected through universal male suffrage. In 1907 voters directly elected 516 deputies to the Reichsrat: 233 Germans, 108 Czechs, 81 Poles, 37 South Slavs, 33 Ruthenians, 19 Italians, and 5 Romanians (voting results by nationalities often show slight variations depending on how authors report, for example, Jewish parties, independent deputies, or unoccupied seats). With universal male suffrage, certain social groups, like the great estate owners, lost their guaranteed representation through the curia system, but representation for other groups (e.g., the workers) dramatically expanded, even though the number of votes it took to elect a deputy varied greatly based on location and nationality. Furthermore, smaller parties found it necessary to cooperate in order to compete with larger ones, a process that the gradual restructuring of provincial diets to universal male suffrage encouraged.

The elections to the Reichsrat in 1907 brought stunning changes in the complexion of politics in the Czech Lands. The Agrarians won twenty-eight seats and became the largest Czech party in Vienna. Švehla, who had championed universal male suffrage in the Agrarian Party, became the most respected politician in the party and was elected party chairman in 1909. Prášek, the senior Agrarian politician in Vienna, accepted the Ministry of Czech Affairs in the newly recast government of Max Vladimir von Beck. The Czech Social Democrats, who once had minimal representation in the Reichsrat, now were the second strongest party with 24 deputies. The Young Czechs had 18 deputies, the clerical parties had 17 (including 10 from the People's Party in Moravia), the National Socialists (who ran with the Radical Progressives and the Radical State-Rights Party in the Czech State Rights Democracy electoral bloc) had 9, the Old Czechs had 6, the Realists had 2, including Masaryk; and 2 deputies had no party affiliation. The major winners among the German parties were the German Social Democrats, with 21 deputies; the German Agrarians, with 19; the German Progressive Party, with 14; the German People's Party, with 13; and the German Radicals, with 12. In the following year the elections to the Bohemian diet confirmed what had occurred in the Reichsrat elections. The Agrarians had the strongest party, with 43 seats. The Young Czechs had 38 seats, the electoral bloc of National Socialists, Radical Progressives, and States Rights Radicals received 5 seats (shortly after the election, the Czech Radical Progressive and the Radical States Rights parties merged to form the State-Rights Progressive Party), the Old Czechs won 4 seats, and the Clericals and Realists each received 1 seat. There also were 6 independent deputies. To the Czechs' 98 seats, the Germans had 68; Progressives, 19; Agrarians, 15; Radicals and Pan-Germans, 15 and 4, respectively; Populists, 8; Christian Socialists, 2; and independents, 5. The Social Democrats received nearly 10 percent of the vote, but the curia system prevented them from entering the diet.

Beginning in 1908, ethnic issues strangled politics in the legislatures in Vienna and Prague. The Bohemian diet began discussing administrative reform and the introduction of universal male suffrage in Bohemia when it met in September 1908. The Germans in the Bohemian diet objected to the proposals and began obstructing the sessions, ultimately closing the diet. The Czechs in retaliation obstructed proceedings in the Reichsrat. Further efforts by the government and the parties both in the Reichsrat and the Bohemian diet to solve the deadlocks met with failure. The stalemate caused Franz Joseph to lose confidence in Beck. The new prime minister, Count Richard Bienerth, headed a government that lasted from November 1908 to June 1911, but the Bienerth cabinet's longevity was not linked with its success in lessening Czech-German discord. When the Czechs succeeded in disrupting the Reichsrat in February 1909, Bienerth adjourned it. From that point, Bienerth circumvented the Reichsrat and ruled by decree, as provided in Article 14 of the Austrian constitution. This tactic became a common policy.

The Reichsrat elections of 1911 brought few major changes. The Agrarians strengthened their numbers in Vienna with 38 seats. The Social Democrats had 25 seats (plus 1 Social Democrat–Centralist from Silesia); the Young Czechs, 18; the National Socialists, 14; the National Catholics and Christian Socialists, which ran as an electoral bloc, 7; the Moravian People's party, 4; the States Rights Progressives, 2; the Realists and Old Czechs each had 1; and there was 1 independent. The strongest German parties in the Czech Lands were the German Radical and German Agrarian parties, each with 22 seats, and the German Social Democrats with 18. On the basis of the election, Paul von Gautsch, the new prime minister, formed a government in June 1911. Franz Joseph replaced him in November 1911 with Count Karl Stürgkh, whose cabinet lasted until October 1916, when Stürgkh fell victim to an assassin. Because of further obstruction, Franz Joseph prorogued the Bohemian diet on 26 July 1913 until new elections could be held, but the monarchy ended before they could take place. In retaliation, the Czechs disrupted the Reichsrat in March 1914. It adjourned in March and did not reconvene until the closing stages of World War I. Obstruction became an infamous political tool in the Bohemian diet and the Reichsrat.

The last major political event before World War I in the Czech Republic was the Šviha Affair of 1914. Information had emerged that Karel Šviha, a National Socialist Reichsrat deputy, was spying on his own party for the police. The Czech political parties appointed a panel of judges from among top politicians to examine the matter. Šviha discussed political affairs with the heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, but he was not a police informant. Nevertheless, he had to retire from politics. The affair served to bring to the fore a number of issues and demonstrated the tension between Masaryk and Kramář.

WORLD WAR I (1914–1918)

Normal political life in Austria never resumed after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and his Czech wife, Žofie Chotková, on 28 June 1914. The emperor did not call into session the Reichsrat or Bohemian diet and closed the Moravian and Silesian diets in July. Count Stürgkh continued to rule by decree, and once the war broke out, he used military courts, persecuted ethnic organizations, such as the Czech Sokols, and restricted basic freedoms. The government imposed press censorship, made German the official language, confiscated objectionable books, and rewrote school textbooks. After the assassination of Stürgkh in October 1916, Franz Joseph once again appointed as prime minister the progressive and devoted von Koerber. Franz Joseph died in November 1916, and Koerber resigned over differences with the new emperor, Karl. Four prime ministers followed. All had the best interests of the monarchy and its people at heart, but they faced insurmountable odds when attempting to adjudicate between the wishes of the emperor, the demands of the Hungarians, the difficulties at the front, the skepticism of political leaders at home, the increasing number of strikes and mutinies, the growing inability to feed urban populations, and a host of other wartime concerns. The last minister, Heinrich Lammasch, for all practical purposes presided over a government in a state that already had collapsed.

In November 1914 Masaryk left Austria, having decided that democratic reform would not happen. He worked with his former student, Edvard Beneš, to help construct a close-knit, secret organization in Prague for the creation of an independent Czech state. It was known as the Mafia (Czech: *Maffie*) because it imitated the intrigue, although not the violence, of the Sicilian gangsters. Some in the Mafia were devoted to the ideals of Masaryk, who preferred a democratic republic, while others, such as the Young Czechs Kramář and Rašín, wanted Bohemia to become part of a large Slavic empire under Russia, which they expected to evolve into a constitutional monarchy as a result of the war. Masaryk and Beneš, who eventually settled abroad as well, joined forces with a Slovak astronomer working in France, Milan Rastislav Štefánik, to establish the Czechoslovak National Council. Masaryk, Beneš, and Štefánik carried on a propaganda effort among the Czech and Slovak emigrants and promoted the Czech cause to governments in London, Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, Washington, and elsewhere.

Edvard Beneš (1884–1948), foreign minister of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1935, president of Czechoslovakia from 1935 to 1938, president of the government in exile during World War II, and president of postwar Czechoslovakia from 1945 to 1948. (Library of Congress)

In the Czech Lands, the various Czech political parties looked after the interests of Czechs and prepared for either eventuality—the continuation of Austria-Hungary or its demise. In an atmosphere of solidarity, they formed several associations to represent Czech interests. One of the most important was the Czech Union of Deputies to the Reichsrat, which included the Agrarians and Socialists, although not the Realists and State-Rights Progressives. The Czech Union presented two declarations of loyalty to the Habsburgs in January 1917. Despite their expressions of confidence in the monarchy, the leaders of the major parties kept abreast of the liberation movement abroad, maintained contact with key

Slovak politicians, especially Vavro Šrobár and Milan Hodža, and cooperated with the Mafia. Although the Mafia continued to collect valuable information and recruited a number of supporters in key political and administrative positions, it faced great difficulties at the hands of the Austrian police. Masaryk's wife was under the watchful eye of the police, and one of his daughters, Alice, spent several months in prison for treason in 1915–1916 because of her Mafia links. In 1914 the police arrested Václav Klofáč, the leader of the National Socialist Party, and in 1915 they took Kramář and Rašín into custody. A court tried them for treason and sentenced them to death, but Franz Joseph commuted the sentences to life imprisonment. When he came to the throne, Emperor Karl released the three along with more than seven hundred others as a gesture of goodwill.

Czechs were generally loyal, although not enthusiastic, as Habsburg soldiers. They donned their uniforms and took up their rifles with a measure of good ol' Austrian *Schlamperei und Gemütlichkeit,* so well depicted in the fictional hero in the famous novel *Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války* (The Fate of Soldier Švejk During the World War, 1920–1923, published in English as *The Good Soldier Schweik*) by the Czech novelist Jaroslav Hašek. Although most fought dutifully at the front, there were exceptions. Particularly famous, albeit unusual, were the wholesale desertions of the Prague 28th Regiment in April 1915 and the 36th Mladá Boleslav Infantry Regiment in June 1915 to the Russians. It was common, however, for Czech and Slovak prisoners of war to form regiments fighting the Central Powers. In 1916 Štefánik, who had become a French citizen before the war and a French pilot during the war, spearheaded the formation of the legions from among Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war to fight on the Allied side. Eventually there were nearly 65,000 legionaries in Russia (32,000 troops), Italy (22,000 troops), and France (10,000 troops). The most famous legion was in Russia, where the Slovaks and Czechs could not continue fighting the Central Powers after the March 1918 separate peace the Bolsheviks had concluded with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk. Masaryk put the disposition of the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia in the hands of the Allied leaders, particularly the American President Woodrow Wilson. The Allies decided that the Czechs and Slovaks were to make their way across Russia on the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Vladivostok, where they would board Allied ships that would transport them to the Western Front. The Bolsheviks attempted to disarm them, partly to fulfill the requirements of the Brest-Litovsk treaty but also because they feared the legionaries, the majority of whom were not sympathetic to the Bolsheviks and might ally themselves with the noncommunist Whites in the Russian civil war. The Czechoslovak Legion held the Bolsheviks at bay and ended up occupying the entire Trans-Siberian railroad, a distance of some 8,000 kilometers, as they headed toward Vladivostok. By the time the Czechoslovak Legion from Russia landed in Western Europe, the war had ended. Nevertheless, they were heroes to the Czechoslovaks and Allies alike.

When the war erupted, Slovak leaders in Europe and America discussed cooperation between Czechs and Slovaks within a reformed empire or union of the two ethnic groups in an independent state. Close ethnic ties between the Czechs and Slovaks formed the basis of such plans, but geo-political, military, and economic reasons also existed. While on a visit to the United States, Masaryk and his Czech associates concluded several agreements with Slovak emigres. The most important was the one signed in 1918 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, after a Memorial Day parade through the city. The so-called Pittsburgh Agreement pledged to join the two nations in one democratic state, giving autonomy to the Slovaks. Gregory I. Zatkovich, a Pittsburgh lawyer who had emigrated to America as a child, made arrangements with Masaryk for the Rusyns, an East Slavic group closely related to but distinct from the Ukrainians, to join the Czechoslovak state. The Rusyns confirmed this agreement with a referendum after the war.

The Allies did not immediately accept the notion of breaking up Austria-Hungary and creating separate states. The Allied leaders listened to Masaryk, Beneš, and Štefánik, but they did not recognize their Czech National Council as an official government of a new state until near the close of the war—France in June 1918, Britain in August, the United States in September, and Italy in October. A major factor contributing to the Allied decision to back Masaryk's National Council was the Czechoslovak Legionaries' commitment to the Allied cause and their remarkable saga in Siberia.

Despite his promises for reform, Emperor Karl was slow to react and quickly lost credibility with the Czechs. Meanwhile, a change in the attitude of the Czechs in the Habsburg Empire came after America entered the war in April 1917. When Karl finally called the Reichsrat into session, the opportunities for negotiating with the ethnic groups of the monarchy had dwindled. The Reichsrat met on 30 May 1917, and the Czech Union demanded autonomy for the Czechs in an association with the Slovaks within a federated monarchy. Nearly a year later, the Central Powers presented harsh terms to the Bolsheviks and forced them to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. Now, the Czech politicians came to believe that victory for the Central Powers, even though it appeared unlikely, would be disadvantageous and perhaps even disastrous for the Czechs. Politicians who had maintained a glimmer of hope for a truly democratic Austria, including Švehla of the Agrarian Party, who had been instrumental with Bohumír Šmeral of the Social Democrats in coordinating the efforts of Czech politicians, now finally supported independence. The first clear statement calling for Czech independence and Slovak self-determination that had the backing of all the major Czech parties was the Epiphany Declaration of 6 January 1918. In July 1918 all the Czech parties joined together for the first time to form the Czechoslovak National Committee (technically the restructuring of an already existing organization) under the leadership of Švehla. It included the clericals, who had supported the Habsburgs and had not been involved in previous groupings of the Czech parties, but it did not contain any Slovaks, for fear that the Hungarians might persecute them. Karl announced a plan for the federation of the Austrian half of the monarchy on 16 October 1918, but it met with little enthusiasm on the part of any ethnic group.

In October 1918 Beneš and others from the National Council met representatives of the National Committee and the Czech Mafia in Geneva, Switzerland, to form a government. On 27 October, as the meeting was about to take place, the Czech politicians in Prague received information about Vienna's peace proposal to Washington. After lengthy debates that lasted into the night, the Prague politicians decided to declare independence the following day. Among the signers was Šrobár, who had just arrived in Prague after recently having been released from a Hungarian prison. The National Committee took power peacefully. One of the most dramatic events in Prague occurred on 3 November, when a crowd toppled the Marian Column in the Old Town Square that Ferdinand III had erected in 1650 to commemorate Prague's victory over the Swedes at the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. The monument was based on a similar column erected in 1638 in Munich that celebrated the victory of the Habsburgs over the Bohemian estates at White Mountain.

The peacemakers in Paris established the borders of the newly independent Czechoslovak Republic in the Treaty of St. Germain, signed with Austria in September 1919, and the Treaty of Trianon, signed with Hungary in 1920. The treaties acknowledged the union of the Czech Lands with Slovakia and Ruthenia. Czechoslovakia was to pay a "contribution to liberation," which in 1921 the Allies set at 750 million gold francs or 12,750,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns—nearly the entire state budget for that year.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK FIRST REPUBLIC (1918–1938)

At first glance, the process of state building took an abrupt turn in October 1918 when the Czechs joined with Slovaks and Rusyns in abandoning the Habsburg monarchy, where only the Austrian portion could boast of a developing democracy, and creating a democratic, pluralistic republic. On closer examination, the continuity between the pre-1914 and post-1918 periods is striking, especially for the Czechs. Aside from replacing the emperor with a president, the most significant change in the political system from the perspective of the Czech Lands was the creation of a government responsible to the National Assembly. The developing democracy of the Austrian portion of the monarchy had reached maturity in the new republic. The party system underwent some adjustments, more marked in the former Hungarian areas, but the political leadership of the prewar era remained. The nobility ceased to exist, the constitution enforced a separation between church and state, and the state sold some noble and ecclesiastical land in a land reform, but nobles and clerics kept most of their property and were financially secure. The Czech, German, German-Jewish, and Polish parallel social structures remained intact, now augmented with the incorporation of similar Slovak, Rusyn, and Hungarian social structures.

Focusing on the period after World War II, the political scientist Arend Lijphart identified the political systems of Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, and Switzerland as consociational democracies in which political elites cooperate to overcome the potentially divisive cleavages in each country. The political leaders in consociational democracies recognize the dangers of fragmentation, and in order to preserve the state, they remain open to discussion and create compromise policies that satisfy their constituents. To build consensus, elites use normal parliamentary means along with extraparliamentary arrangements with specific rules and traditions for sharing power. Consociational states have several similar traits in their governing structures. One is a reliance on coalition governments. Another is pillarization, or the construction of parallel social, economic, political, and cultural systems, frequently based on ethnicity, within the polity. Pillars have limited interaction with each other, aside from the elites. Czechoslovakia between 1918 and 1938 is a classic consociational democracy. As such, consociationalism is more than part of the legacy of the Habsburg Empire. It is the strongest continuous thread in the state-building process that runs between the monarchy and postwar Czechoslovakia.

The party system in Czechoslovakia underwent changes immediately after the war. Nevertheless, Czechoslovakia's political parties were deeply rooted in the past, and the political leaders remained virtually unchanged. On the far left of the political spectrum was the Czechoslovak Communist Party, which formed under the leadership of Šmeral in 1921, after radicals split from the Social Democrats in 1920. The Social Democrats had the strongest socialist party, and the moderate leaders of the prewar years retained their prominent role. Major changes in the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party occurred in 1923, when Beneš joined the party, and in 1926, when Beneš and Klofáč expelled Jiří Stříbrný, who then established a small fascist movement. At the center of the political spectrum, the Agrarian Party, renamed the Republican Party in 1919, expanded in 1922 with the addition of Slovak agrarians, namely, Šrobár and Hodža. Its moderate wing was under Švehla, and its conservatives were under Prášek, until 1924, and then František Staněk. On the right, the small but significant Party of Business and Commerce, also known as the Tradesmen's Party, represented the interests of small business owners and professionals and came into existence in 1919 from the union of two Czech parties that had their beginnings in the first decade of the twentieth century. Catholic groups in the Czech Lands formed the Czechoslovak People's Party (Czech Populists) in 1918–1919 under the leadership of Šrámek and Hruban. The Slovak People's Party was the largest group to emerge in Slovakia after the breakup of the National Party, and its leaders were Andrej Hlinka and later Jozef Tiso, both of whom were Catholic clerics. Finally, the States Rights Progressives became the National Democrats in 1919, with Kramář, Preiss, and Rašín still at the helm. Fascist movements existed on the far right, but they had limited appeal in a society with established parties responsive to the needs of citizens.

German parties classified themselves as either negativist, that is, refusing to cooperate with the Czechs and Slovaks, or activists, which not only participated in the National Assembly but even entered the government. The negativist parties were small before the Great Depression, and the activist parties garnered most of the Germans' support. The German Social Democratic Party, under the leadership of Ludwig Czech, was the most important German party. The Union of Agriculturalists (Bund der Landwirte; BdL) of Franz Spina cooperated with the Republican Party. Heading the German Christian Socialist Party was Robert Mayr-Harting. The Rusyns, Hungarians, and Poles also had a number of small political parties, many of which cooperated with Czech and Slovak parties.

As part of the power-sharing arrangement, the parties monopolized certain ministries. The Republicans almost always controlled the ministries of interior, defense, and agriculture in addition to the State Land Office, which carried out the land reform. The socialists dominated the ministries of social care and rails. The National Democrats generally held the portfolios of finance along with industry, trade, and commerce. For most of the interwar years, the foreign ministry was in the hands of Beneš and, as such, was the prerogative of the president's office, also referred to as the Hrad. Ironically, it was Masaryk and Beneš who attempted to break the hold of the parties over certain ministries when Beneš formed a government in 1922, but the effort met with failure. The Hrad learned that political culture resists abrupt change. Complementing the parties' domination of ministries was the remarkable continuity of personnel from one government to another.

The mainstream parties' ability to manipulate the governing apparatus to their liking was only one manifestation of their control over political life. Parties carefully divided their responsibilities in the National Assembly, and the complexion of legislative committees bore a remarkable resemblance to the balance of parties in the governing coalitions. When issues came to a vote, the party chairmen could count on strict party discipline. Because no party ever received a majority in the elections and multiparty coalitions were a necessity, the parties had to find a means to overcome the divisiveness, especially intense during elections, in order to build consensus. A major instrument in accomplishing this goal was the extraparliamentary institution of the Pětka—the Five—named after the five main parties: Social Democrats, National Socialists, Republicans, Catholic People's Party, and National Democrats. At informal meetings, the party leaders would construct the coalitions, distribute the cabinet seats, and determine policy. When the coalition expanded, the Pětka became the Šestka (The Six) and the Osmička (The Eight). The creator of the Pětka was Švehla, and he was the principal engineer of coalitions and governments from 1918 until he withdrew from public life in 1929 because of illness. Afterward, Masaryk increased his activities as an arbiter among the political parties.

Politicians preferred the broad or wide coalition model that included parties from across the political spectrum. The first coalition that backed the Kramář government in power in 1918–1919 included Social Democrats, National Socialists, Republicans, Czech Populists, and National Democrats. An agrarian-socialist Red-Green Coalition served as the basis of two minority governments under Tusar in 1919–1920 that had support in the National Assembly from parties to the right that had been in the Kramář government. After a cabinet of experts under Jan Černý helped the country weather the crisis of the Communist–Social Democratic split, the broad socialist-agrarian-right coalition reappeared in 1921, with the government of Beneš, and lasted through Švehla's second government, which ended in 1926. In forming his cabinet, Beneš, with Masaryk's support, hoped to break the monopolies the political parties had over specific ministries—an overt attempt to destabilize the consociational arrangement with the aim of steering the political system toward the French model. The effort failed, and the Hrad learned that political culture resists abrupt change. The parties renewed their grips on their preferred ministries with the two governments Švehla headed in the All-National Coalition (the parties in the Beneš cabinet and the All-National Coalition were the same). Černý headed another cabinet of experts in 1926. Then, in an unusual situation, the socialists were isolated from politics in 1926–1929, when Švehla and then the Republican František Udržal led a combination of center-right parties, including Germans, in two governments of the Green-Black or Gentlemen's Coalition. Švehla's third cabinet marked the first time that Germans appeared in governing coalitions, and they maintained their presence in the cabinet until the end of the republic. The Slovak People's Party also entered the coalition, its first and only stint in the government, but Slovaks in other parties always had strong representation in the cabinets. Beginning with the Great Depression of 1929 and throughout the Sudeten German crisis, a wide coalition of socialist, agrarian, clerical, conservative, and German parties governed the state. Udržal led the first government of 1929–1932, the Republican Jan Malypetr headed three governments between 1932–1935, and Hodža was twice premier between 1935 and 1938 (Hodža was the only Slovak to become prime minister during the First Republic). At the height of the Munich crisis, General Jan Syrový led a cabinet of experts—the last government of the First Republic.

The consociational arrangement aided politicians and parties in passing crucial legislation and administering the state in a way that satisfied the demands of a broad range of social, cultural, and economic interests and the vast majority of the citizens. As a result, the citizens supported the parties, the state, and the democratic process. The relatively peaceful transition from monarchy to republic was an indicator of the nature of politics in the new state. After the proclamation of Czechoslovak independence, there was little violence, although scores of Germans were killed during riots in areas that tried to join Austria and ultimately a greater Germany, which the Allies forbade in the Paris treaties. The economy faced the same dislocation and postwar inflation that plagued other states, but the wise stewardship of Rašín as finance minister brought Czechoslovakia a degree of stability lacking elsewhere. The constitution passed in February 1920 was a series of compromises to satisfy all the major parties and the Hrad. It created a "Czechoslovak" nation with two branches, Czechs and Slovaks, an arrangement that guaranteed a Slavic majority of about 8.8 million—approximately 6.7 million Czechs and just over 2 million Slovaks—two-thirds of the population of about 13.4 million inhabitants. The constitution also set the tone for tolerance of minorities that was unusual in the successor states. In 1920 the socialists, some of whom wanted to transform the landed estates into collective farms, and the Republicans, including small farmers, who sought more land, and estate owners, who wished to preserve their holdings, arrived at a compromise on a land reform that theoretically limited estates to 250 hectares of land or 150 hectares of arable land and compensated the former owners for their losses. Over the years, increased tariffs on agricultural goods and a Grain Monopoly were concessions agriculturalists received for advanced disability and retirement insurance along with laws regulating hours and working conditions for workers and an increase in the state salary, or *congrua,* for clergy. In 1927 a massive tax reform bill passed the National Assembly.

While Czechoslovakia's democracy thrived, it had faults. Masaryk and Beneš sometimes manipulated policy through their prestige, and other politicians abused their positions. The Czechs dominated the administration in Slovakia and Ruthenia, which made the Slovaks and Rusyns resent the Czechs. More could have been done to endear the Germans to the state, particularly in the early years, such as speeding German entry into the National Assembly and government, providing minorities with better consideration for state employment and advancement, and ensuring the fair treatment of minorities by the bureaucracy.

The foreign policy of Czechoslovakia, as formulated by Beneš, Masaryk, and the Hrad, focused on maintaining the order of Versailles through collective security with France at the core. Beneš made Czechoslovakia an active member of the League of Nations in the hopes of resolving international disputes before they became conflicts. He succeeded in constructing an alliance known as the Little Entente with Romania and Yugoslavia, which were also allies with France. French investments supported the Czechoslovak defense industry, and the Czechoslovak military modeled itself after the French. In the middle of the 1920s all was well. The Soviet Union's impulse to foster world revolution had abated as early as 1921 with Lenin's commitment to "peaceful coexistence" and his New Economic Policy. Germany signed the Locarno Pact in 1925, entered the League of Nations, and became a model citizen of Europe. Czechoslovakia had remarkably good relations with Austria. Hungary, which pursued an irredentist policy with respect to Hungarian minorities in all its neighbor states, including the Hungarians in Slovakia and Ruthenia, was internationally isolated. When Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, however, the flaws in the cordon sanitaire the French and their allies had constructed between Germany and the Soviet Union became apparent. The implications for Czechoslovakia were disastrous. In the late 1930s Poland remained a French ally, but difficulties between Poland and Czechoslovakia, including the Czechoslovak seizure of Těšínsko immediately after World War I, prevented them from forming an alliance. Poland mistakenly cared little about Czechoslovakia's territorial integrity. The Little Entente seemed effective, but trade policies of Germany in the 1930s strengthened the economic ties between Germany, on the one hand, and Romania and Yugoslavia, on the other, thus undermining their resolve to support Czechoslovakia. Finally, the French themselves were unwilling to back their allies in the East after they had abandoned democracy. Czechoslovak democracy was an exception, but the French viewed supporting a solitary democratic state as too costly.

The collapse of Czechoslovak democracy came from the outside, specifically the Munich Agreement, rather than from internal difficulties. Throughout the 1920s, the German and Hungarian minorities—about 32 percent and 6 percent of the population respectively—had come to accept the existence of Czechoslovakia, in no small part due to the greater degree of political stability and the more vibrant economy in Czechoslovakia than in neighboring countries. Moreover, the minorities had certain guarantees. The Germans had their own schools and universities, were represented in the bureaucracy, had their own cultural institutions, could use their own language, and had political parties that participated in the National Assembly and the coalition governments. Sentiments among the Sudeten Germans changed with the Great Depression and the rise of Hitler. Banking on the economic disaster the depression brought to the Sudeten German areas and the direct support of the Nazis in Germany, Konrad Henlein gradually increased support for his fascist Sudeten German Party.

MUNICH (1938)

Henlein exploited the tensions of the Great Depression to attract the majority of Germans in Czechoslovakia away from activism, the policy of the German Social Democrats, German Christian Socialists, and the BdL, to negativism and irredentism. In the election of 1935, Henlein's party received 15.2 percent of the vote to take a total of forty-four of the two hundred seats in the National Assembly (about 22 percent of the total). Henlein, with Hitler's backing, demanded ever increasing concessions from the Czechoslovak government for the Germans. In his Karlsbad Program of April 1938, Henlein included demands such as equal rights for the Germans, the recognition of the Sudeten Germans as a separate entity in the state, and the creation of German districts with their own government. President Beneš and the government attempted to negotiate with Henlein, who was never satisfied, even when Beneš had indicated that he would accept nearly all the terms in the Karlsbad Program.

When the Soviet Union became an ally of France in 1935, Beneš, who long had advocated drawing the Soviet Union into the collective security alliance structure, negotiated an alliance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Josef Stalin was interested in preserving peace, since the Soviet Union was in no condition to enter a military conflict. To neutralize Germany while the French still supported Czechoslovakia, the Little Entente appeared stable, and German public opinion was against war, Stalin became involved in a bit of intrigue to start a conflict that would result in Germany's defeat and the elimination of the Nazi regime without Soviet involvement. In May 1938 the Soviets supplied disinformation to Czechoslovak spies in Germany about German troops massing on the Czechoslovak border. Beneš mobilized the military but rescinded the order when he realized the information was incorrect. Hitler was furious that he had been upstaged, and he now planned to use unrest in Czechoslovakia as a pretext for invasion. On 30 May 1938, he issued an order for Operation Green (the Czechoslovak military uniform was green) to prepare for military action. Tensions mounted in the summer, and at the Nuremburg Nazi Party rally on 12 September, Hitler condemned Beneš and Czechoslovak democracy.

Throughout the crisis, Czechoslovakia attempted to rally the support of its allies. Paris backed British hopes of finding a peaceful solution and avoiding war. Moscow reiterated that should France honor its commitments to Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union would come to the aid of Czechoslovakia, in accordance with the treaty provisions. Czechoslovakia's allies in the Little Entente were hesitant and likewise based their replies on the position of France. In August and September 1938 the British businessman and politician Walter Runciman attempted to negotiate a settlement and avoid a war, but he was predisposed to favoring the Germans and was unsuccessful at finding common ground between the two sides.

In an effort to avoid war, Neville Chamberlain, the British prime minister, arranged with Hitler to meet with Édouard Daladier, the French prime minister, and Benito Mussolini at the end of September 1938 in Munich to negotiate a settlement. Neither Czechoslovakia nor the Soviet Union was invited. Britain and France acquiesced to Hitler's demands, hoping he would refrain from future claims for border revisions and realizing that their citizens opposed going to war over Czechoslovakia. The Munich Diktat of 29 September required Czechoslovakia to cede to Germany all territories with a population at least 50 percent German. Czechoslovak citizens along with the military demonstrated their support for a war with Germany. Some recommended that Czechoslovakia reject the Munich Agreement and fight Germany alone with the expectation that Czechoslovakia's allies would realize their error and enter the war against Germany. Beneš, however, concluded that the allies would not assist Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, based on Prague's intelligence about the destructiveness of what was to become known as the Blitzkrieg, Beneš feared that Czechoslovakia would sustain insurmountable damage and loss of life in a conflict with Germany. Beneš accepted the settlement, and German troops took over the Sudetenland from 1–10 October 1938. On 1 October, Czechoslovakia agreed to the Polish demand to cede its portion of Těšínsko to Poland. On 5 October, Beneš resigned from the presidency, and a few weeks later went into exile. In November Germany brokered a settlement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, known as the First Vienna Accord, in which Czechoslovakia ceded portions of southern Slovakia, including Košice, and portions of Ruthenia, including Užhorod, to Hungary.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

The Czechoslovak Second Republic dates from the Munich Agreement until Germany's annexation of the Czech Lands in March 1939. In October 1938 Slovakia and Ruthenia became autonomous, and in November the name of the country officially became the hyphenated Czecho-Slovakia. Emil Hácha, who had presided over the Supreme Administrative Court, assumed the presidency. The prime minister in the Czech Lands was the Republican Rudolf Beran, who had replaced General Syrový in December, Tiso headed the government in Slovakia, and a government emerged in Ruthenia. In the Czech Lands, the nonsocialist parties formed the National Confederation, which supported the government, while the socialists established the National Labor Party, a weak, permanent opposition. As during World War I, Czech politicians chose to weather the crisis by joining forces.

The collapse of the First Republic and the severe restriction of democracy in the Second Republic were traumatic for both Czechs and Slovaks. Moreover, Czecho-Slovakia, having lost its Western allies and its fortifications in the Munich Agreement, became a satellite of the Third Reich. With Munich, the Czechs and Slovaks entered a third phase of state building in the twentieth century, one that was less democratic, in the shadow of totalitarian Germany, and served as a transition to an even more threatening period.

Hitler was not content with the Munich Agreement and decided to annex the Czech Lands. He persuaded Tiso to declare Slovakia an independent state on 14 March 1939, and one day later, German forces invaded the Czech Lands. Although Hácha remained president and the Czechs had some semblance of autonomy, Hitler annexed the Czech Lands into Germany as the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Simultaneously, Hungary annexed the remainder of Ruthenia.

WORLD WAR II

When World War II began, Beneš began organizing an effort to recreate Czechoslovakia, and in 1940 he emerged as president of a Czechoslovak government in exile headquartered in London. Beneš's closest ally was Jan Masaryk, the son of Czechoslovakia's first president and former Czechoslovak minister to Britain who became the foreign minister in the government in exile. Jan Masaryk became famous for his encouraging radio broadcasts back home. He was active in the diplomatic effort to re-create Czechoslovakia, to secure Czechoslovakia's role in Europe as a bridge between the Soviet Union and the West (mainly Beneš's concept), and to establish the United Nations. Other Czech and Slovak exiles joined the government, including Šrámek, who served as prime minister.

In the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Czechs under President Hácha and the prime minister Alois Eliáš attempted to placate the Germans and protect Czech interests. This policy succeeded to some extent under Reich Protector Konstantin von Neurath and his state secretary, the former Sudeten German politician Karl Hermann Frank. Germany assumed all key administrative functions in the Protectorate, rendering the government nearly powerless. Hácha disbanded parliament, replacing it with the National Assemblage (Národní souručenství), which united all

Jan Masaryk (1886–1948), son of Tomáš G. Masaryk and foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, 1940–1948. His controversial death occurred in the early days of communist rule in Czechoslovakia. (Library of Congress)

legal parties but was without real governing powers. Once the war began, tensions between Germans and Czechs increased. At that time, the Germans sent about 2,000 Czech notables to concentration camps. During a demonstration on 28 October 1939 (Czechoslovak Independence Day), the Germans killed one Czech and mortally wounded a Czech university student, Jan Opletal. Demonstrations occurred during his funeral on 15 November, prompting the Germans to arrest and execute several student detainees. Hitler closed all Czech universities for three years, and they did not reopen during the war. The Germans then turned their attention to eliminating the various Czech underground organizations.

In late September 1942 Hitler appointed Reinhard Heydrich as Deputy Reich Protector under Neurath, who essentially retired and returned to Germany. During this period, the Czech policy of accommodation with the Germans ran aground. Heydrich intensified the Germanization of the Protectorate and the systematic effort to destroy Czech culture, in keeping with the Nazi leadership's vision of ultimately assimilating, expelling, and exterminating all Czechs. He declared martial law and arrested Eliáš for his contact with the Allies and for his toleration of anti-German resistance. Eliáš was sentenced to death, but he remained in prison. Simultaneously, Heydrich ordered the execution of three hundred Czechs and sent about 1,500 Sokol functionaries to concentration camps. Transports of Jews to ghettos and concentration camps began, and the Germans converted the former barracks at Terezín into a concentration camp.

Beneš decided that a dramatic act of resistance would help the Czechoslovak cause abroad, and he planned to assassinate Heydrich. Two assassins parachuted into the Protectorate and attacked Heydrich's vehicle on 27 May 1942 as he drove along his normal route in the morning to Prague. Heydrich died eight days later. When the attack on Heydrich occurred, the Germans immediately arrested 10,000 hostages. They destroyed the village of Lidice in Eastern Bohemia on 9–10 June because of false information that the parachutists had received refuge there. All 192 men were shot, and 196 women and 104 children were sent to concentration camps. Few survived. The Germans carried out the same revenge in Ležáky, where 33 were killed and 21 were exterminated in a concentration camp. Before the war ended, other villages met the same fate as Lidice and Ležáky as retaliation for various reasons. The German authorities finally found Heydrich's assassins in the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Orthodox Church in Prague. In the ensuing gun battle, five died and two committed suicide. The Germans avenged Heydrich's death with more killing during a period the Czechs refer to as the Heydrichiáda. The German authorities detained 3,188 individuals, many well known, and summarily executed 1,585 of them, including Eliáš and the novelist Vladislav Vančura. Hitler eventually installed Wilhelm Frick as the new Reich protector, although Frank remained the actual decision maker. Periodic arrests and executions continued, but the largest single sweep after the Heydrichiáda was in August 1944, when Germans arrested about two hundred socialists and communists.

Once the Germans occupied the Czech Lands, they imposed regulations on the Jews that separated them from society and then interned them. For the most part, Czech Jews went first to Terezín, which was a transit camp. From there, they were deported to extermination camps. The largest single extermination of Czechoslovak Jews occurred in March 1944 at Auschwitz-Birkenau, when 3,792 people of all ages were gassed and cremated. About 85,000 Jews from the Czech Lands died during the Shoah (Holocaust), about 89 percent of the Jewish population. A total of 6,500 Roma, or 50 percent of the population, died in the extermination camps.

Czechs and Slovaks abroad joined the war effort as individuals within the Allied armed forces or as special units attached to Allied forces. The Poles permitted nearly a thousand Czechoslovak soldiers to form a brigade when the war began. After Poland's collapse, some managed to get to France, and they were part of the Polish Carpathian Brigade that helped defend Tobruk, Libya. There were 1,287 Czechoslovak airmen in one bomber and three fighter squadrons attached to the Royal Air Force whose missions included the Battle of Britain. It is not surprising that when Czechoslovak airmen prepared bombs for German cities, they painted "For Lidice" on each one. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union, Gen. Ludvík Svoboda, who had escaped to Poland in 1939, constructed the First Czechoslovak Army Corps and the First Czechoslovak Air Division. Svoboda led his men in such key engagements as the Battle of Kiev, the Carpathian-Dukla Operation (September–November 1944), during which it crossed into Czechoslovak territory, and to a very limited extent in the Slovak National Uprising. Crucial to the Allied cause was intelligence information the Czechoslovak government in exile provided to the British and Soviets that passed through the Czech underground, including details about the V-1 flying bomb.

Czechoslovak territory was not a battlefield until the end of the war. Resistance groups in the Protectorate never launched major operations, and the Germans liquidated the remainder of the organized resistance forces after Heydrich's assassination. Resistance afterward consisted largely of individual and small group operations aimed at various targets in order to impede German operations. A key form of passive resistance was inefficient factory work and direct sabotage of equipment and production, which brought the risk of heavy reprisals, including execution. On 29 August 1944, the Slovak National Uprising began, and its leadership included the former Republican Šrobár. Because the Slovaks misunderstood the position of the Red Army, the uprising began too early to receive proper support. German troops ended the uprising by October, but partisans remained in the countryside throughout the closing days of the war. The Nazis captured and executed General Viest, who had come from London to command the operation. The Allies did not begin bombing industrial targets in the Protectorate, such as the Škoda works, until late in the war. Bombings of economic targets in Prague were intense in February and March 1945, and the attack of 14 February 1945, by bombers en route to Dresden that reached Prague instead due to a navigational error killed 700 inhabitants. In March-April the Red Army entered Eastern Slovakia, and the Czechoslovaks proclaimed a government in the city of Košice. On 18 April 1945, American forces entered Czechoslovak territory and liberated Plzeň on 6 May. On 5 May a spontaneous uprising broke out in Prague, and there were several days of street fighting. As the Germans withdrew from the city, they attempted to destroy the Old Town Hall and its Orloj, the famous astronomical clock. Fire consumed the building, of which only a portion, including the clock tower, stands today. On 9 May the Red Army entered Prague.

After Munich, Beneš lost confidence in the commitment of the Western powers to protect Czechoslovakia, and during the war, he pursued a foreign policy that resulted in a strong alliance with the Soviet Union. One of the early signals of Beneš's sensitivity to Soviet interests became apparent in late 1943 and early 1944 when he and the president of the Polish government in exile, Stanislaw Mikołajczyk, scrapped a plan they had devised in early 1942 for a postwar Czechoslovak-Polish confederation. In December 1943 Beneš signed the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship. Beneš acquiesced when Stalin demanded that Czechoslovakia cede to the Soviet Union the eastern province of Ruthenia (formally ceded in June 1945), which together with territory from Romania and Poland enabled the Soviet Union to have a common border not only with Poland and Romania, as it did between the world wars, but also Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In March 1945 Beneš visited Moscow, where he coordinated future policy with Czechoslovak Communists under Klement Gottwald, who had spent the war years in Moscow. Beneš then journeyed to Košice and by rail to Prague, where he arrived on 16 May.

THE POSTWAR YEARS (1945–1948)

The government announced on 5 April 1945, in Košice under Zdeněk Fierlinger, a Social Democrat close to the Communists, included Gottwald and Šrámek as two of five vice premiers, Jan Masaryk as foreign minister, Svoboda as defense minister, and Šrobár as minister of finance. Its Košice Program envisioned a democratic Czechoslovakia. As in postwar Britain and France, the government was to nationalize large industry. Disloyal minorities were to be expelled. The Košice Program prohibited parties that Beneš and his associates considered collaborators with the Nazis, including the National Democratic Party, Republican Party, Party of Business and Commerce, and Slovak People's Party. The only legal parties, all represented in the governing coalition known as the National Front, were the Communists (then with separate Slovak and Czech parties), Social Democrats, National Socialists, Czech Populists, and the new Democratic Party of Slovakia, which included many former Republicans and those from other banned parties. An agreement in June 1945 between the government and the Slovak National Council gave the latter body control of the administration in Slovakia—a provision to grant the Slovaks autonomy without federating the state. American and the increasingly unpopular Soviet troops left Czechoslovakia in late 1945. Beneš essentially ruled by decree until February 1946, when the provisional National Assembly met and approved his actions, which included the nationalization of large industry (financial institutions, mills, mines, and businesses with more than five hundred employees) and the expulsion of the German and Hungarian minorities. Free elections took place in May 1946, and the Communists did not do as well as they had expected, winning 40.1 percent of the vote in the Czech Lands and 30.3 percent in Slovakia. The National Socialists in the Czech Lands and the Democratic Party in Slovakia ranked after the Communists. Reflecting the results at the polls, Gottwald became the prime minister of a new government of twenty-five members, seven of which were Czech Communists, two were Slovak Communists, four each were in the hands of the Czech Populists, National Socialists, and Democrats, and three were Social Democrats. Jan Masaryk and Svoboda retained their posts as experts. The government adopted a two-year economic plan

(1947–1948), and it tried and executed Tiso for his wartime activities, action more popular among members of the Communist Party than members of other parties. In mid-1947 the government announced a resumption of the land reform begun in 1919 and strict adherence to the legal limits on land holdings. When the United States announced the Marshall Plan, the Czechoslovak government unanimously decided to accept American funds, but in July 1947, at Stalin's behest, the government declined the invitation.

The confrontation between Czechs and Germans that had begun with the Munich Diktat and the destruction of Czechoslovakia and had escalated through World War II with Nazi genocidal policies scuttled centuries of Czech and German efforts to cohabit in the Czech Lands. Beneš openly considered expelling all Germans from Czechoslovakia after the war as a means of reducing their ability to destabilize politics, particularly in light of the anti-Czech policies of Heydrich. After Lidice, Beneš was determined to bring about a massive population transfer. He received the reluctant support of the Allies for the transfer, and the Košice Program formally announced the plan for the expulsion of minorities. In May and June 1945 Beneš issued decrees confiscating the property of traitors and collaborators and earmarking dwellings and land for resettlement. The legal basis was secure, but procedural matters remained unresolved. Meanwhile, some local authorities were far from fair in their treatment of accused collaborators, and the minorities faced intense discrimination. In July 1945 rumors that a deadly factory explosion in Ústí nad Labem was the work of German saboteurs resulted in a clash between German workers and Czechs in which at least sixty Germans died. Beneš regarded the continued presence of Germans in Czechoslovakia as threatening stability and wanted to conduct the transfers as quickly as possible. He requested that the Allies consider the issue at Potsdam in July-August 1945, and they agreed to a timetable for expulsion. In the train transports of Sudeten and Carpathian Germans throughout 1946, each person could take only about forty kilograms of personal belongs and a small sum of money. During a forced march of Germans from Brno to the Austrian border on 31 May–1 June 1946, between 649 and 1,700 died or were killed. Officially, approximately 2.2 million Germans were transferred, 1,446,059 to the American Zone and 786,482 to the Soviet Zone. In reality, the total number of Germans who left or were expelled from Czechoslovakia may have been 3.5 million. The population transfer with Hungary took place between 1945 and 1948. During that time, more than 50,000 Hungarians were expelled, and about 40,000 emigrated. Approximately 60,000 Slovaks entered Czechoslovakia from Hungary.

The German destruction of Czech independence and efforts to destroy Czech culture during the Protectorate constituted a threat to the very existence of the Czech nation, let alone the state, with consequences that may have been far more grave than the imposition of Habsburg domination in the Kingdom of Bohemia after the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. For Beneš and those who supported him, the only permanent solution to German-Czech competition was to abandon the consociational arrangement that had been built over generations of cohabitation of the two nations in the Czech Lands and expel the Germans. He applied the same rationale to the Hungarians in Slovakia. Beneš took other steps to alter dramatically the nature of consociational democracy in Czechoslovakia. The Košice Program eliminated not only the clerical-fascist Slovak People's Party and the National Assemblage, but it also forbade key traditional moderate and conservative pre-Munich parties from reemerging, essentially holding them responsible for the actions of several of their former members after their parties had been dissolved during the Nazi era. Beneš supported labeling as traitors certain politicians from the banned parties, such as Beran, who had attempted to placate Nazi Germany in order to protect the interests of the nation. Whereas the politicians of the First Republic, principally Švehla, preferred to neutralize strong opposition parties by having them cooperate in governing coalitions, Beneš precluded the formation of any opposition by forcing all parties into the National Front. Beneš guaranteed that in post-1945 Czechoslovakia, an extraparliamentary institution, such as the Pětka, which he disdained, would not reemerge by ensuring the top leader of every party a posi-

Klement Gottwald (1896–1953), communist president of Czechoslovakia, 1948–1953. (Library of Congress) tion in the government as either premier or vice premier. The structural changes Beneš engineered to rebuild the republic as strictly a Czech and Slovak venture, which institutionalized multiparty cooperation, ultimately failed in the face of a population desperate for social and economic stability that the Communist politicians, with their marginally legal tactics, promised to deliver.

THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER

Czechoslovakia's road to socialism was entirely parliamentary and resulted, in part, from the Communist Party's popularity because of its association with the Soviet Union, which had liberated Czechoslovakia from the Nazis, and the lack of involvement of the Communist Party in some of the prewar political scandals. Yet the political, social, and economic difficulties of the postwar years took their toll on Communist popularity, especially because the Communists controlled some of the most important political and administrative positions in the country. In February 1948 several noncommunist ministers gave the Communists an opportunity to come to power.

Since 1945, the Communist Party had had control over important ministries, such as interior, agriculture, education, information, and social welfare. Svoboda, the nonpartisan minister of defense, was close to the Communists. Jan Masaryk was not a Communist, but the state secretary for foreign affairs, a cabinet post, was Vladimír Clementis, a Slovak Communist who had spent the war years in France and Britain. The Communists in the Ministry of Interior, which included the police, the Ministry of Justice, and the courts, used intimidation and false accusations to remove opponents. Communists and their supporters assumed key roles in a broad range of political and civic organizations. Tensions mounted in September 1947, when two noncommunist cabinet ministers along with Jan Masaryk received letter bombs that originated with Communists in Olomouc. On 20 February 1948, twelve noncommunist ministers resigned from the Communist-controlled government of Gottwald in protest over the Communists' practice of packing the police force with Communists and their supporters. The ministers expected that Jan Masaryk would join them to provide the sole additional resignation needed to bring down Gottwald's government. Indications were that the Communists had been losing popular support and that the noncommunists likely would be the winners in an early parliamentary election. Beneš was faced with two choices. The first was to tell Jan Masaryk not to resign, accept the twelve resignations, and allow the largest party, the Communists, to form a new government. The second alternative was to have Jan Masaryk submit his resignation, bring down the current government, and call for new elections. The Communists pressured Beneš to do the former, while the noncommunists hoped for the latter. Jan Masaryk, fulfilling a promise he had made to his father, loyally awaited Beneš's decision. Not physically up to the challenge and fearing civil war that would lead to Soviet intervention, Beneš told Masaryk not to resign and accepted the twelve resignations on 25 February.

Gottwald formed a new government of thirteen Communists, three experts, and nine who cooperated with the Communists from other parties. The Slovak Communists under Gustáv Husák similarly took control of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava. The Communists arrested some noncommunist leaders, and others fled the country. On 10 March, Jan Masaryk was found dead in the courtyard of the Czernín Palace, the seat of the Foreign Ministry. He had fallen from a window of his second-story apartment. Speculation was that the Communists had murdered him because they had feared that he would flee abroad and protest the new government. The Communist officials claimed, however, that he had committed suicide. Investigators are now certain that Masaryk was murdered, and the paper trail to determine exactly who committed the deed leads to Russian archives that are still closed. In May 1948 elections took place to the National Assembly that were far from democratic, and the Communist Party received 89.3 percent of the votes. Instead of signing a Soviet-type constitution, Beneš resigned as president on 2 June 1948, and died three months later. Gottwald became president. Purges of noncommunists took place throughout the country. In June the Social Democrats united with the Communists, and in September the Slovak and Czech Communist Parties merged.

STALINISM AND DE-STALINIZATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

After what became known as the February Revolution, reflecting the Communists' desire to emulate Lenin's November revolution of 1917 in Russia, Czechoslovakia entered into yet another experiment with state building. After 1948 the Czechs and Slovaks technically preserved the state and many of its institutions they had built in 1918 and restructured after World War II. Tied to the Soviet behemoth, however, they cast off capitalism in favor of the Leninist-Stalinist interpretation of Marxist socialist economics and society.

Under the leadership of Gottwald, who controlled the Communist Party and was president of the republic, Czechoslovakia assumed all the trappings of Soviet-style, Stalinist socialism. The Communist Party took the "leading role" in society, according to Soviet phraseology. It not only controlled the government but also purged the administration of noncommunists. The Communist Party eliminated opposition in all organizations. Social and civic institutions merged with their Communist counterparts, elected Communist leaders, or disbanded. Many key noncommunists were executed, such as Milada Horáková, the National Socialist who had been interned by the Nazis and after the war served as the chairman of the Council of Czechoslovak Women and the vice chairman of the Union of Liberated Political Prisoners. The regime began persecuting clergy and believers of all faiths, in keeping with Marxist atheistic doctrine. In 1950, for example, the government eliminated the monastic orders, forcing priests, brothers, and nuns to work in factories and farms. Noncommunist educators lost their appointments, and many managed to leave the country and find employment in institutions abroad. Trade unions, organized since 1945 in the Communist-dominated Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (Revoluční odborové hnutí; ROH), aligned themselves with the Communist Party. Communist ideology became the standard by which Party censors evaluated all forms of expression, including literature, art, and music. Information became a propaganda tool of the regime. The Communists purged all unreliable elements from the military and police and used terror and intimidation as means of ensuring mass compliance to the Party's will. In 1948–1949 nearly 11,000 citizens emigrated, largely for political reasons. Finally, the Communist Party instituted the Stalinist command model for the economy, including complete nationalization of firms, collectivization of agriculture, and central planning.

Governments throughout the period of Communist rule were technically coalitions, which the Communist Party dominated with the support of its National Front partners, the National Socialists and Populists. The Communists' maintenance of coalition governments, including their reliance on vice premiers, supported the Party's image of preserving the postwar democratic system. When Gottwald became president, Antonín Zápotocký assumed the post of prime minister. Rudolf Slánský was the chairman of the Communist Party and a vice premier until he was arrested in 1951, at which point Gottwald resumed his previous role of Party leader, now formally known as general secretary. Gottwald attended Stalin's funeral, became ill, and died a few days later. Zápotocký became president, and Novotný rose to the position of general secretary. The Slovak Communist Viliam Široký was prime minister. When Zápotocký died in 1957, Antonín Novotný became president, keeping his position as general secretary. Široký remained as premier, forming three governments until the Slovak Jozef Lenárt became prime minister in 1963, a post he held until 1968.

The ranks of the Communist Party swelled during the postwar years, and immediately after the 1948 takeover, the Party sought to eliminate opportunists and unreliable elements within its membership. In the atmosphere of Stalin's attack on independent thinkers within the Party elite in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, especially in the aftermath of Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform, the Czechoslovak Communists initiated a purge. Beginning with the Communist takeover, the authorities began making arrests of Party and non-Party unreliables. Around 16,000, mostly industrial workers and low-level office workers, were in prisons and camps in 1951–1952. Hundreds were executed, and the Central Committee of the Party approved 148 death sentences between 1951 and 1954 alone. Prison conditions were horrid, and those on trial commonly faced intimidation or torture in order to produce confessions. The most dramatic case was the show trial of fourteen high Party officials in November 1952 that included Slánský, Clementis, and Evžen Löbl. Slánský, Clementis, and nine others were hanged, while Löbl and two others were sent to prison for life. Other trials followed. In 1954 Husák received a sentence of life imprisonment for his having once advocated Slovakia's incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1945. A short while later, Josef Smrkovský, a hero of the Prague Uprising, received a prison term. Several sociological factors added to the suspiciousness of the show trial defendants: a Jewish background, like Slánský; time in the West, such as cooperation with the London government during the war, like Clementis; "nationalist" sentiments, particularly among the Slovaks, like Husák; and activity in the resistance during World War II, like Husák and Smrkovský.

In its foreign policy, Czechoslovakia followed the lead of the Soviet Union, as did other states in the Soviet-dominated region of Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia aligned itself with the Soviet Union in the United Nations and in its dealings with individual states. In 1948 Czechoslovakia followed the Soviet lead and broke with Yugoslavia. In 1949 it aided in the formation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA, Comecon), which was to oversee trade within the Soviet Bloc. In fact, it was a mechanism for Soviet bilateral trade with member states. In 1955 Czechoslovakia was one of the founding members of the Warsaw Pact, a Soviet-dominated military defense alliance. When the Sino-Soviet split occurred in 1961, Czechoslovakia was solidly on the Soviet side, as it had been when Stalin had expelled Yugoslavia from the Communist Bloc in 1948.

In mid-1953, after the deaths of Stalin and Gottwald, workers in Ostrava, Kladno, and Plzeň rioted, but their frustration was a reaction to economic conditions, particularly the devastating effect the revaluation of currency that year had on the standard of living. In late 1954 Novotný secured the backing of the Soviet leadership for additional reforms and gained more support at home. Although the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was deeply divided over the economy by 1956, the Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev did not spark in Czechoslovakia the drama of Poland or the violence of Hungary when he gave his "Secret Speech" condemning Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Soviet Union that year. The Czechoslovak Communist Party preserved its unity in its debates about the fate of Stalinism, even though it had some pressure from the outside, including writers. It initiated gradual reforms, such as the decision to inject into the new Five-Year Plan for 1957 some economic decentralization measures, including steps enabling managers to have more decisionmaking powers. Then in late 1957, Zápotocký died. Novotný became president without relinquishing his hold over the Party. The Grim Reaper provided phased leadership change in Prague—first with Gottwald and then with Zápotocký—that elsewhere took desperate central committees and pressure from the street to bring about. The passing of Czechoslovakia's key Stalinists contributed to the lack of a rift within the Party as it approached de-Stalinization and helps account for the Party's path toward piecemeal reforms.

Once in power, Novotný spearheaded changes that were welcome in the Party and society as a whole. In 1953 he halted the collectivization process, although he resumed it in 1957, in part because of Soviet pressure. He continued efforts to increase the availability of consumer products, and he wrestled with finding a solution to improving economic productivity. After economic decentralization did not bring about the desired results, he experimented with recentralization in the early 1960s. In 1960 he ushered in a new constitution based on the Soviet model, and the Czechoslovak Republic (ČSR) became the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (ČSSR). The new constitution further limited what little there was of Slovak autonomy. Novotný issued two amnesties, one in 1960 and another in 1963, the latter resulting from demands of delegates at the Twelfth Party Congress in November 1962. The amnesties rehabilitated more than 8,000 people, and the amnesty of 1963 discredited and removed from power the last Stalinists in the top leadership roles, including Široký.

THE PRAGUE SPRING OF 1968

The Prague Spring—the eight months from January to August 1968–was an attempt of the Slovaks and Czechs to tackle poor economic performance and to make the Communist Party and the government more responsive to the citizens. The impetus for the Prague Spring began well before January 1968. The effects of the command economy, with its central planning and lack of incentives, already were apparent by the early 1960s. Shortfalls in production resulted from deep-rooted systemic difficulties. Financial institutions did not provide investments based on the profitability of firms but were only means of dispensing money the central planners had allocated. The factory and collective farm managers, frequently selected for their political reliability rather than their experience, were concerned mainly with fulfilling the plan, not with profitability or efficiency, and they often falsified data to cover shortfalls. Workers in industry and agriculture had little economic incentive to increase production. Shortages existed in all economic sectors, but the Party's conscious decision to provide greater investment for heavy industry adversely affected the availability of consumer goods. In part their decision was a response to the Cold War but also was rooted in the Marxian-based belief that only advanced industrialized economies can approach socialism. Finally, young people in the countryside viewed their future outside the villages and towns, and those in the cities had no desire to spend their years on the factory floor. The second Five-Year Plan of 1954–1958 was relatively successful, but disastrous results forced the government in 1961 to scrap the third plan of 1959–1963 and to rely on yearly targets. The economy experienced a dramatic decline in its national income, industrial and agricultural production, investment, profit from exports, average wage, and personal consumption in the five-year period between 1960 and 1965. Even with the efforts of planners and politicians to

Young Czechs defy Warsaw Pact tanks in Prague in August 1968 in the hopes that the Soviets and other invading countries will accept the reforms spearheaded by Alexander Dubček (1921–1992) during the Prague Spring. (Reg Lancaster/Express/Getty Images) improve the situation, economic performance by the late 1960s did not reach the level of the late 1950s for most indicators.

In January 1967 the Party adopted an economic reform, the work of the economist Ota Šik. The central planning underwent some decentralization. Enterprise managers received more autonomy and kept more of their profits to use at their discretion. Agricultural cooperatives made contracts for the amount and type of goods they were to deliver to the state, which in turn increased its purchase prices for agricultural goods. The reform introduced market mechanisms into the command economy, for example, by eliminating fixed prices on some goods so that the prices either fluctuated with a ceiling or fluctuated based on supply and demand, as in a market economy. There was widespread discussion inside and outside the Party about reforms. The first demand for more than just economic change came from the Fourth Congress of Czechoslovak Writers in June 1967, at which the novelist Ludvík Vaculík praised the reforms and called for further advances. Hard-liners retaliated by banning the writers' journal, *Literární listy* (Literary Pages). Widespread discussion about further change occurred inside and outside the Party, but those supporting Novotný remained steadfast for several months.

Under mounting pressure and with little support from the Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, Novotný resigned his position of first secretary. The new Party leader was one of Novotný's opponents, a compromise candidate from the ranks of the Slovak Communists, Alexander Dubček. In March 1968 Novotný stepped down as president in favor of a candidate who had the respect of both Slovaks and Czechs, General Svoboda. Other personnel changes brought in Oldřich Černík as prime minister, Šik and Husák as vice premiers, and Smrkovský as chairman of the National Assembly. In the months that followed, press censorship eased, and *Literární listy* reappeared. Past political prisoners in the newly formed Klub K231 successfully pressed for further rehabilitations. Other noncommunist organizations emerged, including a group largely of intellectuals known as KAN (Klub angažovaných nestraníků, or Club of Active Nonpartisans) that supported the reforms. Other groups banned after the Communists came to power reemerged, such as the Boy Scouts and Sokols. Noncommunist parties in the National Front took on new initiative, and the Social Democrats prepared to renew their independent party. In April 1968 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia committed itself to further changes with its Action Program (Akční program) that called for a reform of "the whole political system so that it will permit the dynamic development of socialist social relations, combine broad democracy with scientific, highly qualified management, strengthen the social order, stabilize socialist relations, and maintain social discipline." It condemned "the old methods of subjectivism and highhandedness from a position of power" but envisioned a continuation of the Communist Party's leading role in society. Dubček beautifully described the entire package of reforms in the phrase he made famous, "socialism with a human face."

On 27 June, as Warsaw Pact troops were on maneuvers in Czechoslovakia, Vaculík, with the support of several noted individuals, released Two Thousand Words (Dva tisíce slov), a manifesto lambasting the Stalinists for the damage that had been done to the state and the spirit of the people with their "arbitrary rule." Yet Vaculík did not question the legitimacy of the Communist Party; instead, he demanded that those who opposed reforms be removed and that democratic mechanisms be created to more effectively govern the state and still maintain the friendship of Prague's socialist allies.

As the reform movement in Czechoslovakia deepened, the suspicion of Communist leaders in the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states turned to hostility. The Party leaders of the Soviet Union, German Democratic Republic (GDR), Poland, and Bulgaria were most adamant about the need for Czechoslovak Communists to contain the reforms. The Hungarian leader, János Kádár, was sympathetic but feared the political openness in Czechoslovakia could threaten the Party's control over society and discredit the needed economic reforms, which were similar to the new economic mechanism he was instituting in Hungary. Only the Romanians unabashedly advocated noninvolvement in Czechoslovak affairs and did not participate in any of the crucial negotiations. In March Czechoslovak Communist Party leaders met those of Bulgaria, GDR, Hungary, Poland, and the Soviet Union in Dresden, GDR. In May Dubček met with the Soviet premier, Alexei N. Kosygin, in Karlovy Vary, and Warsaw Pact members met in July in Warsaw (the Czechoslovaks refused to attend), where they criticized, among other things, the Two Thousand Words and the Czechoslovak Party's tolerance of such outspokenness. The Soviet and Czechoslovak leadership had difficult discussions in Čierna and Tisou, Slovakia, in late July. Finally, the Warsaw Pact states met again in Bratislava in early August. Czechoslovak efforts to allay the fears of its allies fell on deaf ears, although the participants always presented an atmosphere of solidarity in their statements. In reality, Dubček could no longer stem the tide of reforms, even if he believed such action was desirable.

On the night of 20–21 August 1968, 750,000 Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia from three sides. Hungary participated, but Romania did not. The invasion caught Dubček and the reformers off guard, although conservatives, such as Vasil Bil'ak, Alois Indra, and Drahomír Kolder, had colluded with the invaders. Bil'ak even claimed the Party leaders, Dubček among them, had signed a letter inviting Warsaw Pact troops to end the "counterrevolution." Dubček, Černík, Smrkovský, and three others were arrested and taken to Moscow, where all but one signed the Moscow Protocol, a document committing the Czechoslovak Communist Party to a reversal of the reforms in a process known as normalization. An agreement signed several weeks after the invasion made the occupation force permanent (no foreign troops had been in Czechoslovakia since 1945). After the fact, the Soviets justified the military action against Czechoslovakia in the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine, which held that socialist states might intervene in the internal affairs of another socialist state should the socialist revolution be threatened.

When the invasion occurred, the defense minister instructed the military not to resist, but the popular reaction was to carry on a campaign of passive resistance. Czechs and Slovaks moved street signs, provided incorrect information to the invading troops, and tried to inform them about the true motives behind the Prague Spring. Czechs and Slovaks also taunted the Soviet soldiers, and the "run home Ivan" jeers were particularly popular. One version was: "Run home Ivan! Your Nataša is waiting for you! The girls here don't like you!" Graffiti in support of the reforms and against the invaders appeared everywhere, as did pictures of Dubček and other reformers. Crowds chanted "Dubček, Svoboda." The Party congress that was to deal with additional steps toward democratization met secretly under the noses of the invaders on 22 August at the ČKD factory in Prague-Vysočany. Occasionally, violence erupted. Nearly eighty people died, and many more were wounded. Some of the invading troops conducted themselves poorly, such as those who sprayed the National Museum with machine-gun fire.

NORMALIZATION AND THE HUSÁK REGIME

At first, the reformers stayed at their posts, although the Soviets and the Czechoslovak hard-liners determined policy. The only significant reform to remain was the federation of the country, which became valid on 1 January 1969. The change had little impact, however, since the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia maintained its unity. The population did not accept the invaders' new order, and continued minor displays of resistance. About 170,000 fled the country during the period of "normalization," which lasted about two years after the invasion. Nearly a quarter of a million Slovaks and Czechs fled altogether by the time the Communists lost their grip on power in 1989. Many of those who chose to live abroad after 1968 were highly respected politicians, intellectuals, and artists. On 16 January, Charles University student Jan Palach's self-immolation in front of the National Museum was both a protest of the invasion and a call for resistance. Palach died three days later. In February a high school student, Jan Zajíc, became the second living torch. In March 1969, when the Czechoslovak ice hockey team won two victories in Stockholm over their Soviet opponents to take the world championship, the Czechs and Slovaks considered it a moral victory and took to the streets in celebration and protest.

In the middle of April 1969 Dubček resigned as first secretary and Husák took his place. Dubček subsequently served as ambassador to Turkey in 1969–1970, was expelled from the Communist Party, and became a manual laborer. He protested the restrictions on personal liberties in an open letter to the government in 1975, but Dubček did not join the ranks of the dissidents. Even before Dubček's removal, other reformers had lost their positions and had been expelled from the Party. Many found nonpolitical jobs, frequently as laborers. A few emigrated, such as Šik. In 1970 Lubomír Štrougal replaced Černík as prime minister and headed five governments until 1988. Svoboda remained president until 1975, when the Federal Assembly removed him for health reasons and replaced him with Husák, who retained his leadership of the Party. In 1970 the Party underwent a purge, resulting in the expulsion of nearly 327,000 members, that is, nearly 22 percent of its membership, and 150,000 resigned from the Party. Others who supported the reform process lost their positions, and a critical target was the intelligentsia. Hundreds of teachers and professors lost their positions and had to find manual jobs. A restaurant not far from the main building of Charles University had excellent goulash, the pride of the former academics who prepared it.

A feature of the political and cultural life of post-1968 Czechoslovakia was the dissident movement. For the Czech Lands and the country as a whole, the most visible dissident was the playwright Václav Havel, who had actively supported reform with other writers in June 1967 and had been one of the organizers of the Club for Independent Authors (Klub nezávislých spisovaetlů). His open letter to Husák (1975) and his essay "Power of the Powerless" ("Moc bezmocních," 1978) offered a biting analysis of the ills of Czechoslovakia after "normalization." His other works—both essays and plays—were equally thought-provoking. Havel became one of the first three spokesmen of those who signed the protest document Charta 77, the others being Jiří Hájek, the minister of foreign affairs during the Prague Spring, and Jan Patočka, a philosopher who died of a stroke when in the custody of the police. Original signers of Charta 77 numbered 239 and included František Kriegel, who had refused to sign the Moscow Protocol in 1968, Zdeněk Mlynář, a Communist Party Central Committee member during the Prague Spring and one of the authors of the "Action Program," and Jiří Dienstbier, an editor and commentator for Radio Prague between 1958 and 1969. A total of 1,883 people signed Charta 77 over the years, and the group released 572 various documents. Charta 77 came about because of the trial of several members of the unofficially recognized rock group Plastic People of the Universe. In the mid-1980s the Jazz Section would suffer a similar fate. Dissidents established several other organizations, but the two most important were the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (Výbor na obranu nespravedlivě stihaných; VONS), which aided those who had been arrested and imprisoned, and the Social Defense Initiative (Iniciativa sociálni obrany; ISO), which helped those who suffered discrimination in the workplace and had other difficulties because of their views. Active in many respects as an organ of dissent was the Roman Catholic Church. In Slovakia an underground church helped meet the needs of the great number of Catholic believers, thus sidestepping the regime's official organization for clergy, Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth). As in other East European states, Czechoslovakia had an active underground university. Several samizdat (underground) organizations existed, including Petlice (Padlock), from the 1970s, and Havel's Expedice. In 1988 an independent newspaper appeared, *Lidové noviny* (People's Newspaper).

Several factors combined in the middle of the 1980s to spark an increased boldness in Czechoslovak society to demand reform, among them the continued enfeeblement

Václav Havel (b. 1936), dissident between 1968 and 1989; president of Czechoslovakia, 1989–1992; and president of the Czech Republic, 1993–2003. (Embassy of the Czech Republic/Alan Pajer)

and deepening paralyzation of the Husák regime, not unlike what the Soviet Union experienced with the last years of Brezhnev and the quick succession of two more aged leaders, Yuri V. Andropov and Konstantin U. Chernenko. Such boldness prompted skiers on the slopes of the Tatry Mountains in Slovakia to cheer instead of bowing their heads in a moment of silence when the sirens wailed and the announcement came of Chernenko's death. The inspiration of Mikhail S. Gorbachev and his notions of glasnost and perestroika (openness and restructuring) further emboldened Czechoslovaks. When Gorbachev was to visit Czechoslovakia in 1986, Prague made the standard preparations befitting a Soviet leader. On the morning of the scheduled visit, children in Pioneer uniforms crowded the subways. Placards, banners, and pictures of Gorbachev appeared everywhere, aside from the Aeroflot office on Wenceslas Square. Havel may never have noticed, but the fictitious Green Grocer in "Power of the Powerless," who dutifully placed the Communist placards in his window, transformed in real life, at least in one instance, by the middle 1980s. On the middle of Wenceslas Square, a grocery store displayed pictures of Gorbachev and Husák, but under them, filling the entire display window, was an enormous bed of lettuce—lettuce *(salat)* is an analogy in Czech for one with a weak mind. Gorbachev cancelled his visit because of the flu, but everyone in Prague suspected that his illness was political. He came in the spring of 1987, and the fanfare was noticeably absent. It was apparent when Gorbachev greeted the citizens of Prague that he was more popular than their own leaders. The transformation could even be seen with the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. Its conductor, Václav Neuman, led the orchestra in a performance of Smetana's patriotic *Má vlast* (My Fatherland) on 28 October 1986, the day celebrating the declaration of Czechoslovakia's independence in 1918, which the Communists had long before eliminated as a holiday (they recognized it as such once more in 1988). The concert took place in the Obecní dům cultural center, not the normal venue for the orchestra's concerts but where the Czechoslovak First Republic had been proclaimed. On the same day, in České Budějovice, an explosion occurred at a statue of Gottwald, although the blast could have been staged by the police.

Glasnost and perestroika, in Czech *nahlas* and *přestavba,* had a positive effect on the Czech and Slovak citizenry, but the political leadership rejected it as inappropriate for Czechoslovakia and applicable only to the Soviet Union. Miloš Jakeš replaced Husák as general secretary of the Party, although Husák remained as president. Štrougal, the perennial federal prime minister, began to incline toward supporting Gorbachev-type solutions, and resigned in October 1988. His replacement was Ladislav Adamec, a supporter of reform. Meanwhile, Czechs and Slovaks were inspired in 1988 by the tragedy of Tiananmen Square and Solidarity's daring resumption of activity in Poland. New dissident organizations emerged, such as the Democratic Initiative (Demokratická iniciativa), formed in the autumn of 1988 to promote political pluralism, and the Renewal Club for Democratic Socialism (Klub obroda, za demokratický socialismus, or Obroda), an organization of former Communist Party members who had supported the 1968 reforms. Artists in January 1989 drafted Several Sentences (Několik vět), a short statement demanding democratic reforms that over the next ten months surprisingly attracted 40,000 signatures. In 1989 Neuman and the Czech Philharmonic publicly boycotted television broadcasts as a protest against the harassment of signers of Several Sentences. Demonstrations that dissidents organized began to take on more significance in the Gorbachev era. Numbers of demonstrators grew larger. Dissidents from Poland and Czechoslovakia began to meet openly. The dissidents' successes demonstrated the Communist Party's weakening resolve. One central committee member noted that fewer high Party officials wanted to put anything in writing or sign anything. They even avoided making decisions.

PRAGUE'S CANDLELIGHT REVOLUTION

The successes of Solidarity in Poland and reform communists in Hungary in the spring of 1989 were significant signs that further changes in Eastern Europe were in the offing. In the summer of 1989 thousands of East Germans prolonged their summer vacation by fleeing from the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany through Hungary, which had opened its borders with Austria. Some East Germans went to Prague, where they encamped in the courtyard of the West German embassy, demanding safe transport to the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany). The regime of Erich Honecker in the GDR was powerless to stop the flood of emigrants. Similarly, Husák had no alternative but to permit thousands of East Germans in Prague to board special trains to West Germany. On 28 October, to celebrate Czechoslovak independence, about 10,000 people unofficially demonstrated on Wenceslas Square. On 9 November, crowds breached the Berlin Wall.

A week later, students at Charles University planned their annual march to commemorate Opletal, who had been killed by the Nazis. The Husák regime attempted to avoid trouble. For example, they brought to the Hrad the chairperson of the Socialist Union of Students (Socialistický svaz mládeže; SSM), Pavlína Kupová, who had assumed her post some months earlier because of her desire to have a positive influence on the lives of students, not because she was a dedicated communist. The authorities intimidated Kupová into informing the students not to deviate from the officially planned path for their demonstration. Her fellow students heckled her when she informed them of her meeting. The students developed their own plans, and on 17 November, when they reached Wenceslas Square, police were waiting for them on an adjoining street. The students indicated that they did not want a confrontation, and on the ground between them and the police, they placed candles—symbolic in every revolution in 1989. The police attacked, wounding about 150. Another demonstration brought more candles and more violence. This time actors, who had seen the crowds sprayed with water cannons on their way to the theater for a performance, joined the demonstrators.

In Prague, Civic Forum (Občanské fórum; OF), composed of Havel and other dissidents and established on 19 November, began to coordinate protests and open channels with the Party and government. In Slovakia, the Public against Violence (Verejnost' proti nasiliu; VPN) took on a similar role. The musician Michael Kocáb and the writer and lyricist Michal Horáček, the originators of MOST (Bridge), a group founded in the early autumn of 1989 designed to facilitate dialogue between various segments of the society, served as liaisons between the dissidents and the government. On 24 November, Dubček, who had addressed a crowd in Bratislava two days earlier, joined Havel and other dissidents to greet the crowds on Wenceslas Square, and Cardinal Tomášek sent a message of support. The crowd, unimpressed with concessions, such as the resignation of Jakeš, rang bells and jingled keys to ring out the old regime. Demonstrations of about 750,000 took place on 25–26 November in Letná Park, not far from where a giant statue of Stalin had stood. Demonstrations also took place in other cities across Czechoslovakia, and students fanned out across the country to generate support. A successful and peaceful general strike for two hours in the afternoon took place on 27 November, with the goal of having the Communist Party relinquish its monopoly on power. Negotiations continued unsuccessfully; demonstrations in the evening continued peacefully. Communists from various quarters—factory workers, employees at the communist newspaper *Rudé Právo* (Red Right), and even police (many of whom ignored orders of their superiors)—joined the call for change. Entertainers appeared on the balcony overlooking Wenceslas Square to lend their support to the demonstrations. On 29 November, the Federal Assembly eliminated the constitutional leading role of the Communist Party and passed other legislation that effectively ended communist rule. That same day, OF released concrete demands. On 4 December the Warsaw Pact states that had invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 formally denounced the invasion, shattering the last threads of legitimacy for the Husák regime (the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had condemned the invasion three days before). After having recast his cabinet a few days earlier, Adamec resigned as prime minister on 7 December. Three days later, Husák installed the Government of National Understanding under the Slovak Communist Marián Čalfa, in which the majority of ministers were representatives from OF and VPN. Husák then resigned the presidency. Ján Čarnogurský, a dissident representing Slovak Catholic interests, became one of two first deputy prime ministers. Valtr Komárek, an economist who had joined OF, was the other first deputy prime minister and one of the ministers of internal affairs. Dienstbier became the foreign minister but temporarily returned to his work as a stoker until he could find a replacement. Dubček became chairman of the Federal Assembly on 28 December, which elected Havel president the following day. Frequently, new postage stamps bearing Havel's image appeared on the same envelopes with old stamps showing Husák. The inmate replaced the jailor.

The dissidents and population, most notably during the massive demonstrations, displayed remarkable restraint in their endeavor to remove the Communists from power. The toppling of the old regime thus became known as the Velvet Revolution. The determination of the population, success of the revolution, and peaceful transformation to democracy restored the self-confidence of the Czechs, who had felt powerless for so many years. Frequently, analysts and Czech citizens alike reflected on the rapidity with which Czechs succumbed to threats on their independence—Munich in 1938, the Communist takeover in 1948, and the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968 and the subsequent period of normalization. Submissiveness as a function of the Czech political culture even received a name—Švejkism. Those who accounted for the actions of Czechs through the Švejkian set of perceptual lenses often lost sight of the militant aspects of Czech history—what might be termed the Žižkian tradition of the Hussite Wars and, in modern times, the struggle to create the state during World War I and the willingness of the vast majority of the population to wage war against Germany in 1938. Similarly, they overlooked efforts of heroic passive resistance, as exemplified by Komenský, the popular opposition to the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968, and the heroic dissidents between 1968 and 1989. Few cold warriors cared to admit that in 1948, when the communists came to power in Czechoslovakia, they did so with a large segment of popular support. The lameness of the Švejkian argument became apparent when the discussion about it evaporated after the Velvet Revolution.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1989–1992: CONSOLIDATING THE REVOLUTION AND DIVIDING THE STATE

Many legislative revisions dismantled the communist regime and consolidated Czechoslovakia's new pluralistic democracy and the market economy. Highly symbolic was the change of the country's name on 20 April 1990 from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic (Česká a Slovenská Federativní Republika; ČSFR), an effort to enhance the visibility of Slovaks as equal partners in the state with Czechs. The federal structure of the communist era remained—the Federal Assembly, with its House of People and House of Nations, the federal government, the prime ministers and governments of Slovakia and the Czech Lands, and the National Councils (legislatures) of the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic. Czechoslovakia restructured its foreign policy to improve relations with the West and newly established postcommunist regimes in East Central Europe and the Balkans. Simultaneously, it distanced itself from the Soviet Union, withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact and CMEA. On 21 June 1991, the last Soviet soldier left Czechoslovak territory.

The electorate had to contend with a proliferation of political parties and movements, that is, loosely structured organizations. Parties that had existed during the communist era went through a process of restructuring. The communists in Slovakia formed their own party, and those in the Czech Republic became known as the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy; KSČM). Although the Czech communists retained their name, which was unusual in the region, they condemned the abuses but not the ideology of the pre-1989 days. The National Socialists, Czech Populists, Freedom, and Democratic parties emerged from under the umbrella of the National Front. The former dissidents in Civic Forum and Public against Violence preferred to remain a movement, rather than to create a disciplined political party. Some political parties of the period before and immediately after World War II reemerged. Most were insignificant—few original members survived and, as in the case of the Republican Party that had catered to agrarian interests, their constituents had changed dramatically. The exception was the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (Československá strana sociálně demokratická; ČSSD), which became one of the strongest parties in the Czechoslovakia of the 1990s. A series of new parties evolved that represented specific regional, class, ethnic, religious, environmental, or economic interests. On the humorous side were the Party of the Friends of Beer, Independent Erotic Initiative, which was dedicated to sexual freedom, and Party of Moderate Progress within the Limits of the Law, which was inspired by the writer Hašek.

A total of twenty-three parties, movements, and electoral coalitions participated in the June 1990 elections, but only eight obtained the necessary votes to enter the Federal Assembly. OF and VPN received the vast majority of the votes. The communists did not gain enough seats to claim a position in the government, but they had the second strongest party in the state. Many politicians, analysts, and voters were shocked by the communists' success. In the years that followed, the far left along with the far right continued to attract a significant following but did not gain enough votes to form a government. In this sense, politics after 1989 reflected the tradition of the Czechoslovak First Republic. Broad coalitions characterized all of the governments that resulted from the 1990 elections. OF, VPN, and the Christian Democratic Movement formed a federal government under Prime Minister Čalfa. The Czech government was under the former dissident Peter Pithart and was a coalition of OF, the People's Party, and the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy–Society for Moravia and Silesia. The Slovak government was a coalition of VPN, Christian Democratic Movement, and Slovak Democratic Party under the VPN Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar. During the period from 1990 to 1992, the number of parties and movements in Czechoslovakia mushroomed to approximately 120. Both OF and VPN splintered, and the most important group to emerge from OF was the Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana; ODS), founded in February 1991. Its leader was Václav Klaus, finance minister in the federal government from 1989 to 1992 and vice premier from 1991 to 1992. During the Prague Spring, he had been an economist with the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and had to take employment in the State Bank as a result of Husák's normalization campaign. He returned to the Academy in 1988 to enter its newly created Institute for Prognosis, where he studied the conservative economic policies of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom. Klaus's ODS championed rapid dismantling of the socialist economic system, similar to the "shock therapy" in Poland. In Slovakia, Mečiar broke from the VPN and established the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko; HZDS), which advocated a slow pace of progress toward privatization and stressed the need to strengthen Slovakia's position in the country.

The federative and republic governments had to deal with a series of problems in the transition from communist rule and socialist economics to democracy and capitalism. Economics received the most attention: privatizing industry and trade; restructuring collective farms; determining the appropriate level of state regulation of private enterprise; rising unemployment; restructuring the administration; and repairing the damaged environment. There were also pressing social questions, including that status of Roma in the society and the large number of Vietnamese guest workers who remained in Czechoslovakia after the revolution. A major concern was ferreting out those who had committed crimes during the period of communist rule, a process called *lustrace*. Anyone identified as having abused power was excluded from government and administrative positions for a decade. A particularly controversial portion of the identification process was determining who had cooperated with the secret police, the hated StB, or State Security (Státní bezpečnost). The published lists included not only notorious agents but also citizens who may have provided assistance to the police in some small way many years before and even those who had never worked with the authorities. In some cases, individuals in the gray area who were in the Party and had responsible positions but who did not actively participate in the repressive efforts of communist rule were hounded out of one position after another.

Politicians also had to readdress the Slovak question. In the June 1992 elections, the plurality of votes—better than one-third—in the Czech House of the People and the House of Nations went to the coalition of the ODS and Christian Democratic Party (Křest'ansko-demokratická strana; KDS). In Slovakia, the HZDS-led electoral coalition scored a similar victory, gaining more than a third of the votes. Both of these parties also did well in the elections to their respective National Councils. Since no party had a majority, a coalition was necessary, but it was apparent that any government would have difficulties passing legislation. The Czech groups in parliament favored a stronger central government, while Mečiar's HZDS and the National Slovak Party spoke of either a confederative arrangement between Slovakia and the Czech Republic or complete Slovak independence. Because the separatist Slovak parties had a plurality of votes in the Slovak Chamber of Nations and the structure of the Federal Assembly required that all bills pass both the House of the People and the two chambers of the House of Nations, a constitutional impasse seemed inevitable. Mečiar and Klaus formed coalition governments for the Slovak and the Czech republics, respectively. They agreed to create a weak federal government that included politicians of lesser importance, clearly a caretaker government.

Slovaks, who in 1990 accounted for about one-third of Czechoslovakia's population of 15.6 million, were concerned about their political and economic status in the republic. Many were convinced that the Czechs were getting a better economic deal with the introduction of capitalism. Unemployment in Slovakia—three times higher than that of the Czech Republic and hovering around 12–13 percent—was largely because of layoffs in Slovakia's outdated industries. The Slovaks also preferred a slow privatization process to ease the transition to capitalism, something Klaus refused to do. Both Slovaks and Czechs claimed that the other nation had received economic advantages in the 1970s and 1980s. In reality, at the time of the Velvet Revolution, the Slovaks' contribution to the national income was on a par with the Czechs on a per capita basis, but the Slovaks received a somewhat greater share of investments. Despite Mečiar's popularity, a poll conducted at the time of the election showed only 17 percent of the Slovaks favored independence. Apparently, the Slovaks were convinced on going to the polls that Mečiar would help them vis-à-vis the Czechs, but they were not expecting him to steer a course toward independence. The Slovaks demonstrated once more the tendency inherent in their political culture to support leaders in troubled times whose radical solutions may not reflect the true sentiments of the population but are perceived as strong bargaining tools in the defense of Slovak national interests. The Czechs, meanwhile, grew weary of Mečiar's rhetoric, his intransigence, and his supporters' insults of President Havel. (At one point, a crowd of Slovaks spat on Havel, though it is also true that Havel's wandering into a rally of Mečiar supporters was far from politically astute.) In July 1992 the Federal Assembly failed to reelect Havel as president because the Slovaks refused to support his candidacy. The vote was a sad defeat for the republic's unity, and it became apparent to Slovaks and Czechs that the rift between the two nations had become irreparable. On 17 July the Slovaks passed a declaration of sovereignty.

Havel, refusing to complete his term and participate in the destruction of Czechoslovakia, resigned as president effective 20 July. No candidate in subsequent elections succeeded in winning enough votes to assume the office. The state was moving quickly toward division.

In the third week of July, Mečiar and Klaus agreed on the procedure for dividing the state through legislative action in the Federal Assembly. Both opposed a referendum, which might have reflected the majority of the population's desire to continue Slovak and Czech unity. Tortuous negotiations determined the precise means of dismantling the republic, and a law passed on 25 November 1992 to partition the state. Mečiar and Klaus had already set the date of the division for 1 January 1993.

Television news coverage broadcast to the world one of the ironies of European history that occurred at the stroke of midnight on 31 December 1992, and 1 January 1993. Guards stationed on internal borders of the EU (European Union) raised their gates and retreated to the warmth of their offices as the EU introduced the fully free movement of individuals and goods. Meanwhile, guards stationed between Slovakia and the Czech Lands emerged from their hastily erected offices and lowered gates on the new international border. Regardless of their opinions about the division of the state, Czechs and Slovaks took consolation in the peaceful division of the country—the so-called Velvet Divorce. Most quipped that they dissolved their common state so that they could reunite in a few years within the EU.

THE CZECH REPUBLIC SINCE 1992

The government of Václav Klaus remained in power through the division of Czechoslovakia, and one of the first acts of the new parliament of the Czech Republic, formerly the National Council, was to reelect Havel as head of state in January 1993 (he was reelected to another term in January 1998). The parliament adopted a constitutional amendment creating a Senate in 1995 and scheduled elections to that body in the following year. Parliamentary elections took place in May-June 1996 (elections for the Senate were in November) in which ODS (which had absorbed its coalition partner, KDS) received 29.62 percent of the votes and lost its majority. The Czech Social Democrats (Česká strana sociálně demokratická; ČSSD) came in second with 26.44 percent of the votes. The Communists received 10.33

The Flag and Coat of Arms of the Czech Republic

The historic flag of Bohemia is white (above) and red (below). The colors of Slovakia and Moravia are red, white, and blue, and after the creation of Czechoslovakia at the end of World War I, the National Assembly superimposed a blue triangle on the left portion of the white and red Bohemian flag. After the division of Czechoslovakia in 1992–1993, the Czech Republic retained the flag, and Slovakia adopted a completely different design that incorporates its historic coat of arms on a field of red, white, and blue horizontal bars.

The seal of the Czech Republic is an emblem that contains the two-tailed white Bohemian lion on a red field in the upper-left and lower-right quadrants, the black eagle of Silesia on a gold field in the lower-left, and the red-and-white checkered Moravian eagle, having the same outline as the Silesian eagle, on a blue field in the upper-right. The eagles and the lions wear the same gold crown. The presidential seal includes the seal of the republic flanked by gold branches of the Czech linden tree. Beneath, on a red banner, is written *Pravda vítězí* (Truth prevails; from the Latin, *veritas vincit*), the motto of the republic's first president, Tomáš G. Masaryk. The field is white, and the border of flowing triangles is red, white, and blue.

percent; the Christian and Democratic Union–Czech People's Party (Křesťanské a demokratické unie-Česká strana lidová; KDU-ČSL), 8.07 percent; the radical right Republican Party, 8 percent; and the Civic Democratic Alliance (Občanská demokratická aliance; ODA), another offshoot from OF, 6.36 percent. The chairman of the Social Democrats, Miloš Zeman, agreed to support a minority coalition government of the ODS, KDU-ČSL, and ODA with Klaus as prime minister.

The coalition partners frequently had difficulties. Then the public learned that the ODS received secret financial support, including funds from a Swiss bank account. Much of the money was from kickbacks connected with advantageous privatization deals. The government collapsed in November 1997. In January 1998 Havel appointed a mixed government of politicians from ODS and ODA along with experts under the leadership of the governor of the Czech National Bank, Josef Tošovský.

In the early elections of June 1998, the Social Democrats won a plurality of votes (32.31 percent), while ODS came in second (27.74 percent), the Communists third (11.03 percent), KDU-ČSL fourth (9 percent), and a new party of the right, the Freedom Union (Unie svobody; US) fifth (8.60 percent). ODS returned the favor to the Socialists and in July signed the so-called Opposition Agreement with the ČSSD that committed the ODS to support the Socialist minority government. Zeman became the prime minister, with Socialists filling all the cabinet posts, aside from the Ministry of Justice, which remained in the hands of a nonparty expert. As part of the Opposition Agreement, ODS assumed the leadership roles of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate. Klaus and the ODS formed a shadow government, thus starting a new tradition in Czech politics.

As the Zeman government neared the end of its term, Zeman announced his retirement from politics. Elections took place in June 2002, and the Socialists remained the largest party in the parliament with 30.27 percent of the vote. ODS received 24.53 percent of the votes, and the Communists had 18.55 percent of the votes. A coalition of the KDU-ČSL and US received 14.31 percent of the votes. The Socialists formed a coalition government in July with Vladimír Špidla as prime minister that included the KDU-ČSL and US coalition. Špidla set out to tackle budget deficits—the highest among the countries set to enter the EU—through budget cuts, particularly in the areas of welfare and social services. His controversial measures brought about a vote of confidence in September 2003, which his government survived.

The competition among the parties, primarily ČSSD and ODS, added drama to the presidential elections to replace Havel, whose term was to expire in early 2003. Two rounds of voting in parliament brought no result, aside from frustrating the already cynical electorate that increasingly views politics as a power game to ensure financial gain for a corrupt elite. Finally, parliament narrowly elected Klaus as president in February 2003.

A crisis occurred in the Špidla government in June 2004 as a result of the first elections in the Czech Republic to the European Parliament. ODS won the election, with the Communists coming in second. The ČSSD came in fifth, even behind their coalition partners in the cabinet, the KDU-ČSL. The US, also in Špidla's government, did not win any seats. Špidla soon resigned as prime minister and head of the ČSSD, and his replacement in both positions was Stanislav Gross, a young Social Democrat in his mid-thirties (in fact, the youngest Czech prime minister in history). The new government, which took office on 4 August, had the same constellation of parties and contained many of the same faces as its predecessor. In a personnel change characteristic to a consociationalist parliamentary system, Špidla replaced Pavel Telička on the European Commission. In August 2004 the chairman of European Commission named several representatives from states that had recently entered the EU to positions on the Commission, subject to the approval of the European Parliament. Among them was Špidla, who was to become Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs.

As politicians continued the transition to a capitalist economy and consolidating the state's democratic institutions, the country faced a number of difficulties. Several floods devastated the republic in recent years, but the worst was that of August 2002, which brought the highest water level in Prague in a century. High unemployment remained in certain sections of the country where older industries had been located, and there is little hope of a solution. The economic transition to capitalism resulted in a degree of social stratification that was unknown in the communist era, when Czechoslovakia had one of the most economically level societies in the world. An important segment of the population, therefore, is discontent, insecure about its financial future, and skeptical about some benefits of the post-1989 order. The country's 300,000 Roma, many of whom are unemployed, poorly prepared for anything but manual labor, and have a low standard of living, have become a major social problem. The Roma face de facto discrimination, in part because the Czechs mistakenly associate the Roma with a high crime rate. In 1997 a wave of Roma fled the country, mainly to the United Kingdom and Canada, seeking political asylum. Authorities abroad realized their motive was economic, but the affair tarnished the image of the Czech Republic, despite the country's solid human rights record. Since that time, the government's Council for Roma Affairs combats discrimination, provides training and employment for Roma, and improves Roma communities. A major economic and political problem is corruption, which has resulted in difficulties for several noted politicians and state contractors. Zeman's campaign to limit corruption had little effect, and Špidla redoubled the government's efforts to stem the tide of corruption. In 2003 Freedom House gave the Czech Republic a score of 3.5 on corruption, above the 4.78 average that year for democratizing states in the region but well behind states like Poland, Hungary, and Slovenia. Transparency International registered a precipitous drop in the Czech Republic's corruption perceptions index. Overall, however, the Czech Republic's record on political rights and the freedoms of expression, assembly, religion, and the press is excellent. In 2003 Freedom House gave the Czech Republic a 1 for political rights and 2 for civil liberties on a scale from 1 to 7. The Czech Republic has made dramatic progress since the Velvet Revolution in implanting democratic ideals and institutions in the country and ranks among the most progressive former socialist states.

As the Czechs and Slovaks introduced capitalist markets and a pluralist democracy after 1989, they also pursued a policy of integrating into West European mechanisms for international cooperation. A major foreign policy achievement has been the Czech Republic's entry into NATO. In February 1994 the Czech Republic entered the initiative of the American president Bill Clinton known as Partners for Peace. The parliament approved entry into NATO in April 1998, and the Czech Republic joined Hungary and Poland as NATO members in March 1999. Already in 1995, the Czech Republic participated in the UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia. Then, in 1999, the government supported the bombing of Yugoslavia and provided humanitarian aid in the war zone, despite the popular opposition to the bombing. The Czech Republic actively participated in the KFOR operation to secure Kosovo. Most recently, it has supported the United States in its efforts against terrorism, and it backed the American military mission against Iraq in 2003. Admission to the EU, a key objective, was another foreign policy success for the Czech Republic. EU members are linked together in a series of international organizations, and the Czech Republic gained admission to several key groups. In 1993 the Czech Republic joined the Council of Europe, in 1994 it joined the West European Union, and in 1995 it joined the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). During the early years of the twenty-first century, the government completed the requirements the EU set forth for membership, and the Czech Republic ascended to the EU with a number of other states in 2004—the largest single expansion of the EU in its history.

Although the Czech Republic has excellent relations with its neighbors, there are two nagging difficulties for Czech policymakers. In Germany, those expelled from Czechoslovakia immediately after World War II and their families demand that Prague rescind the Beneš Decrees and restore their property. The former Sudeten Germans, most of whom reside in Bavaria, are solid supporters of the Christian Democratic Union–Christian Socialist Union (KDU-KSU) and pressure their representatives to champion their cause. When the German government of Helmut Kohl signed an agreement with the Klaus government in January 1997 that released their countries from claims, the question of compensation for the Sudeten Germans as well as compensation for the victims of Nazism during the World War II remained open. The Czech government has resolutely refused to revisit the expulsions of the postwar years and is unlikely to change its position. German politicians are in the most difficult position; they must avoid angering both their constituents and their neighbor, who is now their fellow EU member. Difficulties with Austria center on the Temelín power plant in Southern Bohemia. Designed during the communist era, the Temelín power plant has been the subject of heated criticism on both sides of the border. Even though the design of the plant may have taken into account the highest standards for safety, construction in the 1980s was shoddy. In the spring of 1999 the Czech government decided to complete the plant, realizing that it would be impossible to address every shortcoming in past construction. Temelín is now on line and has operated without incidents, but environmentalists and politicians in Austria along with many Czechs still are wary. Neither the former deportees from the Sudeten region who now live in Germany nor the opposition to Temelín in Austria had enough clout to prevent the Czech Republic's entry into the EU, but their campaigns were a frequent distraction to the Czech government's efforts to demonstrate its cooperative spirit in a conflict-free Europe.

An important foreign policy initiative for the Czech Republic has been its participation in the Vysegrád alliance of former East Central European socialist states. In February 1991 the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary signed an agreement in Vysegrád, Hungary, to coordinate their efforts at gaining entry into NATO and the EU. Both the Czech Republic and Slovakia retained their membership in the group when Czechoslovakia disintegrated in 1993. Although the commitment of the Vysegrád states to intensifying their contacts subsequently weakened, the member states renewed their interest in cooperation in 1999. The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland began actively supporting Slovakia's admission into NATO. The four states have discussed border policies, especially with respect to the eastern borders of Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary. President Klaus, never enthusiastic about Vysegrád in the past, reasoned in November 2003 that the Vysegrád Four might coordinate their efforts to comply with the EU's Schengen Treaty border policies after they enter the EU. The Vysegrád Four also established means to address common social issues, including the Roma minorities.

Although the transition from communist domination brought dramatic political and economic changes, the Czech Republic, like some other former states of the Habsburg monarchy, exhibits a remarkable continuity with the past in the preservation of consociational political arrangements. In the Czech Republic, as in the Czechoslovak First Republic, no party receives a majority of the votes, and coalitions or minority governments are the rule. Extra-parliamentary arrangements, which may be informal or contractual, such as the Opposition Agreement, are reminiscent of the First Republic's Pětka. Governments of experts or mixed governments of politicians and experts are an occasional necessity. Unfortunately, many Czech politicians today fail to grasp the true nature of politics and, like Beneš and Masaryk between the world wars, decry the political machinations of Czech politics in comparison to the apparently clear and simple majority parliamentary politics of Western states, such as Germany. Their frustration became apparent during Zeman's tenure as prime minister, when the ČSSD and ODS cooperated to pass an electoral reform to improve the chances of parties securing a majority. Havel and the smaller parties resisted, as did the courts. Subsequent legislation made adjustments in the electoral procedures that favored the larger parties, but the electorate's preference for proportional representation that truly reflects the social, economic, and ideological diversity of the country remains deeply rooted in the political culture. The future success of Czech politics clearly lies with politicians who understand and respect consociational democracy and who master the fine art of compromise and coalition building.

Once out of the orbit of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia could have resumed the process of state building that World War II interrupted. Within a short time, however, Mečiar, Klaus, and their supporters determined that it was in the best interest of their respective nations to dissolve the state. After 1993, the Czech Lands embarked on a path of independent development unexplored since the time of the Jagiellonian kings in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, if one excludes the brief disastrous experience between 1618 and 1620. As the Czechs and Slovaks discarded communism in 1989 and then as they accepted the Velvet Divorce three years later to build their separate states, they enthusiastically embraced entry into the EU. The notion that an ethnic group would gain full sovereignty and then strive to voluntarily surrender many aspects of it a few years later through entry into a multinational organization seems unfathomable. Yet the Czech Republic, along with other former Eastern European states, finds the EU attractive, just as Western European states do, because of the ultimate goals that have marked the association's development since the Rome Treaties of 1957–coordination in the areas of economics, defense, domestic policy, and foreign affairs for the sake of peace and prosperity. The Czechs realize that the EU not only offers economic advancement and security against aggression but also a guarantee for ethnic expression. The EU celebrates ethnicity within the context of internationalism in building what might be termed Europe's postnational age. The Czechs' historic evolution, thoroughly embedded in Europe's cultural, social, political, and economic trends, ensures that they will be active and visible participants in building Europe's future.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

ROMANESQUE PRAGUE

The adoption of Christianity from Rome by the early Přemyslids brought to the Czech Lands the cultural trends of the West, such as literature, music, and art. The most apparent relic from a millennium ago is Romanesque architecture. Some of this heritage remains today. At the Prague Castle is St. George Church (Kostel sv. Jiřího), which dates to the tenth century, although its facade is early baroque. Archaeological remnants of other Romanesque structures are scattered throughout the Hrad. Prague still boasts of several Romanesque rotundas, including the Rotunda of St. Martin (Rotunda sv. Martina) in Vyšehrad that dates from the second half of the eleventh century and the Rotunda of the Holy Cross (Rotunda sv. Kříže) in the Old Town that was built in the beginning of the twelfth century.

THE GOTHIC CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION OF CHARLES IV

The cultural achievements of Charles IV are significant, particularly his sponsorship of High Gothic architecture through his various building schemes. To accomplish his most important building projects, he first employed Matthew of Arras, an architect from Flanders once in the service of Pope Clement VI at Avignon, who began building St. Vitus Cathedral and most likely planned the New Town. He then turned to Petr Parléř from Swabia to continue work on the cathedral, to build a new bridge across the Vltava, which became known as Charles Bridge, and to begin reconstructing the Church of St. Barbara in the mining town of Kutná Hora. During the reign of Charles IV, Gothic construction in the Czech Lands flourished, and one of the most famous structures in Prague independent of Charles's efforts is the Týn Church, formally known as the Church of Our Lady before the Týn (Chrám Panny Marie před Týnem). Charles wrote the first autobiography of a medieval ruler, which he had translated from Latin into Czech. He was a devout Christian—he avidly collected relics and reliquaries, including those from Byzantium (Charles collected many things, including manuscripts, books, and jewels) and strictly observed Church precepts. He established the Emmaus Monastery for Benedictine monks, particularly from Croatia and Dalmatia, to preserve

Charles Bridge

Among the best-known architectural features of Prague is Charles Bridge (Karlův most). Known as Prague Bridge until 1870, it spans the Vltava River and the Kampa Island between the Lesser Town and the Old Town. It is one of the oldest stone bridges in Europe and the second oldest in the republic (the oldest in Písek, Bohemia, was built in the thirteenth century). The first bridge crossing the Vltava in Prague was wooden and dated from the tenth century. The Judith stone bridge, built 1158–1160, spanned the river until a disastrous flood washed it away in 1342. Charles IV commissioned Petr Parléř to erect a new bridge; being somewhat superstitious, the king broke ground for the bridge in 1357 on 9 July at 5:31 A.M., thus creating a date and time that, if given completely in numbers, is a perfect palindrome: 1–3–5–7–9–7–5–3–1.

The sandstone bridge, stretching 516 meters with sixteen arches, was completed in 1402. Thirty statues adorn the bridge (the originals for most are in the Lapidarium of the National Museum). In 1683 Charles Bridge received its first baroque sculpture, that of St. John Nepomuk, the work of Matthias Rauchmüller and Jan Brokoff. The bronze relief at the base of the statue depicts the false legend that Jan Nepomuk would not tell Václav IV the secrets of the queen's confession, so Václav IV had him cast into the Vltava from the bridge (a bronze cross in the bridge parapet marks the alleged spot). Other baroque masters who sculpted works for the bridge included Ferdinand Maximilián Brokoff, Michal Josef Brokoff, and Matyáš Bernard Braun. In the classical era, Josef Max, Emanuel Max, and others sculpted several statues. Karel Dvořák completed the most recent statue, that of the missionaries Cyril and Methodius, in 1938.

On the Lesser Town side of the bridge are two towers. The first is a remnant of the Judith Bridge that was rebuilt in 1591. The taller Gothic tower was completed in 1464, and a Gothic gateway links the two towers. On the Old Town side of the bridge stands a single Gothic tower decorated with saints, the builders, and skillfully executed representations of Charles IV and his son, Václav IV. Also embellishing the tower are the coats of arms of the Bohemian kingdom. The roof is the design of Josef Mocker from the late nineteenth century. A portion of the Old Town Tower facade and the bridge was damaged during a Swedish bombardment in 1648.

the Slavonic liturgy and literature (the front of the church was damaged during Allied bombing in World War II and was reconstructed as two intertwining concrete spires). In 1348 he established what is now known as Charles University in Prague, the oldest university north of the Alps and east of the Rhine. Charles used his friendship with Pope Clement VI to have a faculty of theology at Prague. The university was to be an international affair, with the Czech "nation" having only one in four votes in its governing body; the other "nations" being the Poles, Bavarians, and Saxons (each of these "nations" actually represented a conglomerate of ethnic groups—Czechs, for example, included Hungarians and South Slavs as well as Czechs). Latin was the official language of the university, but Charles made Czech the only official language of the state administration.

THE HUSSITE ERA

The Hussite movement brought significant changes to Bohemia's cultural landscape. The Czech domination of the university after 1409 solidified the status of Czech language and culture in the kingdom, but it did not mean that German influence came to an end. Similarly, the victories of the Hussites ended in the domination of moderate voices in the movement who reached an accord with the Catholics at Basel. The extremists among the Hussites, with their radical social and religious measures along with their iconoclasm, had no place in the Czech Lands after the 1434 Battle of Lipany. The Czech Lands by the late fifteenth century, therefore, were remarkable in the perspective of European culture. German and Czech culture coexisted as did Catholic and reformist Utraquist. Moreover, with the Hussite belief in the need for the laity to understand all the tenets of Christian faith, the Hussite movement resulted in dramatic advancements in the Czech language.

THE EARLY HABSBURGS: THE BEARERS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE

Ferdinand of Habsburg, who had come to the Bohemian throne in 1526, took some time to consolidate his political position. Once he succeeded, Ferdinand began an offensive against the non-Catholics, particularly the Bohemian Brethren. In 1547 he renewed a 1508 persecution order against the Bohemian Brethren and forced most of them to leave Bohemia for Moravia. To strengthen Roman Catholicism in Bohemia, he brought Jesuits to Prague in 1556 under the Dutchman St. Peter Canisius. Their school became a university in 1562 and was located in a building known as the Klementinum, which is now the National Library and Charles University Library. In 1566 they started a college, after 1573 a university, in Olomouc, and opened other centers of learning in Brno, Český Krumlov, Chomutov, Jindřichův Hradec, and Kladsko. To better control Catholic affairs in Bohemia, in 1561 Ferdinand reinstated the archbishop of Prague, a position that had been vacant for 130 years.

During Ferdinand's reign, Prague began to experience the new Renaissance architectural style that heretofore had only a minor presence in the city. Many Italian artists moved to Prague, in part because of the initiative of the queen, Anna Jagiellonian, who preferred to live in Prague, rather than at the court in Vienna. She commissioned the Genoese builder Paolo della Stella to construct her Royal Summer House and Royal Garden, Prague's first Renaissance garden, just outside the Hrad. After 1547, the second son of Ferdinand I, Ferdinand II Tyrolean, ruled in Bohemia for seventeen years as a governor. He was devoted to the arts and designed the star-shaped Renaissance summerhouse at Bílá hora (White Mountain) near Prague known as Hvězda (Star). Renaissance construction continued in Bohemia over the following decades. Noteworthy examples of the style appear in the town of Český Krumlov, where buildings and parts of the castle, including the tower, date from the second half of the sixteenth century. The Bohemian economy was strong enough to support such ambitious building plans and other cultural undertakings. It was at this time that the widely accepted silver coinage was minted in Jáchymov, Bohemia, which was first struck in 1519 and was known as the Joachimsthaler in German, from which English derived the word "dollar."

PRAGUE DURING THE REIGN OF RUDOLF II

Prague became a thriving center of Renaissance activity under Rudolf II, in part because in 1583 he moved the entire Habsburg court to the Prague Castle. Rudolf was rather eccentric. He was taken by magic, astrology, and alchemy, and legend has it that he kept alchemists busy at the Hrad, housing them in the small houses along the so-called Golden Lane. In 1599 Rudolf employed the astronomer Tycho Brahe, who had gathered massive amounts of data on the movement of planets and the sun while working for the Danish king. Brahe was a colorful figure. He lost the tip of his nose in a duel, and he wore a prosthesis made of metal. According to the mathematician Johannes Kepler, who also had come to Prague, Brahe refused to excuse himself during a dinner, in order not to insult his host, and the toxins in his blood brought about his death within days. Historians no longer accept this account as credible. To succeed Brahe, Rudolf appointed Kepler. The two had been in Prague at the same time, but they had not cemented a solid working relationship. Kepler used Brahe's material to prove that Nicolaus Copernicus was correct in positing a heliocentric solar system but that the paths of the planets around the sun were not round but elliptical and that planets travel at different speeds.

Prague at the time of Rudolf II was a haven for European artists and architects. Several Italian Renaissance architects worked in Bohemia during Rudolf's time, and a marvelous example of Renaissance architecture during this period is the Kratochvíle Summer Palace in Southern Bohemia by the Italian architect Baldassare Maggi. Giovanni Maria Filippi, who built the Mathias Gate at the Prague Castle and the Church of Our Lady Victorious (Kostel Panny Marie Vítězná) in Prague's Lesser Town, designed in the baroque style. Rudolf was an important patron of the arts. He brought painters and craftsmen to Prague from all over Europe. Well known is the portrait of Rudolf painted as a collage of fruit, vegetables, and flowers, the work of Giuseppe Arcimboldo. Other artists include the painters Hans von Aachen and Bartholomäus Spranger and the sculptor Adrien de Vries. The acquisition and care of Rudolf's rich collection of paintings, which included many from Albrecht Dürer, was in the capable hands of Jacopo Strada and his son, Ottavio Strada. Another individual who frequented the court of Rudolf II was Petr Vok, the last of the noble Rožemberk family. As a young man, he spent five years traveling throughout Europe. He eventually managed several of the Rožmberk estates, and he reconstructed the residence in Třebon in the Renaissance style and assembled there a library of approximately 11,000 volumes, one of the largest in Central Europe at the time. He left the Catholic Church to become Lutheran and then joined the Bohemian Brethren. He was involved in Bohemian politics, and he was one of the members of the diet who was responsible for ensuring the freedom of religion in the Czech Lands. Vok even successfully led Bohemian troops on a campaign against the Turks in 1594. Finally, it was Vok who hosted the dinner in Prague during which Brahe supposedly made the fateful decision that his bladder could withstand more abuse than his pride.

After Ferdinand had expelled the Jews from Bohemia, Maximilian II permitted them to return. Under Rudolf II, the Jewish community experienced financial and cultural prosperity. Mordekhai Maisel was a financier and court Jew who commissioned the High Synagogue, the original Maisel's Synagogue, and the Jewish Town Hall. Jacob Bassevi was another financier of Rudolf II and two succeeding emperors, and he was the first Jew to enter the nobility in 1622 (as Jakub Bassevi z Treuenburku). Crucial to the Jewish history of Prague was Rabbi Löw (also Loew), Jehudah Liva ben Bezalel, who was a chief rabbi in Moravia and Poland before becoming chief rabbi at a elderly age in Prague. Löw was a conservative rabbi who admonished his followers to remain steadfast to their Jewish culture in order to be prepared for the Messiah. In the nineteenth century, a story appeared about how Löw created a monsterlike golem as his servant. Writers ever since have portrayed Löw as magical and mysterious.

In the 1580s the Utraquist faith nearly collapsed when the head of the Utraquist Consistory became Catholic, but the consistory revived in 1594. The Bohemian Brethren remained vibrant, despite the dislike Rudolf II harbored for them. In 1602 Rudolf (like Ferdinand) renewed the 1508 persecution decree against them. Nevertheless, the sect accomplished an important step for the development of the Czech language when Jan Blahoslav wrote a Czech grammar and translated the New Testament, which was included in the so-called Kralicka Bible the Brethren compiled between 1579 and 1594.

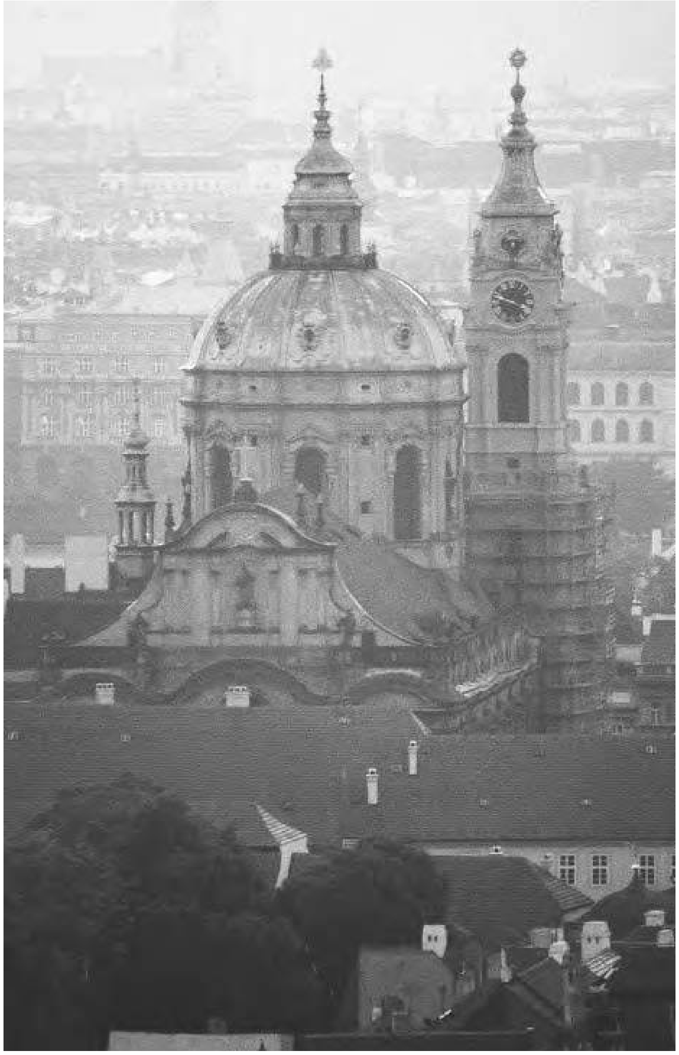
CULTURE IN THE CZECH LANDS AFTER 1620

After the defeat of the Bohemian Estates at the Battle of White Mountain, the Czech Lands experienced a dramatic cultural shift. Catholic religious orders had free reign in the conversion of Protestants to Catholicism, and among them the Jesuits had special status. The Jesuits in the Klementinum took control of the Karolinum, that is, the Prague University that Charles IV had established, and they united the two into one university. The Counter-Reformation forcibly Catholicized Protestants using torture and intimidation, but the Catholic Church did not repeat in the Czech Lands the excesses of the Spanish Inquisition against Jews and Muslims in the fifteenth century and later against some Protestants. Symbolic of the dramatic change was the conversion of the Church of the Virgin Mary Victorious from an originally German Lutheran to a Catholic Church. In the process, the apse, once the eastern part of the church, became the western part of the church. Similarly, the main entrance moved from west to east. In 1628 the church received from the Catholic noble Lobkovic family a wax statue of the infant Jesus made in Spain and based on a Spanish original. Occupying a side altar, the Little Infant Jesus of Prague, the Bambino di Praga, garbed in one of its hundreds of finely crafted and often gem-studded robes, still casts its gaze on worshipers and tourists.

In the atmosphere of religious and cultural repression after 1620, many Czechs chose to flee Bohemia, resulting in the first essentially political mass exodus from the Czech Lands. Among these exiles, the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, Jan Komenský, is the most famous. Komenský remained in Bohemia until 1627, even though Spanish soldiers burned his home during one of the battles of the Thirty Years' War, and fled to Leszno, Poland, in 1628, after Ferdinand had issued the Renewal Ordinance. It was in Poland in 1632 that he became bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, the last Czech to hold the honor. Komenský traveled to England, where it appears he declined the offer of the son of the governor of Massachusetts to be the first president of Harvard. He later traveled to the Netherlands and then to Sweden, where he undertook a major reform of the country's education system. He journied to Transylvania in the early 1650s to initiate another education reform. In 1656, during a war between Poland and Sweden, his home and library were again destroyed. He went into exile once more, this time to the Netherlands, where in 1670 he died and was buried in Naarden. In addition to being a religious leader, Komenský was well known as an authority on education. He wrote several major works, including *Janua linguarium reserata* (Gate of Languages Unlocked, 1631), a compilation of sentences using basic vocabulary for teaching Latin; *Labyrint světa a ráj srdce* (Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart, 1631), which takes a cynical view of authority; and *Orbis sensualium pictus* (Visible World in Pictures, 1658), which combined pictures of everyday life with Latin, German, Hungarian, and Czech captions for use in language instruction. In the realm of philosophy, he believed that all people must work together to realize God's will, and the means of achieving that goal is through education, a universal language, and a common body of knowledge, which he termed *pansophia*. His educational reforms, texts, and ideas influenced the development of kindergarten as a means of preparing children for the formal educational experience that is to follow, female education, and the teaching of history and geography. Finally, Komenský's Czech patriotism is apparent in his testament, titled *Kšaft umírající matky jednoty bratrské* (Bequest of the Dying Mother of the Unity of Brethren, 1650). In it he wrote: "Live, O nation consecrated to God, and die not! May thy men be without number."

THE BAROQUE PERIOD IN THE CZECH LANDS

Baroque began to become popular in Bohemia toward the end of the Thirty Years' War, and it reached its peak in the last decade of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century. Rococo succeeded it in the middle of the eighteenth century and lasted until near the end of the eighteenth century. The Dienzenhofers built many buildings in Prague and in other locations in Bohemia. Kryštof Dienzenhofer, who was born in Bavaria, constructed St. Nicholas's Church (Chram sv. Mikuláše) in Prague's Lesser Town between 1703 and 1711 (facade and nave) and St. Margaret's Church (Kostel sv. Markéta) in the Břevnov section of Prague between 1708 and 1712. His son, Kilián Ignác Dienzenhofer, became more famous as an architect than his father. The younger Dienzenhofer was responsible for building St. Nicholas's Church (Kostel sv. Mikuláše) in the Old Town between 1733 and 1738 and concluded work on the St. Nicholas Church in the Lesser Town that his father had begun. Among the gems of baroque architecture in Bohemia are the buildings of the Italian architect Giovanni Santini, whose works blend elements of the Gothic style with the baroque (the so-called baroque-Gothic style), which is readily apparent in his use of ribbed vaults. His buildings are located in Prague and throughout Bohemia, but his most famous structure is the church in Zelená Hora u Žd'áru and Sázavou, which is a UNESCO cultural site. The Austrian Johann Bernard Fischer von Erlach was responsible for several structures in Bohemia, including St. James's Church (Kostel sv. Jakuba) in the Old Town. His son, Joseph Emmanuel Fischer von Erlach, designed the silver tomb of St. Jan Nepomuk in St. Vitus's Cathedral. Baroque sculptors and carvers who worked in Prague include Jan Jiří Bendl, whose works are in Týn Church, St. Salvador's Church (Kostel sv. Salvátora) at the Klementinum, and St. Ignatius's Church (Kostel sv. Ignáce), and Matyáš Bernard Braun, who originally was from the Tyrol and who sculpted several of the statues on Charles Bridge. Also famous was the Brokoff family: Jan Brokoff, who was of German origin, and his sons, Michal Josef Brokoff and Ferdinand Maximilián Brokoff, who sculpted two of the statues that adorn Charles Bridge and the Moors on the Morzinský Palace on Nerudová Street. Another dynasty of sculptors that lasted until 1907 began with Ignác František Platzer, who executed the statues at the entrance of the Prague Castle. Baroque painters active in Bohemia include Petr Jan Brandl, whose paintings are above the altars at St. Margaret's Church in Břevnov, St.



The eighteenth-century baroque St. Nicholas Church in Prague's Lesser Town. (PhotoDisc, Inc.)

James's Church in the Old Town, and the Church of Our Lady Victorious in the Lesser Town; Jan Krštof Liška, who painted the altars at the Prague Church at Strahov monastery; Václav Vavřinec Reiner, whose paintings adorn the Mirror Chapel (Zrcadlová kaple) in the Klementinum; and Karel Škréta, who painted the Passion in St. Nicholas's Cathedral in Prague's Lesser Town. Norbert Grund painted during the Rococo era. The greatest contribution to baroque music from Bohemia came from Jan Dismas Zelenka, who lived in Dresden after 1710. He wrote a large body of liturgical music, including twenty-two masses and his Te Deum in D.

CULTURE IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

As baroque culture came to a close during the reign of Maria Theresa, the classical era—technically the neoclassical era—began. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart made five visits to Prague, often staying at the Bertranka Villa. Mozart dedicated his Symphony no. 38 in D Major, the Prague symphony (Köchel 504) to the city; it premiered in January 1787. In October 1787 *Don Giovanni* premiered in Prague at the Estates Theater (Stavovské divadlo). Finally, *La Clemenza di Tito,* an opera the Bohemian Estates commissioned Mozart to write in honor of the coronation of Leopold II as king of Bohemia, premiered in Prague in September 1791. The early careers of Christoph Willibald Gluck and Josef Haydn are also associated with the Czech Lands. Gluck was born in what is now Germany, but his father worked as a forester in various locations in Northern Bohemia. Gluck began his studies at the Jesuit College at Chomutov and then enrolled in the Philosophical Faculty at the University of Prague. While in Prague, he served as an organist at several churches, including Týn Church in the Old Town Square. He later went to Vienna, Milan, and London before finally settling in Vienna. The Austrian composer Haydn is most famous for his work at the court of the Esterházy family in Hungary, his years in Vienna, and his visits to London, but early in his career, he served as a court composer for the Count Ferdinand Maximilian z Morzina in Dolní Lukavice. It is there that he wrote his first symphony and the Lukavická Mass, sometimes referred to as the Czech Mass. Ludwig van Beethoven made several trips to Prague, where he performed two concerts in 1798, and he visited spas in other parts of Bohemia. Among Czech composers, the most recognized today is Jakub Jan Ryba, whose Czech Christmas Mass (1796) remains popular.

The Enlightenment had a strong influence on intellectual life in the Czech Lands, which were the home of several scientific advancements. In 1741 the Masons, dedicated to spreading the tenets of the Enlightenment, organized their first lodge in the Czech Lands in Prague. In 1754 Prokop Diviš, a Catholic priest, erected the first lightning rod in the Czech Lands, among the first of such devices in the world. The Klementinum in Prague became the first place in the world in 1775 to inaugurate the daily recording of the weather. The meteorological station and an observatory at the Klementinum were the work of Josef Stepling, a Czech Jesuit and professor at Prague University.

THE CZECH RENAISSANCE (1781–1848)

The first step in the national awakening was to build a modern Czech literary language after Czech was absent for over a century from intellectual pursuits and the administration. The impetus came from unusual quarters. The military recognized Czech as a necessary language of command, and the Military Academy, established in 1754 in Wiener Neustadt, taught courses in Czech. In 1775 the University of Vienna inaugurated a chair of Czech language. Czech courses in Vienna stimulated efforts to modernize and codify the language. Ironically, it was not until 1792 that Francis II (I) gave the University in Prague a chair of Czech language and literature. Historians attribute the genesis of modern Czech to the historian and linguist Josef Dobrovský, who was vice rector and then rector of the general seminary that Joseph II had established in Olomouc. In

1791 Dobrovský boldly addressed the Bohemian Society of Sciences in the presence of Leopold II about the positive qualities of Slavs and their languages, especially the Czechs. Despite his commitment to Czech, Dobrovský published his instrumental works, including his *Geschichte der bömischen Sprache und Literatur* (History of Czech Language and Literature, 1792) and *Lehrgebäude der bömischen Sprache* (Detailed Grammar of the Czech Language, 1809), in German because Czech had not reached a literary level.

Dobrovský inspired lively debates among Czech philologists in his day, and the advances they brought about in the language encouraged creative literary works in Czech. In 1811 Josef Jungmann translated *Paradise Lost* by John Milton, thereby demonstrating the poetic abilities of Czech. He later published his *Slovník Česko-německý* (Czech-German Dictionary, 1835–1839) and *Historie literatury České* (The History of Czech Literature, 1825) in Czech. From 1824 to 1832, Jan Kollár, a Slovak poet and Lutheran minister who wrote in Czech, published *Slávy dcera* (The Daughter of Slava), a collection of poems. A younger generation of Czech literary figures emerged, including Karel Hynek Mácha, whose epic poem *Máj* (May) is a masterpiece of romanticism. In 1826 Magdalena Dobromila Rettigová published her cookbook, *Domácí kuchařka,* and she became the first female to become active in the national awakening and the first devoted to women's interests. Also in 1826 the first Czech opera, *Dráteník* (The Tinker), premiered with music by František Škroup and the libretto by Josef Krasoslav Chmelenský. The tinker—whose trade began in Slovakia and spread throughout Europe and beyond, including the United States—was a poor itinerant craftsman who repaired pottery using wire and created various ornamental and functional wire and metal household items. Škroup (who, although not Jewish, for a while was the organist in a reformed synagogue—an example of the extent to which various Prague cultures were intertwined) wrote the music for *Fidlovačka* (Shoemakers Festival), a play by the actor, director, and writer Josef Kajetán Tyl. The song *Kde domov můj* (Where is My Homeland?) from the play was immensely popular and became the national anthem after 1918. Prominent among historians was František Palacký, who examined Bohemian history before 1526 in *Dějiny národu Českého a v Čechách a v Moravě* (A History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia), the first volume of which appeared in German in 1836 (the last in 1865) and only in 1848 in Czech. Josef Pavel Šafařík, another cultural figure whom both Czechs and Slovaks claim, wrote several works, including an examination of Slavic history until the tenth century in *Slovanských starožitnostech* (Slavic Antiquities), which he published in 1837. An important development in the popularization of literary Czech was the establishment of a Czech newspaper. Modern newspapers in Czech existed in the early eighteenth century, but they only took hold by the 1780s, especially under the editorship of Václav Matěj Kramerius, who established his own newspaper in July 1789.

Czech scientific and cultural figures established a number of organizations to exchange ideas and promote their interests. Construction began in 1781 on the Estates Theater, which opened in 1783 and began regular performances in Czech in 1824. The Bohemian Society of Sciences, later the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, came into existence in December 1784. A music conservatory began functioning in 1811. The Silesian Museum was founded in 1814, the Moravian Museum in 1817, and the National Museum in Prague in 1818. In 1831 several cultural figures, including Jungmann and Palacký, established the Matice Česká (Czech Foundation) to fund the publication of books in Czech.

FROM BIEDERMEIER TO FIN DE SIÉCLE

The period that begins in 1815 and extends until 1890 is known as the Biedermeier period in the Habsburg monarchy and is roughly equivalent to the Victorian age in the United Kingdom. It was a time that the middle class, growing in economic power and influence, steadily augmented their role in setting cultural trends. For the individual ethnic groups of the monarchy, including the Czechs, the period was also a continuation of the national awakening.

Architecture in the Czech Lands reflected all the neo-Gothic, neoclassical, and neo-Renaissance styles common elsewhere in Europe at the time, but architects designed their structures not only as public spaces for the nation but also as edifices to celebrate the Czech national heritage. Josef Zítek and Josef Schulz used neo-Renaissance themes to design the National Theater (Národní divadlo) and the Rudolfinum concert hall, which between the world wars housed the Czechoslovak National Assembly. Schulz constructed the National Museum (Národní muzeum) at the head of Václavské náměstí (Wenceslas Square) in the neo-Renaissance style. Vojtěch Ignác Ullmann favored the neo-Renaissance style in the Prague Finishing School for Girls (Vyšší dívčí škola) and what is now the Academy of Sciences. Orientalism inspired architects in Europe and America and was the theme for Ullmann's design for the Spanish Synagogue (Španělská synagóga). Preeminent among Czech architects toward the end of the period was Josef Mocker, who painstakingly duplicated Gothic styles in his work to complete St. Vitus Cathedral in the Hrad, to reconstruct Karlštejn and Křivoklat Castle along with the Powder Tower (Prašná brana) in Prague, to reconstruct and complete the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Prague-Vyšehrad (Kostel sv. Petra a Pavla), and to build the new churches of St. Ludmila in Prague-Vinohrady (Kostel sv. Ludmily) and St. Prokop in Prague-Žižkov (Kostel sv. Prokopa). The Czech architect and builder Josef Hlávka studied and worked in Vienna and played a role in the construction of the Vienna Opera and other structures along the Ring.

Art in the latter half of the nineteenth century also emphasized national themes, using the romantic movement as a backdrop. Josef Mánes set the tone with his landscapes and portraits. Josef Václav Myslbek, a sculptor, is best known for his statue of St. Wenceslas that stands on Wenceslas Square before the National Museum. His sculptures also adorn the National Theater, and he along with others who contributed their talents to provide a home for the Czech stage were known as the generation of the National Theater. The

Václavské náměstí (Wenceslas Square) in the New Town of Prague. In front of the National Museum, constructed 1885–1890 by Josef Schulz (1840–1917), stands the statue of St. Wenceslas (completed in 1924) by Josef Václav Myslbek (1848–1922). Wenceslas Square has been the scene of many key political demonstrations, including those in 1968 and 1989. (Corel Corporation)

painter and illustrator Mikoláš Aleš similarly favored depicting historic Czech personalities and famous scenes. He decorated the ceiling of the main foyer of the National Theater, and he illustrated the works of Alois Jirásek. Jakub Schikaneder, also of the generation of the National Theater, later painted alluring scenes of Prague in the evening and at night under the influence of realism. In 1887 artists established the Mánes Association for the Creative Arts (Spolek výtvarných umělců Mánes; SVU), which functioned over the years as a society in which artists could exchange their views.

As with architecture and art, music combined romanticism and nationalism, and Czechs became famous for their contribution to the vast body of classical music and opera. Bedřich Smetana, who had been involved in the revolution of 1848, became famous for his operas, including *The Bartered Bride (Prodaná nevěsta)* and *Libuše.* He began composing the symphonic tone poem *Má vlast* (My Fatherland) in 1872, became deaf because of syphilis in 1874, but completed the work in 1879. The most famous segment in *Má vlast, Vltava,* traces the path of the Vltava as droplets and streams form the river that majestically flows through the Czech countryside past hunters, a peasant wedding, the night moon, St. John's Rapids, and Vyšehrad Castle. Of all Smetana's works, *Má vlast* and specifically *Vltava* evoke the greatest emotions among Czechs. Antonín Dvořák, like Smetana, attempted to capture the essence of the Czech nation in his symphonies, operas, chamber works, and other music. His *Slovanské tance* (Slavonic Dances) brought Dvořák international fame. He served between 1892 and 1895 as the director of the national Conservatory of Music in New York. In America he composed the Ninth Symphony (1893), subtitled Z *nového světa* (From the New World), with passages that allude to Native American music and spirituals. On returning home, he headed the Prague Conservatory. Zdeněk Fibich was another Czech composer in the romantic era who is known for his symphonic poems and operas. Finally, Czech production of musical instruments became important, and it was Václav František Červený who created the tubas Richard Wagner used in his *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (The Ring of the Nibelungs).

National themes interwoven with realism and romanticism are the main features of Czech literature in decades that followed the revolution of 1848. The early writers of this era, all associates of Havlíček, turned their attention away from politics to literature after the failure of the revolution of 1848. Among those in the romantic stream was Karel Jaromír Erben, who had been a writer in 1848. Afterward, he became an archivist, a career that influenced him to collect thousands of folk songs, rhymes, and folk tales from the countryside. These folk tales inspired Erben's original work, *Kytice* (The Nosegay), written in 1853 and expanded in 1861. Božena Němcová and her husband were involved in the revolutions of 1848, and they organized the funeral of Havlíček. The couple had difficulties with the authorities and separated because of their unhappy marriage. Němcová never remarried but had many dramatic affairs. She, like Erben, collected impressions from the countryside that she included in her stories. In *Babička* (Grandmother), she uses autobiographical glimpses of her own young life and that of her grandmother. The most noted realist was Jan Neruda, who knew Erben and Němcová in his youth, was associated with the journal *Máj* (May, first published in 1858), and attempted to portray an accurate picture of the world in his poetry and prose, particularly his *Povídky malostranské* (Tales from the Lesser Town). Early in his career as a newspaper journalist, Neruda developed the Czech style of the journalistic feuilleton essay. The Chilean poet Pablo Neruda (born Neftalí Ricardo Reyes) so admired the Czech writer that he adopted his name as a pseudonym. The neoromantics include Julius Zeyer, Svatopluk Čech, and Jirásek. Zeyer wrote epic poetry and prose, and his most important novel is *Jan Marija Plojhar,* the story of a Czech patriot who died in Italy, far from his homeland. Čech is noted for his novels based on Palacký's histories, but the author who perfected the historical novel with Palacký's work as a basis was Jirásek. The writers at the time contributed to the literary journal *Ruch* (Activity), which they established in 1868 to support the National Theater. Realism again influenced the Czech literary scene before World War I, in part through the support of Masaryk's journal *Čas* (Time). A famous realist literary critic and poet during this time was František Xaver Šalda, who was one of the founders of the Modernist Manifesto *(Manifest moderna)* of young writers in 1895.

Throughout the period of the national revival, Czechs continued to establish cultural organizations and further strengthen existing groups. In 1862 Vojtěch Náprstek, who had left Europe after the revolution of 1848 and returned to Prague ten years later, established a museum and library, which is today famous for its African, American, and Asian ethnographic collection. Also in 1862, Jindřich Fügner and Miroslav Tyrš established the Czech Sokol (Falcon) gymnastic movement, patterned after the German Turnverein as an apolitical organization to enhance the physical strength of the nation. Fügner, a businessman, served as the Sokol's president, and Tyrš, who also became a noted art critic, was its gymnastic director. In 1869 the Prague Polytechnical Institute was divided into German and Czech sections, forming the Czech Technical University (České vysoké učení technické; ČVUT), today the Czech Republic's premier institute of technology. Similarly, in 1882, Prague University divided along ethnic lines. Another key educational advancement occurred in 1890, when Eliška Krásnohorská (born Alžběta Pechová), a writer, translator, and critic, established the Minerva Gymnasium (high school) for girls in Prague.

By about 1890, the spiritual descendants of those who manned the barricades in 1848 sought to bring new directions to culture, giving birth in the fin de siècle age of 1890–1910 to the secession movement in Austria-Hungary, called art nouveau outside of Central Europe. Then immediately before World War I, artists experimented with new forms of artistic expression.

Like the artists in Vienna who founded the Secession, the Czech artists shunned the classical, Gothic, and Renaissance themes of their immediate predecessors and sought new inspiration. More than their Vienna counterparts, however, the Czech artists, like other non-Germans in the monarchy, incorporated national themes in their works, which broadened their appeal. Most widely known in Western Europe and North America is Alfons Mucha, whose seductive illustrations, especially with the French actress Sarah Bernhardt, still appear internationally in their original form as masterpieces of graphic art and in their modified form as high-class kitsch. Mucha's works include the *Slovanská epopej* (Slavic Épopée, or Epic), twenty paintings completed in 1928 depicting Czech and Slavic history, and one of the stained glass windows in the neo-Gothic part of St. Vitus Cathedral. Max Švabinský, who also later designed windows for St. Vitus Cathedral, was another artist who moved from the late romantic to the secessionist style. Jan Preisler was one of several Czech secessionist artists. Bohumil Kafka was a noted Czech secessionist sculptor, as was Ladislav Šaloun, who sculpted the statue of Jan Hus in the Old Town Square. Before World War I, other artistic trends began in the Czech Lands. The painter František Kupka experimented with abstract images, as did Vojtěch Preissig, who lived in America from 1910 to 1930. Jan Zrzavý was a noted expressionist painter. Bohumil Kubišta and Emil Filla, both leading figures in the Czech-German Osma (Eight) group of artists, drifted from expressionism into cubism beginning in 1910. Josef Čapek, brother of the famous author Karel Čapek, also painted in the cubistic style. The transition Kubišta and Filla made in painting occurred in sculpture with Otto Gutfreund and Otakar Kubín.

Prague is adorned with scores of secession and cubistic buildings placed like jewels amid the Gothic and baroque structures that form Prague's glorious architectural crown. The beginnings of change came in the 1890s. Various architects worked on the new buildings in what is now Pařížská Street to replace those razed in the Jewish Quarter of Josefov. Neobaroque and neo-Renaissance styles predominate. However, some buildings reflect the secessionist style. For the Industrial Exhibition of 1891 in Prague-Bubeneš, Bedřich Münzberger designed the Průmyslový palác (Industrial Palace) that combined exposed structural members of the industrial style with neobaroque. The Hlavní nádraži (Central Railroad Station) by Josef Fanta has bold geometric patterns. Obecní dům (Municipal House), the design of Osvald Polívka and Antonín Balšánek for a multipurpose civic center, mixes neobaroque, secession, and national motifs. Works by Myslbek and secession artists, such as Mucha, Preisler, Švabinský, adorn its interior. Friedrich Ohnmann and his students Alois Dryak and Bedřich Bendelmayer designed the Hotel Central, Prague's earliest truly secession building still standing, and Dryak and Bendelmayer continued their collaboration in the famous Hotel Evropa on Wenceslas Square. The peak of the secession movement came with Jan Kotěra, who had studied in Vienna under Otto Wagner. One of his key works is the museum in Hradec Hrálově. On Prague's Wenceslas Square, he is responsible for the Peterka House (Peterkův dům), which lacks a great deal of ornamentation. Kotěra, later experimented in the geometric style, which can be seen in his Laichter House (Laichtrův dům). Kotěra's simplicity went a step farther with his pupil, Antonín Pfeiffer, who designed the Koruna Palace (Palác Koruna) at the lower end of Wenceslas Square, and with the Šupich Department Store (Šupichův obcnodní dům) of Matěj Blecha and Petr Kropáček. The sculptor František Bílek used the geometric style accentuated with thin wheatlike columns for his own home and studio, now a museum of his works. Cubism became popular from about 1910 until the middle of the 1920s. The imposing Dům u Černé Matky Boží (House at the Black Madonna) on Celetná Street is the work of Josef Gočár. Other cubist structures in Prague built before the collapse of the monarchy include the work of Josef Chochol, who was another student of Wagner and Emil Králíček.

The most noted Czech composer of the twentieth century, Leoš Janáček, wrote the opera *Jenůfa* (formally *Její pastorkyňa,* that is, "Her Stepdaughter") and several orchestral works around the turn of the century, but his teaching career delayed his efforts to compose. Another critical young composer at the time was Josef Suk, the pupil and son-in-law of Dvořák. Suk's works span the late romantic period and the modern age, and he gained great respect as a violinist. His most noted compositions completed or begun in the prewar era are the Asrael Symphony and the tone poems *A Summer Tale* and *Ripening.* Josef Bohuslav Foerster, who composed a number of works in the romantic tradition, including five symphonies, did much of his work abroad. Other important Czech musicians at the turn of the century include Vitězslav Novák, who composed the "Slovácko Suite" in 1903, and the composer and conductor Otakar Ostrčil. The soprano Emma Destinn (Emilie Kittlová), who was born in Prague, was recognized worldwide and performed for years with Enrico Caruso. The Prague Philharmonic (Česká filharmonie), founded in 1894, continues to operate and is one of the world's greatest orchestras.

Czech speakers outnumbered German speakers in Prague by the 1860s, and the dynamism of the Czech national revival sometimes has the effect of dwarfing German political, economic, and cultural developments. Czech society did not supplant German society in the national revival; the two developed parallel social spheres in the nineteenth century—separate political parties, schools and educational associations, economic institutions, business networks, cultural groups, sport societies, unions, and churches (or at least religious services, in the case of Catholics). Jews were largely German speakers, but they did not find acceptance with ethnic Germans. As a result, they developed yet a third social structure within the Czech Lands. The German-speaking Jewish writers of the Prague Circle left a lasting impact on world literature. Franz Kafka was writing before the world war, and some of his earlier well-known works—*Die Verwandlung* (Metamorphosis) and *Das Urteil* (The Judgment)—appeared during the war. Max Brod, the writer who became the close friend and publisher of Kafka, and Hugo Bergman became Zionists. Others in the Prague Circle included Franz Werfel, who lived in Prague until 1917 and who had a great affinity for Christianity, Paul Kornfeld, Egon Erwin Kisch, Otto Pick, and Rudolf Fuchs. Noted Germans from Germany and Austria were from or spent time in the Czech Lands. Albert Einstein and Ernst Mach taught at the German University in Prague. Egon Schiele, the Austrian painter who moved from the secession to expressionism, lived during 1911 in the Southern Bohemian town of Ceský Krumlov, the birthplace of his mother. Ferdinand Porsche, the automobile manufacturer and the creator of the Volkswagen, along with the writers Gustav Meyrink (born Meyer), the author of *Golem,* and the great German poet Rainer Maria Rilke were born in the Czech Lands.

CZECH CULTURE (1918–1938)

Czech culture between the two world wars was dynamic and celebrated both national independence and the modern age. In classical music, Janáček produced some of his greatest works. He composed the opera *Příhody lišky bystroušky* (The Cunning Little Vixen), and his *Sinfonietta* (1926) now serves as ceremonial music at the Prague Castle. For the tenth anniversary of the Czechoslovak First Republic and for the millennium of the death of St. Wenceslas, he composed the *Glagolská mše* (Glagolithic Mass), which combines melodies inspired by Bohemia's medieval past and Byzantine contacts with the discordant experimentation of the early twentieth century. Suk composed several works between the wars, including *Epilog* (Epilogue). His *Legenda o mrtvých vítězích* (Legend of Dead Victors) and *V nový život* (Toward a New Life) together with one of his earlier compositions *Meditace na staročeský chorál svatý Václave* (Meditation on the Old Czech Chorale of St. Wenceslas), are noted for their reflections of Czech patriotism. The interwar years produced one of the most noted interpreters of Czech music and greatest directors of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, Václav Talich, whose career continued into the 1950s.

Famous among popular composers and the Prague cabaret scene was Karel Hašler, whose songs, including *Ta naše písnička Česká* (Our Czech Songs, composed for a 1932 film in which Hašler starred) and *Po starých zámeckých schodech* (On the Old Palace Steps), are old standards in today's repertoire of Czech popular music. Jiří Voskovec and Jan Werich, simply known as V+W, established their Osvobozené divadlo (Liberated Theater), which operated between 1927 and 1938 and became famous for its satirical plays, its humor, and its songs. For many years, their songwriter was Jaroslav Ježek. The Czech film industry, especially the new Barrandov studios, was quite advanced for its day, releasing a full range of films—comedies, drama, historical films, documentaries, and the like. The first "talkie" films were produced in 1930, and among them was *C. a k. polní maršálek* (The Little Imperial and Royal Field Marshal), which starred the stage and film actor Vlasta Burian in the Czech and German versions, filmed simultaneously. Voskovec and Werich also made the transition to the screen. Among the famous film actresses was Lída Baarová (born Ludmila Babková), whose close relationship with the Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels brought her difficulties during the World War II and led her to emigrate afterward. In 1933 Gustav Machatý, who left Czechoslovakia in 1935, directed *Extáze* (Ecstasy), starring the Austrian Hedy Lamarr in then shocking nude scenes.

Young painters and sculptors from the prewar period, such as Bílek, Josef Čapek, Bohumil Kafka, and Švabinský, continued their creative activity between the wars. The artist and writer Josef Lada illustrated Hašek's *Švejk,* and his juvenile books are still favorites of children learning to read. The sculptor Otakar Španiel, who designed many medals and coins for the new republic, belonged to the secession early in his career, but he then focused on national themes reminiscent of works done in the late nineteenth century. Experiments of the younger generation led them to surrealism, which was the case of the sculptor Vincenc Makovský, who carved a large statue of Masaryk just before World War II that was cast in 1968 and now stands in Washington, DC, at the small T. G. Masaryk Memorial Park on Massachusetts Ave. Other artists attracted to surrealism were František Muzika, Josef Šíma, who lived in Paris after 1921, Jindřich Štýrský, and Toyen (Marie Čermínová). From 1934 until 1938, Oskar Kokoschka lived in Prague, where he painted views of the city and a portrait of Masaryk. In the medium of photography, František Drtikol mastered reproducing the infinite shades of gray in his portraits that similarly distinguishes the work of Ansel Adams.

Of Czech writers between the wars, two are world known: Hašek and Čapek. Hašek never completed his novel about the bumbling soldier Švejk, but it is a classic piece of Czech humor and a commentary both on society and the military. Čapek is noted for his plays, including *R.U.R.,* in which he coined the term *robot* from *robota* to identify machines that worked for humans, and *White Plague.* Čapek, also a journalist, made occasional forays into the fringe of politics through his writings, involvement in the Hrad's attempt to launch a political party, and reporting information to the Hrad. Other noted Czech writers active between the world wars or those who began their careers at that time were Jan Herben, who had worked with Masaryk on the journal *Čas* (Time), the writer, journalist, and politician Viktor Dyk, the poet Fráňa Šrámek, the literary critic Arne Novák, the novelist Vladislav Vančura, the novelist and journalist Karel Poláček, and the poet Jiří Wolker. Jaroslav Durych wrote poetry, stories, and novels, including *Bloudění* (published in English as *The Descent of the Idol*). Milena Jesenská, who had an affair with Kafka and translated some of his works into Czech, was a writer and journalist who courageously edited the news magazine *Přítomnost* (The Present) in its final days after the Germans had arrested its founder and editor, Ferdinand Peroutka. The first poems of Jaroslav Seifert in the 1920s reflected the struggle of the working class. Karel Teige was the founder and inspiration for the long-lived avant-garde group known as Devětsil (the name of a flower and a play on words that could refer to the nine muses), which published the *Revue Devětsilu* or *ReD.* Devětsil was associated loosely with the Communist Party, and its members included the communist journalist Julius Fučik, the Russian-born linguist Roman Jakobson, Milena Jesenská, Kisch, the architect Jaromír Krejcar, Seifert, Toyen, Vančura, Wolker, and many others. Of the German writers in Czechoslovakia, most important is Kafka, who after the war wrote *In der Strafkolonie* (In the Penal Colony), and the posthumously published *Der Prozess* (The Trial), *Das Schloss* (The Castle), and *Amerika.*

Cubist architecture failed to reemerge from World War I in its original form. The few buildings in the cubist style built after the war had more subdued angularity. The last gasp of cubism was the heavily ornate rondocubism of the Banka Československých legií (Bank of the Czechoslovak Legionaires), by Josef Gočár, and the Palác Adria (Adria Palace), the work of Pavel Janák and Josef Zasche. Václav Havel, the grandfather of the future Czech president Václav Havel, was one of the builders of the Adria Palace. Kotěra's plan for the Právnická fakulta (Law Faculty) of Charles University, executed in 1921–1931 after alterations by Ladislav Machoň, demonstrates a transition that combines a degree of starkness to the facade with such traditional elements as an arched portico. Modernism, in particular functionalism, was to become the dominant postwar style. Gočár abandoned cubism to work on a geometric theme with much cleaner lines in his Československá akademie zemědělství (Czechoslovak Academy of Agriculture) and Kostel sv. Václava (St. Wenceslas Church). Functionalism predominates the work of Max Urban, especially in his Restaurace a terasy na Barrandově (Restaurant and Terraces at Barrandov) and the Filmové ateliéry Barrandov (Barrandov Film Studios). Other functionalist architects include Otakar Novotný, who designed Mánes, Dům výtvarných umění (Manes, House of Creative Arts), Bohumír Kozák, who designed the Palác Avion (Avion Palace) and Thomayerova nemocnice (Thomayer Hospital), and Josef Havlíček, who built the Všeobecný penzijní Ústav (General Pension Institute) in Prague-Žižkov. A prime example of the functionalist style is the Veletržní palác (Trade Exhibition Palace) of Oldřich Tyl and Josef Fuchs. The Obchodní dům Bílá labut' (Bílá Labut' Department Store) of Josef Kittrich and Josef Hrubý displays a further advance in that it has a completely glass curtain wall. Visible from the Hrad and other points of the city in Prague-Žižkov is the Národní památník (National Memorial) and below it the Vojenské muzeum (Military Museum) built by Jan Zázvorka and Jan Gillar. All the residential villas in the Vilová kolonie Baba (Baba Villa Colony) in Prague-Device reflect the modern approaches in an overall plan from Janák. Wenceslas Square has several functionalist structures: Hotel Juliš by Janák as well as the Lindtův obchodní dům–Astra

(Lindt Department Store–Astra), Obchodní dům Bat'a (Bat'a Department Store), and Palác Alfa (Alfa Palace) by Ludvík Kysela. Antonín Engel, the student of Otto Wagner who designed the urban plan for Dejvice and the Podolská vodárna (Podolí Water Works), worked with traditional designs for government projects, as did other architects when fulfilling government contracts. Josip Plečnik, the Slovenian architect and another student of Wagner, reconstructed the gardens, presidential apartments, and various sites of the Hrad and built the Kostel Nejsvětějšího Srdce Páně (Sacred Heart Church) in Prague-Vyšehrad in a remarkable blend of modernism with hints of the secession and classicism. Two foreign functionalists contributed to the Czech architectural heritage between the world wars: the Austrian architect Adolf Loss constructed the Vila Müllerova (Müller Villa) in Prague, and the German architect Ludwik Mies van der Rohe designed the Vila Tugendhat (Tugendhat Villa) in Brno.

WORLD WAR II

Despite the establishment of the Protectorate, the Czechs still had a measure of cultural freedom. It was in 1941, for example, that the writer Eduard Bass (born Eduard Schmidt) published *Cirkus Humberto* (Circus Humberto). The Czech photographer Josef Sudek, famous for his photographs in black and white, was a commercial photographer before the war but intensified his creative activities during the war. Far more repressive was the period after the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich in 1942. Immediately after the Munich Diktat, some Czech cultural figures, such as Voskovec, Werich, Ježek, and the novelist Egon Hostovský fled abroad. From the West, they aided on the cultural front in the struggle to recreate Czechoslovakia.

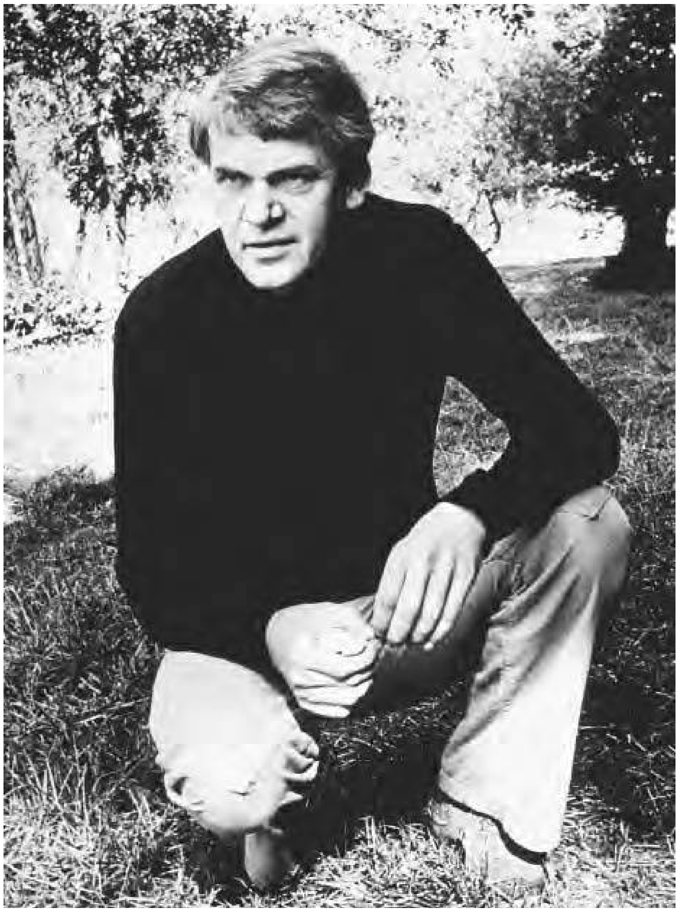
THE POSTWAR ERA

After World War II, art and architecture resumed its links to Western movements. The architect Jaroslav Fragner had been involved in several progressive projects between the world wars, but after 1945 he devoted himself to restoring historic monuments and rebuilding the Bethlehem Chapel, which had been demolished in 1786. Functionalism continued to inspire architects, like Josef Havlíček, one of the architects who collaborated in designing the United Nations Building in New York, and Václav Hilský, who built in Litínov, Bohemia, one of the first apartment complexes in Europe after the war. Muzika continued his work in art, as did the artists in the Skupina 42 (Group 42), which included František Gross. Švabinský, despite his age, continued to sculpt and work in other media, as did Makovský. In postwar literature, the memoirs of the Communist journalist Julius Fučík of his time in prison were important as prose and as communist propaganda. Seifert dominated poetry. Burian resumed his theatrical activities, as did Voskovec and Werich, who had returned from their wartime exile in the United States. The most important critic to emerge immediately after the war was Václav Černý. In 1946 Charles University established its Faculty of Film and Television Arts (Filmová a televizní fakulta Akademie múzických umění; FAMU), only the fourth such institution in the world at the time.

CULTURE IN TOTALITARIAN AND POSTTOTALITARIAN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Once the Communists came to power in 1948, they introduced the Soviet cultural style of socialist realism, with its reliance on simple classical styles and photographically accurate forms in a modern context, its demand of realism, its glorification of socialist ideals and achievements, and its anticipation of a utopian communist society. Key in setting the cultural tone in Czechoslovakia was Zdeněk Nejedlý, a noted musicologist and historian. Between the world wars, Nejedlý became close to the Communists, and he joined the Party in 1939. He was in the Soviet Union during World War II, and he held several cabinet posts between 1945 and 1953. Socialist realism can be seen in the sculpture of Miloš Axman, the art of Vojtěch Cinybulk, and the paintings of Karel Stehlík. Some older artists, such as the sculptor Jan Lauda, also worked with socialist realism. Artistic themes included the harmony of the city and countryside, the glory and strength of socialist work and family life, and the portrayal of political figures, including Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and domestic leaders, such as Gottwald. Socialist realist architecture not only expressed the principles of socialism in its form but created an atmosphere in which the ideal socialist society could develop. In urban planning, the workers' residential district of Havířov near Ostrava by Vladimír Meduna is a classic example of socialist principles at the time that included a maze of parks and long medium-story buildings with simple facades, aside from corners, public buildings, and gateways, which took on the stark classicism of socialist realism. There are two socialist realist hotels in Prague: Hotel International in Device by František Jeřábek, who designed his building solidly in the Soviet style, and Hotel Yalta on Wenceslas Square by Antonín Tenzer, who combined hints of functionalism with socialist realism. When the Communists came to power, certain authors were banned, including Čapek. Some cultural figures emigrated, such as Voskovec, who returned to America. Censorship and self-censorship heavily influenced literature. Yet it was in this time that the creativity of the writer Arnošt Lustig emerged. Seifert continued with his poetry, as did Vítězslav Nezval, who shifted his poetic style to reflect socialist realism. The puppet films of Jiří Trnka became internationally acclaimed.

With the death of Stalin, the Czechs abandoned socialist realism and returned for the most part to trends popular in the West and throughout the world. In the realm of art, the sculptor Makovský maintained themes that reflected communist ideology but began experimenting with introducing modern themes to socialist realist art, such as his statue, *Atomový věk* (Atomic Age), that stands before the former Federal Assembly by the National Museum. Zdeněk Sýkora and Karel Malich, both sculptors and painters, and Karel Nepraš, a sculptor, broke with the socialist realist mode, and the painter Jaroslav Vožniak flourished in the liberalism of the 1960s. Yet there were limits to what artists and intellectuals



Playwright, poet, and novelist Milan Kundera (b. 1929). (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

could do. Josef Škvorecký published his novel *Zbabělci* (The Cowards), which included realistic and unfavorable references to the behavior of the Red Army during liberation from Nazi rule, and the novel was soon after banned. Pavel Kohout, who also began publishing plays during this time, became famous for his political activities in 1967–1968. Writers who began their careers in the 1960s were Bohumil Hrabal, Milan Kundera, Ivan Klíma, and Vaculík. In theater, Lanterna Magika performed for the first time at the 1958 Brussels Exposition, combining live performers, music, film, and projected images. In the early 1960s Václav Havel began writing for Divadlo Na zábradlí (Theater on the Balustrades), which also began in 1958 under the direction of Jan Grossman. Also working at Divadlo Na zábradlí at the time was the mime Ladislav Fialka. There were other important theaters. Reduta was established in 1958 for plays and jazz. Semafor was the creation in 1959 of Jiří Suchý, who had helped establish the Divadlo Na zábradlí and Reduta, and Jiří Šlitr, and the pair wrote a large number of theatrical works and songs until Šlitr's death. Many noted Czech performers started at Semafor, including the singer Waldemar Matuska, who first performed there in 1960, and the tenor Karel Gott, who debuted at Semafor in 1963. The Činoherní Klub (Drama Club) was established in 1965. The mid-1960s in film was the era of the so-called Czech New Wave, in which young film makers departed from the traditional postwar examinations of the struggle against fascism. Věra Chytilová directed *Sedmikrásky* (Daisies). Miloš Forman directed *Lasky jedné plavovlásky* (Loves of a Blond) and *Hoří, má panenko* (Firemen's Ball). Jiří Menzel directed the film version of Hrabal's work *Closely Watched Trains,* which won an Oscar in 1968 for the Best Foreign Language Film.

In architecture, functionalism once again became influential after Stalin's death, and Czech architects steadily experimented with other styles over the years. One of the earliest post–socialist realism structures is the semicircular glass-skinned restaurant overlooking Prague built as a collaborative effort of František Cubr, Josef Hrubý, and Zdeněk Pokorny for the 1958 Brussels World Exposition. Karel Hubáček built the internationally acclaimed futuristic television tower and hotel at Ještěd near Liberec, Bohemia, for which he received the Perret Prize. In Prague, Karel Prager constructed the new glass and steel Federální shromáždění (Federal Assembly) near the National Museum and the Nová scéna (New Scene) of the National Theater, a massive elevated cube adjacent to the historic National Theater that is constructed of glass blocks that are the design of the glass artist Stanislav Libenský. Both structures remain controversial. The husband and wife team of Jan Šrámek and Alena Šrámková are noted for their work on ČKD Praha at the lower end of Wenceslas Square that has hints of postmodernism. The Šrámeks cooperated with other architects, including Jan Bočan and Josef Danda, to design a portion of the reconstruction of Prague's Central Train Station to accommodate a new metro line, and Šrámek individually or in collaboration with others designed several Czechoslovak embassies, including the one in London in the brutalist style. Another husband-and-wife team was Věra Machoninová and Vladimír Machonin, who designed Prague's steel and glass Obchodní dům Kotva (Kotva Department Store) with its honeycomb ground plan. Machoninová also built the Obchodní dům Domov (Domov Department Store) in Praha-Pankrác. An important Czech architect abroad is Jan Kaplický, who left Czechoslovakia in 1968 for the United Kingdom and is one of the founding partners of Future Systems. The firm's Floating Bridge in London is simple and elegant, quite the opposite of its most current project, the Selfridges Department Store in Birmingham, with its skin inspired by the eye of a fly.

The Prague Spring of 1968 brought about a burst of creativity. For example, the Slovak director Jaromil Jireš filmed Kundera's *Žert* (The Joke) during this time. Still, many efforts of artists never were realized before the Warsaw Pact invasion. Afterward, many at the forefront of cultural activities were forbidden to work in their normal venues for several years. Those Czechs who had fled abroad continued their creative activities. Škvorecký, who lived in Canada, wrote many works, including *Příběh inženýra lidských duší* (The Engineer of Human Souls). He and his wife, the exiled writer Zdena Salivarová, established Sixty-Eight Publishers in Toronto, Canada, to release works in Czech. Kundera, who wrote *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (The Unbearable Lightness of Being) and other significant novels, lived in France. The director Forman became world-renowned after leaving Czechoslovakia and is best known for his films *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest, Hair, Ragtime, Amadeus* (which he filmed on location in Prague), and *The Unbearable Lightness of Being,* an adaptation of Kundera's book. Other Czechs stayed in the country. Some became dissidents, such as Havel. Others had to withdraw into the background in their professions, such as Šlitr, and some of those managed to regain a place in the main stream of cultural and intellectual activity. Werich, who had signed Two Thousand Words, apologized for his actions and resumed working in 1975. Menzel returned to directing and produced *Vesničko má středisková* (My Sweet Little Village) in 1986. An interesting case in the history of the stage in the Husák era is that of the theater Husa na provázku (Goose on a Leash). It was established in Brno in 1967, but because of the purely coincidental similarity between its name and that of the Communist Party leader during normalization, Husák, the theater had to change its name in 1969 to Na provazek (On the Leash) until after the fall of communism. One of the key actors in the theater was Boleslav Polívka. The painter and costume designer Theodor Pištěk and the photographer Jan Saudek avoided any major shifts in their careers. Some of the older well-known writers and cultural figures, like Hrabal, Seifert, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1984, and Sudek, remained at the forefront of their professions, in part because they did not play prominent roles in the politics of 1967–1968. In the heat of the post-invasion, the painter Mikuláš Medek lost favor with the regime. Meanwhile, Jan Kotík, who had been a member of Skupina 42, fled to the FRG. Throughout the Husák era, young Czechs left the country. In 1985 the young sculptor Magdalena Jetelová emigrated to the FRG. The twin sisters and painters Jitka Válová and Květa Válová both continued their work in Czechoslovakia during the Husák regime. Television began in Czechoslovakia in 1953 and was widespread by the mid-1960s. Both television and radio played an important role in the Prague Spring, resulting in drastic personnel changes afterward. Although a thinly veiled propaganda tool of the Communist Party after 1968, Czechoslovak television produced an array of compelling dramas with excellent acting, documentaries, and a multitude of children's cartoons, many of which appeared on the popular nightly *Večerníček* short cartoon broadcast before bedtime.

There were several Czech scientists and academics who became famous after 1945. One was Jaroslav Heyrovský, who received the 1959 Nobel Prize for chemistry for the work on polarography he did in the 1920s. Otto Wichterle, who had signed Two Thousand Words, was another chemist who invented the contact lenses in 1956 and a means of producing them in 1961. In the social sciences, Bedřich Hrozný decrypted the Hittite language.

Classical music continued to have a rich tradition among Czechs in the second half of the twentieth century. During the Stalinist era, Czech composers and musicians had to avoid so-called degenerate Western music, but it slowly began to filter into Czechoslovakia after Stalin's death. The two most noted Czech classical composers lived in exile. Bohuslav Martinů, who lived in Paris from 1929 to 1940, in America from 1940 to 1953, and then again in Western Europe, was a member of the neoclassical Paris Six with Igor F. Stravinsky and composed six symphonies (the first in America in 1942) along with operas, chamber works, ballets, and other works. The composer and conductor Rafael Jeroným Kubelík conducted the Czech Philharmonic between 1942 and 1948 and emigrated in 1948. He was affiliated as music director with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1950–1953 and the Royal Opera at Covent Garden in 1955–1958. He served as the conductor of the Metropolitan Opera in New York in 1973–1974 and the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra in 1961–1979. He also composed several orchestral works and operas. Václav Neumann conducted the Prague Symphonic Orchestra in 1956–1963, was artistic director of the Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig in 1964–1967, and from 1968 to 1990 was the chief director of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. He was noted for his interpretations of Czech composers, Beethoven, Brahms, and Gustav Mahler. As important as the established orchestras and opera companies in Czechoslovakia was the Prague Spring, which drew serious musicians from throughout the world each year since 1946. Legendary among contemporary Czech performers are Josef Suk (the nephew of Josef Suk), a violinist, and Ivan Moravec, a pianist. Among the noted Czech composers of the second half of the twentieth century are Václav Trojan, Miloslav Kabeláč, Klement Slavický, Vladimír Sommer, Svatopluk Havelka, Miloslav Ištvan, Petr Eben, Marek Kopelent, and Luboš Fišer.

Czech popular music, particularly pop and jazz, began to liberalize in the mid-1960s, but it blossomed with the Prague Spring in 1968. Several artists of the liberal period, such as Hana Zagorová and Helena Vondráčková, made their peace with the Husák regime and continued to perform. Others, like Marta Kubišová, who had once publicly embraced Havel, were forbidden to perform. A curious phenomenon in the Czech music world is the tenor Gott, who has a larger following abroad, particularly in Germany, than in the Czech Republic. The normalizers of the Husák regime were suspicious of rock music at best, and they occasionally harassed some groups and managed to intimidate others, like Olympik and Michael Kocáb's group Pražský výběr, into conforming, even if they occasionally transgressed the norm. Plastic People of the Universe went too far, and two members of the group, along with two other rock musicians, were tried and sentenced in 1976 to various terms in prison. Jazz became increasingly unpopular with the regime, and in 1987 it staged a trial of the banned Jazz Section, which had produced jazz concerts. Only a limited number of jazz musicians performed, such as Emil Viklický, and even they had difficulties. As though attempting to compensate the public for musical limitations, the regime had fewer difficulties with folk music, for example the work of Zdeněk Merta, Brontosauři, and the Spiritual Quintet, and the Porta festivals of the 1980s. The regime actually promoted a type of country music, which included the work of Pavel Bobek, who sings many of the songs of Kenny Rogers, and Michal Tučný. Beginning in 1979, punk, new wave, and alternative rock made their way to

Czechoslovakia. Later, metal, industrial, and other experimental music emerged. In the 1980s a revival of music from the 1920s and 1930s occurred, with the Prague Syncopated Orchestra and Ondřej Havelka. On stage (though not on the air), Havelka managed to sing many songs in English. The most important popular musical dissident was Karl Kryl, who had emigrated to West Germany after 1969. The folk musician Jaroslav Hutka emigrated to the West in 1978.

As in every country, sport is popular among Czechs. Soccer is by far the most important spectator sport, with hockey trailing behind. The two most important soccer teams are both in Prague—Sparta and Slavia. The Communists eliminated the Sokol gymnastic societies and replaced the mass calisthenic gathering of the Sokols, known as the *slet,* with their own mass gymnastic-propagandistic show, called the *spartakiáda* (no longer convened after 1989). The Sokols have reemerged, but they no longer have the appeal they once had. Nevertheless, they are popular gymnastic clubs for young children. The field of sport between 1948 and 1989 has several noted Czechs. The runner Emil Zátopek won a Gold Medal at the 1948 Olympics and the triple crown at the 1952 Helsinki Olympics. In 1999 Zátopek was named Olympian of the Century. Věra Čáslavská won two Gold Medals in gymnastics at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Two Czech tennis greats, Martina Navrátilová and Ivan Lendl, emigrated to the West well before the end of Communist rule. Some Czechs convincingly argue that mushroom picking in the forest is just as important as any spectator sport.

CZECH CULTURE SINCE 1989

With the shackles of censorship gone as the Christmas holidays approached in 1989, Czechoslovakia experienced an outburst of expression and an influx of ideas from abroad that took on the character of a deluge. Publishers rushed to translate the best of world literature that had been relatively unknown in the country. Czech writers released pieces they had written "for the drawer." Dissidents finally published their works. Of course, new literary talents emerged, such as Michal Viewegh, who wrote *Výchova dívek v Čechách* (Bringing up Girls in Bohemia). In every field, professionals and academics became acquainted with specialized literature to which they had little access before. The Czech language had to confront an onslaught of new foreign phrases, many of which dealt with computers and finance.

In the 1990s artists of the younger generation, some of whom actually began their careers under the old regime, found a new freedom of expression, including the glass artist Ivana Šrámková-Šolcová, the sculptors Jaroslav Róna, Olbran Zoubek, David Černy, and Ivan Kafka, and the painters Jiří David, Otto Placht, and Antonín Střížek.

Musicians no longer felt the constraints of officialdom. Classical composers, orchestras, and others, such as the underground group Tonton Macoutes of Alex Švamberk, experimented with minimalism, which had entered into the mainstream of Western music. Čechomor mixes vocals, symphonic orchestra, and folk instruments and tunes in compelling musical selections. Also appealing to the sophisticated modern listener are the meaningful lyrics, appealing melodies, and unique voice of Jaromír Nohavica. The latest popular music trends also entered the Czech Republic, including music appealing to young skateboarders.

Since 1989, Czech architecture has been free to experiment with the cutting edge of postmodern design, and Prague, once the exclusive construction site of Czech architects, now has buildings from architects throughout the world as well as Czechs. One of the newest structures to grace Prague is located at 62 Wenceslas Square, near the National Museum, and is the work of Czech architects Ladislav Vrbata and Petr Drexler, whose building blends harmoniously with its older neighbors. The same cannot be said for the Palác Euro (Euro Palace) on the lower end of Wenceslas Square, the work of the Czech architects Richard Doležal and Petr Malinský, and Myslbek (Myslbek Building) on Na příkopě by the Czech architects Zdeněk Hölzel and Jan Kerel. Ladislav Lábus renovated Prague's Palác Langhans (Langhans Palace), preserving the character of the facade but reshaping the roofline with glass-enclosed spaces. The American Frank Gehry and the Serb Vlado Milunic built the Tančící dům (Dancing House) on a corner of Rašínovo nábřeži overlooking the Vltava. Its twin towers represent the American dancers Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. Although it punctuates two rows of older buildings, the architects succeeded in complementing the surrounding structures, in part by creatively blending their horizontal lines. In contrast, the new Zlatý anděl (Golden Angel) of Jean Nouvell across the river in Praha-Smíchov is imposing but less sympathetic. One of the most imaginative Czech architects with the ability to create highly pleasing internal spaces and external forms is Josef Pleskot, whose works include portions of the Prague Castle.

Hollywood and the film industry of the West have infiltrated popular culture, but the Czech film industry has maintained its creativity. *Kolja* (Kolya) was the winner of both the Academy Award and Golden Globe as Best Foreign Language Film in 1997. Its director, Jan Svěrák, tapped into the creative cinematography of Vladimír Smutný and the many talents of his father, Zdeněk Svěrák, who had been involved in the Czech stage and screen for many years. In 2001 the same team released *Tmavomodrý svět* (Dark Blue World), a stunning film that failed to capture the imagination of Western critics. Fortunately Czech filmmakers still produce films appealing predominantly to Czechs and international film connoisseurs. A remarkable production is the 1997 work of director Miro Gábor and screenwriter Petr Zelenka, *The Buttoners* (*Knoflíkáři*), with a compelling plot and a creative use of time.

In the world of sport, Czechs are known throughout the world because of the hockey players Jaromír Jágr, who became famous in the 1990s, and the goalie Dominik Hašek, who made his career beginning in the 1980s. The Czech ice hockey team won the Gold Medal at the Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan, in 1998, and the team won the World Championships in 1999 and 2000. More recently, Vítězslav Dostal achieved fame when he rode a bike around the world between 1994 and 1997.

The Czechs enthusiastically embraced the cultural trends of the West after 1989. Nevertheless, to view culture during Communist rule as uncreative is an exaggeration. Even between 1945 and 1989, Czech and Slovak mainstream artists and intellectuals, along with their dissident counterparts, made positive contributions to the development of Czech and Czechoslovak culture within the context of European and Western civilization, even though totalitarian control of expression placed limits on freedoms of expression. In the twentieth century it was the Nazi occupation that posed the greatest threat to Czech culture, and only World War II and the Nazi's priority of exterminating Jews and Roma spared the Czechs and other Slavs from even further cultural erosion. Czech cultural and intellectual interaction with other European countries flourished during the First Republic, and the trends evident at that time were extensions of the Biedermeier and fin de siècle eras of the Habsburg monarchy during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. Even the dark years immediately following White Mountain in 1620 witnessed the flowering of baroque painting, architecture, and music in the Czech Lands. Before the seventeenth century, Czech cultural links with the rest of Europe were common. The Hussite movement received inspiration from Western thinkers, whose notions Czechs integrated into their own program for religious and social change, and the many Western ideas of Charles IV took on a specific Czech character. In many respects, the pattern of Czech interaction with other parts of Europe can be traced to the arrival of Christianity in the Czech Lands from both the Byzantine East and Latin West. Throughout history, the Czechs and other inhabitants of the Czech Lands have both assimilated European cultural trends and contributed to the development of European civilization. The Czechs, located in the heart of Europe, are sensitive to Europe's cultural pulse.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

THE FEUDAL ECONOMY OF THE CZECH LANDS

Under the Přemyslids, Bohemia developed a large number of towns to complement the feudal society of the countryside. The towns were centers of administration, handicrafts, and local trade, but some had trade of an international character, like Prague, Olomouc, and Kutná Hora, which were on well-traveled European trade routes. Frequently in the thirteenth century, the Crown designated towns as privileged, that is, having exclusive rights to engage in certain types of trade or manufacturing. Other towns were centers for mining, such as Kutná Hora, where miners extracted vast amounts of silver that made Bohemia wealthy. In 1300 Václav II concentrated the royal mint in Kutná Hora, and the so-called *grossi Pragenses* became the preferred currency of the region. Crucial to the economic well-being of Bohemia during the time of the Přemyslids was the increasing number of Germans who entered the Czech Lands, a feature that was common in other East Central European states at the time. The presence of Germans in the Kingdom of Bohemia is not surprising, given its location, but deliberate actions on behalf of the kings augmented the number of Germans. Because the Czechs found themselves in the sphere of influence of the Roman Empire, the Czech nobility, including the Přemyslids, intermarried with German noble families. Germans advanced into the forested mountain regions along the border between the German states and the Kingdom of Bohemia to acquire new agricultural lands and to mine. Moreover, commerce between Bohemia and the Roman Empire was responsible for the arrival of German merchants in the Czech Lands. Přemysl Otakar I systematically invited Germans into his realm, beginning with the founding of the town of Bruntál in 1210. He started the tradition in Bohemia of allowing the Germans the right to use their own courts under the famous Magdeburg Law. Under Václav I, German settlements appeared in Prague, Brno, and in trading towns, such as Jihlava. Přemysl Otakar II further increased the number of Germans when he invited them to settle the many cities he established, including České Budějovice.

The era of Charles IV, beginning in the middle of the fourteenth century, marks the peak not only of Bohemia's political significance in Europe but also the apex of its economic strength in the Middle Ages. Charles made remarkable advancements in his efforts to spur economic growth. He expanded the city of Prague through the establishment of the New Town, reconstructed Vyšehrad Castle, built the so-called Hunger Wall as a public works project, founded a number of churches, continued to build the Cathedral of St. Vitus, expanded the Hrad, and ordered the construction of a stone bridge across the Vltava, known today as Charles Bridge. To house the crown jewels of Bohemia and the empire and to serve as an archive, Charles built the impressive Karlštejn Castle not far from Prague. He established fruit groves and dramatically expanded vineyards to advance the wine industry. His vineyards, now a section of Prague, are known as Vinohrady.

Although Bohemia was never among the most important economic centers of the Middle Ages, it played an important role in the European economy. Prague was located on an intersection of trade routes that ran from east to west. Thus the development of Prague and other cities and towns in the realm was not merely a function of serving the needs of the rural population or the result of expanding temporal and spiritual administration but also due to international trade. Bohemia was fortunate to have reserves of precious metals, particularly silver, but Bohemia's wealth from silver was a double-edged sword. It helped pay for essential imports, such as salt and spices, which were necessary for preserving food. Silver also paid for textiles, cattle, wine, salt fish, skins, and furs that made their way into Bohemia. Yet silver tended to retard the evolution of domestic manufacturing, which never advanced to the level of becoming export oriented. Bohemia likewise did not export foodstuffs, which were needed to feed the many towns of the realm—those in the newly colonized areas, the large urban administrative, commercial, and manufacturing city of Prague, and Kutná Hora. In the last years of the reign of Charles IV, the economic stagnation prevalent throughout Europe deteriorated, a phenomenon that eventually had an impact on Bohemia. Agricultural goods became less expensive and more abundant, but manufactured goods from the cities along with the cost of labor in urban areas rose. Associated with the economic difficulties was the spread of the plague, which did not devastate Bohemia as it did western parts of Europe.

The economic repercussions of the Hussite Wars in the fifteenth century were extensive. In addition to the devastation from frequent conflicts, particularly with respect to church property, the surrounding Catholic countries boycotted the non-Catholic towns of Bohemia. The silver mines of Kutná Hora did not achieve their prewar production capacity, and the wars exhausted all reserves of precious metals. The lack of precious metals reduced the attractiveness of Bohemia to international trade. Otherwise, internal production of handicrafts quickly increased. All told, nearly complete economic recovery took place in roughly a generation. A major change in landholding as a result of the Hussite Wars occurred when the church lost its estates. The Crown also lost some property. Most of the holdings went to the nobility, but burghers also purchased land. Fewer church and royal properties exchanged hands in Moravia, where the Catholic faith retained greater legitimacy.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Thirty Years' War reintroduced a trend that had appeared at first in Bohemia after the Hussite Wars of reimposing legal restrictions on the serfs' ability to leave the land and increasing the serfs' dues and *robota,* that is, the amount of labor the serf owed the lord. The result in the seventeenth century was what historians refer to as neoserfdom. In the thirteenth century serfdom was on the decline in Bohemia, as it was in Western Europe, and by the beginning of the Hussite reformation in 1415, only remnants of the institution existed. With the economic devastation and depopulation resulting from the Hussite Wars, lords sought to guarantee their source of labor. As a result, the Bohemian diet in 1487 made it illegal for anyone to assist a fugitive serf. In 1497 Vladislav II forbade serfs to migrate to towns or settle on other estates. Meanwhile, economic recovery after the Hussite Wars brought increased population in the towns and a greater need for food, which in turn necessitated increases in the robota. Nevertheless, the situation for the serf still was quite bearable. The Thirty Years' War brought renewed devastation and depopulation—the population had fallen by about two-thirds, and the cadaster (land survey) of 1653–1656 revealed that approximately one-third of the dwellings had been abandoned. With the shortage of labor, the nobles enforced laws that enabled them to extract the maximum amount of robota from the serfs. Moreover, approximately two-thirds of the population was still Protestant, and the new Catholic nobility, having won their estates in part because of their loyalty to the Catholic faith, treated the non-Catholic serfs with severity. To make matters worse, the Habsburgs imposed crushing taxes on the serfs and on various goods serfs required. The reasons for the existence of neoserfdom in Bohemia, where agricultural production supplied the towns and cities and only to a small extent entered the market for export, therefore, were different from those in the extensive grain producing areas of the export-oriented agricultural systems in Hungary or on the Northern European Plain. In 1679–1680 the Czech Lands faced a devastating plague and an uprising of serfs that began in the north and spread to the west and elsewhere. In June 1680, to ease the lot of the serfs, Leopold I issued the first robota patent, which limited work on the nobles' estates to three days per week, unless circumstances demanded an increase (frequently the case), and it prohibited nobles from collecting illegal taxes, increasing payments in kind, and forcing peasants to purchase artificially inflated goods. Nobles nevertheless increased the robota and otherwise ignored the patent. Periodic rebellions followed, such as the rebellion in Upper Silesia from 1705 to 1707 during the reign of Joseph I. After a rebellion in 1716, Charles VI issued the second robota patent, which essentially reaffirmed Leopold's patent. Charles issued another robota patent in 1738 that limited each robota workday to ten hours and guaranteed serfs a two-hour break. Both of Charles's patents included procedures for serfs to file complaints against their nobles, but they remained on paper.

THE AGE OF MERCANTILISM

Mercantilist doctrine, which promoted protectionism and government sponsorship of manufacturing to serve the needs of the state and to increase revenue, had strong support in Austria. Maria Theresa eliminated monopolistic restrictions on the woolen and cotton industries, enabling the proliferation of textile manufacturing concerns. Bohemia was the major benefactor of this policy. It had been an important producer of linen, but during the reign of Maria Theresa, it replaced the lost province of Silesia as the principal area for textile manufacture in general. The Czech Lands continued to be famous for the production of glass, which was a major export commodity, although the export market declined as Western European countries began their own glass production concerns. Maria Theresa improved the state's infrastructure and standardized weights and measures, thereby encouraging trade. Although she imposed tariffs on external trade, she abolished internal tariffs, aside from the tariff with Hungary.

The condition of the peasantry concerned Maria Theresa, and she laid the groundwork for further reforms and the eventual abolishment of serfdom. She placed a two-day maximum on the amount of work a serf was to perform on a landlord's estate in Silesia and Lower Austria. In January 1775 serfs on an estate in Bohemia began a revolt against the robota that spread throughout Bohemia and lasted through the summer. The army put down the serfs, including those who made their way toward Prague in March. The Bohemian nobility, heavily dependent on serf labor, had resisted reform, but the violence prompted Maria Theresa to issue her robota patent in August (September for Moravia) that set limits on the robota. Maria Theresa also supported the reforms of Franz Anton von Raab, who began in 1775 to convert robota to rent on estates once in the hands of the Jesuits. Maria Theresa approved the reform in 1777 as a voluntary method of eliminating serfdom. She applied the Raab reform to her own estates, and more than a hundred estates in the Czech Lands also adopted the system.

Mercantilism influenced the policies of Joseph II, as it had his mother. Joseph continued to reduce the power of the guilds to encourage growth in manufacturing. He instituted even higher tariffs on imported goods than his mother and banned many items, resulting in a dramatic increase in domestic production and a reduction in imports. While enacting mercantilist policies, Joseph also came under the influence of the physiocrats, who maintained that agriculture was more important than manufacturing because food is what sustains any society. Accordingly, Joseph instituted policies aimed at improving agricultural productivity and increasing the economic contribution of the rural population, the largest social segment of the monarchy. With characteristic swiftness, Joseph announced the abolition of serfdom in the Czech Lands in November 1781. He issued emancipation patents in other portions of the monarchy later, and his hesitation to do so, partly because of the resistance of the nobility, prompted anxious and confused peasants to attempt revolts. Joseph's patent gave serfs (although not orphans) their personal freedom, that is, the ability to marry, leave the estate, learn a trade, and acquire an education. He did not replace immediately the legal jurisdiction the nobles had over peasants because the necessary new bureaucratic and judicial mechanisms were not yet in place. Joseph carefully planned for the abolition of the robota, which remained in force with the patent eliminating serfdom. In 1785 Joseph ordered a new cadastre of rustical and dominical land—the Josephinian Cadastre—that included information on the gross agricultural yields between 1774 and 1782. In 1787 he ordered a new census. On the basis of information garnered from these statistics, Joseph devised a new economic basis for agriculture, which appeared in his tax and urbarial patent of 1789. According to the proposed system, the implementation of which Joseph postponed and his successor never enacted, the peasant was to replace the robota with a maximum tax of 30 percent—just more than 12 percent going to the state and nearly 18 percent set aside for the lord.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Throughout the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution in the Czech Lands resulted in the growth of new and existing textile, mining, metallurgical, machine, glass, porcelain, and chemical industries. New agricultural industries included sugar refineries and breweries, and agricultural processing facilities became more numerous to accommodate the greater demand for food in the expanding cities and towns. The share of the total population employed in agriculture declined, falling from over three-quarters in 1756 to just over two-thirds by 1900. By the end of the century, a lower percentage of the population in the Czech Lands was engaged in agriculture than in any portion of the Habsburg monarchy.

The textile industry—at first wool and, to a lesser degree, linen—flourished as a result of mercantilism. In the late seventeenth century woolen factories began to appear, and the one near Duchcov, Bohemia, established in 1697, specialized in socks and employed several hundred people in its third decade of existence. As in the West, cotton began to compete with wool. In the eighteenth century the cotton industry, largely concentrated in Moravia and Silesia, grew to such an extent that it employed about 18 percent of the population. In the late eighteenth century and with increasing vigor in the early nineteenth century, mechanization came to textile production and gave rise to the machine building industry. František Josef Gerstner built the first steam engine in the Czech Lands for instructional purposes at the Prague Polytechnic Institute. In 1815 the first steam engine went into use in the Czech Lands; in 1817 the first experimental steamboat appeared on the Vltava; and in 1823 steam was used in the textile industry. In 1824, through knowledge obtained from England and from English and German emigrants, a factory in Brno produced the first commercial steam engine in Austria and began manufacturing other types of machinery. In the early 1840s the Czech Lands had a greater capacity of horsepower produced through steam engines than all the other portions of the monarchy combined. As mechanization increased, machine-building firms came on the scene. Among the most crucial was that of the Czech engineer Čeněk Daněk, who established a firm in Prague in 1854 that became one of the most important producers of sugar beet processing equipment and served as the basis for the Českomoravská Kolben Daněk (ČKD) manufacturing concern. In 1869 Emil Škoda purchased the Valdštejn (Wallenstein) Factory in Plzeň, which, as Škoda Plzeň, developed into the greatest machine manufacturer in the Czech Lands.

With the increase of factories came an ever growing number of workers, and those employed in factories in the Czech Lands faced the same difficult working conditions and poor pay as those in Britain. Even before 1848, textile workers in Prague protested against low wages and the introduction of machinery that eliminated jobs. Discontented workers supported the radicals in the revolution of 1848 and manned the barricades. In the expanding economy of the second half of the nineteenth century, there were several economic downturns. Thousands of textile workers from numerous factories protested against poor wages in 1869 in Brno. The next year, six textile workers were shot in demonstrations in Svárov, Northern Bohemia. With the depression of 1873, the remaining optimism of the workers evaporated, and discontent increased.

Progress during the first industrial revolution in the Czech Lands occurred in areas other than textiles and machinery. In the 1790s porcelain began to complement the glass industry. The Vitkovice Iron Works began operating in 1828, but iron production in Bohemia lagged behind that of Alpine Austria. The first mechanized paper mill opened in Bohemia in 1833, and the Czech Lands were foremost among the monarchy's most important paper producers. The ever greater need for energy brought about a sharp increase in coal and coke production. Throughout the century, the use of wood declined. Improvements in communication paralleled industrial growth. Josef Ressel invented the screw propeller in 1829, but it was not used until later. A horse-drawn railway opened in 1832 between České Budějovice and Linz, Austria—the first railway in the Austrian Empire and the first on the Continent. The first steam railroad in Austria began operating in 1839, linking Vienna and Nový Bohumín, Bohemia, by 1847. By the depression of 1873, the commercial and industrial centers of the Czech Lands were linked with an efficient rail network that in turn transported goods to Vienna, other parts of the monarchy, and to Germany. Railway development in the Czech Lands after 1873 focused on improving existing lines and building secondary lines. In 1841 the first commercial paddle-wheel steamboat traveled the Vltava between Prague and Dresden. The first telegraph in the Czech Lands began functioning in 1850, and the postal service modernized and expanded in the middle of the century.

Industrial advances in the Czech Lands were intertwined with the development of the sciences and education. The Czech physiologist Jan Evangelista Purkyně contributed to cell theory, introducing the term "protoplasm" and identifying certain types of tissue. The Prague Polytechnic Institute opened in 1806, and its professors not only trained students but conducted significant research. Gerstner, noted for his work with steam engines, became its first director. In 1842 the Austrian Christian Doppler, then a professor at the Prague Polytechnic Institute, presented his theory, known as the Doppler Effect, linking change in the color of stars with changes in distance. In 1865 Gregor Johann Mendel, an Augustinian monk born in Silesia, presented his papers on heredity based on his experimentation with peas.

In agriculture, major changes occurred with the introduction of new crops and the abandonment of the three-field system in favor of crop rotation and fertilization. The potato gained wide acceptance during the Napoleonic Wars, and it provided an alternative source of nutrition along with opportunities for new agricultural products. During the Napoleonic Wars, the British used the continental blockade to prevent cane sugar from entering Europe. The French devised a means of manufacturing sugar from sugar beets, and the first sugar beet factory began operating in Bohemia in 1805 (its construction began in 1801). The sugar beet industry in the Czech Lands, with its many developments to improve efficiency, not only dominated sugar production in the Habsburg monarchy but grew to become one of the most important centers of production in Europe and a key exporter of sugar. In the nineteenth century the production of traditional agricultural goods shifted from the home and local tradesmen to large concerns. Small community flour mills, for example, gave way to large concerns. Similarly, large breweries replaced the individual brewers. Notable in the first half of the nineteenth century is the Pilsner Brewery, which began production in 1842.

With the end of serfdom, the reduction of the agricultural labor force, a trend that had begun before 1848, continued throughout the nineteenth century. Although there were peasants in the Czech Lands who essentially consumed almost all of what they produced, the number of farmers, that is, those who sell most of their produce, increased. Landless cottagers who did not leave the countryside to seek employment in the factories remained as laborers on the farms or the great estates of the nobles.

Financial institutions kept pace with expansion in industry and agriculture. In the middle of the nineteenth century the Austrian National Bank and the Kreditanstalt opened branches in Prague. In the 1860s banks started in Prague that serviced the sugar beet industry. In 1868 what was to become the most powerful bank in the Czech Lands, the Živnostenská banka, or Živnobanka, opened in Prague. A stock market opened in Prague in 1871.

THE DEPRESSION OF 1873 AND THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The crash of the stock market in Vienna in May 1873 and the subsequent depression saw declines in prices and industrial production, bankruptcies in a large number of industrial firms and banks, losses of stock values in industry, banking, and construction, decreases of investments, and reductions in growth rates. The depression was essentially over by 1879, although some economic indicators were sluggish until 1896. The economy declined somewhat in the period between 1901 and 1905 and then prospered again before World War I.

Recovery from the depression of 1873 occurred simultaneously with the beginning of the second industrial revolution, which, in the simplest terms, replaced the reliance on iron with steel and the dependency on coal with the use of electricity and the internal combustion engine. Austria-Hungary joined the states adopting protective tariffs, the use of which had declined after mercantilism. Cartels became a regular feature of the economy that enabled manufacturers to protect markets, limit competition, and set prices. In the Czech Lands, the largest metallurgical works was the Witkowitz concern, which in the years after the 1873 crash witnessed a boom in steel production. Electrification and the manufacture of electrical products began in the Czech Lands in the 1880s, the first electric trams appeared in Czech cities in the mid-1890s, and the firm Kolben and Co., which was to become part of the large ČKD manufacturing firm, began building electric motors in 1896. The first telephone line began operating in Prague in 1881. The first commercial Czech automobile was manufactured in 1897, and motorcycles went into production in 1899. The first bus line in the empire started running between Pardubice and Bohdaneč, Bohemia (between Kolín and Hrádec Kralové), in 1908. The first Czech-built airplane flew in 1910. Traditional forms of transportation also expanded, including railroads. The first totally Czech-built locomotive made by a firm that continuously produced locomotives steamed into service in 1900.

The Czech Lands were the major suppliers of the monarchy's industrial and consumer goods. Because Hungary was largely agricultural, most of the economic statistics compare the Czech Lands to the rest of Cisleithania, and the statistics as of 1910 reveal the extent to which industrialization in the Czech Lands had progressed. The Czech Lands produced more than 80 percent of Cisleithania's coal and 33 percent of the iron ore. It produced about 90 percent of the

Ať žije!!!
Netschetinsky
Pivovar
19/7 07.

A group of Czech brewery workers, each with a tankard, pose around a large barrel of beer in 1907. (Scheufler Collection/Corbis)

cast iron (as of 1900), and more than 40 percent of the steel. The Czech Lands provided 75 percent of Cisleithania's chemicals. In terms of consumer goods, the Czech Lands produced 75 percent of the cotton and 80 percent of the wool. A total of 94 percent of the sugar came from the Czech Lands along with more than 58 percent of the beer and nearly 40 percent of the alcohol. By 1910, the industrial workforce in the Czech Lands accounted for 40 percent of the economically active population, and by 1899, the Czech Lands had 68 percent of the Cisleithanian workforce. In 1899 the Czech Lands had 68 percent of the total horsepower in the monarchy. The Czech Lands also became crucial as an exporter. About 50 percent of the soft coal mined in the Czech Lands was exported (the remainder of the soft coal and nearly all of the hard coal went for domestic production), and about 20 percent of the machines produced were exported. Cotton and glass were other major export products. By 1900, 70 percent of the sugar processed in the Czech Lands was destined for foreign markets. Other important traditional exports were wood and wooden products, textiles, glass, leather and leather products, and various agricultural goods. The second industrial revolution brought advances to agriculture, including innovative methods for processing agricultural products. Large landed estates in the hands of the nobility still played a dominant role in agriculture and food processing, including the sugar refining industry. Rivaling the great estates, however, was a growing farming class with medium-size enterprises that were market oriented. Both estate owners and farmers purchased an ever increasing amount of equipment, the sale of which provided an important outlet for Czech manufacturers. To fund agricultural investment, the farmers turned to the cooperative savings banks, known as *kampeličky,* which began multiplying in the 1890s, and the Agrarian Bank, which opened in 1911. The farmers likewise relied on the increasing number of agricultural cooperatives—machine and electric cooperatives along with production cooperatives, such as dairies, distilleries, and granaries. The Central Union of Cooperatives registered more than 200 cooperatives by 1906 and more than 2,000 by 1914. The farmers, infuriated with depressed prices for agricultural goods that persisted after the end of the 1873 depression and the cartels (including that of the sugar refiners), sought the aid of the Agrarian Party.

The depression and then the low wages, long hours, and poor working conditions that existed as the economy of the Czech Lands expanded during the second industrial revolution frustrated workers. Strikes became common in the monarchy beginning with the 1873 depression, and the strikes grew in frequency, size, and even violence. The first large strike in the Czech Lands occurred in the mining industry in April and May 1882, when about 12,000 miners left the pits in Northern Bohemia. In 1899 more than 15,000 textile workers struck in Brno. In 1900 miners in the Czech Lands joined those throughout Cisleithania in a strike over wages and hours. The first general strike with a political character—highlighting the demand for universal male suffrage—occurred in November 1905 and involved more than 100,000 people. The Social Democratic Party championed the workers' cause, and the workers became the backbone of the party's success in the elections at the turn of the century. Thus the depression of 1873 and the second industrial revolution were the foster parents of two powerful mass parties in the Czech Lands in the latter years of the empire that were key players in the Czechoslovak state between the world wars—the Social Democrats and the Agrarians.

Emigration from the Czech Lands dramatically increased after the revolution of 1848 and fluctuated until World War I, depending on largely economic factors. Although Czechs moved to Canada, South America, Australia, and New Zealand, most went to the United States. At first, the new arrivals sought land in the middle of the country from the Dakotas to Texas, but later they settled in the cities of the Midwest and Northeast. Most were skilled workers or farmers, and only a small percentage were unskilled laborers. From 1850 until World War I, around 350,000 Czechs arrived in the United States, the largest single influx of 13,500 arriving in 1907.

THE ECONOMY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK FIRST REPUBLIC (1918–1938)

Czechoslovakia checked inflation and stabilized its currency immediately after the First World War, and it entered an era of prosperity that lasted until the Great Depression. The major exception was the economic downturn of 1922, largely the result of the government's deflationary financial policies. The economy also slowed briefly in 1926. Czechoslovakia exported a large amount of its production, and exports typically accounted for about a quarter of its gross national product. Between the world wars, Czechoslovakia was among the ten largest industrialized economies, and it was the world's seventh producer of armaments. In Europe in 1935, Czechoslovakia ranked seventh in steel production after Germany, Soviet Union, Britain, France, Belgium, and Luxemburg. In the same year, Czechoslovakia was the world's second largest producer of brown coal, after Germany, and seventh in hard coal. Czechoslovakia's largest single trading partner was Germany, but it also competed with Germany in the world market. It exported to the Balkans and East Central European states, but these traditional outlets, many of which had been in the Habsburg monarchy, began to develop their own industries and purchased goods from other states, especially Germany, which had inaugurated an aggressive clearing agreement program in the 1930s. To accommodate this change, Czechoslovak manufacturers expanded their markets in the West, especially with Britain and France, and the United States. The export market in agricultural goods experienced similar difficulties after the war. The peace treaties disrupted old markets, and domestic production increases in other states further reduced trade. This was especially true with sugar beets. To protect home industry and agriculture, the government relied on tariffs similar to those found in other states at the time. The contraction of world trade with the Great Depression hurt Czechoslovakia, which never fully recovered its lost markets. The country crawled out of the depression by 1937, in large part because of rearmament.

The Czechoslovak economy was well balanced, with roughly a third of the population employed in each of the industrial, agricultural, and service sectors. Nevertheless, regional economic considerations are crucial. The heavily industrialized and urbanized Czech Lands, which had accounted for 38 percent of the former monarchy's industrial workforce, stood in stark contrast to the overwhelmingly agrarian and rural Slovakia and Ruthenia. The government did little to encourage economic development in the East, believing strongly in laissez-faire economics, and Slovaks claimed that stronger Czech firms took over smaller Slovak enterprises that resulted in the deindustrialization of Slovakia. Agriculture in the eastern provinces also lagged behind the Czech Lands in terms of mechanization and employing the latest technology.

Many small industrial firms made Czechoslovakia a diversified producer of goods, but a few firms dominated the economy. After the war, Schneider Creusot from France became the majority shareholder of the Škoda works, which expanded its operations at home and abroad. Škoda began manufacturing automobiles, airplanes, tanks, and armored vehicles, but it continued its traditional production of large guns, locomotives, and machinery. Škoda and the Kolben-Daněk Company formed a cartel in the mid-1930s that dominated the country's mechanical and armament output. The Association for Chemical and Metallurgical Production, another major exporter, was the largest competitor of Germany's IG Farben-Industrie AG in Central Europe and the Balkans, and the two firms established numerous cartels. Tomáš Bat'a, who had been manufacturing shoes since 1894, developed a large-scale manufacturing factory in Zlín, Moravia, using the mass production techniques of the Ford Motor Company and the tenets of Taylorism. His firm became the largest exporter of shoes throughout the world for almost the entire decade before World War II. Bat'a's housing and other programs for workers in Zlín helped guarantee worker loyalty and productivity. Symbolic of Bat'a's innovative management techniques was his office, which he located in a giant elevator that enabled him to supervise production on any floor within seconds.

Czechoslovakia had one of the most efficient European agricultural economies between the world wars with production in key goods, such as grains, potatoes, and certain industrial crops ranking above the European average. In 1934 it was the largest producer of hops on the Continent and third in the world, after the United States and Britain. In the same year, it was sixth in the production of potatoes after the Soviet Union, Germany, Poland, France, and the United States. The production of sugar beets, an important export used in the production of sugar, fell over time, largely because the price for sugar beets declined as other countries increased their output. Before the Great Depression, Czechoslovakia was the third largest producer of sugar beets, after Germany and the Soviet Union. In 1934 it was the sixth largest producer of refined sugar. At the same time, Czechoslovakia was the fourth largest producer of rye in the world, after the Soviet Union, Poland, and Germany. Czechoslovak agriculture was based largely on small- and medium-sized enterprises, many of which had expanded as a result of the land reform. In agriculture, mechanization, electrification, and education made continued progress between the world wars. One of the most decisive features of the structure of agriculture in Czechoslovakia that helped maintain high productivity was the network of finance, production, machine, and electric cooperatives—all the heritage of the old monarchy. In 1938 there were 5,488 cooperatives of all types in the country, and nearly half were electric. There were 524 dairy and 462 distillery cooperatives. As with the political parties and so many other aspects of the Czechoslovak polity, the cooperative movement had its Czech, Slovak, German, and other divisions.

WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH

After the Munich Agreement of 1938, the German government subordinated the Czech economy to German interests, a process that intensified when hostilities began with the West in 1940. The Germans seized Czechoslovak armaments, which they either sold abroad or incorporated into the German arsenal. They seized some of Czechoslovakia's gold reserves and benefited from the confiscation of Jewish and exile German business assets. The Czechs managed their own economy and businesses, although German representatives made certain that the Protectorate's economic policies agreed with those of the Reich and Germans sat on the individual boards of directors of key financial, commercial, and industrial enterprises. Germany became the Protectorate's most important trading partner, but Czech firms continued to trade with the Soviet Union during the time when that country was allied with Germany between 1939 and 1941. In the autumn of 1940 German planners and the German military forced Czech firms to fulfill military contracts. Estimates place the contribution of Czech industrial production to the total German output during the war at 9–12 percent. The standard of living during the war declined, and shortages led to the creation of a black market. Nevertheless, the Czechs generally received more rations than the Germans, and the birthrate among Czechs actually increased. With the establishment of the Protectorate, many Czechs served as contract employers in Germany, helping to ease unemployment in the Czech Lands. The Czechs did not see military action alongside the Germans, but in 1941 the Germans began conscripting Czechs for work in the Reich.

After the war, Czechoslovakia had to contend with a number of difficulties that strained the postwar economy. The war cost Czechoslovakia the equivalent of the country's gross national product for the five years between 1932 and 1937. A total of 360,000 citizens lost their lives as a result of the German occupation, and 100,000 survivors were in poor health. War casualties and executions combined with postwar expulsions to reduce the labor force, and resettlements frequently resulted in employers not having the skilled labor force they needed. Thousands of homes and buildings were destroyed, especially in Slovakia. Large factories had been bombed, and the remainder had been neglected, looted, or otherwise damaged. Nationalization of finance and heavy industry meant losses for investors, as did currency reforms and the so-called millionaires' levy of 1947. To aid in recovery, Czechoslovakia inaugurated a two-year plan for 1947–1948. Because it was not as rigid as a Soviet plan and was closer to the French model in that it gave individual firms a good deal of freedom, the plan resulted in little economic dislocation. In 1948, relative to other European states, but excluding the Soviet Union and Germany, most key industrial products, including hard coal, steel, electricity, textiles, and cement, exceeded the output for 1937, the last full year before the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Yields of grains, potatoes, and sugar beets in 1948 were just shy of those in 1937. In mining, manufacturing, and transportation, most of the targets of the two-year plan approached fulfillment or exceeded expectations. Livestock's targets approached fulfillment, although crop yields generally were less than two-thirds of the target. By 1948, the Czechoslovak economy had not recovered from the war, but it had made great progress.

THE COMMAND ECONOMY OF COMMUNISM (1948–1968)

On taking power, the Communists replaced the capitalist market with central planning based on the experience of the Soviet Union. The state reduced the limit of employees for private firms, thus furthering the process of nationalization in industry and commerce that had begun in 1945. Within a decade, the state sector employed nearly the entire industrial and commercial workforce. The first Five-Year Plan that began in 1949, along with subsequent plans, was typical of the strict central planning of the Soviet Union that gave priority to heavy industry. To eliminate the exploitation of workers, the planners reduced differentiation in wages and ended the monetary incentives normal to capitalist economies that increase production. Shortly after 1948, the Communist Party reduced the upper limit of agricultural land any individual could own to fifty hectares. At the same time, they began the process of collectivizing agriculture. Organizers persuaded some agriculturalists to join the collectives and forced others into collectives through violence or by demonstrative harsh treatment of kulaks, the term the Czechoslovak Communists adopted from the Soviet terminology for wealthy peasants (most in fact were not). A farmer entering a cooperative, known in Czech by the abbreviation JZD (Jednotné zemědělské družstv [Unified Agricultural Cooperative]) and in Slovak by the abbreviation JRD (Jednotné rol'nícke družstvo), surrendered control of his or her land to the collective farm, the management of which was in the hands of an elected board that met the approval of the Communist Party. The collective farm manager determined work assignments and was responsible for fulfilling government orders. Each collective farmer had a small private plot of a few hectares to work on his or her own time. In the mid-1950s there was a lull in the collectivization drive, but by 1960, when the regime considered the collectivization process complete, 87 percent of Czechoslovakia's agricultural land was collectivized, slightly more in the Czech Lands (92 percent) and slightly less (80 percent) in Slovakia. As in other socialist countries, a small number of state farms came into existence in which all the employees received only wages. The Communist Party considered these enterprises to be an advance toward socialism, but their performance was as poor in Czechoslovakia as it was in other East European states.

NORMALIZATION AND THE STAGE OF ADVANCED SOCIALISM

After the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968, the Communist Party dismantled the economic reforms. In particular, they eliminated the market (supply and demand) influences on pricing and the workers' management councils in the factories. The economy remained tightly controlled, and the central planners continued to pour investments into outdated heavy industries, including those in Slovakia built after World War II to increase Slovakia's level of industrialization. Despite such efforts, production lagged, deliveries were late, resources were scarce, production equipment became antiquated, and employees shunned hard work. Firms in need of supplies or unable to fill quotas often relied on barter to obtain goods. As in the German Democratic Republic, economic planners in Czechoslovakia merged smaller and less efficient industries with larger ones in an attempt to streamline the planning process and increase productivity. The oil crisis of the 1970s strained the Czechoslovak economy and resulted in increasing prices, declining growth rates, and climbing trade deficits. The Czechoslovak leadership resisted the sort of economic restructuring that Mikhail Gorbachev introduced in the Soviet Union in the 1980s, and resorted to traditional methods of exhorting citizens to fulfill the economic plan and championed the slogan "quality and effectiveness." One of the achievements of the socialist regime was the industrialization of Slovakia, which was on a par with the Czech Lands in industrial output in the late 1980s.

The Husák regime eagerly supported efforts to foster economic integration within the CMEA, the Soviet-led trading bloc. During the course of the 1970s and 1980s, Czechoslovakia increased its foreign trade with the CMEA states. Such trade was mutually beneficial to all of the socialist states, and Czechoslovakia, for example, exported industrial products to the Soviet Union in return for oil and gas through the Friendship Pipeline. Armaments, including quality Semtex plastic explosives (along with tanks and guns that were not on a par with those of Western manufacturers), were one of Czechoslovakia's largest exports to the Third World. The developing countries in turn supplied oil and such consumer goods as bananas and oranges.

The lack of incentives in collectivized agriculture mirrored those in industry, and agricultural outputs were disappointing. An exception was the Slušovice collective farm, which the Party tolerated as an experiment in socialist-inspired agriculture. With branches throughout the republic, Slušovice operated like a capitalist agro-industrial conglomerate, rather than like the typical ill-managed socialist collective. Slušovice managers had a wide range of decision making powers, and they spent government investments at their own discretion. They paid attention to product development and diversified its operations. In the winter, for example, when many agriculturalists were short on work, Slušovice members even assembled Czechoslovakia's brand of personal computers. A small number of agriculturalists were outside the socialist sector, but their number diminished over the years through retirement. Then in the early 1970s, the Party authorized the collectivization of what experts previously had considered marginally productive agricultural land as a means of exploiting every available hectare of land for production and solving an array of social problems, such as the low standard of living of the independent farmers. The process was ongoing even on the eve of the Velvet Revolution of 1989.

Although Czechoslovakia enjoyed the second highest standard of living in the socialist world, after the German Democratic Republic, the planned economy was no more responsive to the needs of consumers than it was to industry. Products frequently were outmoded, poor in quality, and in short supply. In 1987, for example, an unusual unavailability of toilet paper abruptly gave way to a shortage of writing paper (most likely, the writing paper having been used for purposes other than writing). When a disaster struck the country's feminine napkin producer, the regime turned to imports from the West, prompting murmurs from the population that the new factory should produce the variety and quality of feminine napkins from the capitalist world. For the most part, however, basic consumer goods were available in the stores. To satisfy their demand for a greater variety of basic goods, luxury items, and Western styles, Czechs and Slovaks had a number of options. The few with higher incomes could buy fine-quality imported and domestic products in the expensive Tuzex dollar shops. Many purchased items on the lively black market, also known as the second economy. Employees considered occasional pilferage a necessity of life, and they frequently bartered what they stole for items they needed. In the 1980s many Czechs and Slovaks combined a vacation to Hungary with shopping in the well-stocked small private stores of Budapest and other cities. The youth of the country, raised by a generation disillusioned with communism and the government after 1968, was not materialistic, not ambitious, and generally pessimistic about the future. They found pleasure in various leisure activities, among them hiking and camping, and few seemed excited about entering the work force.

REBUILDING CAPITALISM AFTER 1989

After the Velvet Revolution, the Czechoslovak and then the Czech economy underwent a rapid transformation to capitalism, including a campaign to privatize firms. From the outset, those who favored the rapid shift from economic planning to the open market, dominated Czech politics. Pricing became subject to the market in 1991, regular daily trading on the stock market began in 1994, and the Czech crown became free in 1995. The Czechoslovak government provided for restitution to those who lost property after 1948. With the agriculturalists and their descendants seeking their families' land, the religious groups attempting to reclaim churches, monasteries, and estates, the nobles staking their claims on property, the former building owners trying to take possession of their property, and the former business owners expecting to reacquire their assets, restitution was often lengthy and tortuous. In many cases, the process was further complicated because the socialist state had liquidated assets, had merged firms that had existed before 1948, and had built buildings on residential, commercial, or agricultural land. For the most part, agriculturalists transformed their collective farms to cooperatives, although some became independent farmers. Once firms demonstrated that restitution had been completed, they could proceed with privatization. The most common means to deal with the large firms was through waves of large privatization using Klaus's voucher system. Citizens purchased directly or through an investment fund up to a thousand vouchers worth 1 Kčs each toward the acquisition of shares. Nearly three-quarters of all eligible citizens enrolled in the voucher program. Other methods of privatization included direct sale, auctions, public tender, and transfers. Some firms were to remain state-owned. The voucher system began in 1992 and the Ministry of Privatization ceased to exist in 1996, but the Czech Republic still has petrochemical, energy, steel, and telecommunications enterprises that have not been privatized. Banks were not privatized until 1999–2001, after a rash of bankruptcies that prompted the government to assume responsibility for their bad loans. In a separate so-called small privatization campaign, the Czechoslovak government auctioned 25,000 small enterprises, such as restaurants, shops, newsstands, and other small businesses. Not surprisingly, corruption was inherent in the privatization process, and a common feature with respect to the larger firms was asset stripping, which the Czechs refer to as tunneling.

The Czech Republic became a haven for foreign investment. It paid off an International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan early, raising the confidence international firms and markets had in the Czech economy. Most of the investment originating with individual firms came from Germany, and a significant acquisition was Volkswagen's purchase of a large portion of the Škoda works. PSA Peugeot-Citroën and Toyota in a joint venture agreed to produce passenger vehicles in a new plant near Kolín. Well over a hundred automobile manufacturers have a presence in the Czech Republic. Other manufacturing sectors—electronics, aerospace, engineering, chemical, foundry, textile, glass, machinery, food processing, telecommunications, wood, glass, paper, construction, pharmaceuticals, computer, environmental, plastics, and services—also attract foreign investors from throughout the world. For some time, the government and popular pressure kept certain well-known firms from becoming the sole property of foreign investors. The state initially maintained the majority shares in the Plsner Urquell brewery, which exports beer throughout the world, but eventually SABMiller purchased it. Pernod-Ricard, originally a French firm, bought the liqueur Becherovka, which never had been exported and is now available in various countries, even outside Europe. The Budvar brewery in České Budějovice had to fend off a takeover attack from Anheuser-Bush, and after several years of negotiations between the two firms, Budweiser-Budvar preserved the rights to export its label under certain conditions. It remained in state hands as Budějovický Budvar, n.p., as of 2004.

Workers assemble Škoda Fabia cars at the Škoda plant on 4 November 2002, in Mladá Boleslav, Czech Republic. The Czech car maker Škoda, which is mainly owned by Volkswagen of Germany, has been forced to reduce production of some models due to the lagging European auto market. (Getty Images)

Transforming the economy meant more than restitution, privatization, and foreign investment. Industries, especially the larger ones, had to restructure. Nevertheless, many managers continued to preserve old techniques from the socialist period, resisted downsizing, and relied on the government, as they had in the socialist era, for financial support. Czech citizens met the transformation from socialism to capitalism in various ways. Families had to reconsider their budgets because of inflation and because prices for food and basic goods doubled and rents and utilities increased by a quarter. Parents could no longer rely on certain services that the socialist regime provided, such as inexpensive health care and daycare. Many decried the growing income differentiation that began to emerge after 1990. Bankruptcies, crooked deals, and scams fostered skepticism about capitalism, which complemented suspicions about democracy caused by constantly breaking news about corruption in politics. Many Czechs feared for their economic future, their ability to survive once they retired, and the economic well-being of their children. In a country where career changes had been uncommon, many of those who had begun their careers under socialism and had lost their positions in the transition to capitalism had to find work in totally different fields. Similarly, older individuals could not understand that university students might complete a major and take employment in another area. Men and especially women in the middle of their careers feared losing their positions because firms would hesitate to hire them.

A special economic and social concern has been the environment. The command economy continued to rely on brown coal, with its many pollutants, and the government did not require companies to install antipollution devices. Acid rain from the pollution caused widespread deforestation in Northern Bohemia. Other forms of industrial pollution abounded. The paper plant that made newsprint upstream on the Vltava from the UNESCO-protected town of Český Krumlov simply piped its discharge downstream from the picturesque town. Another problem was toxic waste, not only from industry but also from the Russian occupation forces. Finally, vehicles during the socialist regime did not have antipollution devices, which contributed to smog and accompanying health hazards in urban areas. Since the end of Communist rule, Czechoslovakia and afterward the Czech Republic has made great strides in improving the environment, and the effort is ongoing. The EU, for example, noted that the Czech Republic reduced its emissions of nitrogen oxide by 80 percent, sulphur by 88 percent, and particulates by 92 percent.

Despite some difficulties, the overall performance of the Czech economy since the end of communism has been impressive. Inflation soared and the growth rate declined in Czechoslovakia as a whole in the year after the Velvet Revolution, but recovery began in 1992. Immediately after the separation from Slovakia, the Czech Republic experienced a solid growth rate, a steady influx of foreign investment, and an extremely low rate of unemployment, especially in Prague. In 1997, however, the economy entered into a recession that lasted for two years. It was during this time that much of the corruption associated with the transition to a capitalist economy came to light and precipitated a government crisis. Since 2000, the economy has been on an upturn. The real GDP was 2.2 percent in 2001 and 2.7 percent in 2002. During this time there was a low rate of inflation (1.4 percent in 2002, which was below the EU average rate of 2.1 percent), steady consumption, and increases in wages. Nevertheless, unemployment, especially in certain sectors and regions, remained high. In 2002 it was 7.3 percent, on a par with Belgium and just below the EU average of 7.5 percent. The public deficit climbed, which the Špidla government attempted to control with controversial increased taxes and cuts in expenditures. Several economic indicators show that the Czech Republic, aside from Slovenia, in some respects has been the most successful former socialist states to make the transition to capitalism. The outstanding record the Czechs had in managing their economy guaranteed the Czech Republic a high ranking on the list of former socialist countries seeking admission to the EU, which occurred in May 2004.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

JOINING THE EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union's first step in intensifying relations with the Czech Republic began in 1989, when the Czech Republic joined the EU's program for economic assistance to former East European states known as Phare: Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy. The EU opened the possibility of former East European states joining the EU in 1993, and since that time, the Czech Republic has actively sought accession. The first step was to sign an association agreement, which was concluded in 1991 and had to be renegotiated in 1993 after the division of Czechoslovakia. It took effect in February 1995 and governed Czech Republic–EU commercial, political, and other relations. In 1996, the Czech Republic formally applied for membership. In 1997 the European Commission issued its opinion regarding the applications for membership of several countries, including the Czech Republic, in what is known as Agenda 2000. The next step occurred in 1998, when negotiations between the Czech Republic and the EU began on accession. The resulting accession partnership agreement set out all the requirements the Czech Republic had to meet for membership. Each year, the European Commission issued a regular report to the European Council on the progress of the Czech Republic toward completing all that is necessary to join the EU. In addition to the Czech Republic, the European Council decided to open negotiations with Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia. In 1999 the council expanded the list to include Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia, Romania, and Turkey (as a candidate country). With the Commission satisfied that the Czech Republic met the bulk of the requirements for accession, the two signed an accession treaty on 16 April 2003. As part of finalizing the process, the Czech Republic held a referendum on EU on 13–14 June 2003, and with a turnout of 55.21 percent of the eligible voters, 77.33 percent approved of entry, which made the vote binding. After the accession treaty, the Mission of the Czech Republic had two dozen observers in the European Parliament, and it became the permanent representation of the Czech Republic upon accession on 1 May 2004.

The negotiations between the EU and the Czech Republic were complicated. The 1997 opinion of the European Commission contained a long list of changes the Czech government had to undertake. In the realm of politics, the EU found the Czech Republic wanting in the areas of press freedom, discrimination against the Roma, and the exclusion of former Communist functionaries and police from public service. With respect to its economy, the Czech Republic needed to strengthen the corporate governance and the finance system, restructure major business, privatize the banks, and improve the value of its exported goods. The EU determined that the Czech Republic would likely be in a position to assume the *aquis*—the common rights and obligations of member states; in short, all EU laws and regulations—after legal changes in areas related to the Single Market, transportation, environment, agriculture, energy, borders, and Economy and Monetary Union. Finally, the EU called for modifications in the justice system. For many citizens, the mass of legislation seemed like an impossibility, but parliament made rapid progress over the years. By the end of 2000, the Czech Republic had passed most of the hurdles. In 2001–2002, the EU and the Czech Republic agreed to a transitional period of several years to pass further legislation and regulations regarding energy, environment, free movement of capital and persons, taxation, agriculture, and transport.

In its final report, issued on 5 November 2003, the European Commission praised the Czech Republic's preparations for accession. Still, it decried the deterioration of public finances and encouraged further changes in administrative and judicial regulations, including strenghthening the means of fighting corruption. The Czech Republic, according to the report, had reached a "high level of alignment with the *acquis,*" although it outlined many deficits and urged the Czech Republic to enhance its efforts to fulfill all its commitments and requirements before accession. The most important impediments related to free movement of persons, road transport, and agriculture. The Czech Parliament continued to address these legislative shortcomings before the Czech Republic's accession in 2004.

Czechs have been naturally apprehensive about entry into the EU. A long-term concern is the future of their jobs, but with full economic integration into the EU some years off, these fears will likely abate. An immediate concern was a sharp increase in consumer prices. Yet the Czech National Bank in a report to the government in late 2003 claimed reassuringly that neither food nor consumer products would face dramatic increases, especially in the short run; those predictions appear to be holding. In many respects, prices are already in line with EU markets. The Czechs have much to gain from entry and integration into the EU, with respect to both the economy and their personal options, and the vast majority of the population realizes that.

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CHRONOLOGY

4th century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E.	The Celtic Boii inhabit the Czech Lands.
1st to 5th century	Germanic tribes inhabit the Czech Lands.
5th–6th century	The Slavs arrive in the Czech Lands.
7th century	Sámo's empire unites Slavic tribes.
833–836	Prince Mojmír creates the Great Moravian Empire.
863 or 864	Cyril and Methodius from the Byzantine Empire arrive in Moravia (current national holiday, July 5).
885	Bořivoj baptized; moves his capital to Prague.
10th century	The Magyars destroy the Great Moravian Empire.
929 or 935	On September 28, St. Václav is murdered (current national holiday).
973	Prague becomes an independent bishopric and receives its first monastery.
982–997	St. Vojtěk becomes Bohemia's first Czech bishop.
995	Boleslav II kills the entire Slavníkov clan.
1085	Vratislav becomes the first Czech king, but the title applies only during his lifetime.
1158	Vladislav becomes the second Czech king.
1212	Přemysl Otakar I receives a hereditary crown in the Imperial Sicilian Golden Bull.
1278	Přemysl Otakar killed in battle (August 26) against the Roman King Rudolf of Habsburg.
1300	The royal mint that struck the *grossi Pragenses* is established at Kutná Hora.

1306	Heinrich of Carinthia is elected king of Bohemia.
1306–1307	Rudolf of Habsburg rules as king of Bohemia.
1310–1346	Reign of Jan of Luxemburg, who married a Přemyslid.
1344	Prague becomes an archbishopric.
1346–1378	Reign of Charles IV (born in 1316 as Václav).
1348	Charles IV establishes Prague University and the New Town.
1355	Charles becomes Roman Emperor.
1378–1419	Reign of Václav IV.
1415	Jan Hus is burned at the stake in Constance (6 July, current national holiday).
1419–1437	Reign of Zigmund, whose death ended the Luxemburg dynasty in Bohemia.
1420–1434	The Hussite Wars, including the crusades of 1420, 1421, 1426, 1437, and 1431.
1434	At the Battle of Lipany, the Catholics and Utraquists defeat the radical Hussites.
1436	The Compactata of Basel recognizes both the Utraquist and Catholic faiths in Bohemia based on the Four Articles of Basel discussed in 1433.
1458	After the death of Ladislav Posthumous, the Bohemian nobles elect as king one of their own, Jiří z Poděbrad, who ruled until 1471.
1463–1465	Jiří z Poděbrad attempts to form a European-wide association of states.
1471	The Bohemian Diet elects as king Vladislav II, inaugurating the Jagiellonian dynasty in Bohemia. Vladislav II also becomes the king of Hungary in 1490.
1526	Ludvík's death at the Battle of Mohács ends the Jagiellonian dynasty in Bohemia. The diet elects Ferdinand of Austria as the king of Bohemia; Ferdinand also becomes the king of Hungary. The Habsburgs essentially retain the two states until 1918.
1547	The first rebellion of the Bohemian Estates.
1556	The Jesuits arrive in Prague.
1561	The office of archbishop is renewed in Prague.
1579–1594	The Kralicka Bible becomes the first translation of the Bible into Czech.
1583	Rudolf II (1552–1612, reigned 1576–1611) moves the capital from Vienna to Prague.
1609	Rudolf II signs the Letter of Majesty.
1618	The defenestration of Prague (23 May); the start of the Thirty Years' War.
1619	The Bohemian Estates elect King Frederick of the Palatine, the Winter King, who reigns until 1620.
1620	The Battle of White Mountain (16 November).
1621	The leaders of the 1618–1620 rebellion are executed in Old Town Square.
1627	Ferdinand issues the Renewal Ordinance.
1634	Count Albrecht z Valdštejna (Wallenstein) is murdered.
1680	Leopold I issues the first *robota* patent after the 1679–1680 peasant uprising.
1740–1780	Reign of Maria Theresa.
1748	Austria recognizes the loss of Silesia (once a part of Bohemia) to Prussia.
1754	Prokop Diviš erects his first lightning rod.
1773	Maria Theresa bans the Jesuits.
1775	The first meteorological station in Prague at the Klementinum begins the oldest continuous detailed recording of weather in the world.
1780–1790	Reign of Joseph II.
1781	Joseph issues the toleration patent, which gave religious freedom to Orthodox, Calvinists, and Lutherans. In the same month, Joseph ends restrictions on Jews. Finally, he ends serfdom with the serfdom patent (later repealed).
1784	Joseph unites the four sections of Prague to form one urban center.
1789	Joseph issues his tax and urbarial patent (never enacted).
1804	Francis proclaims the Austrian Empire.
1805	The Battle of Slávkov, or the Battle of the Three Emperors.
1813	In August, the Fourth Coalition defeats Napoleon at the Battle of Přestanov and Chlumec.
1814	The first Czech museum opens in Opava, Silesia. The first museum in Moravia opens in 1817, and the National Museum opens in Prague in 1818.
1815	Josef Božek (1782–1835) builds the first steam engine.
1817	Václav Hanka claims to discover the forged manuscripts of Králův Dvůr and Zelená Hora.
1819	Clemens von Metternich presides over the conference of nine German states at Karlovy Vary that issues the Carlsbad Decrees.
1820	Metternich hosts the meeting of European leaders in Opava known as the Congress of Troppau.
1826	The first Czech opera, *Dráteník* (The Tinker), with music by František Škroup and the libretto by Josef Krasoslav Chmelenský, premiers.
1832	The first regular service on the Continent of a horse-drawn railroad

	begins from České Budějovice, Bohemia, to Linz, Austria.
1835–1839	Josef Jungmann publishes his *Czech-German Dictionary.*
1836	Karel Hynek Mácha publishes his epic poem *Máj* in April.
1836	In September Ferdinand (reigned since 1835) is crowned king of Bohemia, the last coronation to occur in Prague.
1836	In November, František Palacký releases the first volume of *A History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia*. The last volume appears in 1865.
1837	Jan Evangelista Purkyně presented his cell theory at a conference of scientists.
1848	Beginning with the St. Václav Committee petition to the emperor on March 22, a liberal and national revolution occurs in Prague that was similar to revolutions that year throughout Europe.
1848	In April, Karel Havlíček Borovský begins publishing his newspaper *Národní noviny.*
1848	In Prague, as the Slav Congress is taking place in June, a revolt erupts. General Alfred Windischgrätz restores order after bombarding the city (June 17).
1848	The Imperial Parliament meets at Kroměříž.
1848	Ferdinand abdicates in Olomouc, and Franz Joseph takes the throne.
1849	In March Franz Joseph issues an *octroyed* constitution and abolishes serfdom.
1851–1859	The era of absolutism under interior minister and later prime minister Alexander Bach.
1860	Franz Joseph institutes decentralizing reforms through the October Diploma.
1861	Franz Joseph issues the February Patent, in which he centralizes the administration.
1862	Miroslav Tyrš and Jindřich Fügner establish the Sokol gymnastic movement.
1865	Johann Gregor Mendel publishes his article on genetics.
1866	*The Bartered Bride* of Bedřich Smetana premieres in May.
1866	On 3 July, the Prussians defeat the Austrians at the Battle of Sadová; the warring parties sign the Peace of Prague on 23 August 1866.
1867	The *Ausgleich* (Compromise) between Austria and Hungary creates Austria-Hungary or the Dual Monarchy of the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary.
1868	On 16 May, the cornerstone is laid for the National Theater.
1869	Emil Škoda purchases the Wallenstein (Valdštejn) Factory in Plzeň, which becomes known as Škoda Plzeň.
1874	The Old Czechs and Young Czechs split, and the Young Czechs establish the National Liberal Party.
1878	The Social Democratic Party is established.
1879	The Czechs end their passive resistance and enter the Reichsrat to support the “Iron Ring” of Count Eduard Taaffe.
1882	The Prague University, officially the Charles-Ferdinand University (Karlo-Ferdinandova Univerzita), is divided into separate German and Czech universities.
1885	Construction begins on the National Museum, which is completed in 1890.
1887	Artists establish the Mánes Society for the Creative Arts.
1890	Franz Joseph creates the Czech Academy of Sciences.
1891	Prague prepared for the Jubilee Provincial Exhibition with the first electric tram, the opening of the Petřín Tower, and two funiculars (the one to Petřín operates today).
1891	In the July Reichsrat elections, the Young Czechs defeat the Old Czechs.
1894	Tomáš Bat’a opens his shoe manufacturing concern in Zlín.
1894	The Czech Philharmonic is founded and holds its first concert in 1896.
1894	The Christian Socialist Party is established in Moravia.
1897	Prime Minister Kazimir Badeni issues his language decree on April 5.
1898	The first convention of the Czech National Socialist party takes place in April.
1899	The Agrarian Party is established (renamed the Republican Party after World War I).
1900	Tomáš G. Masaryk begins the Realist Party.
1907	Elections to the Reichsrat take place under universal male suffrage.
1914	On 28 June, Gavrilo Princip assassinates Ferdinand d’Este and his wife; Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia on 28 July.
1914	T. G. Masaryk leaves Austria-Hungary in November to create an independent Czech state.
1915	In March several Czech political leaders establish the Czech Mafia.
1916	Emperor Franz Joseph dies on 21 November. Karl becomes the new emperor.

1918	In the 6 January Epiphany Declaration, the major Czech parties in Austria call for Czech independence and Slovak self-determination.
1918	On 30 May, Czech and Slovak representatives sign the Pittsburgh Pact.
1918	The creation of the Czechoslovak First Republic takes place on 28 October (current national holiday). T. G. Masaryk becomes the first president.
1919	National Assembly approves the land reform.
1920	On 29 February, the National Assembly adopts the constitution.
1920	In May, the main German parties, including the German Social Democrats, German Christian Socialists, and Bund der Landwirte, enter the National Assembly.
1921	Communist Party holds its first convention.
1922	Antonín Švehla becomes the prime minister and holds the post three times, 1922–1925, 1925–1926, and 1926–1929.
1935	T. G. Masaryk resigns as president for health reasons in November, and Edvard Beneš becomes Czechoslovakia's second president (Beneš was officially elected in December).
1937	On 14 September, T. G. Masaryk dies at 87.
1938	In May Czechoslovakia partially mobilizes against Germany based on false news about German troop concentrations.
1938	The leaders of Germany, Italy, Britain, and France meet in Munich on 29 September and agree to give portions of Czechoslovakia to Germany.
1938	On 30 September, the Czechoslovak government accepts the Munich Diktat. The First Republic ceases to exist, and the Czechoslovak Second Republic emerges with Slovakia and Ruthenia as autonomous components.
1938	On 1 October, Czechoslovakia accepts a Polish ultimatum demanding border concessions. On the same day, Germany begins occupying the Sudetenland, a process it completed on 10 October.
1938	Beneš abdicates on 5 October and heads the Czechoslovak liberation movement from London when the war begins. E. Hácha replaces Beneš as president in November.
1939	Nazi Germany occupies the Czech Lands in March and incorporates them into Germany as the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Slovakia becomes independent. Hungary takes Ruthenia.
1942	Czech agents from Britain assassinate Reinhard Heydrich, the acting Reich protector of Bohemia and Moravia.
1944	The Slovak National Uprising begins on 29 August.
1945	On 2 April, E. Beneš arrives in Košice after having visited Moscow. On 5 April, the new Czechoslovak government announces its Košice Program.
1945	The Prague Uprising occurs on 5–8 May and Beneš returns to Prague on 11 May.
1948	Klement Gottwald leads the Communist Party in legally coming to power on 25 February and begins to establish a Stalinist totalitarian regime.
1948	On 10 March, Jan Masaryk is murdered.
1948	On 2 June, Beneš abdicates and dies in September. Gottwald becomes president.
1953	Antonín Zápotocký becomes president after death of Gottwald.
1957	Antonín Novotný becomes president.
1968	Alexander Dubček replaces Novotný as first secretary of the Communist Party, inaugurating the Prague Spring reform movement. Novotný abdicates in March and General Ludvík Svoboda becomes president.
1968	The Warsaw Pact invades Czechoslovakia on the night of 20–21 August.
1969	Czechoslovakia becomes a federated state on 1 January.
1969	Jan Palach ignites himself in front of the National Museum to protest the Warsaw Pact invasion in January and dies three days later.
1969	Gustav Husák replaces Dubček as the first secretary of the Communist Party.
1975	Husák becomes president after Svoboda abdicates.
1977	The dissident movement Charta 77 forms.
1989	The Velvet Revolution begins on 17 November, and by December it brings an end to Communist rule in Czechoslovakia.
1989	Husák resigns in December, and the dissident Václav Havel becomes president.
1992–1993	At midnight, Czechoslovakia divides peacefully, creating the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.
1993	Havel, who had resigned as president in protest of the division of Czechoslovakia,

	becomes president of the Czech Republic in January.
1998	The government of Václav Klaus of the Civic Democratic Party collapses, paving the way for a minority Social Democratic coalition government under Miloš Zeman.
1999	The Czech Republic enters NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization).
2002	After elections in June, Vladimír Špidla leads the Social Democrats in forming a coalition government.
2003	Czech voters approve a referendum to join the European Union (EU).
2004	On 1 May, the Czech Republic enters the EU. In August the Social Democrat Śtanislav Gross replaces Špidla as prime minister.

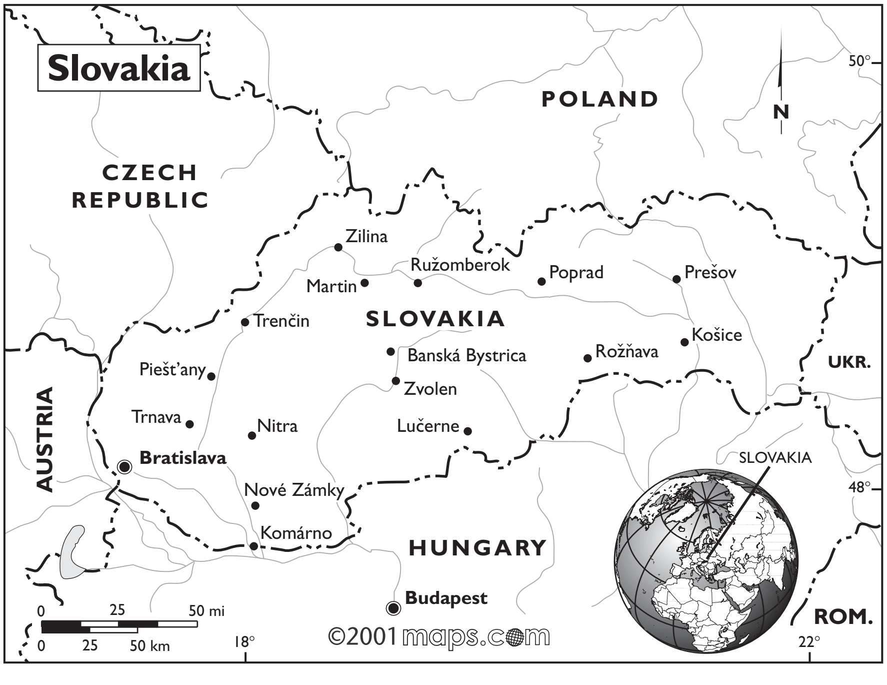
SLOVAKIA

JUNE GRANATIR ALEXANDER

LAND AND PEOPLE

Slovakia, which is officially called the Slovak Republic, is located in the heartland of Europe. Five countries border this landlocked nation that has an area of 49,005 square kilometers, which is about equal to the combined size of the states of Vermont and New Hampshire. Poland lies to the north, Hungary to the south, Austria to the southwest, the Czech Republic to the west, and Ukraine to the east. Although a small country, Slovakia's topography varies widely. Its territory extends from lowlands in the south that are approximately 95 meters above sea level to a northern mountainous region with elevations reaching 2,655 meters. It is a mountainous country, but, in addition to rugged highlands, the area within Slovakia's boundaries includes valleys, plateaus, rolling hills, and low fertile plains. It also has dense forests and a wide variety of plants and animal life. Slovakia is a land of natural wonders and diverse peoples.

Mountains, which cover more than 40 percent of Slovakia, represent this small republic's most distinguishing physical feature. They run along its northern periphery, stretch into its central midsection, and flank both its eastern and western perimeters. Slovakia's numerous mountain ranges form part of the vast Carpathian Arc that cuts through Eastern Europe. Winding in crescent-shaped style, the Carpathian Mountains extend across northern Slovakia into western Ukraine and bend south into Romania. Slovakia's own mountains begin with the gentle slopes of the Malé Karpaty (Little Carpathians) in the southwest near Bratislava, the country's capital. As they move northeastward these steep hills, which are located completely within Slovakia's boundaries, become higher and merge into the Bielé Karpaty (White Carpathians), which Slovakia shares with the neighboring Czech Republic. This chain meets the Javorínky that, together with the Malá Fatra (Little Fatra) and Vel'ká Fatra (Big Fatra) ranges, start the eastward curve of the Carpathian Arc. The Vysoké Tatry (High Tatras), located in north central Slovakia, continue the arc across the country's northern region. To the south of the High Tatras lay two other parallel chains: the Nízke Tatry (Low Tatras) and the Slovenské Rudohorie (Slovak Ore Mountains). Separated by valleys, these chains take rugged mountain terrain deep into Slovakia's central region.



The country's elaborate network of mountains has endowed Slovakia with a picturesque natural landscape. The Little Carpathians, which have low elevations, are covered by broadleaf forests and, on the eastern side, with vineyards. The higher mountain ranges in northern and central Slovakia have a far more varied topography. The snowcapped High Tatras contain sharply pointed ridges and deep ravines. With altitudes reaching nearly 2,655 meters at Gerlachovský štít, these mountains are the highest in the entire Carpathian Arc. Ten to twelve thousand years ago melting glaciers flooded

The mountains of the High Tatras, Slovakia. (Liba Taylor/Corbis)

hollows and created deep mountain lakes. The individual lakes that resulted from this natural phenomenon merit a separate designation: "pleso." The Tatra's lakes can be as high as 1,346 meters above sea level; at 53 meters, Vel'ké Hincovo is the deepest pleso. Waterfalls, streams, and an abundant array of wildflowers enhance the mountains' natural beauty. Spectacular dense forests cover hills bordering the numerous valleys that carve north-south routes through the High Tatras. The heavily forested inclines, gorges, and meadows, which characterize the High Tatras, also exist in the Low Tatras to the south.

In addition to shaping its geography, Slovakia's mountains contain the headwaters of many rivers. The Danube flows into Slovakia from neighboring Austria, but several tributaries that feed into this important international waterway originate in the mountains. The sources of the numerous small branches that pour into these tributaries are in the highlands. Two rivers merge in the Tatras and form Slovakia's longest river, the Váh. Beginning in central Slovakia, this body of water, which is 403 kilometers long, runs east and then turns in a southwesterly direction. In addition to the Váh, several other rivers empty into the Danube Basin. Important rivers flowing into it include the Morava, Nitra, Hron, and Ipel'. In the east, the Ondava and Laborec rivers stream north to south and feed into the Bordog River, which continues southwest into Hungary; the Hornád also arcs east to south and across the same border. The Poprad River, in north central Slovakia, flows northward into Poland.

Besides major water arteries, tiny rivers and small streams criss-cross the entire country. Altogether, Slovakia has about 8,000 kilometers of waterways. In addition, small lakes, mineral springs, and natural spas dot the country. There are an estimated 1,200 mineral springs, but nearly all are located in mountainous regions. One count places the number of mountain spas in Slovakia at twenty-three. These are considered excellent places for curing ailments or recuperating from sicknesses or injuries. Using mountain spas for curative purposes as well as relaxation is a centuries-old tradition. According to some accounts, the Piešťany spa and its local mud have been restoring people's health for eight hundred years.

Mountains and water have shaped Slovakia's external terrain, but they have also contributed to the geological riches that lay beneath the earth's surface. Usually forged by running waters, the country has more than 2,000 subterranean caves. These underground caverns contain spectacular stalagmites and stalactites, cone-shaped hard-lime formations created by dripping water. The Belianska Cave in the Tatras is one of the most famous, but subsurface caverns are also located in the plateaus of southeastern Slovakia. Domica, which stretches into Hungary, is part of a cave system that is approximately 21,000 meters long. Caves in the region can reach depths of 123 meters. In addition to underground chambers with intricate hard-lime deposits, this area has ice caves where frozen formations are as thick as 26.5 meters.

Slovakia's underground treasures are covered by a botanically rich land. The climate, together with a varied terrain, has allowed a wide variety of plant life to develop. It has a moderate, continental climate with temperatures reaching about 26 Celsius (79 Fahrenheit) in the summer and 0 Celsius (32 Fahrenheit) in the winter. The more elevated mountainous areas are cooler. In the High Tatras winters can last two hundred days while spring is only two weeks long and the rest of the year is summer and autumn. Wildflowers thrive in the mountain regions that cover Slovakia. The High Tatras contain more than 1,300 kinds of flora. Flowers grow in the mountain meadows and marshes, but at least forty varieties of flowers exist in elevations that are thousands of feet above sea level. Berries and other bushes also dot the mountains. Botanists have identified approximately four hundred different plants in just one small basin of the Tatra mountains and more than 555 different flora in a nearby valley. The Tatras are not alone in providing an environment amenable to diverse vegetation. The Vel'ká Fatra chain hosts an array of unique flowers, and vineyards flourish on the eastern slopes of the Small Carpathians. The nonmountainous regions as well as fertile areas in Slovakia's southern lowlands boast the same vegetation and flowering plants, including an array of roses that are typical of nearby countries in East Central Europe.

Although the wildlife does not match the floral diversity of Slovakia, the undulating terrain and remote mountain areas provide suitable habitats for many animals. Brown bears, lynxes, wild cats, and wolves roam the dense mountain forests; marmots, martens, and chamois inhabit the higher elevations. The golden eagle soars above the High Tatras; the spotted eagle, falcon, grouse, and black stork dwell in mountain areas as well. Wild swine and deer rove the lower regions. Buzzards are common in the lowlands, especially in the southwest. Rabbits, squirrels, fox, and small fowl dwell in the land as well. Slovakia also has the typical variety of farm animals and poultry.

The physical features, which make Slovakia so picturesque and geologically rich, have obviously also influenced its economic and cultural development. Besides enhancing the country's scenic beauty, mountains contained raw materials that stimulated mining early in Slovakia's history. By at least the thirteenth century, mines were yielding copper, gold, and silver. In the fourteenth century a mint located in Kremnica was producing gold coins for royal courts in Europe. In the modern day, Slovakia has only small stores of iron ore, copper, and magnesium; as a result, lignite (brown coal) is now the most commonly mined material. In the early twenty-first century the mountains' most significant impact on the economy is to stimulate tourism. The forests in Slovakia's middle and high elevations also continue, as they have historically, to provide timber. Grains and other commodities are grown on the hillsides as well as in the country's fertile low-lying areas.

Despite early mining undertakings, Slovakia remained a rural, agricultural country; nevertheless, mining had a far-reaching demographic impact. Centuries ago, when mining was more varied and robust, most of the profits went to foreign entrepreneurs or bankers, not to the persons who worked the mines. The "industry," though, encouraged a German migration into the region. The immigrants established villages along rivers and streams that trickled through the mountains. Small Slovak settlements also clustered near rivers and waterways in the valleys that separated central Slovakia's three parallel ranges. In addition, mining gave rise to towns that managed to survive well after that industry declined. For Kremnica, it left a lasting legacy. This town maintains one of the oldest mints in Europe, and when Slovakia became independent in 1993, the Kremnica mint produced the new republic's first coins.

Mining, of course, was not the only economic force influencing early demographic patterns. Slovakia is a country with a long rural tradition. In a self-sufficient agricultural economy where most Slovaks tilled the land, villages naturally developed along waterways. Towns subsequently emerged along the river banks. Hungarians established numerous farming villages in the fertile lowlands. As a result of this early pattern, Hungarians in Slovakia to this day have remained in the plains along the country's southern border.

In 1991 official figures placed Slovakia's a population at 5,289,608 people. Since that year, there has been no census but official estimates put the total number of persons at slightly over 5.4 million. Although the country is ethnically diverse, Slovaks make up the overwhelming majority and account for more than 4.5 million (85.6 percent) of the inhabitants. They are the descendants of Slavic peoples who began migrating into the Carpathian Basin probably in the very late fifth century. With a population of approximately 578,500, Hungarians make up the country's largest minority and account for nearly 10.8 percent of the total populace. In the 1991 census, slightly over 80,600 persons (approximately 1.5 percent of the population) described themselves as Roma, a more acceptable English designation than the term "Gypsies." However some estimates place the Romany total as high as 253,000. The remaining population consists of Czechs with approximately 65,200 (1 percent) and Ruthenian-Ukrainians with nearly 39,000 (0.7 percent). Germans, Poles, Jews, and Croats account for the small remaining percentage. The country's ethnic groups are distributed throughout the country. Even Hungarians, who are more concentrated than most, can be found in locales north of the southern border region. The majority of the country's tiny Jewish population resides in two cities, Bratislava and Košice, but some also live in other large and medium-size towns. The official language is Slovak and the second most common language is Hungarian.

Slovakia is also a religiously diverse country. According to official estimates, 60.3 percent of the inhabitants are Roman Catholic and 7.8 percent are Protestant. Accounting for approximately 6.2 percent of the adherents, Lutherans constitute the country's largest Protestant denomination; most ethnic Hungarians belong to the Reformed Church. Other faiths (totaling 4 percent of the population) include Judaism,

The Slovak Language

Although similar to other Slavic languages, especially Czech, Slovak is linguistically distinct, with its own grammar and vocabulary. Spoken Slovak has three dialects (western, central, and eastern) that roughly correspond with large geographical areas in Slovakia. Slovak, like other Slavic languages, has diacritical marks that govern the pronunciation of both consonants and vowels. In Slovak, the accent is on the first syllable. Slovak is a highly inflected language, which means words have different endings. For example, noun and adjective endings change to indicate gender, number, and case; verb endings also reflect gender and number as well as tense and mood.

The roots of the Slovak language predate the introduction of Christianity into the Slavic lands in the ninth century, but for centuries Slovak was not a written language. In the late eighteenth century Anton Bernolák made the first significant attempt to establish a Slovak literary language. By turning the western dialect into a written language, he developed what became known as *bernolákovčina.* Bernolák's codified version of the Slovak language received its most significant support from the Slovak Learned Society. Founded in 1792 in Trnava and consisting primarily of Catholic clergymen, the society printed Catholic literature in bernolákovčina and disseminated it throughout Upper Hungary. Although short-lived, the society was instrumental in spreading bernolákovčina among Upper Hungary's educated Slovak Catholic clergymen. It was also adopted by Catholic primary schools in the region.

Slovak Protestants did not accept bernolákovčina. In 1803 Lutherans founded the Lutheran Lyceum (gymnasium) in Bratislava, which was committed to the study of Bibličtina, the Czech-language translation of the Bible. Bibličtina was the liturgical language of Slovak Lutheranism. The first serious challenge to bernolákočina came in the 1820s when two Lutherans, poet Ján Kollár, supported by scholar Pavol Šafárik, asserted that Slovaks and Czechs belonged to the same nation. In 1825 Kollár published a reader, *Čítanka,* which introduced Czechoslovak: a literary language that combined Slovak and Czech. Initially this blended version of the Czech and Slovak tongues enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the Lutheran clergy. By the late 1830s, however, some Lutherans who had embraced a "Czechoslovak" language developed serious misgivings. Opposed to the Hungarian government's Magyarization policy, which tried to eliminate ethnic groups by assimilating them into Hungarian culture, they decided to undermine the policy by establishing a more distinct Slovak literary language than bernolákovčina. L'udovít Štúr, a Lutheran clergyman and Slovak nationalist, codified the central Slovak dialect. This alternate version, known as *štúrovčina,* was announced in 1846. Five years later, following negotiations between supporters of bernolákovčina and Štúr's alternative, a modified version of štúrovčina was adopted as the Slovak literary language. In 1852 Martin Hattala, a Catholic and former Bernákolite, published this version in *Krátka mluvnica slovenská* (A Concise Slovak Grammar).

The central dialect, as codified by Štúr, remained the standard spoken and written Slovak. In modern-day Slovakia, the central dialect is employed for all literary, commercial, and official purposes. It is also used for public speaking and radio and television. In the twenty-first century, Slovaks continue to speak in their regional dialects, but the rise of mass communications and an educational system that teaches standard Slovak suggest that regional dialects are destined to fade.

Greek Catholic, and Orthodox. More than one-fourth of the population does not have an identifiable religious affiliation (18.2 percent) or is described as not having one (9.7 percent).

During the last part of the twentieth century, Slovakia's inhabitants increasingly gravitated to urban areas. With a population of slightly over 452,000 inhabitants, Bratislava is the largest city. Košice, located in southeastern Slovakia, has about 240,000 residents and ranks as the country's second largest metropolis. Other major cities with populations over 50,000 include Prešov, Banská Bystrica, Žilina, Nitra, Trnava, Martin, Trenčín, and Poprad.

The migration to the cities reflects the varied nature of Slovakia's workforce. According to estimates for the year 2000, about 45.6 percent of the 3.3 million persons in the labor force are employed in "services." The remaining workers are divided into the following categories: 29.3 percent in industries; 8.9 percent in agriculture; 8 percent in construction; and 8.2 percent in transport and communications.

The ethnic diversity of Slovakia is further enhanced by regional variations. The Slovak language has three distinct dialects: western, central, and eastern. These speech differences are indicative of geographic differences that characterize the general Slovak population. Slovaks have traditionally identified themselves by the region where they grew up. Persons living in different areas established their own folk customs. Folk handicrafts, music, and cuisine reflect regional variations characteristic of Slovak culture. The individual regions also developed their own distinct folk costumes. Even as Slovaks assert their distinct national identity, a sense of regional identity persists to this day.

When Slovakia became an independent nation in 1993, it adopted four national symbols. The constitution both mandates and describes the country's coat of arms, national seal, flag, and national anthem. The coat of arms is a red Gothic shield with a silver double-barred cross situated in the center of three blue mountain peaks. Known as the Cross of Lorraine, one of the cross's two horizontal bars is longer than the other. According to tradition, the Cross of Lorraine was used by Cyril and Methodius, the two missionaries who brought Christianity to the Slavic peoples in the mid-ninth century. The hills supposedly represent the three mountain ranges historically identified with the Slovak people: High Tatras, Low Tatras, and the Small Fatra. In the nineteenth century this emblem was the seal of the Matica slovenská, a nationalist institution devoted to promoting Slovak culture and national identity.

The coat of arms composes part of the Slovak flag. On the left side of the flag, this national crest is superimposed on three horizontal white, blue, and red stripes. Neither the colors of the coat of arms nor the three bands have any official symbolism.

The national seal is the coat of arms with the inscription "Slovenská Republika" (Slovak Republic) encircling it. "Slovenská Republika" is on the seal because that is the country's official name in the Slovak language. In Slovakia the country is popularly called "Slovensko." The national anthem, "Nad Tatrou sa blýska" (Lightning Flashes over the Tatra Mountains), was composed in the early nineteenth century. It is a symbolic melody reflecting the hopes of nineteenth-century nationalists that Slovaks would "come alive" as a people. The author, Janko Matúška, set his verses to the melody of an old Slovak folk song. Initially circulated in handwritten form, the hymn was reportedly first printed in 1848. In 1993 the newly independent Slovak Republic adopted the first two stanzas as its anthem.

HISTORY

The history of modern-day Slovakia reaches back to the late fifth century, when Slavic tribes moved into the region south of the Carpathian Mountains. The precise geographic origins of these tribes are uncertain, but archeological evidence indicates that they came from areas northeast of the Carpathian Mountains. During a gradual migration, which lasted into the seventh century, Slavic peoples moved into

Bratislava Castle looms on a hilltop overlooking Slovakia's capital city of Bratislava, situated on the shores of the Danube River. (Adam Woolfitt/Corbis) the Middle Danube Basin. Although they established villages and developed an agricultural economy, there is no evidence that the tribes created anything that resembled a political state.

In the sixth century the Avars, a nomadic people probably from Central Asia, invaded the Danube region. By the end of the century, they had established a vast dominion that, together with other territory south of the Danube River, included the southern portion of modern-day Slovakia. Besides subjugating peoples in their empire, the Avars looted and terrorized nearby areas. In the 620s, under the leadership of Samo, a Frankish merchant, several Slavic tribes united to resist Avar rule. Samo's empire, which was centered in Moravia and stretched eastward into central Slovakia, quickly disintegrated after his death in 658.

In 796 the Franks—a Germanic people from the west—defeated the Avars and effectively ended their domination of Central Europe. Fearful of the Frankish Empire's eastward expansion, Mojmír, a Moravian chief, had organized a Moravian state by 830. Meanwhile, another Slavic principality, Nitra, had developed in the west. Although its history is shrouded in obscurity, tradition holds that Nitra came into existence in the early ninth century. Prince Pribina built his castle at Nitra where he also erected a church that, when consecrated in 828 by the archbishop of Salzburg, became the first Christian church in the Slavic world. In 833 Mojmír defeated Pribina and annexed his lands. The merger of the Principality of Nitra and the Moravian state created the Great Moravian Empire.

Mojmír was subsequently deposed but, under his successors, Rastislav (846–869) and Svätopluk (870–894), Great Moravia expanded. The precise boundaries of this empire are not known. When it reached its height during the reign of Svätopluk, however, it included Moravia, Bohemia, southern Poland, northwestern Hungary, and most of modern-day Slovakia. Although the boundaries of the Great Moravian Empire fluctuated and the political organization was loose, it was one of history's first stable Slavic states.

The Great Moravian Empire was also important because, during its existence, Slavs were converted to Christianity. In the early ninth century Rastislav appealed to Byzantium's emperor, Michael III, to provide missionaries who could proselytize among the Slavs in their own languages. In 863 the emperor sent two brothers, Constantine and Methodius—known to history as the "apostles of the Slavs." Constantine, who later assumed the name Cyril, formulated an alphabet for the Slavic language. With this alphabet Cyril and Methodius translated Scripture and liturgical books from Greek into Church Slavonic. Preaching in local vernaculars, these missionaries successfully converted Slavs to Byzantine Christianity. In 880 a papal Bull sanctioned the Slavic liturgy and invested Methodius as archbishop of Moravia. After Methodius died in 885, however, Pope Stephen V reversed his predecessor's policy and banned the use of the Slavic liturgy. As a result, during the 890s the Latin liturgy began displacing Church Slavonic in the Great Moravian Empire.

Svätopluk, the powerful ruler of the Great Moravian Empire, died in 894. Squabbles between his sons, Mojmír II and Svätopluk II, subsequently threw the empire into disarray, but it was an outside invasion that finally doomed it. In the early tenth century, Magyars, a seminomadic people from the northeast, began invading the Great Moravian Empire's southern frontier. The incursions continued until 906 when the Magyars—later known as Hungarians—defeated and killed Prince Mojmír II. Following this defeat, the empire ceased to exist and modern-day Slovakia came under Magyar control. For the next thousand years, Slovak and Hungarian history would be intertwined.

Although its Slavic composition meant that the northern region where Slovaks lived was a culturally distinct area, the Magyars did not treat it as a separate political entity. Stephen (997–1038), who was crowned as Hungary's first king in the year 1000, however, instituted an administrative system that had long-term impacts on Slovakia and its inhabitants. To govern his kingdom, Stephen developed a county system that divided the realm into geographical regions, each governed by an *ispán* (administrator) appointed by the king. As the county system subsequently developed, Magyars, appointed by the king, usually administered northern Hungary where Slovaks lived. Lesser county officials and assemblymen were also typically Magyars.

During the first two centuries following the Magyar takeover, it seems that Slovaks remained a settled people, staying in already established communities. New settlements sprang up near existing ones. In the era spanning the twelfth into the fourteenth centuries, however, some Slovaks migrated from the Danube Basin north to the uninhabited mountainous regions of central and eastern Slovakia. Regardless of where they lived, most Slovaks engaged in agriculture. As Hungary developed a feudal system, the majority of Slovaks were reduced to serfs and subjected to the restraints and limited opportunities that characterized feudal societies. Under this system serfs provided compulsory labor, paid taxes, and performed military service but had no political rights. In the thirteenth century only a few serfs were permanently bound to a master. Most were farmers working on settlements, who, once they had satisfied all their obligations, were free to move. After the mid-fifteenth and into the sixteenth century, however, their freedom of movement greatly declined as Hungarian laws expanded the serfs' obligations and restricted their mobility.

Social and economic conditions in Slovakia were further complicated by the arrival of German colonists, a movement that got under way in the thirteenth century. After a brutal, but short, invasion by Mongols in 1241, Hungary's kings welcomed the migration of Germans into its northern district. These immigrant settlements acted as buffers against future aggression into the sparsely inhabited regions of Slovakia. Foreign settlers also helped repopulate areas that had been devastated by the invasions. In addition, Germans brought skills and commercial expertise to the region. Seeking to encourage this migration and also to create a burgher (urban) class beholden to the Crown, Hungary's monarchs granted special privileges to German colonists and exempted them from control by county officials. Germans also moved into Slovakia's mining regions where they settled in towns and developed the mining industry. Concentrated in commercial and mining areas, German towns evolved into enclaves governed by special laws.

The German influx had multiple impacts on Slovaks. Although only Germans could own municipal lands, the rise of commercial towns probably offered opportunities for some Slovak craftsmen. According to some estimates, though, by the fifteenth century perhaps 80 percent of Slovaks were peasants who belonged to the serf class. In the main, therefore, the general Slovak population enjoyed few rights, while Germans had special privileges.

Strife in kingdoms elsewhere brought other peoples, who would have a far-reaching impact on Slovak society, to the region. The religious turmoil that gripped the Kingdom of Bohemia in the fifteenth century spilled over into northern Hungary. The Hussite Wars, which broke out after the execution in 1415 of Jan Hus, the antipapal reformer, spread into Slovakia. In the early 1440s, under the leadership of Jiskra of Brandys, a Czech noble, Hussite armies advanced into the region. For nearly twenty years, Jiskra controlled territory stretching from Nitra in the west to Košice in the east. Also, during the religious wars in Bohemia, Czech Hussite refugees fled to Slovakia where many stayed permanently.

The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century had a more profound impact on Slovakia than its Hussite precursor had had. Lutheranism reached Slovakia through its German towns and quickly spread to the Slovak populace. Starting as an urban phenomenon and embraced by the gentry, by midcentury Lutheranism was attracting the Slovak peasantry. At the same time that the Reformation was gaining momentum, the Kingdom of Hungary was facing challenges from the Ottoman Empire located to its south. The Ottoman Turks invaded the kingdom and inflicted a crushing defeat on Hungarian forces at Mohács in 1526. As a result, a large section of the kingdom was lost to the Turks. Hungary's original territory was ultimately divided into three geographic regions with Slovakia comprising most of the western section. In 1547, following a peace settlement with the Turkish sultan, Ferdinand I, who belonged to the Habsburg dynasty, was recognized as king of a northwestern region that included most of modern-day Slovakia. This territory became known as Royal Hungary. From the mid-1540s onward, Slovakia remained part of Hungary but, because it became part of the Habsburg Empire, the region was affected by the policies both of its Magyar overlords and the imperial government in Vienna.

What would become modern-day Slovakia enjoyed an unprecedented importance in Royal Hungary. With the southern half of the ancient Hungarian kingdom under Turkish domination and Royal Hungary pushed north of the Danube River, Slovakia became the economic, political, cultural, and religious center of the state. In 1536 Bratislava, which was called Pozsony in Hungarian, was made Hungary's capital. The principal government offices were transferred to that city, and the Hungarian diet usually met there. Bratislava was designated as the coronation city, meaning the place where Hungary's royal rulers were crowned. Fleeing the Turks, in 1543 the archbishop of Esztergom escaped to Trnava, a town just northwest of Bratislava. Slovakia thus became the kingdom's religious headquarters.

As a result of the Turkish invasion, Slovakia was inundated with nobles seeking refuge. In one respect this migration benefited Slovaks. The influx of lesser nobility into the towns ushered in an attack on the special privileges German inhabitants traditionally possessed. Nobles were also granted permisson to buy property in commercial and mining towns. This chipping away at German advantages continued into the 1600s.

Political gains, which benefited non-German townsmen, did not offset the detrimental effects that the influx of nobles and also constant warfare had on Slovakia's inhabitants. For example, nobles gained control of butchering trades and the sale of alcoholic products, benefits that allowed them to exploit Slovak peasants. Land grants to the displaced nobility, together with the enlargement of existing manors, reduced the available fertile land and thus further squeezed the peasantry. The war had an especially adverse impact on towns. In addition to paying heavy taxes to maintain royal troops, towns bore the burden of their own defense. Inflation caused by war devastated townsmen and especially the miners in central Slovakia. Discontent among miners occasionally flared into rebellion. The economic hardships inflicted on towns and miners were exacerbated by the nobles' demand that the monarchy respect their traditional privileges, including exemption from taxation. So, in a kingdom significantly reduced, after the 1540s much of Royal Hungary's operation and defense costs fell to Slovakia's inhabitants. Proximity to the Turks made life in the border regions even more difficult. Between 1552 and 1575, the Turks made northward advances and seized additional territory near Slovakia's mining region. By threatening to plunder, the Turks also exacted tribute from districts along the frontier that were close to but not within their domain.

The Turkish occupation of Hungary ended in 1699. In the Peace of Karlowitz, which ended the long invasion, the Ottoman sultan ceded nearly all his Hungarian possessions to the Habsburgs. For small segments of the Slovak populace, the era of Royal Hungary had brought an improvement in their situation. Removing the German grip on commercial and mining towns encouraged the emergence of a Slovak burgher class. As a reward for military service against the Turks, some Slovaks also entered the ranks of the lesser nobility. The situation of the peasantry, however, deteriorated during the nearly one hundred fifty year interlude.

The Protestant Reformation, which was getting under way when the Turks invaded Hungary, continued even amid warfare against the Ottoman Empire. As the Reformation spread across the land, Lutheranism attracted scores of Slovaks while Magyars turned to the Reformed Church. By some estimates, in the early 1600s Protestants in Royal Hungary outnumbered Catholics by a ratio of four to one. These spectacular successes roused both the clergy and secular rulers loyal to the pope in Rome to action and sparked the Counter-Reformation. This counteraction, which aimed to halt the Reformation and reverse Protestant gains, started sluggishly and progressed more slowly in Hungary than in western regions under Habsburg control. Attempts at "re-Catholicization" were initiated as early as 1604, but

Bratislava Castle

Magnificent castles dot the landscape throughout Slovakia. Even in ruins, these massive fortifications are evidence of Slovakia's feudal history as well as the fact that warfare was an intrinsic part of the nation's past. Although not as impressive as several of the country's other old fortresses, Bratislava Castle is one of Slovakia's most important historical landmarks. Sitting high above the Danube River and towering over the capital city, this massive structure is known simply as *hrad*—"the castle."

The history of Bratislava Castle stretches back more than a thousand years. The first known reference to a castle in present-day Bratislava was made in a document dated 907 referring to a battle near a castle. It is therefore likely that a structure existed, or was under construction on the site, by the end of the ninth century. The castle was probably one reason why, in the eleventh century, King Stephen designated Bratislava, which was then called Pressburg, as the administrative center for the district. The hrad became the district's chief castle.

In the early thirteenth century major construction turned Bratislava Castle into a well-fortified edifice. In 1427, efforts got under way to fortify it even more. When the Ottoman Turks defeated Hungarian forces in 1526, the government was moved to Bratislava, which became the capital of Royal Hungary. The castle became the royal residence and again underwent renovations, both to strengthen its fortifications and to make it a dwelling suitable for royalty. The formidable hrad kept the Turkish invaders from advancing across the Danube River and into Bratislava. After the Turks were expelled from Hungary and the capital was returned to Budapest, the need for an armed fortress in Bratislava diminished. Empress Maria Theresa, who was especially fond of Bratislava and spent much time in the city, ordered yet another major renovation of the castle in the 1750s. The hrad became a lavish imperial residence. Bratislava did not appeal to Maria Theresa's successors, who thus did not use the hrad as a residence. Neglected, Bratislava Castle deteriorated and in 1811 was severely damaged by fire. The structure was left standing and continued deteriorating until the 1950s, when a major refurbishing was launched. Bratislava Castle was designated a national historical monument and reopened to the public in the late 1960s as a museum.

Although it has changed over time, a castle has existed on the hill overlooking the Danube River for nearly as long as Slovaks have inhabited modern-day Slovakia. Therefore, though the hrad is engraved on Bratislava's city seal, it is more than a local landmark and emblem; it has become a national symbol. Contemporary images and historical sketches of Bratislava Castle are among the most commonly reproduced pictures in items dealing with Slovakia. This massive square structure with a pointed tower on each of its corners has appeared in nearly every possible kind of printed literature. The images can be found in materials produced in Slovakia as well as in those generated outside the country.

zealous efforts to force the population into the church controlled by the papacy did not get under way until after 1616. The Counter-Reformation, which went on throughout the seventeenth century, was not as complete in the Kingdom of Hungary as elsewhere. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, about 20 percent of northern Hungary's population remained Protestant. Lutherans constituted the majority of the Slovak non-Catholics.

Efforts to force allegiance to the papacy met opposition from Magyar nobles who had embraced Protestantism. Consequently, in addition to battling the Turks, during the seventeenth century, religious conflicts, civil wars, and insurrections racked the kingdom. This strife, which often included bloodshed and the ravaging of villages as well as towns, made life miserable for Slovakia's inhabitants. Peasants and townspeople alike suffered. They endured this situation until 1711, when the era of religious and civil wars finally came to an end.

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation had a lasting cultural impact that went beyond making Slovaks a religiously diverse people. Slovak Protestants adopted the Kralická Bible (Kralice Bible) published in Czech (1579–1593), and consequently Czech became their liturgical language. It subsequently became the language of correspondence for an educated Protestant intelligentsia that survived the Counter-Reformation. Efforts to suppress Protestantism also led to the establishment of two universities: Trnava (1635) and Košice (1657). Jesuits controlled both institutions and both aimed to produce an educated Catholic clergy. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation, therefore, stimulated the emergence of a Slovak intelligentsia dominated by Protestants and Catholic clergymen. This intelligentsia led the Slovak national awakening, an attempt launched in the early nineteenth century to create a sense of themselves as a people among Hungary's Slovak subjects.

Although most Slovaks lived in a rather well-defined region, which became known as Upper Hungary, they did not acquire a national consciousness as a distinct people, or "nation." Instead, during the first nine centuries under Magyar

The Jánošík Legend

Often called the "Slovak Robin Hood," Juraj Jánošík is both a historical figure and a folk hero. Jánošík was born in 1688 in Terchová, located in the northwestern county of Trenčin. His parents were peasants, and during his youth Juraj helped work their land, which was part of a feudal estate. In 1711 Jánošík became leader of a band of outlaws who robbed wealthy individuals and distributed loot among the local poor. For slightly more than a year, he and his fellow bandits targeted officials, members of the nobility, landowners, wealthy townspeople, and merchants in the north-central region of Slovakia. The gang also carried out similar activities in southern Poland and Moravia. In 1712 Hungarian authorities captured Jánošík, but he managed to escape from the prison where he was being held. In early 1713 he was caught again. This time, he was tried by a tribunal in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš and condemned to death. On 18 March 1713, he was executed in a particularly gruesome hanging.

Jánošík quickly became a legend in the regions where his gang had operated. He was the subject of local folk tales and ballads glorifying him as a hero, a defender of the poor and oppressed. The theme—taking from the wealthy to help the poor—appeared in eighteenth-century Slovak poems. During the Slovak national awakening of the early to mid-nineteenth century and the romantic literary era that accompanied it, the Jánošík legend was further developed. Seeking to stir pride in the Slovak people and enhance their identity as a separate people, romantic poets, in particular, made Jánošík a hero of their writings. Drawing on the existing folk literature, poets memorialized Jánošík and clothed both his life and his death with symbolism. They portrayed the eighteenth-century bandit as a defender of freedom, a seeker of social justice, and a hero of oppressed Slovaks. Poems described magical powers and daring exploits. In the face of seemingly insurmountable odds, he outwitted enemies and escaped pursuers. There was a ladylove, as well as a wicked old woman, who contributed to his final capture.

The Jánošík legend persisted into the twentieth century. An opera and four films about this legendary figure were produced. He continued to symbolize what was considered the historical struggle for freedom and social justice by the Slovak people. Because it suited the ideology of class warfare, the Jánošík legend even found favor during the communist era. From this perspective, Jánošík symbolized the historical struggle of the oppressed Slovak working classes.

Over the past three centuries, Jánošík has been the subject of nearly every possible type of Slovak literary and art form, and the Jánošík legend retains vitality in the modern world. In 1996 Slovakia issued a postage stamp commemorating a 1936 film produced in Czechoslovakia about the legendary hero. Scholarly accounts have separated fact from fiction, and critics have even pointed to the adverse effects of lawlessness on eighteenth-century Slovak society, but the facts are unlikely to tarnish the Jánošík legend or debase the heroic image of the Slovak Robin Hood.

control, Slovak inhabitants typically identified themselves as "Slavs" or "Slavs of Hungary." They did develop a folk culture characterized by regional variations, and they spoke dialects of a common language. At the end of the eighteenth century, this common tongue became the basis for generating a Slovak national awakening, at least among the educated segments of the population.

Religious motives actually stimulated a nationalist impulse in the late 1780s. Anton Bernolák, a Jesuit priest with close ties to Trnava, the ecclesiastical center of Roman Catholicism in Upper Hungary, aimed to promote Catholicism by developing a uniform language to advance the religious education of the masses. Named after him, this version of a literary language was called *bernolákovčina*. Although acceptance of bernolákovčina was limited to the Catholic clergy and an intellectual elite, Bernolák paved the way for the emergence of a Slovak national consciousness.

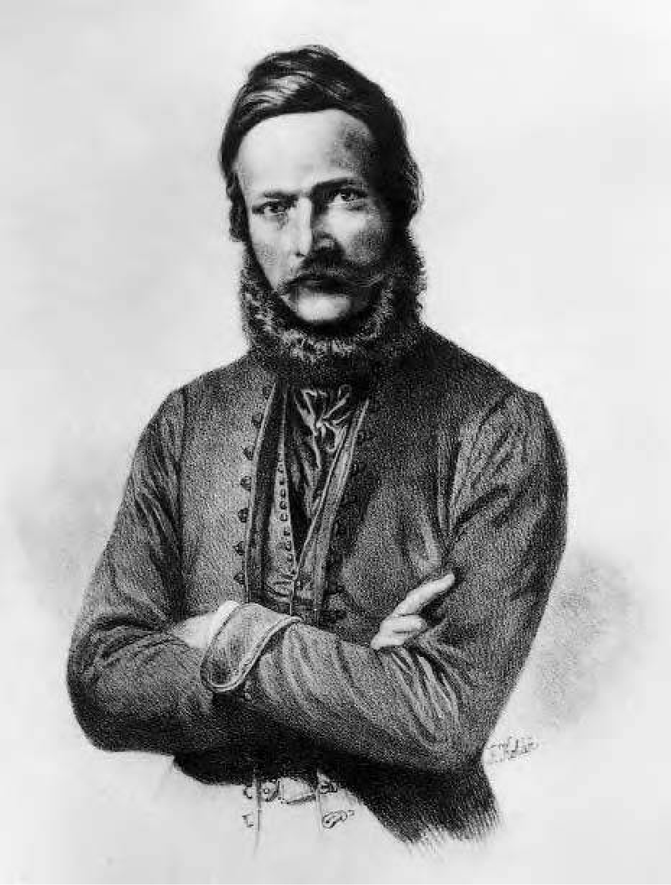
Despite the early efforts by Catholics, the Slovak awakening that gained momentum in the nineteenth century was spirited primarily by Slovak Lutherans. Initially, Slovak Protestants shunned efforts to standardize the Slovak language. They were committed to Bibličtina, which was Czech and the liturgical language of the Lutheran Church. During the early nineteenth century, however, the Hungarian government developed a policy that turned Lutherans into Slovak nationalists and caused them to change their minds about developing a literary language. Known as Magyarization, it had as its objective the assimilation of non-Magyar nationalities, especially by eliminating minority languages. The government's ultimate aim was to transform Hungary into an ethnically homogeneous state. As the government accelerated its Magyarization program, Protestant intelligentsia became increasingly convinced that Slovaks had to choose between assimilating and thus becoming "Magyars" or asserting a separate, clearly distinctive, language and culture. Concerns heightened in 1840 when Magyar linguistic and cultural nationalism directly threatened the integrity of the Lutheran Church. In that year the church's inspector general attempted to make Magyar the denomination's administrative language. Clergymen openly opposed the policy. Ultimately, three nationalist leaders emerged from this resistance to the Magyarization of the Lutheran Church: L'udovít Štúr, a young professor at the Lutheran Lyceum in Bratislava; and two Lutheran pastors, Jozef Hurban and Michal Miloslav Hodža.

L'udovít Štúr's opposition to the Magyarization of the Lutheran Church convinced him that Slovaks needed a unified language to ensure their cultural survival. In 1843 he and a group of clergymen agreed to establish a Slovak literary language based on the central Slovak dialect. In the late 1840s, however, turbulent events in Hungary caused the Slovak awakening to progress from a linguistic to a political movement. Throughout the 1840s, tensions had existed between the imperial government in Vienna and Hungarian nationalists in Budapest. These reached a high point in 1848–1849 when, as Europe was embroiled in revolutions, Hungary declared its independence and the imperial government temporarily lost control of the kingdom. It was finally returned to imperial control in August 1849. During the interim before Hungary was subdued, the Hungarian diet adopted measures designed to turn the Kingdom into a purely Magyar state.

In response to the stepped-up nationalist fervor in Hungary, about thirty Slovaks met at Liptovský Svätý Mikulaš on 11 May 1848 and drafted the Demands of the Slovak Nation. The petition, which contained fourteen specific points, essentially asked that Upper Hungary be allowed to have its own legislative body (diet), language, and educational system. This was the first attempt to have the region inhabited primarily by Slovaks recognized as a separate political unit.

The Hungarian diet rejected the petition and issued warrants for the arrests of Štúr, Hurban, and Hodža. In September 1848 these three men organized the Slovak National Council. This political organization took on a military function on 19 September, when it declared Slovakia independent from the rest of Hungary and launched a military expedition of perhaps six hundred volunteers. They planned to engage Hungarian forces and simultaneously foment a popular revolt. The general Slovak uprising did not materialize. During this minor upheaval, Hungarian officials took swift action against persons suspected of being Slovak nationalists or Panslavs, a term used to describe persons who advocated "Slavic" unity and cooperation among all Europe's Slavic nationalities. To intimidate the people, gibbets were erected in western villages along the Váh River. According to published reports, 168 persons were executed in these "Kossuth gallows," nicknamed for Lajos Kossuth, the Magyar nationalist, who was Hungary's de facto ruler during Hungary's temporary independence.

In their quest to obtain recognition for Upper Hungary, Slovak nationalists turned directly to Emperor Franz Joseph. In March 1849 a delegation gave him a petition requesting that Slovakia be elevated to a separate crown land within the Habsburg Empire and, therefore, be removed from Hungarian dominance. Under this system, the imperial government in Vienna would directly govern Upper Hungary. At the time, the emperor was noncommittal in his response, but subsequent events worked against the Slovak plea. A few weeks later, Hungary formally declared its independence from the empire; the Vienna government launched a massive countereffort and in August 1849 defeated the Hungarians.



L'udovít Štúr, codifier of the Slovak language, politician, and leader of the Slovak national awakening. (Courtesy of June Alexander)

Following the suppression of the Hungarian revolt, Franz Joseph nullified Hungary's constitution and imposed military rule. In this restructured Hungary, Slovakia was divided into two administrative regions and governed by a bureaucracy. In the Slovak counties, the Slovak language could be used for official local business and in primary schools. From the perspective of Slovak nationalists, these were only minor gains. Encountering suspicion and antagonism from the government in Vienna, during the 1850s, the Slovak nationalist movement waned; its disenchanted leader, L'udovít Štúr, died in 1856.

By the early 1860s, the political situation in Hungary was again changing. In the 1860s, as defeats in foreign wars were undermining Emperor Franz Joseph's rule, Magyar leaders had cause to hope that Hungary might achieve equality with Austria. A resurgence of Hungarian nationalism helped inject new life into Slovak nationalist sentiments. This was evident in a Slovak assembly that took place on 6–7 June 1861 in Turciansk Svätý Martin and drew Protestant and Catholic clergy as well as members of Slovakia's professional classes. A crowd of more than 5,000 persons gathered and hammered out the "Memorandum of the Slovak Nation." The document outlined a moderate political program for Slovakia's future in the Habsburg Empire. Clearly not as radical as the 1848 "Demands," the memorandum stated that Slovakia should remain an integral part of Hungary and called for autonomy but without a separate diet. It requested proportional representation for Slovaks and other nationalities in the Hungarian diet. It sought expanded use of the Slovak language in local government and in the region's educational system. In addition, it asked for the creation of a Slovak Academy of Law in Slovakia and the endowment of a Chair of Slovak Language and Literature at the University of Budapest. Finally, it solicited permission to found Slovak literary and cultural associations in Upper Hungary.

The Hungarian diet rejected the "Memorandum," and consequently, in December 1861, a Slovak delegation appealed directly to Emperor Franz Joseph. The emperor was noncommittal in his response. Nevertheless, through a series of actions taken during the next two years, in a limited way, he granted some of their demands. Franz Joseph refused to recognize Slovakia as a separate political entity and did not reorganize the Hungarian diet to give Slovaks proportional representation, but he did appoint several Slovaks to administrative positions in Hungary. He also authorized the founding of gymnasia (secondary schools). As a result, by 1867 Slovakia had three gymnasia: Lutherans founded two in 1862 and Catholics created the third in 1867. Moreover, in the summer 1863 Slovaks received imperial permission and a donation of 1,000 florin from the emperor to establish the Matica slovenská, a cultural-literary society. Located in Turciansk´y Svätý Martin, the Matica, which published folklore, poetry, and historical materials, became not only the literary center but the seat of political education in northern Hungary. The Slovak National Party, which was organized in the early 1870s, maintained its headquarters in Martin.

Soon, however, the situation in Hungary would change. By 1865, Emperor Franz Joseph's weakened political position was forcing him to loosen his control and make concessions to Hungary. Moves toward restoring Hungary's constitution jeopardized Slovak gains. Slovak officials, who had been appointed by the emperor, were dismissed; in 1865 no Slovak candidates won seats in the restored Hungarian diet. The major setback occurred in the Compromise of 1867. Also known as the *Ausgleich,* this agreement created the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary and granted Hungary control over its own domestic affairs. In the newly organized Austro-Hungarian Empire, Slovakia was governed by Hungarians in Budapest without recourse to the Vienna government and the emperor.

Following the Compromise of 1867, Hungary resumed Magyarization. Actually a liberal measure, the Nationality Law of 1868 assured the linguistic rights of Hungary's subject nationalities by permitting the use of local languages in schools, churches, and parochial government. At the same time, the law reaffirmed Magyar as the kingdom's official language. In the early 1870s, however, a renewed assimilation campaign cast aside the law's guarantees for minority tongues. Secondary education in the Slovak language ended in 1874 with the closing of the region's three gymnasia. In 1875, charging the Matica slovenská with disloyalty and promoting Panslavism, the government shut it down and confiscated its assets. Slovak primary schools declined, especially after 1891 when Magyar was made the compulsory language in all primary schools. The number of schools offering instruction in Slovak plummeted from 1,821 in 1869 to 241 in 1905.

This course of events appalled Slovak nationalists, but how ordinary Slovaks reacted to the government's Magyarization program and the accompanying attack on Slovak nationalism remains one of history's unanswered questions. For all the bustle of activity in the nineteenth century, the Slovak awakening and nationalist movement involved only a tiny segment of the population: the educated intelligentsia. Moreover, activities had focused primarily on cultural preservation or political gains. Taken on the whole, neither the literary developments that occurred over sixty years nor the political activities that spanned nearly three decades prior to the Compromise of 1867 significantly affected the lives of the Slovak peasantry. During this time the peasant class was grappling with real-life problems that had little to do with the Slovak national awakening. In the mid-nineteenth century peasants had seen real improvement in their legal status. The abolition of serfdom in 1848–1851 ended a repressive system, but the act did not provide "freed serfs" with land sufficient to improve their circumstances. On the contrary, the size of peasant landholdings declined after 1848. As conditions for the peasantry worsened, demographic and economic pressures combined to stimulate a massive emigration from Upper Hungary that got under way gradually in the late 1870s and continued until halted by the outbreak of World War I.

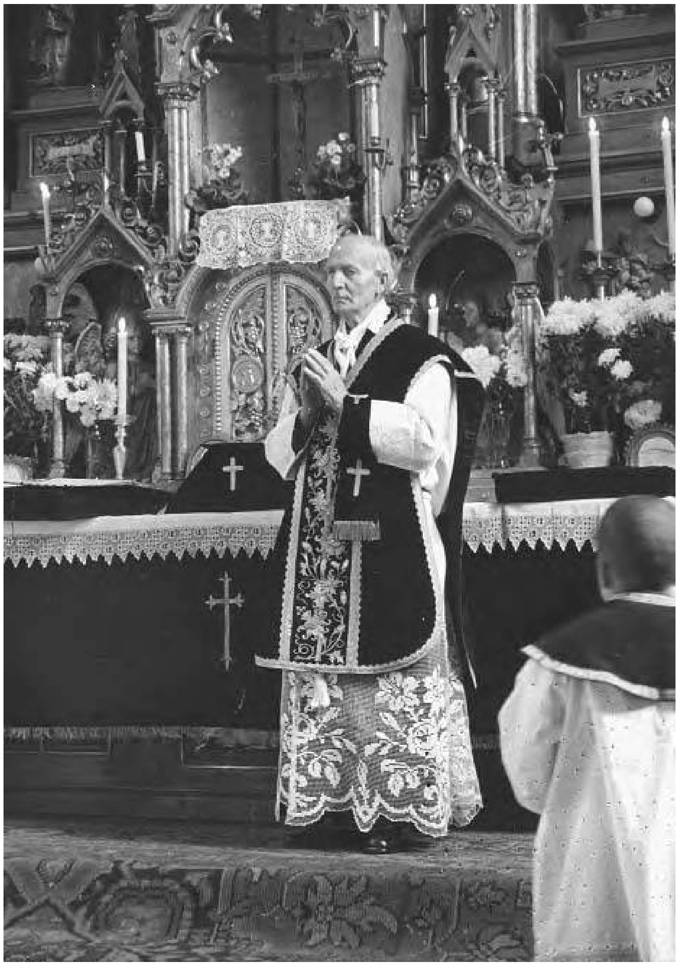
Migration was a deeply rooted tradition among Slovaks. The restoration of Hungary in 1699 after the Turkish occupation had been followed by a population shift from the mountainous northern regions to Slovakia's more fertile southern plains. In the eighteenth century Slovaks migrated to other sections of Hungary or to Austria and Russia to work. By the mid-nineteenth century migrating temporarily to nearby areas in order to find work and supplement incomes was an entrenched custom among Slovaks. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, changing conditions, especially within Hungary, worked against this tradition. As Hungary's population grew, the country's industries could not absorb the labor increase. According to estimates, the Slovak population increased from approximately 1.7 million in the late 1850s to nearly 1.9 million by 1880. Reduced landholdings proved inadequate to support larger families. Insufficient jobs and low pay for those that were available prompted Slovaks to emigrate overseas. This transatlantic movement started in Upper Hungary's eastern sector and progressed westward. During a fifty-year period, approximately a half million Slovaks emigrated to North America, primarily to the United States. This exodus included a significant number of temporary migrants, primarily young men intending to work, save money, and return home. Over time, many of these transients—whom Americans called "birds of passage"—became permanent immigrants.

Emigration had contradictory effects on Slovakia. On one hand it drained the region of able-bodied young men, especially as temporary migrants became permanent immigrants. On the other hand migrants sent money home that helped improve circumstances for some Slovak peasants. With this newfound largesse they purchased land or paid off debts. Some returning migrants built "American" houses modeled after what they saw in the United States. Returned "Amerikany" showing off their American goods, especially clothes, also raised the expectations and excited the imaginations of persons who stayed behind. At the outset, the Hungarian government did not oppose emigration and instead viewed the positive economic effects it could have. As time passed, however, the authorities increasingly feared that the freer political climate in America was nurturing a Slovak nationalism that could undermine their Magyarization objectives.

Meanwhile, as this mass emigration was taking place, the Slovak nationalist movement went into decline. Following their candidates' unsuccessful attempts to get elected to the Hungarian diet and facing an increasingly hostile government, after the 1870s the Slovak National Party adopted a strategy of noninvolvement. It shunned national elections by refusing to field slates of candidates. By the early 1890s, however, a number of factors combined to shake off this inertia. Dismal economic conditions and worker discontent stimulated the formation of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. The Slovak National Party was spurred to action by fears that its own nationalist agenda might be overshadowed by this new party's emphasis on workers' issues. Cooperation with other suppressed minorities also helped inject life into the Slovak movement. Finally, the activities of emigrants in the United States inspired nationalists in Upper Hungary. The politically free climate of America fostered the development of a zealous, but small, group of Slovak nationalists. They provided moral and some financial support for Slovak nationalists in Hungary.

Contact with Czechs added yet another dimension to Slovak nationalism in the 1890s. During the decade, Slovaks studying in Prague came in contact with Tomáš Masaryk, a professor of philosophy at Charles University. He advocated cooperation between Slovaks and Czechs and championed "Czechoslovak" unity. In 1896 students formed the Czechoslovak Union to foster these ideas. Two of Masaryk's Slovak disciples, Vavro Šrobar and Pavol Blaho, tried to expand this youth movement to Slovakia. In 1898 they founded the journal *Hlas* (The Voice). It advocated language rights, a Slovak educational system, and universal suffrage. While accepting Slovakia as an integral part of the Hungarian state, the editors called for Czech and Slovak cooperation. These Hlasists, as they were called, did not attract a large following. That fact, together with internal disputes, undermined their efforts. *Hlas* ceased publication in 1904. Nevertheless, the idea that Czechs and Slovaks should work together to achieve political aims had been planted in the spectrum of possibilities for Slovakia.

Popular new leaders emerged from the revitalized Slovak nationalism in Upper Hungary. By the early 1900s, Andrej Hlinka, a young priest, had taken up the nationalist cause and was working to broaden its appeal. His support for Slovak political candidates in the 1906 elections outraged Hungarian authorities and, as a result, he was sentenced to two years in prison. Hlinka's term was nearly doubled when officials charged him with incitement for two farewell letters he sent to parishioners before his incarceration. Local devotion to Hlinka ultimately led to a riot in his native village of Černova. Typically called the Černova Massacre, the melee occurred on 27 October 1907, as villagers protested because Hlinka, who was still in jail, was denied permission to attend the dedication of their new church. When the crowd allegedly became unruly, authorities shot into the gathering. Many Slovaks were wounded; fifteen ultimately died. The following March, fifty-nine villagers were imprisoned for participating in the protest. The Černova Massacre had widespread repercussions, especially in the United States where it stimulated the formation of the Slovak League of America, which became a leading advocate of Slovak nationalism. In 1913 Andrej Hlinka became leader of the Slovak People's Party, which had been formed by



Andrej Hlinka (1864–1938), Slovak politician and advocate of Slovak autonomy. (Austrian Archives/Corbis)

Catholic clergymen dissatisfied with a Hungarian Catholic Party.

Despite such reinvigorated efforts, Slovaks nationalists made little headway in Hungary. Their cause did not gain mass support, and restrictive franchise laws denied them meaningful access to the Hungarian diet. Between 1901 and 1910, the number of Slovak deputies ranged from just one to seven. This paltry number could neither effect political reforms nor moderate Magyarization laws.

For Slovaks, World War I abruptly intruded on their lives and reshaped nationalist goals as well. After August 1914, Slovak nationalism was stifled in Hungary. In the tense atmosphere created by the war, the Slovak National Party halted its political activities. Slovakia's future, however, was unavoidably influenced by external events. In November 1915 a group in Paris led by Tomáš Masaryk issued a declaration demanding the creation of an independent Czechoslovak state. In February 1916 Masaryk, together with Edvard Beneš, a Czech professor of sociology, and Milan Rastislav Štefánik, a Slovak astronomer, formed the Czechoslovak National Council. Under the leadership of these men, the council worked to win over the Entente powers—Austria-Hungary's enemies—to the idea of establishing a united Czech and Slovak state.

Meanwhile, claiming to be spokespersons for minorities silenced by the war in Europe, Slovak and Czech ethnic organizations in the United States cooperated to legitimize arguments for establishing an independent nation. In October 1915 the Slovak League and the Bohemian (Czech) National Union jointly issued the Cleveland Agreement. It called for the unification "of the Czech and Slovak nations in a federal state with complete national autonomy for Slovakia, with its own diet [and] state administration and with Slovak as the official language." Besides issuing declarations of support, when Milan Štefánik tried to recruit volunteers in America for the council's army units, known by 1918 as the Czechoslovak Legion, Slovak organizations backed his efforts.

In 1918, when Masaryk came to the United States to garner support for the cause, both Czech and Slovak organizations helped coordinate his visit. In an enormously significant move, leaders of the Slovak League convinced Masaryk to sign the Pittsburgh Agreement, which would become one of the most important and controversial documents in Slovak history. A modification of the 1915 Cleveland document, the Pittsburgh Agreement of 30 May outlined a "political program . . . to unite Czechs and Slovaks in an independent state." The program stated that "Slovakia will have its own administration, its own Diet and its own courts." In addition, Slovak would be the "official language in the schools, in offices and in public life generally." The 1918 Pittsburgh Agreement left the details of establishing the new state up "to the liberated Czechs and Slovaks." Although the agreement contained no specific mention of "autonomy," Masaryk's willingness to sign the document was interpreted as a commitment to an autonomous Slovakia within a new Czech and Slovak state.

As the Austro-Hungarian Empire stumbled toward collapse in 1918, the unification of Czech and Slovak lands into an independent nation progressed steadily toward becoming a reality. In the summer, France and England both recognized the Czechoslovak National Council as the representative of Czech and Slovak interests and as the foundation of a future government. On 3 September the United States went even further and granted the Czechoslovak National Council recognition as a "de facto belligerent government." In mid-October, after the Central Powers had sued for peace and Austria-Hungary was clearly disintegrating, the council declared itself a provisional government. On 28 October 1918, representatives of the Provisional Government proclaimed Czechoslovakia an independent state.

By fall 1918, Slovaks inside Slovakia were also taking action to demonstrate backing for the creation of a joint Czechoslovak state. Unaware that a provisional government had been announced, on 30 October Slovaks met in Turcianský Svätý Martin, announced the formation of the Slovak National Council, and drafted the "Declaration of the Slovak Nation." It proclaimed: "The Slovak Nation is a part of the Czecho-Slovak Nation, united in language and in the history of its culture." "For this Czecho-Slovak Nation" the declaration demanded "complete independence." Unlike the American-generated documents, it did not call for Slovak autonomy but expressed a desire to form a joint state with the Czechs. Two weeks later, on 13 November, the Prague National Committee adopted a provisional constitution, and the next day the National Assembly elected Masaryk as president. Czecho-Slovakia thus began functioning as a united, independent nation.

Although Czecho-Slovakia's boundaries had not yet been determined, Masaryk and his cabinet immediately began administering this new country. The Czech and Moravian borders, which included the German Sudetenland, were settled in June 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty of Saint-Germaine-en-lage (September 1919) allowed Czecho-Slovakia to incorporate Carpatho-Ukraine, the mountainous region east of Slovakia, into its territory. Stabilizing Slovakia's borders with Hungary took longer because Hungary, unwilling to lose its northern territories, occupied Slovakia in May 1919. Hungarian forces were finally expelled, and the Treaty of Trianon (June 1920) established the Danube and Ipel' rivers as the international boundary between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia.

The Czecho-Slovakia that came into existence in 1918 was a multinational country created out of the ruins of a multinational empire. At the first complete census in 1930, Czechoslovakia's population totaled 14,480,000. The stitching together of historical territories resulted in ethnic groups essentially dominating specific geographic areas of the country: Czechs (7,406,000) inhabited the western region; Slovaks (2,282,000) occupied the eastern section; Germans (3,232,000) were concentrated in the Sudetenland, a crescent-shaped area winding north-south around the western borders of the Czech Lands; Hungarians (692,000) lived along Slovakia's southern border; Carpatho-Rusyns (549,000) dwelled in the region to Slovakia's east. Although Germans outnumbered Slovaks, Czecho-Slovakia was, nevertheless, a Czech-Slovak state.

Despite their linguistic similarities, the Czechs and Slovaks who were joined together in this new country were separate peoples without a shared history. Moreover, their distinct histories—the Czechs under Austrian control and the Slovaks ruled by Hungary—had influenced their development and fashioned profoundly different societies. Compared to the Czech Lands, Slovakia was a substantially underdeveloped, agricultural region. Discriminatory laws had prevented Slovaks from entering politics or holding administrative positions; Slovakia, therefore, did not have an experienced class of civil servants. The region claimed a small professional, educated class but Slovakia's illiteracy rate was 14 percent; it was only 3 percent in the Czech Lands. Disparities between Czechs and Slovaks created antagonisms between the two Slavic groups. In addition, the country's Germans resented being reduced to minority status in a Slavic state.

Ethnic tensions were already evident in 1918 as leaders of the infant state launched a national government. The 256-member Revolutionary National Assembly, which began governing Czechoslovakia on 14 November 1918, included only Czechs and Slovaks. The Czech deputies were representatives who had been elected in 1911, the last national elections in prewar Austria. Hungary's franchise laws had denied similar representation to Slovaks, and no comparable electoral districts existed in Slovakia; therefore, Slovakia was assigned forty deputies and, instead of being popularly elected, all were appointed. In March 1919 the number of representatives for Slovakia was increased to fifty-four. In addition to Tomáš Masaryk, the cabinet included Karel Kramář, prime minister; Edvard Beneš, minister of foreign affairs; Milan Štefánik, minister of war; and Vavro Šrobar, minister of health. Postwar Czecho-Slovakia and Slovaks lost an important leader when Milan Štefánik died in a plane crash in May 1919.

Establishing a stable national government was one priority for the provisional government; securing Slovakia was another. After the war, Slovakia was in political chaos and the new state's territory was being threatened by a Hungarian government that wanted to keep its northern lands. As early as 4 November 1918 a four-person committee, headed by Vavro Šrobar, a Slovak, was charged with administering the region. On 10 December, the Revolutionary National Assembly passed legislation establishing a minister plenipotentiary for Slovakia, who, with assistants, would manage the territory. Šrobar, the first minister, chose Bratislava as Slovakia's administrative capital. A former Catholic, Šrobar selected primarily Lutherans to assist him. Of the fifty-four persons subsequently chosen to represent Slovakia on the Revolutionary National Assembly, thirty-one were Lutheran, ten were Catholic, and thirteen were Czech. Favoring Czechs and Lutherans over Catholics angered the Slovak Catholic clergy and heightened both ethnic and religious animosities in the country.

Czecho-Slovakia's constitution, which was proclaimed on 29 February 1920, instituted a parliamentary democracy. The constitution also set up a centralized state with political power concentrated in the central government in Prague. The National Assembly, the country's legislative body, included a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The president, elected by the Assembly, governed with a cabinet. Despite references to the "Czechoslovak" language, Czech and Slovak were both made official languages. Minority rights were protected by legislation that permitted the use of local languages in educational systems and local administration. With the adoption of the 1920 constitution, the hyphenated spelling—Czecho-Slovakia—was abandoned in favor of the single word "Czechoslovakia." This conveyed the idea that the new country was a "Czechoslovak" nation, not a federation uniting two separate peoples.

Even before the 1920 constitution was in place, some Slovaks were challenging the concept of a centralized state. Fr. Andrej Hlinka quickly emerged as the leading spokesperson for Slovak autonomy within the joint Czech-Slovak nation. Hlinka revived the prewar Slovak People's Party in December 1918 and by the spring of 1919 made implementing the Pittsburgh Agreement the fulcrum of its platform. In late summer 1919 he unsuccessfully attempted to address the Paris Peace Conference where he intended to expose the new government's supposed maltreatment of Slovaks and seek the conference's support for Slovak autonomy. When he returned to Czecho-Slovakia, he was briefly imprisoned for his attempt. Hlinka's action helped fuel lingering suspicions about Slovak loyalty to the new state.

The administrative and constitutional decisions of the early 1920s emanated from a desire to unify and stabilize the infant country. They also stemmed from a concern that Slovakia, with its large Magyarized population, could be lost to Hungary as that government continued a campaign to keep its historic lands. In addition, the actions of Czechoslovakia's authorities reflected the belief that Slovaks were not yet capable of governing and that Czechs thus should run the central government and oversee local affairs as well.

Dealing with the political and economic realities in postwar Slovakia created tensions between Slovaks and Czechs. As a result of Hungarian policies, few Slovaks had government, administrative, or business experience. To fill this vacuum, immediately after the war Czechs migrated to Slovakia to take positions as civil servants, teachers, government bureaucrats, and judicial officials. Czechs were initially welcomed by Slovaks. However the superior attitude some Czechs displayed, especially their disdain for the Slovak language, culture, and traditions, together with the privileged positions some held in local governments and educational systems, stirred resentment and prompted charges of Czech dominance.

Divisions among Slovaks made the situation in Slovakia ever worse. Capitalizing on ethnic animosities, during the 1920s, the Slovak People's Party gained some popularity as it continued pushing its platform of Slovak autonomy. The party, which in 1925 was renamed Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, did not adopt a separatist position but, instead, agitated for self-administration within Czechoslovakia. Hlinka's nationalist movement encountered stiff opposition from Slovak centrists who were convinced that Slovak autonomy would be politically disruptive and economically detrimental to the region. Religious differences further aggravated the situation. Slovak Protestants, primarily Lutherans, leaned toward a centralized government, while autonomists tended to be Catholics. Hlinka's party, however, did not enjoy the wholehearted backing even of Catholics. More than three-fourths of the Slovak population was Catholic, yet in the party's best showing—the 1925 elections—it garnered only 32 percent of the vote and won twenty-three seats in the National Assembly.

Despite animosities between Czechs and Slovaks, the most serious challenge to Czechoslovakia came in the 1930s from the large German minority in the Sudetenland. The ultranationalism that Adolf Hitler was stirring up in Germany found fertile ground in the Sudetenland, an area hit hard by the worldwide Great Depression. By the mid-1930s, the immensely popular Sudeten German Homefront, a political organization under the leadership of Konrad Heinlein, was pressing a scheme designed ultimately to let the Sudetenland secede from Czechoslovakia. In 1938, when unrest led to violence in the region, Hitler exploited the situation to demand that the Sudetenland be ceded to Germany. In September, at a meeting in Munich where representatives from Czechoslovakia were excluded, the Führer pressured the French and British governments into allowing Germany to annex the Sudetenland. Both countries appeased Hitler. France appeased him by failing to live up to a treaty obligation to defend Czechoslovakia from outside aggression, and Britain appeased him by agreeing to stand by and do nothing. On 1 October, one day after the Munich Agreement was signed, German troops occupied the Sudetenland.

Five days later, all of Slovakia's political parties, except for the Social Democrats and the Communists, met at Žilina and formulated a program for Slovak autonomy. The agreement was a redraft of proposals drawn up by the People's Party earlier in the summer of 1938. It vested the executive power of an autonomous Slovak state in a cabinet made up of five ministers. Foreign affairs and national defense remained under the control of the central government in Prague. Weakened by the Munich Agreement and fearful of Slovak secession, the Prague government bowed to the demands. On 22 November 1938, the Czechoslovak Parliament implemented the Žilina agreement and recognized Slovak autonomy. With this action the Second Republic, now called "Czecho-Slovakia" spelled with a hyphen, came into existence. The hyphenated spelling symbolized the fact the country was now a federated state.

Slovakia quickly became a single-party state. Some political groups were dissolved while others were forced into the Party of Slovak National Unity, an umbrella organization dominated by the Slovak People's Party. The National Unity Party submitted the lone list of candidates in the December elections and won 97.5 percent of the vote. Monsignor Josef Tiso, a Catholic priest who had assumed leadership of the People's Party after Andrej Hlinka's death in August 1938, became prime minister.

Only a few short months later, outside aggression paved the way for Slovak independence. By early March 1939 Hitler had decided to move forward with what had always been his plan: to gobble up the Czech Lands. He was willing, however, to leave Slovakia free. On 13 March he summoned Tiso—whom the Prague government had just dismissed as Slovakia's prime minister—to a meeting in Berlin. Tiso caved into threats that declaring independence was Slovakia's only alternative either to being partitioned or annexed by Hungary. He returned to Bratislava, and on 14 March the Slovak diet followed his advice and proclaimed Slovakia independent. The next day, Hitler recognized Slovakia and German troops occupied the Czech Lands. Hitler reduced the Czech Lands to a protectorate of the Third Reich and Czecho-Slovakia ceased to exist. Slovakia did not escape intact. In the fall of 1938 the Czechoslovak government had been forced to give southern and eastern sections of Slovakia to Hungary while a small northern portion went to Poland. In March 1939, with Hitler's blessing, Hungary occupied the ceded Slovak lands and Carpatho-Ukraine as well.

Josef Tiso became president when the German Reich took Slovakia under its protection in March 1939. (Corbis)

The Slovak Republic (1939–1945) represents the most controversial period in Slovak history. Defenders of Tiso's actions maintain that Slovakia was spared the fate of the Czech Lands and that Slovakia was independent for the first time in its history. Critics counter that from 1939 to 1945 Slovakia was merely a puppet government supporting Hitler's Third Reich and the Holocaust.

On 23 March, just nine days after declaring "sovereignty," the Slovak government signed agreements that placed the country under Germany's "protection." Josef Tiso became president of the Slovak Republic, and powerful cabinet posts fell to supporters of Germany. After some initial shuffling of offices, two extremists emerged as dominant forces in the government: by 1940 Vojtech Tuka simultaneously held the positions of prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, and Alexander Mach became minister of the interior. Slovakia's wartime independence was, at best, nominal. Slovaks administered the country, but government affairs were overseen by the German minister in Bratislava; a host of German advisers were injected into various levels of Slovakia's government, administration, and institutions.

Slovakia also complied with the Third Reich's Jewish policies. Less than a month after the Slovak Republic came into existence it began issuing restrictive regulations for Jews. Their movement was limited and they were excluded from certain professions. In early September 1941 the government enacted a Jewish Code comprising 270 articles that drew together the various measures governing the country's Jewish population. It provided the rationale and legal sanction for appropriating Jewish-owned property and ultimately for internment.

Following a gradual erosion of Jewish civil and political rights, the government acquiesced in a German demand for resettling Slovak Jews outside Slovakia. In March 1942 the Slovak government began deporting Jews; most were sent to Nazi concentration camps. To cover costs, the Slovak government paid Germany 500 marks for each Jew transported out of the country. The mistreatment of Jews did not sit well with the Catholic Church hierarchy in Rome. It informed the Slovak government that it objected to the fact that a country led by a Catholic clergyman was engaging in such activities. Church officials reportedly opposed both the discriminatory laws as well as the deportation of Jews. Responding to Vatican protests, in October 1942 the practice of deporting Jews stopped. However, in the seven months from 25 March to 20 October 1942 the Slovak government had sent about 57,700 Jews to concentration camps. From the time the practice was resumed in September 1944 until the end of the war in April 1945, approximately another 13,500 were deported. Standard estimates are that two-thirds of Slovakia's Jews perished in World War II. As a result of genocide, deportation, and emigration, the Jewish population in Slovakia plummeted from approximately 90,000 in 1939 to an estimated 30,000 by the end of the war. Responsibility for the Holocaust in Slovakia and Tiso's role remain the foci of heated historical debate.

When Slovakia first made its declaration in March 1939, independence apparently enjoyed popular support among Slovaks. There were, however, exceptions. Protestants were almost universally against the Slovak Republic. By 1941, Communists too were opposed, and small blocks of democratic resistance had also sprung up. Opponents resorted to various forms of sabotage. Some soldiers mutinied; others defected, especially when they encountered Soviet forces on the eastern front. By late 1943 opposition to the Tiso government was small but escalating. In the so-called Christmas Agreement of 1943, Communists and the democratic resistance formed the Slovak National Council, an underground group whose aim was to liberate Slovakia from German control. One of the council's first acts was to devise a plot to overthrow the Tiso government. The plan relied on a coordinated effort between the Slovak army and Soviet forces; it also depended on stirring popular resistance within Slovakia. The council recruited Ján Golian, regional chief of staff at the Slovak army headquarters in Banská Bystrica, to command the effort.

The Slovak National Uprising, which broke out in August 1944, was a dismal failure. Operations started prematurely when guerrilla units led by Soviets began destroying roads and blowing up bridges. They also occupied villages. The actual uprising got under way on 29 August, but by then the Germans had been alerted and had moved forces into Slovakia. Two vital Slovak divisions were isolated in the east and quickly disarmed by the Germans. Expected Soviet forces and military assistance did not come. An estimated 50,000 to 60,000 Slovak soldiers and perhaps 18,000 partisans did participate; moreover, the rebellion rallied some popular support, especially in central Slovakia near Banská Bystrica, the heart of the revolt. Nevertheless, by the end of October, German forces had crushed the poorly coordinated uprising. Remnants of the Slovak resisters, however, escaped into the forests and mountain regions and continued to conduct guerrilla warfare against German forces through the war's end.

In the vicious retaliation that followed the attempted revolt, the resistance leaders were executed. More than sixty villages were burned. Reportedly thousands of Roma (Gypsies) were slaughtered. In addition to mass killings, several thousand persons were condemned to concentration camps. As a reaction to the incident, the deportation of Slovak Jews to concentration camps was resumed in the fall of 1944.

While Slovakia's government collaborated with Germany, throughout the war a Czechoslovak government in exile operated in London. Under the leadership of former President Edvard Beneš, its primary objective was to restore prewar Czechoslovakia. In March 1945, as the war was drawing to an end, Beneš and the exiled government traveled to Moscow where they met with leaders of the democratic resistance and the Communist Party to work out a program for Czechoslovakia's reemergence as a nation. The Slovak National Council, the body that had instigated the Slovak Uprising of 1944, represented Slovakia. At the conference, the participants hammered out an agenda for Czechoslovakia's postwar government. They also settled on what positions Czechs and Slovaks would hold in the reconstructed government. The plan outlined general procedures for punishing collaborators with the Nazi occupation: their property would be taken over by the state; government officials were to be prosecuted for treason by a National Court. The program further acknowledged that Czechoslovakia's postwar foreign policy would be based on a close alliance with the Soviet Union.

One of the sharpest disagreements at the Moscow conference centered on Slovakia's future. The Slovak National Council demanded complete autonomy within a reunified country. Czechoslovakia's President Beneš and the other

London exiles rejected this notion. The council finally settled for a somewhat ambiguous statement recognizing Slovaks as a distinct nation and an equally vague statement about the equality of the two regions once Czechoslovakia was restored.

Czechoslovakia came back into existence in early April 1945. On 3 April, Edvard Beneš went to Košice in eastern Slovakia, which had been liberated by the Soviet army. The next day, he installed the National Front, a coalition government of Czech and Slovak political parties. And on 4 April this provisional body announced its program for postwar recovery. The plan, which had been drawn up in Moscow, was subsequently referred to as the "Košice Program." Soviet forces liberated Prague on 9 May; the next day the government returned from exile, and Beneš followed a week later on 16 May. The Slovak National Council continued functioning in Bratislava. For a short time the council held legislative power in Slovakia. An appointed board of commissioners served as the council's executive body. In reality Slovakia was, for the time being at least, a self-governing region.

At the end of World War II, with the exception of Carpatho-Ukraine, which was ceded to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia's pre-Munich boundaries were reestablished. Despite the chaos created by the war and by Czechoslovakia's temporary demise, political stability reigned during the early stages of the country's recovery. Beneš, who assumed the presidency, and the National Front ruled by decree until October 1945, when a Provisional National Assembly was installed. Although general elections were delayed until May 1946, the provisional government implemented significant provisions of the Košice Program. Under a ban against political parties that had collaborated with the Nazis, the Slovak People's Party was outlawed. In December 1946 Jozef Tiso, who was charged with treason for his wartime activities, was put on trial. After a lengthy proceeding, he was found guilty and executed on 18 April 1947. The government wreaked vengeance on Czechoslovakia's Germans by expelling them. Between January and the summer of 1947, approximately 3 million citizens of German ancestry were banished from Czechoslovakia.

To the disappointment of Slovak nationalists the restored government did not advance Slovak autonomy. The Košice Program had recognized the Slovak National Council, but the council's powers were quickly reduced in a revived Czechoslovakia. Between April 1945 and June 1946, three "Prague Agreements" chipped away at the council's power, and consequently the prewar centralized system was essentially reestablished.

The government, however, did not ignore Slovakia's special interests. The war had physically damaged Slovakia more than the Czech Lands. The battles between Soviet forces and the retreating German military had ravaged towns, villages, and industrial sites. The region had endured about eight months of actual fighting on its soil. Slovakia, therefore, became a major target of a two-year plan, instituted in 1946, to reconstruct the country. Some factories formerly owned by now expelled Sudetenland Germans were relocated there. During this period, members of the newly created Democratic Party renewed the push for Slovak autonomy.

It was the Communist Party that benefited most in postwar Czechoslovakia. The Party underwent phenomenal growth. By mobilizing trade unions and local organizations, it built a massive national network. Members controlled government agencies charged with land redistribution, especially in the Sudetenland, and hence doled out largesse that helped endear the Party to workers and farmers. The abolition of right-wing parties and a general swing to the political left further escalated the Communist Party's popularity. In the 1946 elections the Communist Party garnered nearly 38 percent of the popular vote and won 114 seats in the National Assembly. The Party's showing enabled Klement Gottwald, a Communist who had spent the war years in the Soviet Union, to become prime minister, while Edvard Beneš retained the more powerful position of president.

The gain that Communists enjoyed in the 1946 national elections did not reflect the situation in Slovakia. While Communists in the Czech Lands had claimed ninety-three seats in the National Assembly, their Slovak counterparts had earned only twenty-one. Since the Democratic Party captured 62 percent of the popular vote to the Communists' 30.4 percent, it dominated the Slovak National Council and the board of commissioners.

As a result of the 1946 victories in national elections, the Communist Party gained control of key government positions in Czechoslovakia, including the Ministry of Interior and the country's police apparatus. Under the pretext of rooting out fascist collaborators and traitors, the Communist-dominated security force aggressively went after the Party's opponents. In February 1948 these repressive activities provoked a political crisis. On 20 February, twelve noncommunist cabinet ministers protested police tactics by resigning. When Beneš did not act quickly to replace them, Prime Minister Gottwald seized the opportunity to engineer a coup by creating his own list of replacements. On 25 February, Beneš acquiesced in Gottwald's decisions. As a result, a Communist-dominated cabinet was installed. The communist regime immediately set out to remold the country's political and economic structure. A new constitution promulgated on 9 May 1948 pushed Czechoslovakia toward becoming a socialist state. Beneš refused to accept the so-called Ninth of May Constitution and resigned.

In Slovakia, an attempt by Slovak Communists to wrest control of the board of commissioners away from the Democratic Party led to a Communist coup in Slovakia that preceded the overthrow of the central government in February 1948. In the fall of 1947 the Slovak Communist Party, well organized despite its losses in 1946, took advantage of discontent in Slovakia to precipitate a political crisis. A disastrous harvest, together with lingering economic dislocation, fomented unrest and increased radical feeling in Slovakia. Trade unions and ex-partisans organized mass meetings and demanded the removal of Democrats from the board of commissioners, which was the council's executive body. The Communist members resigned, and Gustáv Husák, the Communist chairman, dissolved the board. When it was reconstituted, Husák was made chairman, and Communists effectively controlled the reorganized board. After the February 1948 coup that brought the Communists to power in Prague, the Democrat Party ceased to function.

The new Prague government showed little sympathy for Slovak autonomy; nevertheless, rather than destroying Slovakia's local governmental organs, it restricted them. The Ninth of May Constitution further reduced the already weak powers of the Slovak National Council and the board of commissioners. Both bodies came under the close supervision of the central government, and their activities were limited to minor issues. The Slovak Communist Party, which had been an independent entity, also lost its autonomy. Although permitted to keep its name, the Communist Party of Slovakia was incorporated into the Czechoslovak Communist Party and granted only nominal independence.

Within a few years of the 1948 Communist takeover, Stalinization, a ruthless economic and political program, was transforming Czechoslovakia into a country that fully emulated the system in the Soviet Union. The country adopted centralized planning, which meant that the government controlled the economy. The period witnessed the nationalization of companies, industries, and consumer-oriented shops. Owners of small businesses were forced to turn them over to the state. Doctors and other medical persons had to give up private practices and become state employees. The collectivization of farms, an unpopular process that continued through the 1950s, eliminated private ownership of agricultural lands. The government used various forms of intimidation in order to force farmers, who made up nearly half of Slovakia's population, to merge their property into huge cooperatives. Individuals were no longer free to cultivate their land or sell their agricultural products.

Massive purges, capped by spectacular political trials, shook the Communist Party and terrified Czechoslovakia's inhabitants. Designated committees conducted purges of local institutions, including schools, and deprived persons of their jobs. Organized religions were also suppressed. This repression was particularly hard felt by Slovaks, a historically devout people with a religious tradition reaching back to the proselytizing mission of Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century. The government confiscated religious properties and took over church operations, including paying the clergy. Monastic communities were plundered and persons jailed; female religious orders were consolidated. During the 1950s three bishops were tried on trumped-up charges and sentenced to long prison terms. More than three hundred clergymen went to jail.

Czechoslovakia's foreign policy followed the Soviet lead. This pattern was already evident in July 1947, when, under pressure from the Soviet Union, the Prague government quickly reversed an initial decision to participate in the Marshall Plan. Participation in this American-funded program would have provided the country with much needed financial aid. In 1955 Czechoslovakia became a charter member of the Warsaw Pact, the Eastern Bloc's counterpart to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Following the Communist takeover in 1948, the government, meaning in effect the Communist Party, controlled the everyday life of Czechoslovakia's ordinary citizens. Individual property rights were decimated. Still, when compared to the situation in the mid-1940s, in some ways the economic situation for ordinary persons improved. The rural regions of Slovakia, in particular, benefited. In order to supplement their incomes, farmers, who lost their lands to collectivization and were forced to work in industry, actually experienced a rise in income. In other ways the standard of living in rural areas went up. Government-subsidized modernization programs brought electricity to villages and the number of schools also increased. Health facilities grew, and medical care became more readily available.

The improved living standards that many Slovaks experienced in the 1950s were accompanied by a fundamental loss of political rights. In addition to squelching all political dissent, during the purges that followed the 1948 Communist takeover the Prague government launched a fierce attack on Slovak autonomy and the federalist position. In the 1950s Czechoslovakia's Communist leadership denounced Slovak "patriotism" as "bourgeois nationalism" and designated it a crime against the state. Longtime Slovak Communists who had advocated autonomy became the chief targets of the political witch-hunt. In 1951 Gustáv Husák and Vladimír Clementis, former secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry, were arrested on charges that included bourgeois nationalism. The next year Clementis was executed. In 1953 Husák received a three-year prison sentence, later extended to life. Other Slovaks, especially writers and the intelligentsia, suffered similar fates.

Klement Gottwald, who had engineered the 1948 coup that brought a Communist government to power, died in 1953. He was succeeded by Antonín Novotný, who was elected first secretary of the Communist Party in 1953 and president of Czechoslovakia in 1957. In 1960 Novotný announced a new constitution that officially proclaimed the country a socialist state: the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The 1960 constitution crippled the remnants of self-government in Slovakia. The board of commissioners was abolished and the Slovak National Council was reduced to a "national organ of state . . . administration" and effectively rendered powerless. Slovaks found no comfort in the appointment of the Slovak, Viliam Široký, as Czechoslovakia's prime minister. Široký had first voiced the charge of "bourgeois nationalism" in 1948 and had subsequently benefited from the campaign against Slovak autonomists. The entrenched Novotný regime still regarded Slovak autonomy as a threat to a socialist state. In the early 1960s, however, economic issues, together with a growing intellectual ferment, injected new life into the federalist concept to allow more self-government for Slovakia.

Despite propaganda claiming glowing successes for the socialist state, at the beginning of the 1960s Czechoslovakia was experiencing serious economic decline. Reacting to this situation, several influential economists suggested some retreat from central planning, where the government controlled every aspect of the economy. Demands for change intensified when the country's stagnating economy went into a tailspin in 1963. In 1966, under pressure from reformers, the Communist Party Congress adopted an action program, later called the New Economic Model (NEM).

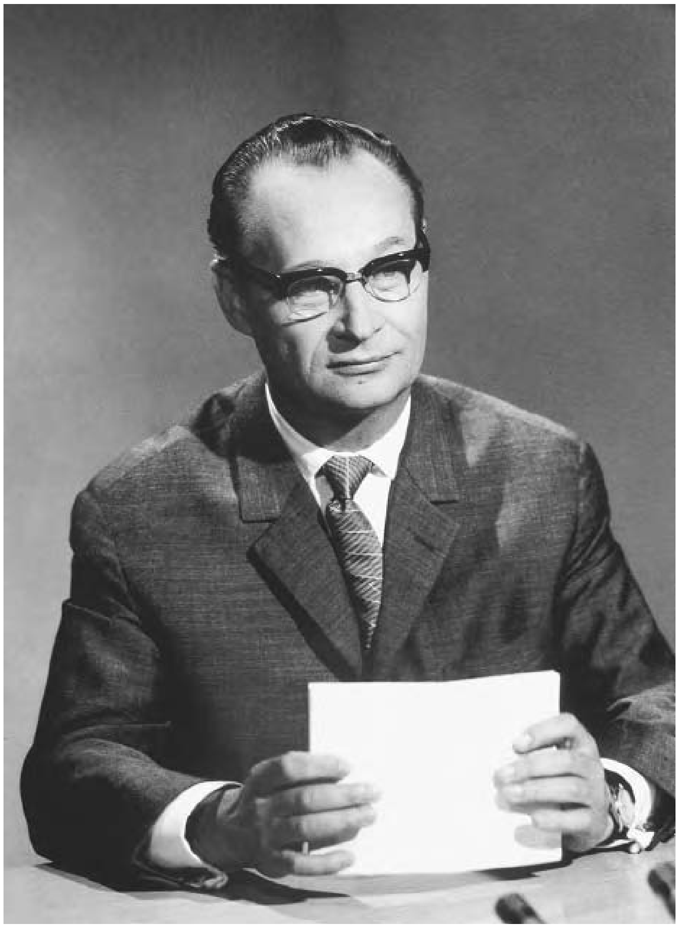
The program, which advocated more flexibility, would reduce central planning and give more independence to plants and enterprises. Under this new system local managers would make more decisions regarding production.

During the early 1960s writers and journalists, suffocating under repressive constraints, also began pressing for more freedom. Critics of Stalinization, and especially of the ruthless suppression that had accompanied this brutal process, demanded investigations into the political trials and purges of the 1950s. At its 1962 congress, the Communist Party even ordered an investigation of previous political arrests. Although deficient, the report, which appeared in May 1963, led to the rehabilitation of some persons. "Rehabilitation" became a euphemism for exonerating persons who had been incarcerated or executed for alleged political crimes.

The reform impulse took on special features in Slovakia. The region had fared well during the economic expansion of the 1950s, and Slovaks had made progress toward catching up with Czechs in both agricultural and industrial development. Ironically the improved economic situation fostered resentment among Slovaks because they were dissatisfied over the continued socioeconomic differences between Slovakia and the Czech Lands. Between 1948 and 1959, Slovakia's industrial output increased by 347 percent, but economically Slovakia still lagged behind the Czech Lands. Slovak economists blamed persistent inequities on policies that favored the country's western territories. Stressing the unique characteristics of Slovakia, they called for a program that would grant Slovakia more leeway to develop its own economy.

Slovak intellectuals added yet another dimension to ongoing complaints against the central government. When the special commission on political trials issued its findings, Slovaks were disappointed that it excluded several prominent Slovaks. The Congress of Slovak Journalists, which convened in May 1963, took up the cause of Slovaks denied rehabilitation. Speakers criticized the purges and declared that bourgeois nationalism had merely been a government subterfuge to suppress Slovak national aspirations and to deny Slovaks a greater voice in regional development. Following the congress, journalists continued their campaign and boldly articulated their complaints in print. They wanted the government to redress wrongs committed under the guise of bourgeois nationalism. In December 1963 the Novotný government reluctantly yielded to pressure and rehabilitated Gustáv Husák, Ladislav Novomeský, and Vladimír Clementis, three Slovaks who had been found guilty of bourgeois nationalism.

Although there was some improvement in the political climate, Communist Party ideologues blocked attempts to change Czechoslovakia's economic structure. As the country sank further into an economic morass in the 1960s, President Novotný's grip on power weakened. He retained the presidency until late March, but in January 1968 Novotný lost his position as first secretary of the Communist Party to Alexander Dubček, a Slovak. Dubček had earlier irritated the Novotný contingent by advocating general and political reforms as well as a revision of the Party's position on Slovak autonomy.



Portrait of Alexander Dubček, first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party during the Prague Spring of 1968. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Dubček's rise to Party leadership did not precipitate any immediate economic or political changes. The lifting of censorship two months later, however, ushered in reform programs aimed at achieving "socialism with a human face." For a while, the country experienced the Prague Spring, a popular euphemism for the widespread liberalization movement that swept Czechoslovakia during the spring and summer of 1968. Taken over by reform-minded members, the Communist Party began implementing plans to bring about economic improvements. Linking economic progress to political changes, reformers introduced measures for democratizing the Communist Party and encouraging more participation by the masses in the political process. During this relaxed climate, the idea of Slovak autonomy also gained respectability. The reform agenda called for turning Czechoslovakia into a federal state by recognizing Slovakia as a distinct entity within this communist nation.

The Prague Spring came to an abrupt halt on 21 August, when Warsaw Pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia. The domestic reforms being adopted in Czechoslovakia had frightened the leaders of other communist regimes in Eastern Europe, who feared the effects might spill over into their countries. Dubček remained in power until April 1969, when a civil disturbance in Prague provided an excuse to remove him. He was replaced as first secretary by Gustáv Husák, the Slovak nationalist formerly imprisoned for bourgeois nationalism. Husák's political career had actually resumed in January 1968, when he was appointed a deputy premier; in May he headed the committee charged with developing a plan for federalizing Czechoslovakia. In August Husák was selected first secretary of the Communist Party for all Slovakia. Husák's political fortunes continued to rise after the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. Although his exact role remains unclear, when Dubček and other Party officials were arrested and forcibly taken to Moscow, Husák went along. Having sufficiently endeared himself to the Soviet leadership and to the antireform wing of the Party in Czechoslovakia, Husák replaced Dubček in April 1969 and became first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the most powerful political position in the country.

After Dubček's fall, the Husák regime instituted a policy of "normalization": a reassertion of the Communist Party's tight control and a return to centralized planning. Normalization entailed cleansing the Party of "counterrevolutionary" elements; more than 470,000 persons lost their Party membership. Because members had enjoyed special privileges, ejection meant more than simply being ousted from a political organization. In Czechoslovakia supervisory positions and the more prestigious, better paying jobs were given to Party members. As a consequence, between 1970 and 1971 the purge went beyond merely "sanitizing" the Community Party. Persons in local bureaucracies, universities, unions, the news media, the judiciary, and the educational system were dismissed from their jobs. They typically were forced to take less distinguished and less desirable positions. Some were downgraded to common laborers. The purges were less devastating in Slovakia, where Party membership was lowered by only 17 percent, as compared to a 42 percent reduction in the Czech Lands. And although Slovak reformers suffered harassment and discrimination, they typically were demoted rather than forced to take menial jobs.

Federalization was the only provision of the 1968 reforms to survive normalization. Made effective on 1 January 1969, the law of 28 October 1968 amended the constitution and transformed Czechoslovakia into a federated state: the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Czech Socialist Republic. Prague was designated the federal and Czech capital; Bratislava was made Slovakia's capital city. The central government retained jurisdiction over defense, currency, foreign policy, and federal administration. The republics were given responsibility for their own area's education, culture, health, construction, and natural resources. In some spheres, the central government and the republics shared authority. The law established a bicameral federal legislature comprising a Chamber of the People, with representation based on population, and a Chamber of Nations where Slovaks and Czechs had equal representation. Each republic had its own elected legislature and a cabinet but no president or prime minister. Executive functions were carried out by national councils.

For Gustáv Husák federalization represented a victory. He had long championed the cause of an autonomous Slovakia. Almost as soon as federalism was established, however, it began withering under the pressure of normalization. Economic independence, originally part of the federalization scheme, was quickly undermined by central planning and by the failure to decentralize the Communist Party, which held the real reins of power in Czechoslovakia. By 1971, constitutional revisions had returned vital economic functions to the central government in Prague and severely undermined the federal system.

During the 1970s Czechoslovakia's Communist leadership combined political constraints and economic concessions to keep its citizenry quiescent. To pacify the people, the government worked to improve the standard of living by increasing the supply of consumer goods. The continued stress on heavy industry, especially armaments, benefited Slovakia, which was targeted in the 1971–1975 Five-Year Plan for economic development. As a result, by the early 1980s, Slovaks were much closer to catching up economically with Czechs even though nests of poverty still existed in the remote regions of Slovakia.

At the same time that the country's communist regime was trying to deal with rising consumer demands in the 1980s, political opposition was resurfacing. Normalization had demolished the reforms of 1968 and effectively quieted dissent in the country; consequently, for a while acts of protest were isolated and often limited to underground publications. The most significant action occurred in 1977 when 240 persons signed Charter 77, a manifesto authored principally by the Czech playwright Václav Havel, that charged the government with violating internationally recognized civil and political rights. Although few Slovaks openly endorsed Charter 77, some covert groups opposed to the government's suppression of human rights did develop in Slovakia. Overall, though, political dissent was far less active in Slovakia than in the Czech Lands.

During the 1980s events outside Slovakia once again influenced the course of its history and finally led to open political dissent. Dependent on the Soviet leadership for its existence,Czechoslovakia's government followed the rigid economic and political policies of the Soviet Union. The situation changed, however, in 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev, the new general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, initiated political and economic reforms designed to restructure his country's economy and permit more political freedom.

The new openness (glasnost) in the Soviet Union, together with increased tensions in Czechoslovak society, encouraged a resurgence of Czech and Slovak dissent. In 1987 and 1988 the number of dissident groups increased in Czechoslovakia, including in Slovakia where open opposition had practically ceased after 1968. Illegal demonstrations were also on the rise. Defying government warnings, thousands of people in Czechoslovakia assembled on the twentieth anniversary to protest the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion. In Slovakia, youth involvement helped animate dissent. Opposition energies were also funneled into a religious revival and open defiance of the Communist Party's suppression of religion, especially the Catholic Church. In March 1988 thousands of Slovaks gathered in Bratislava to pray for religious freedom; kneeling demonstrators were dispersed by police with billy clubs. Hundreds of thousands participated in pilgrimages to Levoča, Šaštín, and Slovakia's other holy places. By 1989 Alexander Dubček, the leader of the "Prague Spring," was again speaking out; in an April interview on Hungarian television he called on the Communist Party to renew itself. Because the regime was so closely tied to the Soviet government, Gorbachev's new policies unavoidably had a ripple effect on Czechoslovakia. In March 1987 Husák expressed support for the Gorbachev program but, in Czechoslovakia, uncompromising conservatives prevailed. In December Husák resigned as secretary-general of the Communist Party and was replaced by Miloš Jakeš. Husák retained the presidency.

For the next two years, the government's response to swelling dissent fluctuated between tolerance and brutal crackdowns. In an ill-fated move, however, officials took a hard line on 17 November 1989, when a public commemoration of a student who had been killed during the Nazi occupation evolved into an antigovernment event. Fierce suppression of the crowd by the police outraged and mobilized the country. Dissent, which had been spearheaded by elites and students, now developed into a broad-based popular movement. Two days after the demonstration, Civic Forum, an outgrowth of Charter 77, was organized and began coordinating dissent in the Czech Lands. In Slovakia, Public against Violence, founded on 20 November, did the same. During the next three weeks these two coalitions organized massive demonstrations and strikes in their respective regions. The manifestations in Bratislava proportionately equaled those in Prague, although those in Czechoslovakia's capital city were numerically larger.

Forsaken by the Soviet Union and no longer able to control its citizens, who defiantly took to the streets, the government in Czechoslovakia quickly crumbled. On 7 December, Ladislav Adamec stepped down as prime minister and was replaced by Marián Čalfa, a Slovak and former Communist. Husák resigned as president on 10 December and the first cabinet without a Communist majority since 1948 was sworn in. On 29 December 1989, the Federal Assembly elected Václav Havel president; Alexander Dubček became president of the Federal Assembly. The newly liberated government aimed to establish a Western-style democracy and to create a market economy based on capitalist principles. Because Czechoslovakia's Communist government was brought down without gunfire or bloodshed, its downfall and replacement by a democratic system is popularly known as the Velvet Revolution.

In Slovakia, the Communist Party also acted quickly to reform itself. The first secretary was dismissed on 6 December. During district elections for representatives to a Slovak Communist Party congress, other officials were removed. On 17 December, the congress denounced the policies of the former leadership, made "democratic socialism" its objective, and modified its administrative structure. Changes in the government were occurring simultaneously. The Slovak National Council, the region's governing body, underwent a makeover. On 11 December, Milan Čič became prime minister of Slovakia.

Liberation from the communist regime was accompanied by the reemergence of a nagging historical issue: Slovak autonomy and establishing parity between Slovakia and the Czech Lands. As Slovak and Czech leaders took steps to transform the country, ethnic tensions surfaced. In April 1990 crowds of Slovaks assembled at the parliament building in Bratislava to protest the Slovak government's acceptance of the country's new name, the "Czecho-Slovak Federative Republic." After prolonged debate, the name was finally changed to the "Czech and Slovak Federative Republic." Although the overwhelming majority of Slovaks preferred to remain in a common state with the Czechs, polls also showed that a majority wanted real autonomy for Slovakia within a federal republic.

In the June 1990 elections, Civic Forum won the expected majorities in both houses of the Federal Assembly. The Slovak political movement, Public against Violence, garnered slightly less than 33 percent of the vote in the House of the People and 37 percent in the House of Nations

ÚRAD VLÁD
ELEKTRO

Vladimír Mečiar. (David Brauchli/Corbis Sygma) (where Slovakia and the Czech Lands had equal representation). The Assembly subsequently elected the immensely popular Václav Havel president of the republic, Marián Čalfa was reappointed prime minister, and Alexander Dubček retained his position as president of the assembly. Under the federal structure, each republic had a separate prime minister and a governing body. For Slovakia, that body was the Slovak National Council, which was made up of 150 elected representatives. The prime minister came from the political party that won the most votes or could put together a coalition government. As a result of the 1990 elections, Vladimír Mečiar, a former Communist who had been expelled from the Party after the Prague Spring of 1968, became prime minister of Slovakia.

These first postrevolution elections offered no strong evidence that Slovaks wanted to secede from their joint state with the Czechs. Slovak autonomy was an issue, but none of the major parties advocated dissolving the joint republic and creating a separate Slovak country. During the campaign, small groups of Slovak nationalists taunted Havel and called for a "free Slovakia," but they represented the minority view. Although separatism did not enjoy widespread support in the June elections, Slovak nationalism was on the rise. In October 1990 crowds gathered in the streets and opposing sides argued as the Slovak Parliament debated whether Slovak should be designated the official language. In December the country faced a constitutional crisis when Prime Minister Mečiar threatened to declare the primacy of Slovak laws over federal legislation. A compromise outlining specific responsibilities for each level of government defused the situation. But, the struggle indicated a determination by Slovak officials to assert the region's separate interests.

Programs for privatizing and overhauling the country's economic system heightened Slovak suspicions about the central government and widened the rift between Slovakia and the Czech Lands. During the communist era, the government's policy for industrializing Slovakia had made the region economically dependent on the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc nations. The overthrow of communist regimes resulted in the loss of markets for the type of goods manufactured by Slovak industries. The economic restructuring following the revolution was, therefore, felt more acutely by Slovaks than by Czechs. By the fall of 1991, unemployment in Slovakia had reached 12 percent; in the Czech Lands it was only 4 percent. Some Slovaks, and especially nationalists, blamed the disparities on the policies of a Czech-dominated central government. On 14 March 1991, the fifty-second anniversary of the proclamation of the "independent" Slovak Republic (1939–1945), 5,000 nationalists hurled abuses at Havel when he addressed the crowd and urged Slovaks to oppose separatism. The following October, egg-throwing nationalists again jeered Havel, who went to Slovakia to participate in commemorations of the seventy-third anniversary of the creation of Czechoslovakia. The demonstrations, organized by the Slovak National Party, did not reflect universal sentiment in Slovakia; nevertheless, Havel's popularity among Slovaks had plummeted to 43 percent in December 1991. And while only a minority of Slovaks supported the idea of seceding from the federated state, a majority of them wanted more independent power vested in Slovakia's own government.

The June 1992 elections took place amid rising economic discontent and a growing Slovak nationalism. Aware of the popular mood, Slovakia's political parties generally demanded more autonomy for the republic, while the Slovak National Party advocated outright secession. During the campaign, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia took a fiercely nationalistic but not an avowedly separatist position. This new political body was headed by Vladimír Mečiar, who had been forced to resign as Slovakia's prime minister in 1991 when the Public against Violence coalition disintegrated. Mečiar indicated that he wanted Slovakia and the Czech Lands to remain together in a confederation, but he also wanted international recognition for Slovakia.

Plans to revamp the country's economy dominated the election and divided the leading Czech and Slovak political parties. The Civic Democratic Party (Czech), headed by Finance Minister Václav Klaus, favored continuing a program of rapid economic reform and privatization. Mečiar and his party wanted to slow the rate of economic change and continue government involvement in the economy. In the Czech Lands, the Civic Democratic Party won and Klaus became prime minister. In Slovakia, Mečiar emerged from the elections, once again, as prime minister. The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia won slightly more than 37 percent of the ballots cast for the 150 seats on the Slovak National Council. This meant that Mečiar's party had received enough votes to allow him to put together a coalition and thus control the Slovak National Council. The openly separatist Slovak National Party eked out less than 8 percent of the popular vote.

Although the Slovak separatists had fared poorly in the elections and Mečiar's party had not directly advocated secession, within a week after the June elections the Czech and Slovak prime ministers began discussing the possible breakup of the country. The two sides could not agree on a mutually advantageous plan for transforming the country to a market economy. In July Slovaks annoyed Czechs when the Slovak Chamber of the National Assembly blocked Havel's reelection as president. Rather than finish his term, which was due to expire in October, Havel resigned the presidency on 20 July.

During the summer of 1992, Czech and Slovak officials negotiated the breakup of the country and the division of shared assets. On 17 July, the Slovak National Council issued a declaration of sovereignty for Slovakia, and on 1 September it adopted a constitution for the future independent republic. By the end of October, Czech and Slovak leaders had worked out the technical details, and on 29 October Prime Ministers Mečiar and Klaus signed an agreement mapping out the dissolution process. On 25 November, the Federal Assembly voted to dissolve the federated republic. The decision for Slovak independence, which finally came in the fall of 1992, was the result of government actions; no popular referendum was ever held to authorize the "Velvet Divorce." This became the popular term for the relatively amicable breakup of the Czech and Slovak lands that, ex-

Slovakia becomes independent, 1 January 1993. (David Brauchli/ Corbis Sygma)

cept for a short period during World War II, had been joined together for seventy-four years.

On 1 January 1993, the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic ceased to exist and Slovakia became an independent nation. The government that had been formed following the 1992 elections—the last held before the breakup—continued administering the country. Vladimír Mečiar, leader of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, remained Slovakia's prime minister. The Slovak National Council, now called the National Council of the Slovak Republic, became the country's parliament. On 15 February 1993, the National Council elected Michal Kováč as Slovakia's first president.

Except for a six-month period, Vladimír Mečiar remained Slovakia's prime minister until the fall of 1998. Following a no-confidence vote by parliament, in March 1994, he was replaced by a coalition headed by Jozef Moravčík. Moravčík's term proved short-lived because his new government, proclaiming itself temporary, called for elections to be held in September 1994. Winning the largest percentage but not a majority of the votes in the fall contest, Vladimír Mečiar nevertheless was able, once again, to form a government. It took control in December 1994 and remained in power until 29 October 1998.

After Slovakia came into existence in 1993, the country faced several challenges. In addition to establishing an administrative apparatus to govern its people, Slovakia had to move forward with democratization, transforming its economy into one driven by competition and private ownership, and shaping both a domestic as well as foreign policy that would establish Slovakia's respectability among the world's democratic nations. As the country grappled with these tasks, the first half decade of its existence as an independent country was, to a large extent, dominated by Vladimír Mečiar.

When Slovakia became independent, it was immediately recognized as a legitimate nation. On 19 January 1993, the United Nations accepted it as a new member. In July it joined the Council of Europe. The country's position on joining NATO, however, was somewhat more ambiguous. Prior to independence, Mečiar seemed to favor becoming a NATO member, but afterward his government initially seemed to lean toward developing strong ties to Russia. By 1994, though, he had changed his mind and was tilting toward eventually seeking NATO membership. In February 1994 Slovakia joined NATO's Partnership for Peace program. Ultimately becoming a member of the European Union also ranked among independent Slovakia's foreign policy aims.

Slovakia's domestic politics thwarted its foreign policy objectives. Vladimír Mečiar, who disliked criticism and had a reputation for being dictatorial, attempted to institute measures that gave an ever increasing authoritarian cast to his rule. An attempt in 1996 to make "crimes against the state" part of Slovakia's penal code stirred fears that this infant government was reverting to the despotic practices of the communist era. Ethnic minorities, especially Hungarians, also seemed targeted for discrimination. In November 1995 the parliament passed the Slovak Language Law, which made Slovak the only official language. Hungarians, in particular, were adversely affected by the law. While Hungarians were struggling to maintain language rights, the country's Roma were facing prejudice stemming from the Slovak society's generally unfavorable attitude toward them. In the fall of 1993 Mečiar reflected anti-Romany sentiment and gave voice to stereotypes when, in what was clearly a veiled reference to the Roma, he spoke of socially unadaptable persons.

Slovakia's minority problems, together with Mečiar's authoritarian actions, had the overall effect of projecting a negative image of Slovakia to the rest of the world. Other nations feared that democratization was slowing down and that the government lacked a commitment to protecting minority and human rights. Reflecting these concerns, in July 1997 NATO denied Slovakia's application to join; several months later at its December meeting, the European Union also refused acceptance at that time.

In the fall of 1998 Slovakia held regular national elections. Vladimír Mečiar's party won, but the margin of victory was so small that he could not put together a coalition and form a ruling government. He, therefore, announced that he would not attempt to do so. Following this announcement, the leader of the Slovak Democratic Coalition, Mikuláš Dzurinda, successfully built a coalition that assumed power when the newly elected parliament convened on 29 October 1998. Dzurinda became prime minister and began tackling the country's unresolved economic, employment, and social problems. His government also faced the task of repairing Slovakia's damaged international image and verifying that Slovakia was indeed a country that had thrown off the shackles of nearly a half century of communist rule to become a democratic nation.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The collapse of communism in 1989 ushered in dramatic changes for the people of Czechoslovakia. In the months following the Velvet Revolution the country remained calm, but there was general euphoria as the citizenry prepared to vote in the country's first free elections in forty-four years. The end of totalitarianism meant that ordinary citizens could now participate in the political process. With censorship lifted, persons openly expressed opinions without fear of government reprisal. The demise of single-party domination by the Communists also allowed other political parties and interest groups to develop. The liberation that freed the country from the grip of authoritarian rule also sparked a resurgence of Slovak nationalism. Less than a year after the revolution, the thorny issue of Slovak self-government had become a powerful issue in Czechoslovakia's politics and one that finally contributed to the breakup of the country. Political developments in the subsequently independent Slovakia created doubts about its commitment to democratic principles.

The emergence of Slovak nationalism following the 1989 revolution was not a sudden turn of events. Since the mid-nineteenth century, achieving recognition as a distinct political entity had been the underlying theme of Slovak politics. The notion of regional autonomy was first articulated in the late 1840s, when Slovaks were under Hungarian control. During the next half century, though, the Slovak political agenda concentrated on gaining representation in Hungary's legislative body, not on gaining self-rule. Only a small segment of the Slovak people actively engaged in political activities, in part because the kingdom's restrictive franchise laws excluded broader participation. When, after World War I, Slovaks joined with Czechs and created a democratic society, the door was opened both for political parties to develop and for greater mass involvement in the political process.

During the entire interwar era following the creation of Czechoslovakia, the question of Slovak autonomy haunted Czech-Slovak politics. Slovak nationalists, opposed to a centralized government, wanted an arrangement that would give Slovakia more control over its own affairs. It is important to recognize, however, that the question of autonomy versus centralism was not an issue affecting only Czech-Slovak relations. Slovaks themselves were divided. Some Slovaks favored a centralized government while others wanted a federation. These differing positions nurtured multiple political parties within Slovakia. The question of Slovak self-government became a constant political theme of the 1920s and 1930s, but gaining independence, which would mean breaking up Czechoslovakia, was not a goal. Even Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, the most strident advocate of Slovak autonomy, did not demand independence.

Although not an objective of interwar politics, on the eve of World War II, Slovakia did proclaim its independence. Despite the unsavory nature of the wartime Slovak Republic, whose "independence" rested on subordination to the Third Reich, the experiment in self-rule raised expectations of greater autonomy after the war. These hopes were ignored after Czechoslovakia was restored. But there was little time for this to affect political developments before 1948, when the Communists took over and shaped the country's political agenda for the next forty years. Designated as a crime against the state, advocacy of Slovak autonomy disappeared as a legitimate political issue. After the 1968 "Prague Spring," the Communist dictatorship reversed its traditional opposition to Slovak autonomy and made Czechoslovakia a federated state. Since real power still rested with the Communist Party and the Prague government, Slovak control of regional affairs was more fiction than reality. Nevertheless, in theory, Czechoslovakia consisted of two republics.

Following the ouster of Czechoslovakia's communist regime in 1989, the federal structure created in 1968 remained basically intact. The Federal Assembly, which was the legislative arm of the government, was composed of two bodies: the House of Nations and the House of the People. Each house had 150 members. In the House of Nations, Slovakia and the Czech Republic had equal representation; so, each republic had 75 representatives. In the House of the People, where representation was based on population, in 1990 Slovakia was allotted 49 members while the Czech Republic was given 101 deputies.

Since the country adopted a federal system, the Slovak and Czech republics were each governed by a separate council that had authority over specified affairs. The governing body for Slovakia was the Slovak National Council, which was composed of 200 representatives. Unlike the Federal Assembly, where there were two houses, the council consisted of just one chamber. Under the federal system, each republic also had a prime minister and a president.

Pledged to reinstituting representative government, Czechoslovakia's new leadership established a parliamentary democracy. Representation in the Federal Assembly was proportional, which meant each party's allotment of seats was based on the percentage of votes it won in the election. This constitutional structure encouraged the development of multiple parties in Czechoslovakia. The parliamentary system also forced parties that won seats to join together in coalitions to form a ruling government.

Following the Velvet Revolution, citizens took advantage of their newly gained political rights. In June 1990 an estimated 95 percent of eligible voters went to the polls to participate in the country's first postcommunist era elections. The results turned out as generally expected. Public against Violence, which had coordinated Slovakia's opposition to the communist regime, received the highest percentage of votes in both the national elections for the Federal Assembly and in republic elections for the Slovak National Council. The Communist Party came in second in both. The nationalistic Slovak National Party, which had been organized a few months before the election, ranked third. A total of seven parties won seats in Slovakia's National Council.

The elections had the anticipated results, but they also reflected what would become characteristic features of poli-

Elections in Slovakia. In the village of Tomášová, ballot boxes are readied for voting on Friday and Saturday, 25 and 26 September 1998. (David Brauchli/Corbis Sygma)

tics in Czechoslovakia. By March 1990, the country had more than sixty official parties or "movements," as some political groups with programs rather than explicit platforms were called. With such a large number, many of these parties could not have seriously expected that they would be able to submit a slate of nominees in the June elections. Twenty-three parties ultimately met the qualifications and fielded candidates; however, less than half of them finally won seats in both the federal and republic elections. Although the elections aimed to establish a legitimate postcommunist government for Czechoslovakia, many of the competing parties were actually republicwide instead of nationwide entities. Six of the parties participating existed only in Slovakia. Following the 1990 elections, politics became regionalized as Slovak and Czech parties developed programs focusing on their individual republics instead of on countrywide interests.

Multiple parties also reflected the increasingly complicated nature of politics in Slovakia. It was telling that a coalition of two Hungarian parties, which represented the concerns of Slovakia's Hungarian minority, came in fourth in the republic elections and earned fourteen seats. In the national elections one of these Hungarian parties won a total of twelve seats in the two houses of the Federal Assembly. The appearance of ethnically based parties dedicated to promoting the interests of specific minorities was an early indication that nationality issues would be an important aspect of Slovak politics.

The 1990 elections did not reveal fundamental animosity between the Slovak and Czech republics. Prior to the elections, however, there was clear indication of a resurgent Slovak nationalism. In the spring of 1990, in what is sometimes dubbed "the hyphen war," Slovaks and Czechs battled over the country's name. This political altercation ended with the country adopting the cumbersome name "Czech and Slovak Federative Republic." The squabble over an issue that was seemingly more symbolic than substantive reflected a determination by Slovaks to ensure that Slovakia would share equal recognition with the Czech Republic.

While the 1990 elections were indicative of the country's smooth transition from a single-party dictatorship to a multiparty democracy, politics in the postelection era followed a bumpy course. Political parties, in particular, were clearly in a state of flux. Between 1990 and 1992, when the next elections were held, some parties disintegrated, others reorganized under different names, and others were formed. Overall the number of parties, especially regional bodies dedicated to republic-level issues, increased. It became clear that the Federative Republic had a stable multiparty structure; it just did not have stable parties.

In Slovakia, the proliferation of parties stemmed, in part, from the differing opinions about issues affecting the region. Questions about Slovakia's future in particular split Public against Violence (PAV). Bitter rifts occurred between leaders willing to accept a strong central government and nationalists who wanted Slovakia to assert its own identity and have more authority over its affairs. The split led to the ouster of Slovakia's prime minister, Vladimír Mečiar, in 1991. He and his supporters left PAV and organized a rival party, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (MDS). As a result, PAV, the party that had received approximately 30 percent or more of the popular vote in national and republic elections, simply disappeared.

After the 1990 elections, the relationship between Slovakia and the central government became antagonistic. More and more, politics revolved around the proper division of power between the republics and the central government in Prague. The question was: which government should have the most authority, especially over matters affecting Slovakia. In December 1990 an agreement was reached that did grant the republics more power. They were put in charge of economic decisions affecting their regions as well as all matters not specifically reserved for the central government. As Slovaks and Czechs dealt with political and especially economic issues, they focused more explicitly on what benefited their respective regions. Thus, under the federal system, politics were evolving into a situation where each republic looked out for its own particular concerns.

In the years leading up to the 1992 elections, economic issues became increasingly intertwined with the debate over the country's constitutional structure. Czechs wanted a strong central government to oversee a quick transformation to private ownership and a market economy; but Slovaks, who believed privatization would hurt them more, wanted a strong republic government that could oversee and slow down the process. Given the character of Slovakia's industry, the transformation to a competitive market economy was, in fact, adversely affecting Slovakia more than the Czech Republic. The belief that Slovaks had historically suffered mistreatment at the hands of the Czechs—and more specifically of a Czech-dominated central government—nurtured nationalist sentiment in Slovakia.

By the 1992 elections, republic self-interest and economic concerns had dampened the euphoria that had characterized politics in the immediate aftermath of the Velvet Revolution. A growing Slovak nationalism, coupled with concerns that the central government's economic policies were hurting Slovakia, dominated the preelection campaign. The fact that each republic had its own separate parties also shaped election-year politics. In what became regional instead of national campaigns, candidates battled over issues important to their particular republic, not necessarily the country.

The political situation had evolved into one where, in Slovakia, the important election was for seats on the National Council in Bratislava, not in the Federal Assembly in Prague. The campaign in Slovakia centered on matters involving the transformation of the economy and the constitutional question of how extensive Slovak autonomy should be. Politics in Slovakia were also significantly shaped by a growing nationalism among its citizenry. The fiercely nationalistic stance adopted by the Slovak National Party, which actually called for Slovakia to secede from the common state, forced other parties to be nationalistic as well. While wavering on outright Slovak secession, the popular MDS, led by Vladimír Mečiar, linked protecting Slovakia's economic interests to securing extensive autonomy. In essence, it called for the Federative Republic to become a confederation with two self-governing republics. Under this system, the republic-level governments would be more powerful than the central government.

Slovak public opinion, now a factor in the postcommunist era, further complicated the political situation in 1992. Opinion polls revealed that the overwhelming majority of Slovaks wanted to remain in a common state with the Czechs, but they were unhappy with the federation and wanted more self-government. The results of the 1992 election seemed to confirm this position. The MDS, which in addition to a confederation called for slowing down economic changes, got 35 percent of the vote. The openly separatist Slovak National Party eked out 7.9 percent of the vote for the National Council. Nevertheless, taken together these two strongly nationalistic parties garnered more than 45 percent of the vote in the republic election and about 43 percent for houses in the Federal Assembly. The election allowed Vladimír Mečiar, an aggressive, strong-willed personality, to become prime minister of the Slovak Republic.

It was an irony of the 1992 election that, while Slovaks voted for remaining in a joint state with the Czechs, this democratic process paved the way for letting leaders do what the citizens had voted against: breaking up the country. In order to keep its campaign promise, the MDS had to push for a confederation. Czech leaders, meanwhile, felt compelled to press for a strong central government. As leaders adopted inflexible stands, Slovak opinion polls still showed that the vast majority of Slovaks wanted the country to remain intact. Nevertheless, although a democratic society supposedly based on popular rule, no genuine effort was made to conduct a popular referendum and thus involve the people in the most important political decision of the country's postcommunist era. In the end, it was elected leaders who decided that the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic should split into two independent nations.

The constitutional structure of the newly sovereign Slovakia was the same as what had existed in the federated republic. It was a parliamentary democracy with a 150-member legislature, renamed the National Council of the Slovak Republic. In addition to a prime minister, there was also a president, who was elected by the council but had limited, clearly defined powers. In 1999 the constitution was amended to allow the president to be popularly elected in a nationwide election. The country also established a Constitutional Court, charged with hearing appeals in cases where persons alleged their "fundamental rights and freedoms" had been "infringed." Its many powers also included having jurisdiction over contested elections.

Following the breakup, politics in Slovakia were tumultuous. And during the first five years after independence, when Vladimír Mečiar dominated political life, it was not clear what course the country's political evolution would take. His bellicose and often authoritarian style suggested he lacked commitment to democratic procedures and human rights. Mečiar roused both staunch loyalty and fierce opposition among politicians and the citizenry alike. As a result, in the period until 1998 when he lost the position of prime minister, politics in the country were characterized by personal rivalries and fights among political leaders. The fiercest clashes were between Mečiar and the country's president, Michal Kováč. By the fall of 1993 these two leaders were publicly engaged in bitter disputes. A speech by Kováč denouncing Mečiar contributed to a no-confidence vote that forced the prime minister to resign in March 1994. When elections in the fall of 1994 once again made Mečiar prime minister, he returned with a determination to maintain a tight hold on his power. Sensitive to criticism, he tried to quiet his opposition. Although he used legal means, his attempts to control the television and print media were reminiscent of the repressive shenanigans of the old communist era.

Acrimonious battles among political leaders stimulated an increase in political parties. This proliferation was another feature characterizing Slovakia's ongoing political evolution. Between the Velvet Revolution and 1998, Slovakia experienced about forty political parties and movements. All these groups complicated the political situation in Slovakia and fragmented the country's electorate. This was evident in 1994 when only seven parties won seats in the National Council. Yet, because parties had formed alliances during the elections, at least sixteen different political parties gained representation on the council.

Slovakia's parliamentary system encourages citizen involvement in the political process. While, when compared to the United States, the number of Slovak citizens who vote is high, voter turnout in Slovakia declined from approximately 98.9 percent in 1990 to 75 percent in 1994; the number surged again in 1998 when it reached 84.2 percent. Opinion polls reveal that many Slovaks hold cynical views about politicians and political parties. Also, there is still a contingent of Slovaks, especially persons who have been hurt by privatization and those living in rural regions, who believe that Slovakia was better off before the Velvet Revolution. This attitude is evident in the ability of the successor to the Communist Party consistently to garner more than 10 percent—and up to nearly 15 percent—of the vote and come in second or a close third in elections.

Citizens' attitudes toward democratization have also been part of the country's political evolution. Research conducted in the mid-1990s revealed that Slovaks supported democratization in principle, but the level of this support varied among the country's social classes. Young, more educated Slovaks who lived in urban areas tended to favor democratization more than older persons who resided in the country's conservative rural regions did. In addition, differing degrees of commitment to democratic principles have influenced the treatment of the country's ethnic groups. In general, popular values do not uniformly embrace the idea of protecting the rights of minorities. As a consequence, dealing with minorities was one of the most important issues shaping Slovak politics in the 1990s.

Even before the Velvet Divorce, Slovakia was confronting the especially prickly question of language rights. An unsuccessful attempt by the Slovak National Council in the fall of 1990 to enact legislation designating Slovak as the only language permissible for official business exacerbated an already vexed relationship between Slovaks and the country's Hungarians. The law finally passed on 25 October 1990 stipulated that, in communities where a single ethnic group made up more than 20 percent of the population, official business could be conducted in the minority language. The new law sparked demonstrations by some Slovaks. About eighty Slovak opponents even went on a hunger strike to protest the legislation.

Slovakia's constitution addressed the status of minorities by including clauses in Article 34 affirming minority and ethnic rights. This affirmation guaranteed language rights. Revisiting the language issue in November 1995, the parliament passed the Slovak Language Law, which proclaimed that Slovak was an expression of the nation's sovereignty and made it the only official language. Among other ramifications, the law meant that official documents such as birth certificates had to be rendered in Slovak. This intolerance toward minorities is indicative of the nationalist sentiment among Slovaks. One factor contributing to Mečiar's resilient popularity was his ability to exploit a rather pervasive Slovak nationalism. He framed his actions in ways that stirred national pride. At the same time, popular prejudices combined with nationalism to sanction discrimination against ethnic minorities.

By 1998, although Slovakia had seventeen political parties and movements, the more than half decade of Mečiar's authoritarian rule had divided Slovaks into basically two factions. There were the pro-Mečiar forces and those who opposed him. These conflicting positions created strange alliances as parties with different ideologies found themselves temporarily united either to oppose or support Mečiar. These expedient alliances had a significant impact on national elections in September 1998. The MDS garnered 27 percent, but its nearest opponent, the Slovak Democratic Coalition, claimed 26.33 percent of the vote. This razor-slim victory meant that Mečiar could not put together a coalition. Three days after the election, he announced he would not attempt to form a government. Mečiar's opponent Mikuláš Dzurinda, leader of the Slovak Democratic Coalition, was able to draw parties together and organize a government.

The first direct election of the president demonstrated how politically fragmented and simultaneously polarized Slovaks still were. Ten persons ran for the office. Since no candidate won 50 percent in the first round of voting on 15 May 1999, a runoff election was held on 29 May. It pitted the two top vote getters—Rudolf Schuster and Vladimír Mečiar—against one another. Schuster got slightly more than 57 percent of the vote and won. However, the fact that more than 43 percent of the voters chose Mečiar revealed that, despite his authoritarian policies, he enjoyed a persistent popularity. The country remained divided along the same lines evident in the fall 1998 elections.

In form Slovakia has evolved into a democratic state. Its political institutions resemble those that function in democratic countries. Since 1993, it has had five governments and each change has been characterized by a peaceful, orderly transfer of power. The losing party has voluntarily relinquished its authority. Despite his anti-democratic bent, Mečiar tried mostly to use legal means to squelch his opposition and curtail minority rights. The 1998 and 2002 elections installed a reform-minded leader, Mikuláš Dzurinda, as prime minister. Still, politics remain fragmented and the country's political evolution as a democratic nation is not yet complete.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Because Slovakia was an integral part of multiethnic nations for more than a millennium, the country does not have a national history peppered with royalty or august personages. Indeed, in the past, the achievements of Slovak military heroes, scientists, inventors, athletes, and creative as well as performing artists were typically subsumed within the accomplishments of multinational states. As a result of its unique past, Slovakia's historically significant personalities are individuals who contributed to the Slovak quest to assert an identity as a distinct "people." These individuals fall into two general categories. One group consists of intellectuals who engaged in the literary and political efforts that fueled the nineteenth-century Slovak national awakening. Writers who subsequently continued nurturing a distinct Slovak identity also belong in this class. In the main, these were persons who challenged Hungary's Magyarization policy of forced assimilation. The second category of significant persons includes twentieth-century political activists. In particular, these were individuals associated with efforts to gain independence from Hungary or promote Slovak autonomy within the subsequently created Czechoslovakia.

The nineteenth-century national awakening stands out as the cultural high point of Slovak history. For many countries, establishing a written language might not be underscored as a significant part of their history, but for Slovakia this development was crucial. Slovak culture derives much of its distinctiveness from its religious heritage and, especially, its folk traditions. Folk literature and peasant life have historically inspired Slovakia's creative artists, including many of the national activists and writers spawned by the national awakening. And in the twenty-first century, its folk heritage is still being recognized as a unique characteristic of Slovak culture.

A description of significant people and the highlights of Slovak culture must begin with Cyril and Methodius, the two missionaries credited with bringing Christianity to the Slavic peoples. Although they actually spent relatively little time in what is modern-day Slovakia, it would be difficult to overemphasize their cultural or historical importance. Rastislav, the ruler of the Great Moravian Empire, initiated the move that brought these two brothers to Slovakia in the mid-ninth century. He wanted Slavic languages used to Christianize the Slavs, and he requested the help of Byzantium's emperor to achieve that goal. In 863 the emperor responded by dispatching the two brothers on a mission to convert Slavs to Christianity. Using an alphabet formulated by Constantine, who later assumed the name Cyril, they translated the Holy Scripture and liturgical works from Greek into Old Church Slavonic. By preaching in Slavic languages, these missionaries successfully won over the so-called pagan Slavs to Byzantine Christianity. While on a visit to Rome, Cyril died in 869; on his trip back to the Great Moravian Empire, Methodius was captured by enemies and imprisoned for probably three years. After his release, he returned to the empire where the ruler, Svätopluk, put him in charge of the empire's Christian churches. In 880 the pope made Methodius archbishop of Great Moravia, and he remained in the empire until his death five years later. After Methodius died in 885, Pope Stephen V banned the use of the Slavic liturgy. As a result, the Latin rite ultimately became the dominant liturgy in the territory inhabited by Slovaks. Nevertheless, the Cyril and Methodius mission endowed Slovakia with a Christian tradition that subsequently permeated Slovak culture. When Slovakia became independent in 1993, the attachment to the "Cyril and Methodius" tradition was evident in the Preamble of the Slovak constitution, which openly invoked "the spiritual heritage of Cyril and Methodius."

Although Cyril and Methodius used Slavic vernaculars to convert inhabitants of the Great Moravian Empire, they did not leave Slovaks with a written language. Into the late eighteenth century, Slovaks did not have a separate literary tongue; instead, educated Slovaks wrote in Czech. Slovaks, however, did speak dialects of a common tongue. At the turn of the eighteenth century, this common language became the basis for generating the Slovak national awakening. This movement, or what some observers label the national revival, is considered a pinnacle of Slovak cultural and national history. It was an epoch dominated by intellectuals whose linguistic and literary achievements, together with their political activism, cultivated a distinct Slovak cultural identity. Although the era witnessed the blossoming of Slovak literature, the codification of the Slovak language marked its greatest achievement.

Roots of the Slovak national awakening can be traced to the late eighteenth-century activities of Anton Bernolák. Although it evolved into a cultural and to some extent a political movement, religious goals initially sparked the Slovak enlightenment. Bernolák, who was a Jesuit priest, wanted to advance the religious education of the Slovak Catholic population. He decided that he could best achieve this goal by developing a written language.

Bernolák came to his conclusion about the importance of a standard literary language relatively early in his life. In

1787, at the age of twenty-five, while studying at the Bratislava seminary, he anonymously printed a justification for a Slovak literary language and a Slovak orthography. In 1790 he published *Grammatica Slavica* (Slovak Grammar). Bernolák's six-volume dictionary, *Slowár slowenski, česko-latinsko-ňemecko-uherskí* (1825–1827), appeared more than a decade after his death. *Bernolákovčina,* the literary Slovak developed by Bernolák, was a codification of the western dialect spoken by educated persons of the Trnava region.

Bernolák was motivated by religious not political or nationalistic objectives. Indeed, he never intended to encourage Slovak nationalism, and he did not engage in political activities. Nevertheless, by treating Slovak as a unique language, Bernolák set Slovaks apart from Czechs, and the Bernolák movement is credited with helping inspire the Slovak national awakening. Bernolák died in 1813, about three decades before the Slovak national awakening would get into full swing. Even though his version of literary Slovak was ultimately rejected, modern-day Slovaks, especially Catholics, still laud him as the first codifier of literary Slovak. The real credit for codifying the modern Slovak language belongs to L'udovít Štúr, a Lutheran minister. His efforts to promote a distinct Slovak national identity in the wake of Hungary's Magyarization program helped fuel the nineteenth-century Slovak national awakening. During the 1840s, Štúr's nationalist convictions prompted him to engage in diverse literary activities and finally to become an ardent political activist as well.

Born in 1815, L'udovít Štúr was relatively young when he became embroiled in cultural activities that nurtured the Slovak national awakening. It was the Hungarian government's Magyarization policy that moved him to action. Realizing that Magyarization would result in the cultural annihilation of the Slovak people, Štúr became convinced that Slovaks needed to create their own written language to ensure their survival as a distinct "nation." Unlike Bernolák, Štúr's objectives were nationalistic, not religious. In 1843 Štúr and a group of clergymen agreed to establish a Slovak literary language. Rejecting *bernolákovčina,* they based their codification on the central Slovak dialect. In 1846 Štúr introduced his version, *štúrovčina.* After compromises with the Bernolákites in 1851, a modified version of štúrovčina became the accepted literary language. It is the foundation of modern-day Slovak.

Štúr's convictions about establishing a Slovak cultural identity made him a leader among intellectuals seeking to counter a rising Hungarian nationalism and took him beyond literary activities to political action. Thus due in great measure to Štúr's influence, the Slovak awakening, which started as a literary movement, took on political overtones. As early as 1842, he was dispatching petitions trying to halt Hungary's Magyarization program. In the mid-1840s, as editor of a newspaper, he combined literary activities and political activism. When he became a representative for the town of Zvolen in the Hungarian Assembly in 1847, his energies were directed into traditional political channels. A year later, however, his political activities took on a more aggressive character when he chaired the conference that drew up the "Demands of the Slovak Nation." It asked for administrative autonomy for Upper Hungary. This was the first public call to make Upper Hungary (Slovakia) a separate political entity.

Štúr's activities became out-and-out militant when, in 1848, he helped organize a guerrilla unit and made an unsuccessful attempt to initiate a popular uprising against the Hungarian government. Following this futile attempt, he again resorted to legal measures to try to obtain autonomy for Upper Hungary. He petitioned the emperor to grant the region self-government. This effort failed. Under surveillance for his radical activities and made despondent by political failures, in the early 1850s Štúr turned his attention almost solely to writing. He died in 1856. By combining wide-ranging literary endeavors with political activities fighting Magyarization, Štúr secured a place of nearly unqualified reverence in Slovakia's national history. He is generally considered the greatest figure of nineteenth-century Slovak history and the person commonly associated with the Slovak national awakening.

Codifying the Slovak language, which was the most important achievement of the national awakening, sparked a vibrant literary movement as well. Indeed, the period saw the flowering of Slovak literature and marked its golden age. Creative works of varying quality, including poems, epics, prose, ballads, treatises on wide-ranging topics, biographies, travelogues, and pamphlets appeared. While some Slovak writers produced prose, it was poetry that dominated the national awakening and the half century following it. Slovak poems of the era emphasized love but especially heroic, nationalistic, and historical themes. Among the most important poets were Janko Král' (1822–1876), Samo Chalúpka (1812–1883), Andrej Sládkovič (1820–1872), and Ján Botto (1829–1881). Two other literary masters, Ján Kalinčiak (1822–1871) and Jozef Miloslav Hurban (1817–1888), are better known for their historical prose.

Literature growing out of the Slovak awakening dealt with national themes, but writers of the era, especially poets, were inspired by Slovakia's folk culture. Heroes, heroines, and villains had their roots in folk songs, stories, and fairy tales. Peasant themes flowed through literary works. Thus the literature not only asserted Slovak distinctiveness, it helped perpetuate the rich and varied folk traditions inherent to Slovak culture. The poetry, but more particularly the prose of the era, also drew from Slovakia's historical roots. Themes glorifying Slovakia's history before the Magyar invasion filtered through the literature. Events and personages of the ninth century—Cyril and Methodius and their Christianization of the Slavs, the Great Moravian Empire and its last ruler Svätopluk—were introduced both as Slovak history and as symbols of a Slovak cultural identity.

As a chronological period, the Slovak awakening extended into the 1850s, but its cultural and historical impact carried well into Slovakia's future. The man often recognized as the greatest Slovak poet, Pavol Országh (1849–1921), began producing his important works during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Writing under the pen name, Hviezdoslav, he too highlighted rural themes and the common people. At the same time, Svetozár Hurban-Vajanský (1847–1916) represented both the combined ideological and political spirit of the earlier Slovak national awakening. He wrote poetry but is recognized for elevating prose, especially novels, to a respectable status in Slovak literature. A nationalist fiercely critical of Hungary's Magyarization policies, Vajanský incorporated social and political criticism into his works. His activities as a journalist, writer, and critic angered Hungarian officials and, as a result, he was imprisoned three times. Vajanský's political activism put him squarely in the tradition of L'udovít Štúr and other literary figures of the Slovak national awakening.

During the national awakening and the half century that followed, the Slovak writers who drew on peasant themes and the persons actually involved in the movement belonged to an educated elite. This was not a movement that touched the masses. Few ordinary Slovaks knew about L'udovít Štúr, much less read the literature drawn from folk traditions or glorifying the Slovak past. In order to promote Slovak culture and education, in 1863, with the help of Emperor Franz Joseph, Slovak intellectuals did found the Matica slovenská. Its diverse activities included publishing folklore, poetry, and historical works in Slovak. Creating the Matica marked yet another achievement in an era identified with Slovak cultural advancements. The Matica, however, lasted only a few short years. In 1875, under a reinvigorated Magyarization program, the Hungarian government closed down its operations.

Into the early decades of the twentieth century, Slovaks remained a people poorly educated in their own language. Moreover, when Slovakia separated from Hungary and became part of the newly created Czechoslovakia, Slovaks had not developed a culture steeped in the fine, performing, or creative arts. Instead their culture was characterized by a nationalist literature, religious works, and folk traditions.

Luminaries of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Slovak history were writers and national activists engaged in a nationalistic mission against Hungarian cultural domination. Prominent figures of the twentieth century included persons associated with Slovak independence from Hungary and then autonomy within the common Czech-Slovak state.

Milan Rastislav Štefánik is the most famous Slovak to emerge from the struggle for Slovak independence from Hungary. Born in Slovakia in 1880, at the age of eighteen Štefánik went to Prague to study and in 1904 earned a doctorate in astronomy. Although he immigrated to France in 1908 and became a French citizen in 1912, his activities during World War I made him an integral part of Slovakia's national history. After war broke out in 1914, Štefánik joined the French army and by 1918 had become a general in the air force. During the war, however, he spent much of his time engaged in political and diplomatic activities designed to bring about the postwar dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1915 he joined Tomáš Masaryk and Edvard Beneš to work on behalf of uniting Czechs and Slovaks in a joint state after the war. He was the only Slovak member of this powerful political trio that headed the Czechoslovak National Council, an organization committed to creating Czecho-Slovakia. He also helped organize and seek recruits for the Czechoslovak Legion, a volunteer army that fought with the Allies and thus helped advance the cause of Czech and Slovak independence. When Czechoslovakia's new government was formed, he was appointed defense minister. On his way to assume this post, in May 1919, however, Štefánik died in a plane crash.

Although Štefánik left Slovakia as a young adult, his efforts to liberate Slovakia from Hungary have elevated him to a place of historical and cultural significance. His premature death added a valorous dimension to his life that has embellished his heroic stature. Like other fallen heroes of history, his tragic, early demise stirs speculation about what might have happened *if* he had lived. The image of Štefánik as an ardent Slovak nationalist who would have promoted Slovak autonomy and opposed a centralized Czech-dominated government cannot be effectively challenged. Without future actions to disprove it, his nationalistic image stands firm. The magnificent monument erected at his grave site in Bradlo, Slovakia, both enhances and attests to Štefánik's historical as well as cultural significance.

During the 1920s and until his death in 1938, Fr. Andrej Hlinka was Czechoslovakia's most prominent Slovak political figure. He also belongs to that group of historical luminaries credited with advancing a distinct Slovak national identity. As leader of the Slovak People's Party, Hlinka opposed a centralized government and consistently demanded Slovak autonomy within the common Czech-Slovak state. Among Slovak contemporaries, Hlinka elicited praise and condemnation; moreover, he was not popular with Protestants or Slovak Catholics who believed a central government was in Slovakia's best interest. Still, his advocacy of autonomy makes him part of what many Slovaks have come to see as their historical struggle for a national self-identity. In terms of Slovakia's modern history, Hlinka was unquestionably an important figure. In a country that is predominantly Roman Catholic, the fact that Hlinka was a Roman Catholic priest adds to his historical luster.

The most august modern Slovak figure was Alexander Dubček. His significance stems from his actions as head of Czechoslovakia's communists, especially the reform effort popularly known as the Prague Spring of 1968. The fact that Dubček was a "Slovak," however, stirs national pride among the Slovaks.

Slovakia's "significant people" are not persons of international renown. Slovaks of the nineteenth century whose political activities or literary contributions justify ranking them as "significant" are persons generally unknown to the outside world. For example, with the exception of Svetozár Hurban-Vajanský, most literary works by famous Slovak writers have not been extensively translated into other languages, and thus they do not have global reputations. Dubček is the only political figure who enjoys substantial international recognition.

The historical and cultural significance enjoyed by individuals identified with forging a Slovak national identity has become even more apparent since 1993, when Slovakia became independent. Following independence, the country used its currency to honor important historical figures. It did the same when it subsequently designed postage stamps.

Slovakia's paper bills depict the missionaries Cyril and Methodius. They also honor latter-day figures who belong to the growing national lore emphasizing the Slovaks' historical quest for freedom: Anton Bernolák, L'udovít Štúr, Milan Rastislav Štefánik, and Andrej Hlinka. Postage stamps and cards pay homage to these persons as well. Alexander Dubček's image does not appear on Slovak currency but he is memorialized on stamps and cards. Major as well as several minor literary figures associated with the Slovak national awakening and the later nineteenth-century writings also have stamps dedicated to them.

With the notable exception of Alexander Dubček, who is universally admired, it is important to note that Slovakia's minorities do not embrace nationally significant historical personalities in the same way Slovaks do. Indeed, for Hungarians, the country's largest ethnic minority, the roster of noteworthy figures would actually include the Hungarian nationalists whom nineteenth-century Slovak nationalists defied and whom Slovak history vilifies.

Independent Slovakia has made little attempt to accommodate the sentiments of either its ethnic or religious minorities. In 1995, as part of the celebrated-persons series, the Hungarian composer Béla Bartók, who was famous for collecting folk songs, was featured on a postage stamp. The explanatory literature about his stamp praises Bartók for his contributions toward preserving Slovak folk songs and for the influence these melodies had on his compositions. And in 1994, the government accorded recognition to an important Jewish figure by issuing a postage stamp carrying the image of Chatam Sofer, an early nineteenth-century rabbi. He headed the Bratislava rabbinical school and was an acknowledged authority on the Talmud. Slovakia is clearly intent on stressing Slovak accomplishments and, understandably, achievements that reflect well on its history and society.

Although the nineteenth-century national awakening and the ongoing effort to promote a national identity provided Slovakia with a roster of significant political and literary figures, what influenced Slovak cultural development changed over time. From the mid-nineteenth century through World War I, Slovaks struggled to stave off Magyar nationalism and preserve their language. Following the creation of Czechoslovakia, politically and religiously motivated persons kept up the quest to assert Slovak individuality against what they feared was a rising "Czechoslovakism." Although politicians such as Andrej Hlinka complained about the failure to grant Slovakia more political autonomy, the birth of Czechoslovakia in 1918 did give rise to an environment more favorable to promoting Slovak culture. In 1919 the Matica slovenská, shut down by the Hungarians in 1875, was revived. It organized local branches and resumed its cultural activities. In 1920 Comenius University was opened in Bratislava. Although the faculty was made up primarily of Czech professors, the university, together with the Matica, formed an institutional framework for advancing Slovak education and culture. During the interwar era, unsettling social, political, and economic situations drew attention away from cultural pursuits. Still, the 1920s and 1930s saw the Slovak novel surpass poetry as the most popular form of literary expression. Outstanding novelists of the period included Ladislav Jégé (1866–1940), Milo Urban (1904–1982), and Jozef C. Hronský (1896–1960).

The interim stretching from the onset of World War II until the collapse of communism in 1989 did not provide fertile soil for literary creativity. Indeed, communist ideology had a stifling effect on cultural development in general. Nevertheless, during this repressive era a few writers managed to author creative and even, occasionally, dissident works. These texts were typically not translated into other languages and consequently, in the twentieth century, important Slovak writers did not enjoy widespread recognition. Dominik Tatarka (1913–1989), Vincent Šikula (1936–), Ladislav Ballek (1941–), and Ján Johanides (1934–) rank among the important literary figures of the communist era.

Both historically and in the modern day, Slovakia's list of significant people does not include performing and creative artists of international renown. During the seventy-four years following the creation of Czechoslovakia, Slovak performers and athletes were identified with Czechoslovakia, the country, instead of with the Slovak people. Stressing country over ethnic identity was not something that occurred only in Czechoslovakia; it typically happened in all multiethnic countries and still does. This was particularly true during the communist era. Totalitarian regimes viewed excelling in sports as a way to demonstrate that socialist countries were superior to capitalist nations. As a result of emphasizing citizenship, Slovaks who participated in international sports or achieved recognition typically fell under the "Czechoslovak" nomenclature. Commentators often shortened "Czechoslovak" merely to "Czech." In 1972, when Slovak figure skater Ondrej Nepela won the Gold Medal at the winter Olympics, his achievement was thus recorded as a win for Czechoslovakia; his ethnic identity was irrelevant. In Bratislava, though, a winter sports stadium is named for this Olympic gold medalist.

Slovakia is still dealing with the aftereffects of its long history as an integrated part of multiethnic nations. Asserting its own national identity, independent Slovakia has used postage stamps to distinguish individuals as "Slovaks," highlight their historical, cultural, or scientific significance, and honor their achievements. As a result, since 1993 a wide array of Slovak writers, composers, painters, sculptors, scientists, and inventors have been publicly commemorated through this means.

Slovak culture cannot be viewed only within the confines of important historical figures, literary masters, and artists who have contributed to the development of a national identity or to a body of creative works. Slovak culture owes much to the country's folk heritage and rural past. Since the national awakening of the nineteenth century, literature and music have drawn inspiration from folk traditions. Classical composers adapted folk melodies or incorporated folk motifs into their arrangements. Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský (1881–1958) and Ján Levoslav Bella (1843–1936) were two of the more well-known composers

Easter and Christmas in Slovakia

Traditional Slovak Easter and Christmas celebrations blend folk traditions and religious beliefs. For Slovak Christians, Easter is the holiest day of the year, and the celebrations associated with it are steeped in symbolism. The symbolism is expressed in traditional foods, usually eaten for breakfast. Typically the fare consists of hard-boiled eggs, a rich yeast bread made with butter and eggs *(paska),* ham, special sausage *(klobása),* a bland, custard-style imitation cheese (*hrudka* or *syrek*), butter, and horseradish. Each item has special meaning, signifying life, Christ, the Resurrection, or other biblical event. Elaborately decorating eggs *(kraslice)* is also an essential part of observing Easter. The contents of the eggs are removed, leaving the shells intact and as fragile as fine porcelain. Intricate designs are then created on the empty shells. Depending on geographic region, patterns on the eggs may include intricate geometric figures, plants, flowers, or religious motifs.

During the two days after Easter, young Slovak villagers traditionally indulged in their own custom. On Monday, boys sprinkled scented water on girls and "whipped" them with boughs made of willow branches and colored ribbon; on Tuesday, young girls threw water on the boys. Villages developed their own versions of these "sprinkling days," and who was involved could differ. There are different explanations of the origins and purpose of this popular tradition.

Slovak Christmas celebrations were influenced by both religious and folk traditions. Christmas Eve was the most important day of this holiday season. For the evening dinner, straw, which symbolized the Christ child's manger, was placed either under the tablecloth or strewn on the floor. Traditional foods were customarily served at Christmas Eve dinner. The meal began with unleavened wafers dipped in honey. The custom varied, but either the mother or father would use the honey-dipped wafers to make the sign of the cross on each family member's forehead. The main dishes consisted of a special mushroom soup and bite-size rolls in either sauerkraut and butter or poppy seed sauce. Desserts were nuts, fruits, and sweet yeast baked goods, typically filled with ground nuts or poppy seeds. Opening presents and sometimes caroling followed the dinner.

Superstitions influenced some Christmas traditions. With the new year approaching, Slovaks carried out rituals that they believed could foretell their future. On 30 November, people poured lead into boiling water and relied on the shape of the cooled droplets to make predictions about the coming year. On Christmas Eve, young women took part in rituals that they believed could reveal who their husbands would be. Also, it was customary not to remove food from the table. It was left for visitors and deceased family members who, tradition held, would eat the food while the family attended midnight religious services.

Over time, some Easter and Christmas traditions in Slovakia have been modified or abandoned; others have been faithfully upheld. In any case, like other folk traditions, the religious and folk customs associated with an old-fashioned Christmas or Easter are an important part of Slovakia's cultural history.

who drew on Slovak folk traditions. Slovak painters also historically looked to the Slovak countryside and rural life for inspiration. Ladislav Medňanský (1852–1919) was recognized for his beautiful landscapes, and *Trh v Banskej Bystrici* (The Market in Banská Bystrica, 1889) was the most famous oil painting by artist Dominik Skutecký (1849–1921). Martin Benka (1888–1971) and L'udovít Fulla (1902–1980) are twentieth-century painters known for their landscapes, folk themes, and realistic portrayals of rural life.

Folk traditions have not only influenced literature and the fine arts, they have shaped Slovak culture and contributed to its distinctiveness. Indeed, its rich folk heritage is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Slovak culture. Handicrafts, striking folk costumes called *kroje,* music, dancing, and folklore are among the many ways this heritage is evident. Folk dress and arts vary and reflect the regional differences that characterize Slovak society. In some regions, villagers, primarily women, still wear traditional costumes for special occasions and even to Sunday religious services. These colorful *kroje,* which contain several different articles of clothing, are impressive displays of intricate, skilled needlework. Folk art is expressed in several other forms as well. Among the most typical handicrafts are elaborately decorated Easter eggs, wood carvings, figurines constructed of natural materials such as corn husks, embroidered linens, and vividly painted pottery. Annual folk festivals featuring music, dancing, costumes, and handicrafts are regularly held in Slovakia.

As modern-day Slovakia asserts its national identity, it has highlighted this unique feature of its culture. Indeed, the country has been willing to incorporate its folk heritage into the image it projects to the rest of the world. For example, in the same way that it spotlights nationalists, literary masters, and other Slovak figures, independent Slovakia uses

Slovak folk dancers performing. (Lindsay Hebberd/Corbis)

its postage stamps and cards to accentuate its folk heritage. A postage series dedicated to folk customs features dancing and seasonal traditions. Stamps and postcards also commemorate folk festivals.

Finally, religion has significantly influenced the development of Slovak culture. Magnificent art adorns massive cathedrals and small churches alike. Religious paintings, artifacts, and sculptures date as far back as the fifteenth century; a few can be traced to the twelfth century. The Christian motif is particularly strong in numerous public symbols that postindependent Slovakia has chosen to employ. Portraying the apostles Cyril and Methodius on the fifty-crown bank note accents Slovakia's Christian heritage as well as its ancient roots. Casting the ninth-century Prince Pribina on the twenty-crown bill also emphasizes the twin themes of religion and Slovakia's pre-Hungarian history. He is credited with constructing the first Christian church on Slavic territory. Another paper bill depicts the painted wooden Madonna of St. Jacob's Church in Levoča, which boasts the largest wooden altar in Europe. A large number of churches, sacred paintings, and religious artifacts are depicted in public art, stamps, and postcards. Such public expressions attest to the influence that Christianity, especially Catholicism, historically has had—and continues to have—on Slovak culture.

Religion, folk traditions, and a quest to establish a separate national identity have all combined to fashion a distinct Slovak culture. Individuals have, indeed, played an important role in Slovak history and cultural development. The Slovak awakening of the nineteenth century, which was vital to promoting a Slovak national identity, grew from the efforts of committed persons. At the same time, the cultural highlights of Slovak society rest on more than nationalist literature and fine arts promoted by an elite. The distinct features that highlight Slovak culture also rest on folk traditions rooted in a peasant past.

Folk Beliefs and Superstitions

Slovakia has a rich folk culture. Unique aspects of this culture are linked to the nation's agrarian past. Traditionally Slovaks were fervently religious people who believed in divine intervention in their lives. As a consequence, particularly in rural areas, the celebration of the liturgical calendar became closely interwoven with the agricultural seasons of the normal calendar year. In the past, ancient superstitions also shaped popular beliefs. This blending of religion, superstitions, and coping with everyday realities gave rise to an array of rituals and beliefs.

For most of its history, Slovakia was primarily a self-subsistent agrarian society where daily life could be a hard struggle. Slovaks living in rural villages had to grow their own food and raise animals. Peasants and farmers knew that fruitful harvests depended on forces mightier than themselves. Over time, Slovaks living in rural villages tried to influence their situation by appealing to divine forces. For example, the Easter period, which marked the celebration of Christ's death and resurrection, also signaled the arrival of spring and the symbolic awakening of the earth for the planting season. During this time Slovaks prayed for a fruitful harvest. Palm Sunday celebrations, which commemorated Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, welcomed the spring. On some saints' feast days, villagers came together as a community to ask for a favor legendarily associated with a saint's life or unique powers. For example, on the feast of St. Mark (25 April) they appealed for rain and good weather during the growing season. Rituals and pleas were not limited to the spring. Slovak prayer books contained numerous prayers that, throughout the year, entreated the Lord or the saints for something particular that would improve the year's harvest, help the animals, or otherwise benefit the community. On Christmas Eve, the head of the household gave food from the dinner table to the animals in the hope of ensuring the livestock's health.

An array of superstitions permeated rural culture. Communal and individual customs typically blended religion and ancient beliefs. People might ask a clergyman to bless items believed to bring good fortune or good health. Villagers engaged in activities that supposedly chased away demons and witches. They also used charms that they believed would protect their villages from such evil forces.

While superstitions and rituals characterized village life, some practices were common to Slovak culture in general. Death in particular could be accompanied by a host of superstitions. For instance, immediately following a person's demise, Slovaks covered all the mirrors in the deceased's home. They also closed all windows and, if the house had one, locked the gate. They believed that these measures would prevent the deceased from returning and perhaps doing harm.

Twenty-first-century Slovakia is no longer an agrarian society, but rural folk customs, ancient superstitions, and religious beliefs are some of the vibrant traditions that helped shape Slovak popular culture.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During most of its history, Slovakia's economy was closely interwoven into the socioeconomic structure of a larger empire or country. Under Hungarian rule, a combination of policies and attitudes blended together to keep Slovakia an agricultural society. The region was essentially assigned a role as the supplier of raw materials for industry elsewhere in the kingdom. As Slovakia moved into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its agrarian character was an impediment to its economic development. Like Hungary of earlier years, Czechoslovakia adopted policies that hampered economic change in Slovakia until, during the communist era, Slovakia was industrialized. After the 1989 Velvet Revolution, however, Slovakia had to confront the legacy of an economic strategy that had been too narrowly dependent on heavy industry. Slovakia's history as part of other multinational states thus significantly shaped its economic development.

Slovakia's agrarian roots reach back to when Slavic tribes first migrated into the Danube Basin and established permanent settlements. These were stable communities where inhabitants survived by tilling the fields, raising animals, and hunting local game. The Magyar invasion in the early tenth century did not disturb the self-sustaining agrarian culture that already existed. Instead, feudalism, which started evolving in the mid-thirteenth century, reinforced Slovakia's agricultural economy and helped perpetuate it well into the future. Under the feudal system, peasants were turned into serfs. They had to pay for the right to farm the land as well as pay taxes on their crops and animals. More important, however, serfs were obligated to an overlord and bound to fulfill prescribed obligations, including working for the manor owner. When the system first began, the majority of Slovak serfs were peasant farmers who, after they had met all obligations to their overlord, could freely move somewhere else. Over time this freedom of movement became more and more limited.

The region's mineral wealth also had some impact on Slovakia's early economic development. At approximately the same time that Slovak peasants were being reduced to

Religious sculptures stand on the side altar of the Church of Saint Egidius in Bardejov, Slovakia. (Scheufler Collection/Corbis)

serfdom, mining was getting under way in Slovakia's central region. By the middle of the thirteenth century, iron ore was being dug out of the Slovenské Rudohorie (Slovak Ore Mountains). The discovery of gold and silver caused excavation in Slovakia to diversify and expand. At the end of the fourteenth century, silver, gold, copper, and iron ore were being mined in this northern region of Hungary. Mining gave rise to towns that flourished from the extraction of precious metals and minerals. By the late 1300s, Kremnica probably had forty mills and foundries. While mining spawned additional enterprises in a few towns like Kremnica, generally Slovakia's mineral resources did not foster many allied industries. Instead, raw materials were exported and processed elsewhere, beyond Slovakia. Thus early in its history, outside markets played an important role in Slovakia's economic development.

Despite the growth of mining "industries," the feudal system, which continued to evolve, fated Slovakia to remain a predominantly agricultural area. By the fifteenth century, serfs made up perhaps four-fifths of the Slovak population.

Slovak peasants gather grass to make haystacks. (Scheufler Collection/Corbis)

Some were farmworkers with houses; others worked on property owned by lords; and others were villagers who performed services such as milling grain or working as blacksmiths for the landowner. As time passed, nobles gained more legal control over their serfs and, as a result, their freedom to move away was severely reduced. This erosion of rights continued until, in the early 1600s, geographic mobility by serfs was essentially stopped altogether. They were bound to the land and the landowner. Taxes, crop assessments, and various obligations also meant that serfs were engaged in a constant struggle to eke out an existence.

Hungary's lengthy war to expel the Ottoman Turks helped worsen the economic situation for the serfs. The need to supply Hungary's military posts and soldiers during campaigns against the Turks after the mid-1500s increased the demand for foodstuffs. Since it was financially profitable to grow agricultural products, landlords increased the number of acres they cultivated. Serfs provided the cheap labor that allowed for this expansion. Slovakia thus became an area with huge manors where tremendous amounts of fertile land were concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of landlords, primarily the nobility.

Through a series of legal measures serfdom was abolished in 1848–1853. The ill effects of this socioeconomic system, which had dominated the economic life of Slovakia for five centuries, were not easily remedied. When the system was ended, many former serfs were left with debt, in poverty, and on plots too small to provide much beyond a subsistence living. The long-term impact of feudalism went even deeper. By keeping a significant segment of Slovaks in an impoverished state and obligated to serve overlords, the feudal system thwarted economic progress. A large segment of Slovakia's population was unable to advance socially or contribute to the region's economic development. Instead of modernizing, agricultural methods remained antiquated. Consequently, into the twentieth century, Slovakia stayed a primarily agrarian, economically undeveloped area with a relatively poor population.

During the centuries dominated by the feudal system, mining was the only major exception to the overwhelmingly agricultural nature of Slovakia's economy. The mining "industry," however, seesawed back and forth between flourishing and bad times. Extracting copper boomed in the sixteenth century but died down by the end of the next century when underground waters flooded many mines and operators lacked the necessary equipment efficiently to pump them dry. Gold and silver mines encountered similar problems. Despite technical difficulties, mining remained the most important part of Slovakia's nonagricultural economy. After technology became available to siphon out water, the industry prospered again, and in the 1700s the amount of silver and gold taken from Slovakia's mines reached all-time highs. At about the same time, copper started to be mined in eastern Slovakia, and the discovery of iron ore deposits stimulated mining in the east as well. Because most of Slovakia's ores and precious metals were exported to lower Hungary or to countries outside the kingdom, its mining industry remained dependent on "outside markets."

During the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, Slovakia did experience some industrial growth. The economy even became slightly more diversified. The raw materials available in Slovakia determined what types of industrial establishments were created. For example, a textile plant was founded in the early 1700s. In the nineteenth century the number and kinds of factories increased. Paper, textile, leather, iron, and metal as well as food processing plants existed in the region. On the eve of World War I, Slovakia claimed more than half of Hungary's paper mills and a third of its textile plants. There were also sawmills in the heavily forested areas.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the number of factories in Slovakia remained relatively low, and they were small in size. Despite its forests, the region claimed only about one-fifth of Hungary's timber industries and the same proportion of iron and metal processing plants. In 1910 Slovakia had only slightly over 600 industrial plants that employed twenty or more employees; roughly 86,000 persons worked at these concerns. Moreover, because industrial works were located in specific areas, they touched only a small portion of the land and the people. As a result of this concentration of factories, Slovakia claimed just small pockets of industry while most of its territory stayed agricultural. Moreover, agriculture was not commercialized. On the eve of World War I, most Slovak farmers owned only small plots consisting of a few acres. Instead of cultivating produce for sale, they engaged in subsistence farming where persons raised food and livestock for their own consumption. As a result, large pockets of rural poverty existed in Slovakia.

The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I ultimately detached Slovakia from its thousand-year bond to the Kingdom of Hungary and made it part of yet another multinational state, Czechoslovakia. Joining in a new nation could not undo the reality that, for a millennium, Slovakia had been part of Hungary and its larger, more complex economy. Under the Hungarians the center of financial activity had been in Budapest and economic decisions affecting the entire kingdom were made there. Slovakia's markets were also primarily in the south; railroad tracks and roads went southward toward Hungary proper.

Liberation from Hungary had serious ramifications for Slovakia because the region now had to integrate into a new economy. Breaking with the Austro-Hungarian Empire meant that Slovakia lost long established markets for its natural resources. Transportation networks that had led south into Hungary needed reorienting in an east-west direction to the Czech Lands. In the new state, Prague replaced Budapest as the financial center.

When Slovakia joined the Czech Lands to form Czechoslovakia in 1918, Slovakia's agrarian base reinforced an economic policy similar to what Hungary had pursued while the region was part of its kingdom. This policy can be described as colonialist, meaning a system whereby one geographic area functions as the source of raw goods for another region. Slovakia was viewed as the supplier of raw materials for Czech factories. Different degrees of economic development in Slovakia and the Czech Lands encouraged this to happen. When Czechoslovakia was created, the Czech Lands were far more industrialized than Slovakia. While more than three-fifths of Slovakia's population was engaged in farming or forestry activities, less than one-third of the Czech populace was involved in some kind of agriculture.

Financial leaders, banks, and the central government in Prague tended to favor Czech enterprises. During the 1920s, using the rationale of modernizing industry, some Slovak factories were eliminated and some new establishments were built. However, all told, the new plants actually employed fewer workers than the number who had lost jobs when the older factories were closed. Slovakia, therefore, endured a higher rate of unemployment than elsewhere in Czechoslovakia, and in industrial development it continued to lag behind the Czech Lands. Although Slovakia remained a basically agrarian region, this did not lead to expansion of commercial farming. Even in agricultural production, Slovakia could not compete because the Czech Lands had developed modern, mechanized farming techniques. At the same time, the majority of farms in Slovakia were small, and farmers consumed most of what they produced. Large estates with sufficient acreage for commercial production remained in the hands of a minority of the population.

The Great Depression of the 1930s inflicted economic hardships on all of Czechoslovakia. To sell its finished goods, Czechoslovakia depended on outside markets. As a supplier of raw materials, Slovakia therefore could not avoid the ripple effect that the decline in exports had on Czechoslovakia's economy. Not only did the demand for natural resources plummet, factories in Slovakia were shut down and the majority of sawmills closed as well. Still, by 1934, the depression began easing in Slovakia. Adolf Hitler's rise to power in nearby Germany stirred fears about Czechoslovakia's security. In this climate of growing anxiety, Slovakia, which was located farther from Germany, became strategically more important to Czechoslovakia. This situation altered traditional attitudes that had worked against promoting industrialization in Slovakia; consequently, during the 1930s, armament factories were built there.

During World War II, Slovakia experienced an economic boom. This beneficial turn of events, however, was due in large measure to the Slovak Republic's ties to the Third Reich. German investment helped modernize and expand Slovak industries, which manufactured materiel for the German war machine. Overall, by 1943 Slovak industrial production had increased approximately 30 percent over prewar levels.

After the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948, Slovakia's economic development was controlled by an anticapitalist ideology. It was a doctrine aimed at destroying both private ownership of property and free competition in an independent marketplace. Czechoslovakia adopted centralized planning, which meant that the government took over and managed the economy. The period witnessed the complete nationalization of companies, industries, and consumer-oriented shops. Owners of small businesses were forced to turn them over to the state. The government used various forms of intimidation to force farmers, who still made up nearly half of Slovakia's population, to merge their property into huge cooperatives. This collectivization of farms, which continued in the 1950s, eliminated private ownership of agricultural lands. Individuals were no longer free to cultivate their land or sell their agricultural products. By the early 1960s more than two-thirds of Slovakia's agricultural land was state owned or part of cooperatives. To supplement their incomes, most farmers took second jobs.

Communist rule led to a revamping of traditional views about Slovakia's industrial development. The intensely hostile atmosphere of the Cold War era caused Czechoslovakia's central planners to place strong emphasis on defense-related industries. Five-Year Plans, modeled after the Soviet Union's system to expand industrial output, encouraged construction projects and spurred the expansion of heavy industry. In Slovakia, factories were built to manufacture weapons and armored vehicles such as tanks. In addition, chemical plants and metal industries—including copper, iron, steel, and aluminum—sprang up.

This strong emphasis on heavy industry furthered industrialization in Slovakia, but the standard of living there still lagged behind the Czech Lands. Moreover, in the early 1960s, quality consumer goods were in short supply everywhere in Czechoslovakia, and the country's economy was stagnating. Trying to stimulate the economy and correct inequalities between the regions helped spark the short-lived 1968 reform movement commonly called the "Prague Spring." During "normalization," the period of repression that took place in the aftermath of the failed reform attempt, an ever greater stress was placed on promoting industrialization in Slovakia. The objective was also to improve the standard of living for Slovaks by bringing Slovakia economically on par with the country's western Czech region. The construction of chemical plants and emphasis on heavy industry, especially armaments, thus continued. For Slovaks, building industrial plants had the additional positive effect of creating construction jobs. This opened employment opportunities for more Slovaks and also let farmers, whose property had been merged into huge collectives, supplement their incomes. In the 1980s Slovakia enjoyed 100 percent employment, and the standard of living did reach parity with the Czechs. Rural poverty, in particular, was reduced and life in Slovakia's villages improved.

Under the heavy hand of a centrally controlled regime, then, Slovakia went from a backward agricultural region to an industrialized society. Although a brutally repressive period, the fact is that Slovakia's industrialization occurred primarily during Czechoslovakia's communist era. Centrally managed economic programs led to the modernization of farming methods, but it was in industry where the greatest transformation took place. Policies that fostered full unemployment and raised the standard of living in Slovakia, however, also encouraged inefficiency. Old factories and equipment were often not modernized; the overproduction of goods led to warehouses overstocked with surplus inventory. The strategy of emphasizing heavy industry, especially defense-related products, made Slovakia economically dependent on the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries. Thus following a pattern that had historically characterized Slovakia's economic development, in the late 1980s its prosperity relied on markets outside the region. Moreover, Slovakia's economic progress was overly dependent on a limited range of manufactured goods.

When the communist regime was toppled in 1989, Czechoslovakia set out to reestablish a market economy based on competition and private ownership. In the push to transform the economy, Czechoslovakia's postcommunist government made privatization an important objective. This meant turning former state-owned companies into private properties. The country's privatization program would, ultimately, lead to the elimination of inefficient enterprises that could not compete in the market place.

The economic restructuring following the 1989 revolution hurt Slovakia far more than the Czech Republic. Ironically, the eased international tensions that accompanied the end of the Cold War greatly reduced the demand for defense weapons. The overthrow of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, therefore, resulted in the loss of markets for the types of goods manufactured in Slovakia. The ill effects of an economy too narrowly dependent on armaments and heavy industry quickly became apparent. Slovaks, who had lived under a system of guaranteed employment, were now losing their jobs. By the fall of 1991, unemployment in Slovakia had reached 12 percent; in the Czech Republic it was only 4 percent. Slovak laborers still employed lived in fear that their factories would be shut down. In Slovakia, therefore, popular sentiment favored a more gradual privatization program. Many persons wanted the government to protect their jobs by continuing to subsidize factories, including the inefficient weapons industries. Sharply conflicting views about how quickly the country should privatize industry and reinstitute a free enterprise system contributed to the breakup of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic in 1993.

Following the Velvet Divorce, Slovakia, for the first time in its history, boasted an independent economy. Its subsequent economic development, however, followed a bumpy course. Slovakia now faced the task of creating a stable economic system that would keep unemployment low, check inflation, and let Slovak businesses participate in a competitive international market. Those advocating independence had promised to slow down the rate of economic change. It was believed that this course of action would spare Slovakia's inhabitants undue hardships and leave them economically better off. The problems that plagued Slovakia before the separation, however, persisted afterward. Slovakia still had a large number of inefficient, state-owned enterprises producing goods for a dwindling market. Workers, used to looking to the government to safeguard their jobs, wanted it to continue subsidizing these factories. Government officials also became embroiled in major controversies over whether banks and energy-producing companies should be privatized.

Although Vladimír Mečiar supported gradual privatization, during the first year of independence he pushed policies that nearly halted the process of turning state-owned assets over to private ownership. In 1993–1994 privatization moved slowly. Following the September 1994 elections the process was accelerated but still did not proceed at a rapid pace. On the eve of independence, in 1992, about 30 percent of state-owned businesses suited for privatization had been placed in private hands; by 1995, privately owned enterprises had only grown to slightly over 41 percent. Privatization did subsequently pick up speed. Based on government statistics, by the end of 1997 nearly 97 percent of the country's eligible businesses had been privatized; just over 1,600 were still publicly owned.

As it turned out, however, most state properties privatized under Mečiar's stepped-up program were sold directly to individuals and without public scrutiny. The procedure was fraught with abuses and resulted in cronyism, especially as persons with political connections were allowed to purchase prime real estate and the most lucrative enterprises. Many transactions involved selling properties at costs far below their real value and meant huge financial losses for the national treasury.

Still, during the first three years after independence, Slovakia enjoyed economic growth. During this period, government policies—and its continued intervention in the economy—helped reduce inflation and keep unemployment from worsening. Inflation fell from 23 percent in 1993 to 13 percent in 1994. With a few fluctuations, the unemployment rate dropped slightly; it went from 14 percent in 1993 to 12.5 percent in 1997.

By 1997, however, the economy had moved into a downward spiral. Even before independence, Slovakia had had a difficult time enticing foreign investment. Fears that the Mečiar government lacked a commitment to advancing democratization made foreign financiers even more leery of investing money in the Slovak Republic. Thus, during the entire period from 1989 through 1996, Slovakia reportedly attracted less than $625 million from outside investors. In addition, by 1997 Slovakia had amassed a trade deficit that, together with a rising foreign debt, turned it into a debtor nation. Its financial situation hurt plans to become part of the global economy. In 1995 the Slovak Republic had applied for membership in the European Union. At its December 1997 meeting, for both economic and political reasons, the European Union refused to accept Slovakia into membership at that time. The country was placed on a list for later consideration.

The Dzurinda government, which came into power in 1998, resolved to deal with the republic's economic problems. The new leadership was determined to put the country's financial affairs in order so that Slovakia would qualify for membership in the European Union. The government therefore adopted harsh measures to reduce the debt and increase revenues. This caused unemployment to increase from nearly 14 percent to 17.7 percent in 1999. Inflation also went up nearly eight points to 14 percent. At the same time, in that year Slovakia was able to wipe out its trade deficit. By 2002, the Slovak Republic definitely had not solved its financial problems, and its economic development remained on a bumpy course. Nevertheless, in December, the European Union extended Slovakia an invitation to become a member state as of May 2004. On 16 April 2003, Prime Minister Dzurinda, together with representatives from nine other new-member nations, signed the treaty allowing their respective countries to join. In a national referendum held in May 2003, a majority of the Slovaks who voted indicated that they agreed with the decision to make Slovakia a member state of the European Union. There is still hope that Slovakia's economic development will continue along a path that will allow the republic to participate in the global economy and maintain a decent standard of living for its citizens. Since Slovakia became independent, economic issues have often dominated domestic politics. And Slovakia's ongoing economic development no doubt will be significantly influenced by the course that the government elected in the 2002 national elections chose to follow.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

Following the Velvet Divorce in 1993, Slovakia became a sovereign nation, but with independence came immediate problems and long-term challenges. The Slovak government now became responsible for safeguarding the welfare of individuals living within its boundaries. Independence meant that, in addition to creating a stable governmental structure, the Slovak Republic had to grapple with forwarding the democratization process and establishing a market economy. These changes, together with the resurgence of ethnic divisions, fragmented Slovak society.

Coping with divisions is among Slovakia's most pressing problems. The economic transformation that took place in the 1990s created a more socially diverse population than had previously existed. In addition, varying perceptions of how well Slovakia has fared since the collapse of communism divides its citizens. A freer, more democratic climate has also allowed a large number of political parties to develop. Slovakia is divided in yet another crucial way. Although Slovaks make up slightly over 85 percent of the population, Slovakia is a multiethnic country. After independence, protecting the rights of ethnic minorities against Slovak nationalism and a potentially tyrannical majority became both a problem and a challenge. In the twenty-first century, Slovakia thus faces the challenge of trying to ensure that all its inhabitants enjoy the benefits of having brought down the communist regime as well as having achieved independence.

One of the principal problems Slovakia has had to confront in the early years of the twenty-first century is to refurbish an international image severely tarnished during the mid to late 1990s. The country still needs to overcome the fact that it was the only Central European country initially denied membership in the European Union on the grounds that it failed to meet the political criteria. Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar's high-handed tactics and penchant for authoritarianism, together with the perceived mistreatment of ethnic minorities, led to the accusation that Slovakia had a weak commitment to democracy and human rights. Although the Slovak Republic is now a member of the European Union, the earlier rebuff, which included very public criticism of the newly independent country, damaged its standing in the world community. The Mikuláš Dzurinda government, which was inaugurated in the fall of 1998 and reelected in 2002, made strides toward fixing Slovakia's marred image.

Gaining a reputation as a solid democracy is important to Slovakia. Securing international esteem will not only make the Slovak Republic a respected voice in global affairs, it will help attract foreign investment and advance trade with outside countries. But, even though Slovakia's inhabitants might want their country to enjoy international respect, economic and social issues generally take precedence over global prestige. Like the residents of most countries, Slovak citizens typically view politics through the lens of their own self-interest. Such a perspective commonly produces cleavages within a society. In Slovakia, the move to a market economy created more hardships for some segments of the population than for others. These varied impacts have split Slovaks in several different ways.

The most obvious divisions in Slovakia are between those who believe they have benefited in the post-1989 era and those who feel they have not. The more satisfied group tends to encompass the young, the better educated, and individuals who reside in cities. Rural residents, inhabitants of single-industry towns, and the elderly, especially retired persons, belong to the less satisfied category. The ranks of the dissatisfied also can include workers of all ages who lost their jobs when unprofitable factories were closed. They face the same loss of security and reduced standard of living as do older persons whose pensions no longer provide a comfortable existence.

Socioeconomic divisions in Slovakia mirror the situation in other capitalist countries, including the United States. However, in Slovakia societal cleavages are intensified by attitudes and expectations nurtured during the communist era. For all their oppression, communist regimes did provide ordinary persons with basic economic security and social benefits. Thus Slovakia, like other former communist countries, must deal with the legacy of what is often referred to as the "cradle-to-grave" security that citizens believed they had under the old system. Elderly citizens and workers who experienced the benefits of 100 percent employment, a guaranteed pension, and free universal health care feel less secure in the new, post-1989 order. Many Slovaks want the practice of the government taking responsibility for the general welfare to continue.

In the communist era and even during the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic's short existence, assessments of living standards typically compared the Czech Lands and Slovakia. Now, comparisons of living standards are among social classes within Slovakia. These comparisons underscore differences created by the move to a market economy. Postindependence governments, therefore, have been forced to confront class-based tensions that did not previously divide the population. The fact that Slovakia is now an open society means that persons can freely express their grievances. And politicians cannot simply ignore them.

The significance of socioeconomic differences is apparent each time Slovakia holds national elections. Citizen concerns force political parties to address economic issues, which now form an important part of national campaigns. For example, in summer 2002, as Slovakia was gearing up for the fall elections, the media carried reports on nagging economic questions and problems with the country's health care system. Seeking comments from political parties, reporters highlighted the large gap between the minimum wage and the average monthly income. Commenting on economic matters, spokespersons offered their party's solutions for how the situation might be improved.

Economic concerns have contributed to the formation of numerous political parties, but this proliferation also reflects an array of divisions within Slovak society. Indeed, Slovakia's multiparty system is another indicator of just how fragmented the country is. In July 2002, for example, officials announced that twenty-six parties had registered and planned to field candidates in the upcoming fall elections. Given the large number of parties, identifying blocs of supporters is difficult; however, observers tend to agree on some basic points. Persons residing in rural areas and the elderly form pockets of conservative voters who believe that Slovakia was better off before the 1989 Velvet Revolution. Families and individuals whose living standards have been reduced or whose future security seems threatened by unemployment are also drawn to the former Communist and more nationalistic parties. In addition, there is a small hardcore segment still ideologically committed to communism and yearning for a return to the old political and economic order.

Dealing with ethnic divisions within its boundaries is another reality in Slovakia and one of the most formidable challenges confronting the young republic. Slovaks have had to contend with the fact that, although they make up the dominant group, Slovakia is clearly a multiethnic state. Except for the short interim during World War II, the period since 1989 is the first time in nearly eleven hundred years that Slovaks have enjoyed majority status. Gaining independence, which was viewed as finally fulfilling Slovak national aspirations, has intensified nationalist sentiments among the populace. Modern-day politics in Slovakia, therefore, are influenced by a strong Slovak nationalism in the face of minority groups determined to preserve their cultural identity.

Slovakia's constitution addressed the status of subject nationalities by including clauses affirming minority rights. Indeed, beginning with the Preamble, it acknowledges the multinational nature of Slovak society. For the Slovak government, therefore, the challenge is to ensure the fair treatment promised to ethnic minorities; for the Slovak people, the challenge is to avoid becoming a tyrannical majority indifferent or even hostile to the other nationalities in their midst.

Questions involving language rights present a particularly nettlesome problem for the Slovak Republic. The government and Slovaks in general see their language as an expression of national sovereignty. An official state language contributes, theoretically, to national unity. Not surprisingly, Slovaks generally accept the idea that Slovak should be the country's only official language. At the same time, for subject minorities—especially Hungarians—preserving their own language is part of their historical experience and protecting it is a steadfast objective. And they have successfully maintained their cultural identity since the end of World War I, when they involuntarily became part of Czechoslovakia.

Looking back on the decade since independence, Hungarians see a chipping away at minority rights. Even before the breakup of Czechoslovakia, debates over language rights sharply divided the populace and stirred apprehensions among Hungarians that a sovereign Slovak state would try to stamp out their language. From the Hungarian standpoint, when the Slovak National Council passed the State Language Law in 1995, which proclaimed Slovak the only official language, their fears were being confirmed. Hungarians interpreted the law as an outright violation of minority rights guaranteed by the Slovak Constitution. From their perspective, the language legislation reflected more than popular prejudice, which minorities in many countries encounter. It represented official discrimination by the government. The 1995 law thus heightened the difficulties in already strained ethnic relations.

Hungarians are probably aware that not all Slovaks support repressive measures to force the Slovak language on ethnic groups. Indeed, in some regions Slovaks reportedly reacted to language laws by continuing to use Hungarian in their dealings with Hungarians. In the 1990s some Slovaks even responded negatively to Prime Minister Mečiar's attempt to play on nationalist sentiments to shore up support for himself. For their part, Hungarians still remain uneasy about their cultural survival and fear that their legal rights will not be upheld in the Slovak Republic. As a result, in modern Slovakia Hungarians have become a visible, highly vocal minority.

A determination to promote Hungarian interests has caused several political parties to develop. In 2002 there were six such parties in Slovakia. Because Hungarians are overwhelmingly attracted to them, these parties further splinter Slovakia's population as well as the country's political process.

In the main, Hungarian political parties have platforms demanding that minority rights be protected. They seek to ensure Hungarian representation in the government and National Council. Like Slovak nationalists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, activists desire more cultural autonomy for Hungarians. They want more authority over local education, a power that would let Hungarians continue to foster Hungarian culture. Coexistence, a more militant political party, has called for granting territorial autonomy to Hungarian areas in southern Slovakia. Hungarian parties, though, have not directly advocated secession.

While Hungarians have been working to preserve their cultural identity, Slovakia's Roma, known as Gypsies in English-language countries, have been dealing with pervasive discrimination. In the modern Slovak Republic, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, crime, and even disease rates are much higher among the Roma than for other citizens, including other ethnic minorities. The Roma are suffering from the effects of a history of poverty, poor education, and a lifestyle most Slovaks disdain. The period since independence has been a particularly bad time for Slovakia's Roma population. The reduction of social benefits formerly provided by the communist regime has made their already poor existence even worse.

Anti-Roma prejudices take several forms. At the national level, there has been government neglect as well as a tolerance of mistreatment and discrimination. In the 1990s Slovakia's political leaders seemed callously disinterested in safeguarding the civil rights of the country's Romany citizens. In addition to Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar, other national officials openly expressed contempt for the Roma. Instead of helping to moderate popular bigotry, national figures thus helped intensify existing popular prejudices.

In the local arena, bigotry toward the Roma is evident in discriminatory ordinances. By employing former communist-style residency permits, some localities have limited where the Roma can live. Finally, the Roma are the victims of popular stereotypes accepted by most Slovaks. An impoverished, uneducated minority generally living in squalid conditions, they are considered responsible for their dire situation. Their plight is typically blamed on their "way of life." On a more personal level, the Roma have encountered brutal hostility in the form of sporadic attacks, especially by Slovak skinheads. In 2000 the brutal murder of a Romany woman in Žilina who was trying to protect her daughters from men who had broken into their home generated outrage not only in Europe but within Slovakia as well. Whether the publicity about such a horrific incident was a fleeting emotional response or has caused a genuine

Slovak Roma are known in English as Gypsies. All over Europe, Gypsies suffer discrimination. (Shepard Sherbell/Corbis)

reassessment of the ill effects of bigotry toward the Roma is a yet unanswered question, embodying a challenge that Slovak society faces.

Diversity in Slovakia was further enhanced by a surge in ethnic nationalism among Ruthenians (Ruthenian-Ukrainians) after 1989. A small Slavic minority in the country's eastern region, Ruthenians belong to the Greek Catholic (Byzantine) Rite. Although they use the Cyrillic alphabet, their language is similar to the dialect spoken by Slovaks who live in eastern Slovakia. While legislation designating Slovak as the official language does not affect them in the same adverse way as Hungarians, Ruthenians, nevertheless, are increasingly dedicated to preserving their ethnic identity and fighting assimilation into Slovak culture. Language training has been incorporated into school curriculums, where Slovak too is taught. This ethnic revival has also helped boost the number of political parties in Slovakia. By 2002, there were two parties dedicated to promoting Ruthenian interests.

The presence of a tiny Jewish minority presents a special challenge to the rest of the country's populace. Slovaks, in particular, are being called on to guard against a resurgence of anti-Semitism, especially as a reenergized nationalism has prompted some to take a more positive view of the World War II Slovak state and its clerical leader, Josef Tiso.

Slovakia must contend with the fact that questions surrounding minority rights have had an impact that reaches beyond its borders. Specifically, there have been foreign policy ramifications. The treatment of ethnic groups helped bring disrepute to the country in the mid-1990s and contributed to what amounted to a scolding by the European Union (EU) and NATO. Minority issues have prompted outside interference in Slovak affairs. For example, allegations of abuse brought Slovakia under the watchful eye of international groups that monitor human rights. In addition, the language laws that antagonized Hungarians in Slovakia upset the Hungarian government as well. Whether justified or not, Hungary has maintained a keen interest in Hungarian minorities residing in its neighboring countries. In the mid-1990s the Slovak Republic and Hungary negotiated a treaty that, in addition to settling boundary issues, made the Slovak government promise to guarantee human and minority rights. Meddling by Hungary has had the unfortunate effect of nurturing underlying fears that a zealous Hungarian minority could one day turn into a separatist movement. Because persistent, widespread discrimination has led many Roma to seek asylum in other countries, their situation has created an additional international embarrassment. Other countries have generally rejected asylum appeals on the basis that the Roma are economic refugees, not political refugees eligible for protection. Still, their attempt to leave Slovakia spotlights the discrimination against and overall plight of the country's Roma population.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Slovakia faces many of the same kinds of problems and challenges as other nations confront. It must contend with economic upswings as well as downturns, unemployment, and inflation. Slovakia cannot escape social problems stemming from an unequal distribution of wealth. Consumer-related concerns have evolved into political issues. It has to cope with environmental problems, especially restoring areas ravaged by industrial expansion during the communist era, when there was little concern about pollution or other adverse environmental impacts.

Like other former communist countries, Slovakia also has to grapple with the peculiar legacy of those years. In particular, these countries cannot escape the lingering impact of a system that, even if it denied political freedoms, provided basic economic security to ordinary citizens of all ages. The transformation to a market economy has created more social classes, and some groups have clearly fared much better than others since 1989. For Slovakia, therefore, a vital challenge is to prevent significant segments of the society from becoming disillusioned with the reformed economic structure.

Slovakia must deal with the reality that it is a divided, often polarized, society. The fact that it is a freer, more democratic country has let suppressed differences surface. The collapse of communism and subsequent Slovak independence also gave rise to a more assertive Slovak nationalism. This heightened Slovak nationalism has accentuated ethnic differences and generated a strong reaction among the country's minority groups. The fight to protect minority languages symbolizes larger, thornier issues. From a practical standpoint, it is reasonable that the Slovak government and Slovaks, who are in the majority, favor a single official language. From the perspective of national minorities, this aim represents an attempt to eradicate ethnic cultures. And from their vantage, Slovaks pose the threat of becoming a tyrannical majority. Slovakia thus faces the ongoing challenge of ensuring that ethnic groups are afforded an opportunity to have their interests heard.

The treatment of minorities has raised doubts about how strong the commitment to democratic principles is among Slovaks in general. Slovakia, though, is not the only country that has had to deal with ethnic tensions. Indeed, some countries have not treated their minorities nearly as well as Slovakia has. For example, at the time of independence, Slovakia conferred citizenship on all residents, including ethnic minorities. Former communist-dominated countries did not universally follow this course. Nevertheless, the practice of discriminatory policies by other nations does not absolve Slovakia or make minority issues any less real or problematic.

For the foreseeable future, ethnic differences will remain a reality of life in the Slovak Republic. There is little doubt that political, social, and demographic differences that fragment Slovak society will persist as well. The economic and political transformations that have taken place since the end of communism seem to ensure that they will. For modern-day Slovakia, the fundamental challenge is to address issues in a way that makes the various social, demographic, ethnic, and political groups believe that, in the long run, they are better off under the reformed economic and political system that has taken hold in this now sovereign nation.

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CHRONOLOGY

ca. 450–500	Slavs first recorded as residing in modern-day Slovakia.
568	Avars invade the Danube region inhabited by Slavs.
623–658	Period of the Kingdom of Samo.
791–796	Charlemagne's forces expel Avars from the Danube region.
828	Prince Pribina builds a castle and church in Nitra.
833	Mojmír annexes Pribina's land and creates the Great Moravian Empire.
863	The missionaries Cyril and Methodius arrive in the Great Moravian Empire.
870–894	Reign of Svätopluk and height of the Great Moravian Empire.
906–907	Magyars invade the Danube region.
	Great Moravian Empire disintegrates; for the next 1,000 years Slovakia is ruled by the Magyars.
907	First recorded mention of a castle on the site of modern-day Bratislava.
ca. 1200	Germans begin settling in northern Slovakia.
1428	Czech Hussites begin moving into Slovak territory.
ca. 1520	Protestant Reformation gets under way in Slovakia.
1526	Ottoman Turks defeat Magyar forces at Mohács.
1536–1783	Bratislava (Pressburg) is the capital of Royal Hungary.
ca. 1616	Counter-Reformation gets under way in Slovakia.
1619–1711	Religious and civil wars in the Hungarian kingdom.
1635	University is established at Trnava.
1657	University is established at Košice.
1711–1713	Jánošík leads a band of outlaws in northern Slovakia and surrounding areas.
1790	Anton Bernolák publishes a Slovak grammar.
1792	Slovak Learned Society founded in Trnava.
1825	Ján Kollár publishes *Čitanka* (A Reader) in "Czechoslovak."
1843	L'udovít Štúr and followers agree to establish a Slovak literary language.
1848	Demands of the Slovak Nation manifesto are proclaimed in Liptovský Sväty Mikuláš.
	Slovak National Council is created.
	Failed attempt, led by Štúr, to foment a Slovak popular uprising against Magyars.
1849	Slovak delegation presents petition for Slovak autonomy to Emperor Franz Joseph.
1851	Supporters of Štúr and Bernolák agree on a Slovak literary language.
1852	Martin Hattala publishes *Krátka mluvnica slovenská* (A Concise Slovak Grammar).
1861	Memorandum of the Slovak Nation is drafted in Turciansky Svätý Martin.
1863	Matica slovenská is founded.
1867	Dual Monarchy is created; Slovakia falls under direct Hungarian control.
1868	Nationality Law makes Magyar the official language but promises to protect minority language rights.
1870s	Hungarian government renews Magyarization policy.
1871	Slovak National Party is organized.
1874	The government closes Slovakia's three gymnasia.
1875	The government abolishes the Matica slovenská and confiscates its property.
1896	Slovak students form the Czechoslovak Union to foster Czech and Slovak unity.
1907	Černova Massacre.
1913	Slovak People's Party is formally established.
1915	Cleveland Agreement is drafted.
1916	Czechoslovak National Council is formed in Paris.
1918	Pittsburgh Agreement is signed by Tomáš Masaryk.
	New Czech-Slovak state declares independence.
	Declaration of the Slovak Nation is announced in Turciansky Svätý Martin.
	Vavro Šrobár is charged with administering Slovakia; Bratislava is designated Slovakia's administrative capital.
	Slovak People's Party is revived under Father Andrej Hlinka's leadership.
1919	Matica slovenská is reopened.

	Comenius University is founded.
1920	Czechoslovakia's constitution is adopted; it renames the country "Czechoslovakia" and creates a centralized state.
	Treaty of Trianon establishes borders between Czechoslovakia and Hungary.
1925	The Slovak People's Party is renamed Hlinka's Slovak People's Party.
1938	Andrej Hlinka dies in August.
	Monsignor Josef Tiso assumes leadership of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party.
	Munich Agreement: France and England allow Germany to annex the Sudetenland. In October the Žilina program calling for an autonomous Slovak state is drafted.
	On 22 November, the Prague government implements the Žilina program, and the federated state is renamed "Czecho-Slovakia."
	Josef Tiso becomes prime minister of Slovakia.
1939–1945	The Slovak Republic.
1939	On 13 March, Tiso meets with Hitler, who demands that Slovakia declare independence.
	On 14 March, the Slovak parliament proclaims independence.
	On 15 March, Germany invades Czecho-Slovakia, and the united nation ceases to exist.
	Hungary occupies Slovak territory along the Slovak-Hungarian border.
	On 23 March, Slovak government signs a treaty of "protection" with Germany.
1941	Jewish code establishes restrictive regulations for Jews in Slovakia.
1942	From March to October, Jews are deported to concentration camps.
1944	Slovak national uprising.
	Deportation of Jews resumes in the fall.
1945	Restoration of Czechoslovakia.
	Košice Program is implemented.
	Slovakia temporarily has autonomy.
1946	A centralized government is reestablished.
	Josef Tiso is charged with treason and put on trial.
1947	Josef Tiso is executed.
1948	A bloodless coup establishes a communist government in Czechoslovakia.
1950s	Private property is nationalized.
	Collectivization of agricultural lands destroys private farming.
	Political trials and purges take place.
	Supporting Slovak autonomy—bourgeois nationalism—is a crime against the state.
1960	A new constitution is proclaimed.
	The country is renamed the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.
	Self-government in Slovakia is crippled.
1963	Slovaks imprisoned for "bourgeois nationalism" are released.
1968	Alexander Dubček is elected first secretary of the Communist Party.
	Prague Spring, a short-lived reform era, gets under way.
	Prague Spring comes to an abrupt halt when Warsaw Pact countries invade.
	Law passed turning Czechoslovakia into a federation of two republics.
1969	Law establishing the Slovak Socialist Republic goes into effect.
	Dubček is replaced by Gustáv Husák as first secretary of the Communist Party.
	"Normalization," a reassertion of Communist Party control, begins.
	Massive purges to eject persons from the Communist Party get under way.
1980s	Political opposition and dissent begin resurfacing.
1988	Police ruthlessly disperse thousands of Slovaks who gathered in Bratislava to pray for religious freedom.
1989	Public against Violence is organized in Slovakia.
	Czechoslovakia's communist government is overthrown in the Velvet Revolution.
1990	Czechoslovakia is renamed Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.
	First elections are held in June.
	Alexander Dubček becomes president of the Federal Assembly.
	Vladimír Mečiar becomes prime minister of Slovakia.
	Privatization plans get under way.
1991	Vladimír Mečiar is forced to resign as prime minister of Slovakia.
	Ján Čarnogurský becomes prime minister of Slovakia.
	Vladimír Mečiar forms a new party: the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia.
1992	In June elections Vladimír Mečiar becomes prime minister of Slovakia.
	In July the Slovak National Council issues a declaration of sovereignty for Slovakia.
	In September the Slovak National Council adopts a constitution for an independent Slovakia.
	In November the Federal Assembly votes to dissolve the federated state.
1993	On 1 January, Slovakia becomes an independent nation.
	Vladimír Mečiar remains Slovakia's prime minister.
	Michal Kováč is elected president.

1994	In March Vladimír Mečiar is ousted as prime minister but is reelected in October.
1995	National Council passes language law making Slovak the official language.
1997	NATO denies Slovakia's application for membership.
	The European Union denies Slovakia's application for membership.
1998	After fall elections, Mikuláš Dzurinda becomes prime minister.
2002	After fall elections, Mikuláš Dzurinda remains prime minister.
	In December the European Union invites Slovakia to join.
2003	In April, Mikuláš Dzurinda signs treaty allowing Slovakia to join the European Union; in May Slovaks vote to approve the decision to join the European Union.
2004	Slovakia becomes a member of NATO.
	Slovakia becomes a member of the European Union.

HUNGARY

András Boros-Kazai

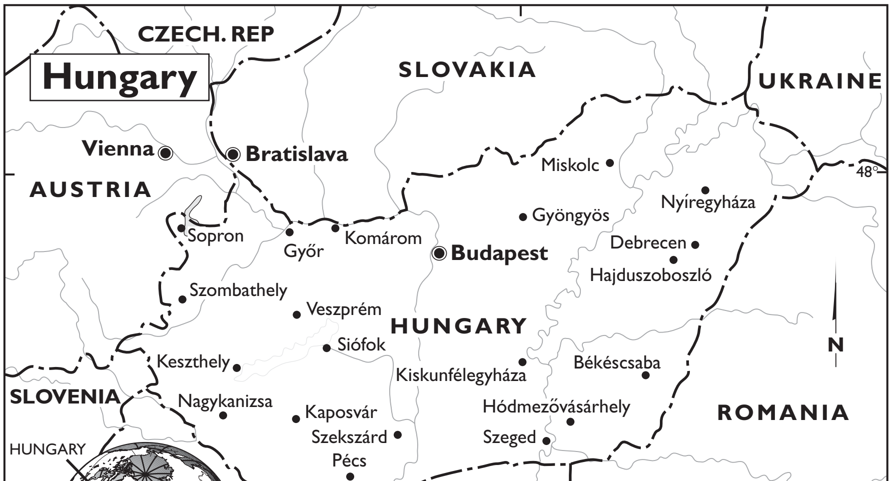
LAND AND PEOPLE

Hungary lies at the heart of East Central Europe. Landlocked, it comprises a total of 93,020 square kilometers. Hungary is bordered by Austria (366 kilometers), Croatia (329 kilometers), Romania (443 kilometers), Serbia and Montenegro (151 kilometers), Slovakia (677 kilometers), Slovenia (102 kilometers), and Ukraine (103 kilometers).

Hungary's topography is seldom higher than 200 meters. Mountains reaching heights of 300 meters or more cover less than 2 percent of the country. The highest point in Hungary is Mount Kékes (1,008 meters) in the Mátra Mountains northeast of Budapest. The lowest spot is 77.6 meters above sea level, located in the Great Plain. Hungary has three main geographic regions: the Great Plain (Nagy Alföld), lying east of the Danube River; Transdanubia (Dunántúl), a hilly region lying west of the Danube and extending to the foothills of the Austrian Alps; and the Northern Hills (Északi Középhegység), a mountainous country beyond the northern boundary of the Great Plain.

The Great Plain contains the basin of the Tisza River and its branches. It encompasses more than half of the country's territory. Bordered by mountains on all sides, it has a variety of terrains, including regions of fertile soil, sandy areas, wastelands, and swampy areas. Here is found the *puszta,* an uncultivated expanse with which much Hungarian folklore is associated. With the danger of recurrent flooding largely eliminated in the nineteenth century, the land was placed under cultivation, and animal herding ceased to be major occupations.

The Transdanubia region lies in the western part of the country, bounded by the Danube River, the Dráva River, and the country's border with the former Yugoslavia. The region features rolling foothills of the Austrian Alps. However, large sections of Transdanubia are flat, most notably the Little Plain (Kis Alföld) along the lower course of the Rába River. Transdanubia is primarily an agricultural area, with flourishing crops, livestock, and viticulture. Mineral deposits and oil are found in Zala County close to the southern border.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Budapest
Debrecen
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Veszprém
HUNGARY
N
Siófok
Keszthely
Kiskunfélegyháza
Békéscsaba
SLOVENIA
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The Northern Hills lie north-northeast of Budapest and run in a northeasterly direction south of the border with Slovakia. The higher ridges, which are mostly forested, have rich coal and iron deposits. Minerals are a major resource of the area and have long been the basis of the industrial economies of cities in the region. Viticulture is also important, producing the famous wines of the Tokaj region.

The major rivers in the country are the Danube (Duna) and the Tisza. The Danube is navigable within Hungary for 418 kilometers. The Tisza River is navigable for 444 kilometers in the country. Less important rivers include the Dráva (along the Croatian border), the Rába, the Szamos, the Sió, and the Ipoly (along the Slovak border). Hungary has three major lakes. The Balaton (the "Hungarian Sea") is 78 kilometers long

Elizabeth Bridge and cityscape, Budapest. (PhotoDisc, Inc.)

and from 3 to 14 kilometers wide, with an area of 592 square kilometers. It is Central Europe's largest freshwater lake and an important recreation area. Its shallow waters offer good summer swimming, and in winter its frozen surface provides excellent opportunities for winter sports. Smaller bodies of water are Lake Velence (26 square kilometers) in Fehér County and Lake Fertő (Neusiedlersee), with 82 square kilometers within Hungary.

The country's best natural resource is fertile land, although soil quality varies greatly. About 70 percent of the country's total territory is suitable for agriculture, with 72 percent of that being arable land.

Average temperatures in Hungary range from zero degrees Celsius in January to twenty degrees Celsius in July. Average yearly rainfall is 64 centimeters, unpredictably distributed. The western part of the country usually receives more rain than the eastern part, where severe droughts may occur. Weather conditions in the Great Plain can be harsh, with hot summers, cold winters, and scant rainfall.

Hungary's countryside is beginning to show the effects of pollution, from pesticides used in agriculture and rampant industrial pollutants. Most noticeable is the gradual contamination of the country's rivers and lakes, endangering fish and wildlife. Concern has mounted over these threats to the environment, and initial steps have been taken to counter them.

POPULATION

In its recent history, Hungary has exhibited several population trends that parallel those in other industrializing societies. In 1920 Hungary had 8 million inhabitants and by 1941 had grown to approximately 9.2 million. The country lost 5 percent of its people in World War II, and consequently in 1949 the population was only 8.8 million. Since that time, the population growth rate has fluctuated substantially. Until the mid-1950s, high fertility and declining mortality caused rapid population growth. In 1954 the highest postwar live-birthrate was reached, at 23 births per 1,000 population. Then until the mid-1960s the birthrate declined, but the mortality rate was also low. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the birthrate again rose, partly because of stimulating demographic measures introduced by the government. The mortality rate also increased during this period, but it was counterbalanced by the higher rate of live births.

Population grew slowly in the late 1970s and began to decline in 1981. By the mid-1980s, Hungary's demographic growth rate had become one of the lowest in the world. Deaths began to outnumber births. Over the 1980s, population decreased absolutely, after peaking at a post–World War II high of 10.7 million in 1980.

One reason for the overall decline of the birthrate is said to be the increasing number of educated and economically active women who, as in other countries, tend to have fewer children. In the 1980s the typical family had only two children (reflecting a dramatic decrease from the final decades of the nineteenth century, when the average family had five children).

As in many other European countries, the population is aging. A growing proportion of the population is fifty-five or older, and the proportion of the population under fifteen has decreased by 4 percent since 1949. Marriage rates fell steadily from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. In 1975 the marriage rate was 9.9 per 1,000. By 1986 that number had declined to 6.8 per 1,000. Moreover, in 1980, for the first time, the number of marriages that ended because of death or divorce outnumbered the number of marriages that took place. In 1980 the number of "marriages ceased" because of death and divorce was 9.2 per 1,000 in the population. That number rose to 9.3 by 1983, then fell slightly back to 9.2 by 1986.

Death rates are relatively high and rising. In 1986 the death rate was 13.8 per 1,000, as compared with 12.4 per 1,000 in 1975. In 1986 life expectancy averaged sixty-eight years, up from sixty-six years in 1975. For women in 1986, the average life span was almost seventy-two years; for men, it was just under sixty-five years.

In 1945 only 35 percent of the population lived in urban areas. After 1945, much of the population moved from the country's less developed counties to Budapest and then to its suburbs and to the industrial counties Hajdú-Bihar and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén. The number of urban dwellers grew by more than 50 percent from 1949 to 1984. More people (70 percent) are now living in urban centers than in rural areas. Population density climbed from 100 persons per square kilometer in 1949 to 120 persons per square kilometer in the 1990s. The smallest villages, those with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, are losing their residents, as the number of people leaving the villages far exceeds the number of incoming residents.

A substantial number of persons of Hungarian origin live outside Hungary, many in neighboring countries. Others live in more distant lands. In the early twentieth century over 2 million ethnic Hungarian peasants fled to the United States to escape rural poverty. After the revolution of 1956, 200,000 people left the country, traveling first to Austria and Yugoslavia and eventually emigrating to Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Switzerland, the United States, and West Germany. As a result, about one-third of all persons of Hungarian descent are living outside Hungary.

Hungary is one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries in Europe. Of its population of 10,045,407 (July 2003 est.), Hungarians (or Magyars) compose 89.9 percent of the population. Over 98 percent of the population speak Hungarian.

The country's ethnic minorities include roughly 230,000 Germans; slightly more than 100,000 Slovaks; 100,000 Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (often grouped together as South Slavs); and 30,000 Romanians. In the late 1980s the Romanian population increased significantly, as thousands of Romanians sought refuge in Hungary. In addition, 500,000 Gypsies, 150,000 Jews, and 4,000 Greeks live in Hungary. The Jewish community is a mere remnant of the Jewish population that lived in the country before World War II. During the 1940s, as many as 500,000 Jews and 60,000 Gypsies were deported to Nazi concentration camps.

Ethnic discrimination—except toward the Gypsies—is not generally practiced in Hungary. The government makes great efforts to ensure fair and equal treatment for minority nationalities. Foreign policy considerations partially explain this liberal policy: the Romanian and (to a lesser extent) the Slovak governments have subjected ethnic Hungarians in their countries to various kinds of discrimination. As an incentive to relax such pressure, Budapest pursues liberal policies toward its own national minorities and seeks to make its minority policies a model for other countries in Eastern Europe.

The constitution, as well as a sizable body of law, guarantees the cultural rights of recognized national minorities. Minorities are able to promote their national cultures through freedom of association in federations, ethnic clubs, and artistic endeavors. They can use their own language in official procedures, publish newspapers and periodicals, and broadcast radio and television programs in their own tongue.

Hungary's Jews and Gypsies are defined as a "religious community" and an "ethnic community," respectively. The country's 150,000 Jews form the third largest Jewish community on the European continent. They maintain schools, libraries, museums, shops, orphanages, a rabbinical seminary, and dozens of synagogues. Several publications, including newspapers, serve the Jewish population.

Much less favorable is the situation of the half million Gypsies (Roma), traditionally an impoverished, marginal segment of society that is subject to active as well as passive discrimination. About 60 percent of Gypsies live at or below the poverty level, even though half of them live in settled conditions, holding down jobs. Most speak Hungarian. Gypsies have a birthrate more than twice that of the rest of the population. This circumstance, and the widely held view that the Gypsy crime rate is disproportionately high, contributes to a deep-seated hostility toward Gypsies. There are growing efforts to foster a Gypsy ethnic and cultural identity and a sense of community and tradition to enhance the self-esteem of the Gypsy population. In 1986 the Cultural Association of Gypsies in Hungary was founded to help this trend. Still, Gypsies remain particularly vulnerable when the economic climate deteriorates. With minimal skills, education, and training, they are among the first to lose their jobs as unemployment increases. Their health and living standard remain well below the national average.

In traditional Hungary, the family—the basic social unit—had multiple functions, providing security and identity to individuals and reinforcing social values. In rural areas, it was also the basic economic unit; all members worked together for the material well-being of the whole family. Even before World War II, however, family cohesion began to weaken as people became increasingly mobile. But change quickened after the communist takeover. Intensive industrialization and forced collectivization prompted many

The Hungarian Language

Hungarian (Magyar) is a language spoken by nearly 16 million people worldwide. Although most speakers of the language (10.5 million) live in Hungary, another 3.5 million live in Romania (Transylvania), Slovakia, Serbia (Vojvodina), Austria (Burgenland), and Ukraine, with the remainder scattered all over the globe. Hungarian ranks fiftieth in size among the more than 3,000 languages used around the world and twelfth among the sixty-seven languages spoken in Europe.

The word "Hungarian" may have originated from the Old Turkic expression *onogur,* which means *on* (ten) *ogur* (arrows), an ancient tribal designation. Onogurs are first mentioned in the fifth century, a time when the ancestors of Hungarians dwelled between the Dnieper and Volga Rivers alongside Turkic tribes, who were therefore also called Onogurs.

The self-appellation Magyar is a composite, the first part of which may have been based on *mogy,* an ethnic designation, with the addition of *eu,* meaning "man, male." This designation first appeared in a document from around 810.

Unlike most European languages, which belong to the Indo-European family, Hungarian is a Finno-Ugric language related to Finnish, Estonian, and some other languages spoken by peoples in northwestern Siberia. Therefore, both the vocabulary and grammatical structure of Hungarian are different from the majority of European languages. Nevertheless, due to contacts with its mostly Slavic and German neighbors over time, the Hungarian language also reflects their influence.

Hungarian, like other Finno-Ugric languages, is agglutinative. Suffixes are added to the ends of words; these suffixes would be separate words in Indo-European languages. For example, the word *házamban* is translated as "in my house." The word *ház* (house) is followed by the suffixes *am* (my) and *ban* (in).

Hungarian does use the Latin alphabet and includes thirty-nine voiced letters, including sounds that are written with consonant combinations *(cs, dz, dzs, gy, ly, ny, sz, ty, zs),* each representing a single sound. The letters *q, w, x,* and *y* have no role in Hungarian, except when writing foreign terms or names. The vowels *a, e, i, o,* and *u* take diacritical marks, which change the length (and sometimes the quality) of the vowel: *a, á, e, é, i, í, o, ó, ö,ő, u, ú, ü, ű.* Written Hungarian reflects pronunciation more closely than either French or English, and in this it resembles German.

Hungarian has the same principal parts of speech as the Indo-European languages: verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, articles, and so on. In the Hungarian sentence the dominant word is the verb.

What is it that the Hungarian language does not have? Here are a few examples: There are no prepositions. Postpositions are used: for example, *a ház mögött* means "behind the house," literally "house behind." There are no genders, which complicate the grammar of many other languages. There are no pronouns indicating gender. In the third person *(ő),* there is only one gender, which in English would be "he," "she," or "it."

The Hungarian vocabulary reflects centuries of cultural exchange within the Carpathian Basin, between north and south and between east and west. Words from Pecheneg, Cuman, and Jazygian were absorbed during the early Middle Ages. Later, Hungarian was influenced primarily by Slavic, German, and Latin. There are Byzantine, Greek, Italian, French, Romanian, and Ottoman Turk influences as well. Hungarian has adopted or borrowed hundreds of foreign words but has always adjusted them to its own linguistic system and was thus able to preserve its own individuality.

peasants to leave agriculture for industrial work in the cities, some commuting long distances between home and work. Patterns of family life changed. A growing number of women worked outside the home, and children spent much of their time in school or in youth organization activities. Families came together only for important ceremonies, such as weddings or funerals.

Family members had greater independence. The role of women changed. By 1987, 75 percent of working-age women were gainfully employed. Even peasant women became wage earners on the collective farms. However, most observers agree that the male is still viewed as the head of the household, if only because of his generally higher income. Women still provide much of child rearing and housework, so they usually work longer hours than men.

Social analysts consider the Hungarian family to be an institution under considerable stress. Statistics support this contention. The divorce rate is on the increase, with every third marriage ending in separation. Almost 15 percent of all Hungarian families are headed by a single parent.

One major source of stress within families, according to many observers, is the scarcity of adequate housing, especially for young families. In many families, members face the pressures and exhaustion of trying to hold down multiple jobs. Another source of tension within families is the prevalence of commuting. A large number of villagers commute to the cities to work.

Still, the cohesive force of the family remains relatively strong. The family continues to be a source of personal comfort and reassurance in the face of worsening economic conditions. The traditional sense of family loyalty and responsibility also seems to survive.

Churches faced extensive harassment and persecution by the antireligious regime of the communist era. The clergy were suspicious of the new, stridently anti-religious system, and the secular authorities denounced such attitudes as traitorous, persecuting the churches as a source of opposition.

The Roman Catholic Church lost much of its wealth in the first postwar land reform, which occurred before the communist takeover. Fifty-nine of the sixty-three religious orders were dissolved in 1948, when religious schools were also taken over by the state. Most Catholic associations and clubs, which numbered 4,000, were forced to disband. A number of members of the clergy, most notably József Cardinal Mindszenty, were imprisoned or deported. Relations between church and state remained strained throughout the following decades.

Churches earned popularity as dissenters under an increasingly unpopular regime. But in recent times, clergymen are aging and decreasing in number, and are able to attract few followers among the young. Nominally, close to 70 percent of Hungarians are Roman Catholic, 20 percent Reformed (Calvinist), 5 percent unaffiliated, and 5 percent Lutheran. Smaller denominations are dubbed Free Churches. Hungary also has 65,000 to 100,000 practicing Jews. The remainder of the population does not subscribe to any religious creed or organization. Nor is any single church or religion associated with national identity in the popular mind, as is the Catholic Church in Poland. Religion does not provide a viable alternative value system that could compete with the predominant secularism and materialism of an increasingly modern society. Thus churches are unlikely to become a vehicle for dissent.

Hungary has faced a severe housing shortage since the late 1940s. However, unlike most other countries in Eastern Europe, since the mid-1970s the government has encouraged citizens to build their own housing. This policy has eased the shortage somewhat, but the lack of adequate housing remains a serious problem.

Although 99 percent of the population participate in the social insurance system and could receive free medical services, there has been much public discussion about serious shortcomings in health care. One topic of discussion is the country's high suicide rate: 44 per 100,000 inhabitants. This has many historical aspects, but the rate has risen noticeably since the 1960s and shows no sign of improvement.

Another source of anxiety for both health authorities and the general public is the downward trend projected for the country's population, which is declining by a rate of –0.29 percent. The postcommunist governments are struggling to devise a comprehensive population policy.

HISTORY

In 1996 Hungarians (Magyars) commemorated 1,100 years of their living in the Carpathian Basin. The land was inhabited as early as 350,000 years ago by a variety of now extinct peoples. In the first century B.C.E. Roman legions brought imperial rule to the western half of the region. With the decline of Rome, the region became a transit zone for new migrations. In the fourth century C.E. the Huns of Attila made the Carpathian Basin their wintering ground. When Attila died (453), this nomadic empire disappeared, opening the region to fresh invaders, among them the Avars. Whether the Avars were eliminated or they formed an early wave of the Magyar arrival, dated around 896, is debated.

Linguistic historians estimate that proto-Hungarians did not emerge as a distinctive entity until the first millennium B.C.E., by which time they were living in the mid- or southern Ural region, probably on the eastern, Asian side of that worn-down mountain chain.

The early Christian era found ancient Hungarians nearer to the Volga River. Threatened from the east, they dropped south toward the Azov Sea and then moved on toward the Black Sea. Peoples inhabiting the grassy, semiarid lands of Inner Eurasia adapted successfully to their harsh environment by assuming the lifestyle of horse-mounted nomadic herdsmen, resorting to farming only intermittently.

Were these proto-Hungarians Asian or European? Their "original homeland" was most likely near the Ural Mountains, which are far from impassable, so it would have been easy for them to move from east to west, from Asia to Europe, and back again.

Magyars reappeared in the eighth and ninth centuries, along the Volga, coexisting with Turkic Bulgars. In the ninth century they were part of the Khazar Empire of the Caspian region reaching into the Don, Dniepr, and Crimean steppes. During this Khazar period, the Hungarian tribes repeatedly journeyed through the steppes from east to west. One region in which they wintered was called Etelköz, meaning "between the rivers." However, since both the Volga and the Don were known at the time as Etel (Etil), it is not easy to be sure about the location of this settlement.

A late-ninth-century Arab traveler visited them somewhere "between the rivers" and described a seminomadic and opulent lifestyle. By this time no longer affiliated with the Khazar Empire, the Magyar warriors constituted a fearsome, mobile army and in their raids had ventured to the borders of the eastern Frankish kingdom.

There is also a mythical account of the journey to the new homeland, preserved in the collective memory and recorded by medieval chroniclers. According to these, Hunor and Magor (sons of Gog and Magog, kings of the Scythians), out hunting one day, saw a miraculous stag and chased it far into unknown regions. Bewitched by the beauty of the landscape, the abundance of herbs, wood, fish, and game, they decided to stay. They found their future wives, daughters of a local prince, and from these unions came the famous and all-powerful King Attila and, much later, Prince Álmos, from whom descended the kings and princes of Hungary. Legends like this fed the Hungarian imagination, merging the plausible memory of an abode near the Azov Sea and an improbable belief in a blood connection with Attila's Huns.

The final push that sent early Magyars into their present homeland was a surprise raid by the Pechenegs (Cumans). The attack must have been catastrophic, since Magyar warriors were busy fighting elsewhere. It was thus as much a flight as a conquest when the tribes crossed the Carpathian passes. Two chieftains, Árpád and Kurszán, led the seven Magyar tribes and their Turkic-Kabar allies. Historians generally give 896 as the date of these events, and by 900 the invaders had reached all parts of the Carpathian Basin.

The land of future Hungary offered numerous advantages to the steppe peoples, and its environment—continental, but relatively moderate—turned them from nomads into settlers. The plains, almost entirely covered with loess, were fertile, intermittently flooded, and richly endowed with fish-filled rivers and lakes.

Árpád and his clan took the center of the Carpathian Basin, with their primary residence probably near what is now Budapest. Other chieftains—the seven Magyars, as they are commonly called—may have maintained sway over their respective lands until central control was enforced. In addition to the chieftains and their close associates, there were the common warriors *(jobbágy),* and the poorest, downtrodden laborers, little better than slaves, who had either arrived with the conquerors or joined, perhaps captured, from the local population during raids.

Until the tenth century, the newly acquired land of the Magyars often appears in Western sources as the Avar Empire, while Byzantine sources write about the "country of the Turks." Soon, however, mentions of the Magyars become more frequent. Practically unknown before, these horsemen of the steppes found fame through their devastating raids into Moravia and Bavaria. The raiders benefitted from disarray in a Europe under attack from several sides (Arabs in the south, Vikings in the north) and torn by rival factions. The often uttered plea, asking divine protection "*de sagitis Hungarorum*" (from the Hungarian arrows), echoed Europe's fear during what some historians call the period of adventures.

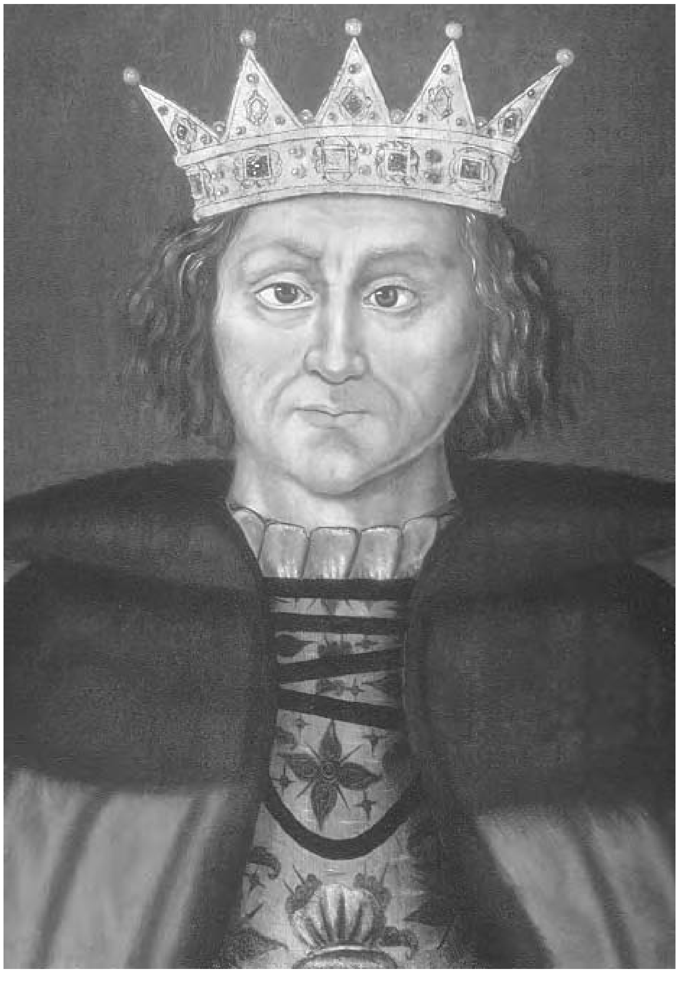
Magyar raiders were able to carry on in this manner for fifty years with relative impunity. And yet, their overall strength seems insignificant; in a Europe of some 40 million, Hungary was inhabited by less than 100,000 and could raise an army of no more than 20,000 horsemen. Their military success is all the more astonishing because these armed bands were supported by a society that had yet to be fully organized.

Raids, from wars of plunder to expeditions undertaken in the service of neighboring rulers or the Byzantine emperors, continued unabated until the Battle of Augsburg in 955. A catastrophic Hungarian defeat at the hand of the armies of the Great Moravian Empire ensued, which left no choice but to make peace with Europe. Conversion to Christianity had already begun, and it was in the interests of the Hungarians to establish good relations with both Byzantium and Rome. Prince Géza's reign (972–997) undoubtedly paved the way, even though the honor of being the founder of Hungary is generally accorded his son István, the future St. Stephen. Géza's foreign policy managed to establish stability in a region coveted by two empires. At home he was successful in centralizing power, subtly redirecting Christian conversion away from the Greek Church toward Rome and the Holy Roman Empire.

Géza's methods were more violent than pious. He forced large numbers of lords and warriors to convert whether they liked it or not and persecuted recalcitrant pagans. He was faced with numerous revolts, stemming either from attachments to old beliefs or from resistance against his authority as prince.

Géza's greatest achievement may have been the way he solved the question of succession. His son István (Stephen), born around 970 and originally named Vajk, was baptized and raised as Christian. In 996, in the first of many dynastic unions, he was married to the Bavarian princess Gizella.

Despite his father's legacy of centralization, István I did not begin his reign as the absolute master of his lands. Both before and after his coronation (1000 or 1001), he had to overcome rebels who opposed conversion to Christianity and the ruler's growing authority. Following his father's teachings, István avoided becoming vassal to either the



Painting of St. István, first king of Hungary. (Corel Corporation) neighboring powerful rulers or the pope. The new kingdom was firmly bound to Western Christianity, but its independence was preserved.

Architectural remains from this period are modest in size. Outstanding among them is the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma. However, the spiritual and cultural influence of the Catholic Church was crucial in what must be called a great modernization process. A handful of the first written documents, mostly donation letters, appear in Latin.

The establishment of the Catholic Church, the consolidation of royal power, and the establishment of legal order in keeping with the spirit of the times, attracted many foreigners to the land. Newly introduced laws (which were severe, but no more cruel than others of the time) protected property and provided a degree of security. Social organization was no longer based on the blood ties of the tribal system. Population distribution and settlement were now conducted along county lines (*comitatus* in Latin). The king set about creating about forty counties attached to forts belonging to him. At the head of each of these, he placed a governor, a trusted figure given charge of both the territory and its warriors. Much land was still in the hands of lords, and vast domains belonged to the Catholic Church. Bishoprics were also organized by the king, who divided the country into ten (later twelve) dioceses under the authority of the archbishop of Esztergom.

István's changes ushered in the notion of private property and social stratification according to power, status, wealth, and distribution of labor. Beneath the ruling class, a mixture of established lords, traditional chieftains, and the recently promoted, stood the free warriors, and on the lowest rung, the common people, soon reduced to servitude. The king claimed no less than two-thirds of the county's revenues, leaving one-third at the disposal of his lieutenants. This enabled the king to fulfill his three main domestic objectives: the creation of a state government, the establishment of the Catholic Church, and, finally, regulation of the rights and duties of property owners. At the head of the state, the king reigned supreme, but his power was not absolute. He was surrounded by a council that helped secure integrity and relative peace for the kingdom.

István's death in 1038 was followed by the reign of twenty-two kings from the Árpád dynasty, until the direct line died out in 1301. For nearly three centuries, Hungary held an important position on the European scene, becoming Western Christianity's easternmost bastion on the frontiers of the Orthodox and pagan worlds. At the same time, many of Hungary's problems arose from its location. In addition to being under constant pressure from two empires, the country's geographic situation rendered it isolated in a mostly Slavic environment of Czechs, Moravians, Poles, Russians, Bulgarians, Croatians, Slovenians, Serbians, and others. To establish its authority in the region, the Hungarian kingdom made expansionist moves in Dalmatia and the Balkans, but at the same time also sought alliances through marriages. Six queens came from Slav princely families, others from German, French, and Byzantine dynasties.

Under Kálmán, remarkable progress was made in both legal and literary culture. The use of writing spread. Jesters and jugglers were replaced by chroniclers, authors of *gestae,* who recounted the ancient history of Hungary and the tales of its kings through words and pictures. As well as the doings and exploits of its kings (especially the canonized monarchs István and László), charters of ennoblement and gifts formed central themes within these chronicles. The tradition continued throughout the reigns of Kálmán's successors, and chivalric culture and the poetry of the troubadours also flourished. One of the first poems in the Hungarian language, the very beautiful *Lament of Mary,* was preserved in a thirteenth-century codex.

Hungary became one of Europe's largest and most powerful kingdoms. László, the king-knight, successfully defended his country against invasion by Cumans, the Turkic-Kipchak people who had congregated on the eastern frontiers. But the most important expeditions to be undertaken by László and Kálmán were toward the Balkans. Following in the footsteps of his uncle László, a great warrior, Kálmán gained dominance over Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. The entire coast, with its splendid merchant towns, recognized his sovereignty with some relief. While siding with the pope in his quarrel with Byzantium, Hungary maintained its autonomy vis-à-vis the Holy See. Historians speak, if not of absolute royal power, of an almost unshakeable hegemony. The extent of royal wealth was a major factor, as was the well-earned prestige of the rulers. In the late twelfth century, the king to stand out was Béla III, not only by virtue of his height (1.9 meters) but also by his qualities as leader and organizer. The son of Géza II and a Russian princess, Béla was raised at the Byzantine court, where he was betrothed to the emperor's daughter and saw himself as destined for the empire's throne. He lost his chance as heir when a son was born to the emperor, but he was still given a royal title and enjoyed great prestige.

Contemporary Western travelers described Hungary as an opulent but none too civilized country. Towns were no more developed than villages, and stone houses were rare. But Hungarians seem to have had enough to eat and enjoyed common freedoms. Hungary's society was also quite diverse, as it welcomed settlers from the west, most of all from German lands, who were attracted by a land that was fertile and less densely populated. Pechenegs, Cumans, and other refugees from various steppe invasions also added to Hungary's population. The mostly rural population lived from cattle herding, agriculture, fishing, viticulture, and crafts. Social strata were numerous, depending on whether one was noble, free, semifree, native, or host.

The king was immensely wealthy due to his inherited properties, which amounted to almost two-thirds of the kingdom, with the rest belonging to the Catholic Church, to descendants of chieftains, to foreign knights, and to the free warrior-peasants. Donations by the king to various beneficiaries, monasteries, bishoprics, or individuals had always existed in some form but increased sharply under András II (1202–1235), described by many as an overly generous monarch. His reign initiated the disintegration of St. Stephen's old patrimonial order and the beginning of the manorial system.

Hungarian Cuisine

In the earliest times, Hungarians' cooking was influenced by their nomadic lifestyle: food had to be easily portable and simple to prepare. Many Hungarian stews and soups to this day reflect the tradition of the *bogrács,* the iron pot permanently simmering over an open fire. The pantry of the early Hungarians was stocked from the flocks of animals they herded, supplemented with plants found along the way, as well as other lightweight, perhaps dried ingredients. Hunting and fishing were also important activities, and archaeological evidence shows that, even though nomadic, Hungarians had some familiarity with planting and growing food. Still, meat and meat products are central in the traditional cuisine. Since most Hungarians were not wealthy enough to consume large amounts of meat exclusively, they had to be creative to feed their families, using relatively small amounts of expensive ingredients. This need explains the large presence of side dishes, stews, and soups in the daily diet of the average Hungarian. (Festive occasions and restaurant meals are quite another matter, since they are often opportunities to celebrate and demonstrate social status.)

The use of onions and other spices, especially paprika, is even more characteristic of Hungarian cooking than garlic, which is most frequently mentioned when talking about Central European food. Meats—most often pork or poultry, less often mutton, the more expensive beef, or fish—are frequently braised with onion or other spices, giving considerable taste intensity to the meal's main ingredient. This is *pörkölt* (braised meat). To counter the richness of the juicy meat, the meal is then stretched, either by turning it into soup or stew, adding large amounts of nonmeat ingredients, or creating vegetable-based side dishes called *főzelék,* which can be made out of anything from carrots to zucchini.

Goulash *(gulyás),* a Hungarian dish well known abroad, is actually a soup, not a thick stew. It is prepared with a small amount of diced and braised beef, with its volume expanded by the addition of diced potatoes or pasta and vegetables, and consumed with lots of brown bread.

Paprika, which has come to characterize Hungarian cuisine, was not known until the seventeenth century. It became a defining element of the Hungarian kitchen in the first half of the nineteenth century. Hungarian cooking includes paprika both as a spice and as a vegetable. Both can be mild or spicy and are main ingredients in many Hungarian dishes. A popular, simple dish is *paprikás krumpli,* which is a potato stew with a small amount of sausage, for taste, heavily spiced with paprika. Pepper stew *(lecsó)* is a favorite summer dish when fresh tomatoes and green-yellow peppers are plentiful. Chicken paprikash *(paprikás csirke),* a savory braised dish served with dumplings *(nokedli)* and sour cream, is a mainstay of special-occasion Hungarian meals.

A meatless meal of vegetable soup with a sweet noodle dish, covered with ground walnuts *(diós tészta)* or poppy seed *(mákos tészta),* or with thin pancakes, rolled with filling *(palacsinta),* is still Friday fare in many Hungarian homes.

In a marked departure from Western European practice, the distribution of royal property in Hungary was permanent and hereditary, not given in fief and therefore not tied to the vassal system. These donations created a new class of great barons, without reciprocal obligations to either the royal donor or to the people who became their dependents. Numerous castles and their surrounding villages, even entire counties, were bestowed on the most deserving or clever royal servants. András II also faced criticism for entrusting fiscal affairs to foreigners. Malcontents formed a league and succeeded in extracting from the court a charter of noble freedoms. The Golden Bull of 1222 (somewhat like the English Magna Carta) enshrined the right of nobles to resist royal power. András's successor, Béla IV, initially tried to backtrack in order to undertake more fundamental and considered reforms than his father. The event that changed his mind was the Mongol invasion.

After Chinghis Khan's death in 1227, his successor, Ogoday, sent Batu of the Golden Horde to conquer Russia. The immense project achieved, Batu's army invaded Poland and Hungary. In 1241 the Mongols easily defeated the Hungarians at Muhi. The following winter they crossed the Danube and pursued the king all the way to the Dalmatian islands. The next spring the Mongols suddenly withdrew (whether in response to the death of their great khan or for some unknown motive), leaving behind a destroyed Hungary. The king's reconstruction efforts opened the way to a new era. Béla IV had to start from scratch, so he first reorganized his military forces and the state administration. He proceeded to create a feudal Christian state, giving great power to loyal barons. All high governmental, legal, commanding, and administrative offices in large territorial units were entrusted to barons and bishops. The result proved positive, as Béla's reconstruction soon put the country back on its feet. In subsequent centuries, descendants of these barons would contribute to the weakening of the state, but during this crucial period of renewal, Béla's trust proved well placed. He fortified towns and built new ones, combining military defense with urbanization and the promotion of civic privileges. He laid the foundations of Buda, the castle and the town, making it into an important trade center.

The towns, with their stone churches and houses, markets, municipalities and their inhabitants—many of them foreigners in various trades—generated new wealth for the artisans and tradesmen, and became civilizing centers. Reliable currency (coins with a high silver content) stimulated economic and commercial activities and fiscal income via domestic taxes and duties. Hungary exported beef, wine, and salt and imported cloth, silk, and spices from Venice, Germany, and Moravia. Taxes were fixed according to market conditions. Royalties from the mines (silver, gold, salt) were divided between the treasury and the new entrepreneurs. The new economic activities generated more revenue than the old taxes. Some regions still paid in kind, and the country's Jews paid collectively, in silver. Few were exempt.

With 2 million inhabitants, Hungary was more populous than England, but it still had room for many more people. Béla invited a variety of new settlers. Religious institutions were strengthened. Bishops also provided civil governance over their estates and population, which included the clerical nobility, their servants, and soldiers settled on their land by the bishop. High clergy also had judiciary powers and sat on the Royal Council. The king respected tradition while maintaining control over nominations, retaining investiture for his faithful prelates. Béla's efforts however were almost entirely negated by his son, István II. A bold military leader, he turned against his father, defeated him, and proclaimed himself "king-junior" over the eastern half of the country. The reign of István's son, László IV (1272–1290), ten years old when he succeeded his father, was punctuated by intrigue and chronic instability. The lords of the realm pursued their private wars according to the rules of feudal anarchy. Twenty or so among them seized vast tracts of land, spoils, and positions. With the death of András III in 1301, the lights of the House of Árpád went out.

When Charles-Robert (1310–1342) was crowned, following brief reigns by the Bohemian Vencel (Wenceslas) and Otto Wittelsbach of Bavaria, he had already considered himself king for a number of years. His grandmother, an Árpád princess, had married Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples, and Charles-Robert was brought up at the court, destined for the throne of Hungary since birth. Crowned for the first time when he was only thirteen, he was not to enjoy undisputed kingship until after his third coronation in 1310.

While the young Angevin found his new kingdom in a state of turmoil, the international situation favored his ambitions. The Byzantine and Holy Roman Empires were preoccupied elsewhere. Hungary's immediate neighbor, Austria, had passed into the hands of the Habsburgs in 1278 and did not yet represent a threat. Western Europe was fully occupied with France's wars with the papacy and England. The Black Death (1346–1353) was soon to wipe out a third of the population in the West, and in addition, the continent was suffering a period of severe cold and rain, which brought periods of famine. Hungary was less affected by these calamities. Its population reached 3 million while the whole of Europe, excluding Russia, probably had some 50 million inhabitants before the plague epidemics, and far less than that after midcentury. Under these generally favorable conditions, the Angevins were able to consolidate their internal power and to conduct an active foreign policy.

Charles-Robert's first priority was to put his Hungarian house in order. A handful of powerful magnates ruled over much of the land. Only a smallish region in the center of the country remained under the direct authority of the king. He found that only a few of the barons sided with him. Nevertheless, Charles-Robert had the sense to attack the barons separately. Fortunately for him, neighboring countries preferred not to interfere in Hungary's affairs. Charles-Robert even succeeded in setting up a triple alliance between the Polish, Czech, and Hungarian kings—a Piast, a Luxemburg, and an Angevin—meeting at Visegrád in the 1330s.

Charles-Robert's reign of more than three decades was not particularly violent. He was not as greedy as his predecessors or other European monarchs. Still, he confiscated the possessions of deposed oligarchs, several of whom had taken refuge abroad earlier. His son Lajos pursued the same course, thus recovering much of the estates lost to disloyal magnates. In addition, the Angevins, who already had a huge personal fortune, had discovered a new source of income to be derived from the country's mineral resources. By the end of the century, Hungarian gold accounted for almost three-quarters of the output from all of Europe's mines. Gold coins minted at Körmöc circulated throughout the continent, at a time when high demand boosted the value of a solid currency. During the Angevin period, there were 59 free royal towns, 638 market towns and smaller towns that enjoyed chartered privileges, and around 21,000 villages. Most peasants were still free and enjoyed relatively comfortable living standards, with the more able and fortunate gaining access to economic and social mobility.

Among the larger and medium-size estates, freeholds were far more widespread than in the West, and these farms employed a primitive subsistence farming system. Both large estates and tenanted holdings were starting to produce marketable surpluses within a rapidly developing economic framework. The increasing exploitation of the mines was matched in the villages, as agriculture, livestock farming, forestry, and trade underwent significant growth. There was no shortage of exploitable land in the time of the Angevins. On the contrary, with 3 million inhabitants distributed over a territory of around 300,000 square kilometers (the size of Italy), population density was far lower than in Europe's more developed countries. The kingdom was therefore able to absorb large numbers of immigrants. Its borderlands (such as Transylvania) attracted Romanians, Moravians, Poles, and Ruthenians, joining the Saxons who had established themselves as early as the twelfth century.

Although urban development was under way, the towns and their level of social organization remained inferior to that of Western Europe, with urban settlers accounting for only 3 percent of the population. Medieval Hungarian towns, with the exception of the future capital, offered little more than military security. As the royal seat, Buda attracted increasing numbers of artisans and German merchants who proceeded to rise in municipal circles. Still, urban Hungary was unable to play a role comparable to that of the great Italian, French, or Dutch urban centers.

Nonetheless, it would be fair to see the Angevins' overall contribution to the development of towns, urban civilization, and commerce as substantial. Charles-Robert inherited a land in the grip of anarchy and left behind an ordered, flourishing, and well-governed state. Most people benefited from the consolidation of royal power and social order. Merchants and businessmen, as well as the simple taxpayer, profited from financial stability, safe travel by road, and a coherent household tax, which replaced an inconsistent system. Administrative reforms went hand in hand with a stable royal government, and with social change. Local *comitat*s (counties) increasingly turned into autonomous administrative units, even if managed by the nobility. Accordingly, halfway between the traditional patrimonial system based on blood ties and a partially adopted Western feudal model, a "states and orders" system developed, based on a particular concept of civil rights. According to these principles, the kingdom was the property of the Crown, an abstract moral entity, while real political power was regulated by contract between the king and the noble estates.

Charles-Robert had few expansionist tendencies. Through his fourth wife, Elisabeth Lokietek, he maintained good relations with Poland. Bohemia too was part of the triple alliance of Visegrád (1335), and Charles-Robert formed ties with Austria. In the south, he maintained Hungarian dominance over the Slav *banate*s and the Adriatic coast, in spite of Venetian ambitions.

The one long-cherished dream of the Hungarian Angevins was to regain a foothold in Naples. Following the death of his father in 1342, it fell to the future Louis the Great to lead the Hungarian side toward Naples. This Angevin's greatness was due to the unprecedented expansion of his kingdoms, which, by the end of his reign, encompassed a vast territory stretching from Poland to the Adriatic. Some of his subjects recognized his greatness: those citizens admitted to the judicial process, the prosperous bourgeois, members of the middle nobility, all felt their views were now being taken into account, as did those barons who shared his external ambitions.

Art and culture flourished at the court, which resided in three sumptuous palaces; and yet even the royal towns of Buda and Visegrád did not measure up to Charles IV's Prague. Louis founded the first Hungarian university in Pécs, as well as several churches and monasteries, but no cathedrals or grand stately castles were built during his reign. There remained a wide cultural divide between the kingdom of Hungary and the realms of Italy, France, and Flanders.

Closer to Hungarian borders, Venetian designs on Dalmatia had resulted in three long wars against Hungary. Stefan Dušan's "great Serbia" was also briefly involved, but it soon fragmented into several petty despotates and then fell to Ottoman rule after the Battle of Kosovo (1389).

The Bulgarian second empire disintegrated too. Between 1353 and 1391, a brief regional Bosnian hegemony emerged under Stephen Tvartko I. Relations between Hungary and Bosnia, several times severed and reestablished, also aimed at preserving influence from the Balkans to the Adriatic coast. Holding on to Croatia and Dalmatia in the face of both Serbian and Venetian opposition was crucial. Louis managed to profit from the situation, failing to foresee the scale of the Ottoman threat. This was in sharp contrast with his piety and proselytizing activities among the non-Catholics in his own country. Hungarian domination in Dalmatia, as well as Serbia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Wallachia, and even for a brief moment, Moldavia, was unsustainable. In the end, it was the Ottoman Turks, in full expansion, who benefited from the Balkan conflicts.

As one of his best-known achievements, in 1370 Louis seized the Crown of Poland, succeeding his uncle Kasimir III the Great, whom he had assisted on a number of occasions against powerful and expansionist pagan Lithuania. The Hungarian-Polish interlude lasted a mere twelve years and was a personal rather than a state union.

When Louis died in 1382 without a viable heir, his daughter, Maria, was crowned in 1386 at age eleven, enabling her fiancé Sigismund (Zsigmond) of the Luxemburg house to claim, and eventually occupy, the Hungarian throne. Sigismund was a skillful ruler, an accomplished reformer, and a person of considerable talent. Yet, even though he ruled several kingdoms and the Holy Roman Empire, he was in constant financial difficulties and was detested by most of his subjects. Removed from various thrones, he was refused access to the Bohemian one, was held captive by Hungarian barons, and was so deeply in debt that he wagered everything from entire counties and towns down to the silverware from his table.

Sigismund inherited a situation dominated by the oligarchy, which had assumed all powers, including predominance in the diet and tutelage over the sovereign. When, in 1401, he refused the nobles' demand to dismiss his foreign advisers, he was thrown into prison, in the name of a symbol, the Holy Crown, a public legal entity. Nevertheless, through patience and opportunism, not to mention family connections, Sigismund became a prestigious emperor and a Hungarian king of caliber.

Faced with the Ottoman threat, Zsigmond enjoyed a reprieve thanks to Tamerlane (1370–1405), the Central Asian emir who beat the Ottomans and captured Sultan Bayezid. The pace of Turkish advance slowed down as a result, leaving Sigismund to pursue his grand German and imperial policy.

Some of his military endeavors were unprofitable; the number of battles lost far outweighed the victories. Yet he was neither incompetent nor cowardly. His defeats came in the face of formidable enemies, especially the Ottomans.

The Ottomans continued to advance in the Balkans, and Sigismund, determined to stop them, retaliated. In 1396 at Nicopolis (Bulgaria), Sigismund confronted the Turks. A catastrophe ensued, and it was not the last. The military organization of the Ottoman Empire was far more efficient than that of European armies. The king did win a few battles: Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) was saved provisionally, as was Jajce in Bosnia, though not for long. Then, in 1428, Sigismund was again defeated, this time seriously, at Galamboc (Golubac, Serbia), thus putting a definitive end to Hungarian hegemony in the Balkans.

HUNGARY, THE OTTOMANS, AND THE HABSBURGS

The nobility's right to freely elect a "competent" sovereign (i.e., a king to their liking) was connected to an evolving concept of public life, known as the doctrine of the Holy Crown. It posited the country as belonging to the nation, embodied by the nobility, and represented by the Crown as symbol rather than physical object. The king exercised his powers purely through the latter. Both mystical and legal, the doctrine stipulated the representational nature of royal power and placed the source of sovereignty within the body of the nation's nobility.

Most nobles understood that the fight against the Ottoman threat was a priority and were looking for a sovereign who could rise to the challenge. The young king Ulászló did not disappoint them. Accompanied by János Hunyadi, his most famous general, he went on to conduct numerous campaigns.

János Hunyadi, who was one of a number of leaders in the middle of the fifteenth century who were of humble birth, was probably of Romanian or South Slav descent and settled in Transylvania. Hunyadi served his king well. He accompanied Sigismund to Italy and then Bohemia, participated in the Czech wars and led the campaign against the Turks. By the time of Sigismund's death in 1437, he had great fame but not yet fortune. Soon, however, he became one of the richest men in Hungary.

Hunyadi and Zrinyi

Reflecting the primary challenge of their times, both János Hunyadi (d. 1456) and Miklós Zrinyi (1623–1664) were military leaders who led successful campaigns against the powerful Ottoman forces invading the region. They both also demonstrate the assimilative power of the medieval Hungarian kingdom: Hunyadi (also referred to as Iancu Hunedoara) was a Transylvanian son of a Hungarian-Wallachian marriage; Zrinyi (also written as Zrinski) was a member of the Croatian aristocracy, which made him a subject of the Hungarian Crown, after the merger of the two countries in the twelfth century. They both died at the height of their power, to the great loss of Hungary's national defense.

Hunyadi was a young man of limited means and education, who made his initial fame and fortune rapidly as a small-unit commander in the service of others. His talents were recognized and rewarded, making him one of the country's richest landholders. Count Zrinyi, on the other hand, was born into wealth, acquired considerable erudition from private tutors, became an accomplished poet and writer, and was appointed *ban* (governor) of Croatia.

Hunyadi and Zrinyi embodied unselfish, heroic service to the defense of Hungary and European Christendom at a time when such dedication was becoming increasingly rare. The power struggles of the post-Anjou period led to a breakdown of royal authority and the rise of aristocratic anarchy. The mixed-house rulers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, even the talented Zsigmond, were unable to unify the country's lords in the cause of presenting a strong force in the face of approaching Ottoman threat. In marked contrast with his selfish and reluctant fellow lords, Hunyadi used his leadership ability and his wealth to create and lead armies to major victories. The most important among these was the successful defense of Nándorfehérvár (today's Belgrade) against an Ottoman siege in 1456, which delayed the invasion of Hungary by almost a century. It is in honor of this victory that bells throughout the Christian world ring at noon.

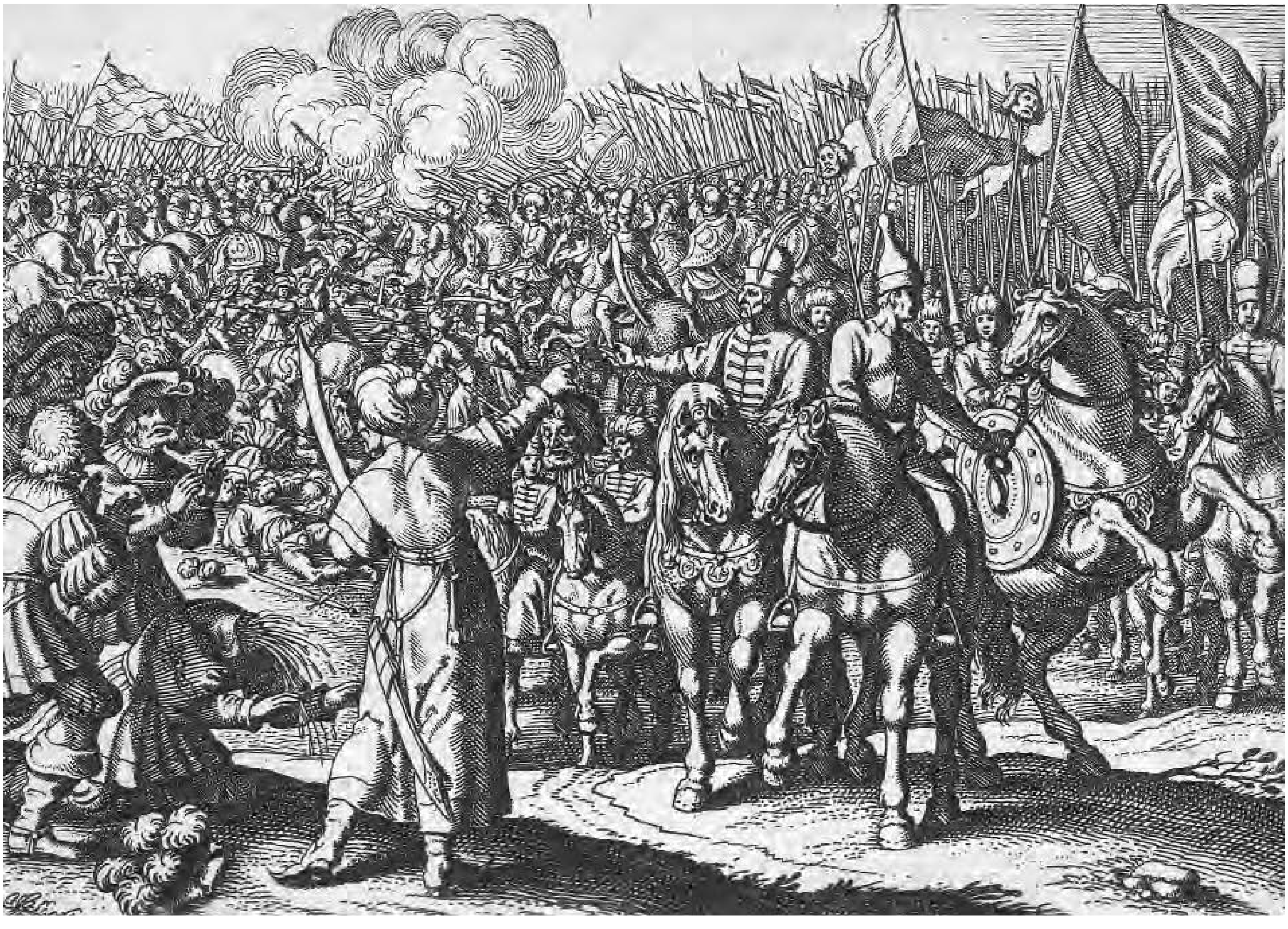
Leading successful raids deep into hostile territory, Zrinyi was a bold military leader at a time when the reputation of Ottoman armies intimidated most Christian generals into avoiding battles and signing accommodating peace treaties. He recognized that Ottoman power was already declining, and called for an all-out military effort to oust the occupiers. Witnessing the reluctance of Habsburg generals, he began to question their commitment to liberating Hungary. During winter breaks from campaigning, he wrote, and he wrote in Hungarian, a pioneering practice. His most memorable work is the epic poem *The Siege of Sziget,* in which he paid homage to his grandfather of the same name, who perished heroically defending a small fortress against Suleiman's grand army. Zrinyi also wrote pamphlets on military strategy and contemporary political affairs, some of them sharply critical of Habsburg designs concerning Hungary. It is not surprising, therefore, that when he was killed in a hunting accident, there was much talk that the wild boar that killed him was in the hire of Vienna.

Hunyadi was appointed *voivode* of Transylvania in 1441 and governor of Hungary between 1446 and 1452, while László V was still under age. Hunyadi's courage as a soldier was legendary, and he was undoubtedly guided as much by his vision of himself as servant of the state as he was by personal interest. His leadership qualities took on historic dimensions in the wars against the Ottoman Empire, on behalf of Hungary and, indeed, Europe. In his "long campaign" of 1442–1444, Hunyadi won several battles, enough to reignite the hope of driving out the Ottoman invaders.

Because of troubles along his Asian borders, Sultan Murad was forced to make peace with Hungary. The young Jagiellon king Ulászló signed the agreement, but in 1444 he went back on his word and set out for war, only to be defeated at Varna on 10 November.

Hunyadi bore no blame for the defeat, but he had trouble dealing with the political infighting at the court. Even though elected as governor, his powers were restricted. Still, he was able to prepare for a new defensive war on the Turkish front. He found an ally in the Albanian hero Skanderbeg and, with encouragement from the Holy See and European promises, chances for another campaign against the Ottoman Empire seemed promising. In 1448 Hunyadi decided to go to war with Murad II, who forced him into a battle at Kosovo. The Field of Blackbirds was once more fatal to Christian armies. Skanderbeg was unable to reach his ally. Hunyadi was beaten.

The fall of Constantinople on 29 May 1453 prompted Christians to mobilize for a common defense. As a frontline nation, Hungary had to be both the initiator of and the decisive factor in the campaign. The 1454 Diet reorganized the army, and Hunyadi worked hard to create a united and efficient military structure, introducing such innovations as the use of mercenaries. To finance an army of 100,000 men, the diet voted for extremely heavy war taxes. Hunyadi's army constituted a formidable force. Allied troops made it to the rendezvous, and for once, despite everything, Europe was ready to fight. In the summer of 1456 Sultan Mohamed II besieged Nándorfehérvár (today's Belgrade) with an army estimated at 150,000 men, 300 cannons, and 200 ships on the Danube. The fortress was defended by Mihály Szilágyi (Hunyadi's brother-in-law) commanding 7,000 soldiers. The great captain himself arrived to rescue the besieged town with 40,000–45,000 men. To everyone's surprise, the



Battle of Mohács, 29 August 1526, where the Hungarian army of King Lajos II met the Turkish army under Suleiman the Magnificent and was decisively defeated. (Getty Images)

Ottoman force lost the battle. Hunyadi was keen to pursue the campaign as far as Constantinople, but he died soon after, probably taken by an epidemic.

The defeat may have shocked the Ottoman Empire but its expansion continued regardless. The invasion of Hungary was, however, postponed.

In 1458 Mátyás became the first national king of Hungary since the extinction of the House of Árpád in 1301, a Hungarian king elected according to the wishes of the nobility. Around 40,000 nobles gathered in Buda to elect Mátyás, and while they were deliberating, he was already being proclaimed king by the crowds. Intelligent, energetic, and willing, Mátyás was certainly well equipped to achieve his goals: to impose his royal authority at home and realize his vision for regional conquest. Bohemia, Austria, and even the crown of the Holy Roman Empire were in his sights. Mátyás's first concern however was to be independent, so he dismissed many of his advisers, even discharging his own uncle Szilágyi. After that, he was free to govern as he wished, because as a descendant of common nobles he enjoyed broad popularity. From the early years of his reign, he was able to assert himself within the country and carry on an imaginative foreign policy. He made peace with Austria as well as the rebellious Bohemian lands.

In the 1460s Mátyás seized Bosnia and pushed back the Turks. However, seeing the grand Christian alliance fall apart on the death of Pope Pius II, Hungary would not fight the Turks again during Mátyás's lifetime. Mátyás turned toward Bohemia, possibly in order to enlarge Hungary's resources. In the midst of succession struggles, the issue of Hussite heretics provided an opportunity for Mátyás to intervene. He eventually conquered Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia and was crowned king of Bohemia. Czech and Austrian wars were to occupy Mátyás for two decades. During the 1470s, he faced a coalition put together by Frederick and supported by the Jagiellons, which was defeated by Mátyás's Black Army of well-paid, well-trained soldiers. The subsequent Treaty of Olomuc enabled Mátyás to intensify his struggle for the possession of Austria. In 1485 Mátyás occupied Vienna and died there in 1490.

In weighing Mátyás's reign, one can see him as a great Renaissance man, with the goal of fulfilling his desire for glory, as was the case with so many other princes of his time. In this light, Hungary's failure to become a major power is attributable to Mátyás's reluctance to pursue more active anti-Ottoman policies. Mátyás's real innovation was the professionalization of government service. Chancellery secretaries and competent graduates took over affairs of state from the barons and prelates. Tamás Bakócz, of peasant origin, is an example of these new careerists. He was personal secretary to the king and later rose to be archbishop and cardinal; he was even a serious rival of Leo II de Medici for the pontifical crown.

During the reign of Mátyás, the country enjoyed a security it has never known since. His reforms put an end to the arbitrariness and insecurity that had dominated until then. Under Mátyás, an improved legal system was put in place through the establishment of tribunals of the states general at the local level. At a higher level, an appeal court, the Royal Table, was created. Finally, individual towns gained legal autonomy.

The state was far from being a constitutional monarchy, but at least its institutions were more organized. Since he always needed more to finance his wars and sustain his sumptuous court, Mátyás imposed "exceptional subsidiary" taxes, thus adding to the burden shouldered by the Hungarian population. As for the peasantry, the majority still enjoyed the liberties they had either inherited from their status as free men or had acquired in the previous century. They were serfs *(jobbágy),* in the ancient meaning of the term. The proportion of bonded serfs was smaller than before, in some places barely 10 percent of laborers. The standard of living was reputedly decent or sufficient, according to written sources; evidence of a political commitment to protecting peasants from abuse is clear: numerous judgments were passed in favor of "fugitives," or peasants forcibly bonded to the land.

Renaissance humanism had already entered Hungary before Mátyás. The existing tradition was then given new life by his wife, Beatrice of Aragon. The royal courts, both at Buda and Visegrád, attracted scholars, historians, and celebrated artists. The king was probably quite fond of provocative minds and was receptive to the irreverence of the sophisticated scholars at his court. Combining the splendor of Italian style with contemporary wit, Mátyás's court must have been among the most brilliant in Europe. His private library, the Bibliotheca Corviniana, was certainly Renaissance Hungary's prize jewel. It contained over 2,500 illuminated manuscript volumes, and almost no incunabula, even though András Hess's printing shop produced the first printed Hungarian chronicle, *Chronica Hungarorum,* in 1473.

After the death of Mátyás, the fight for the Crown broke out once more. Mátyás did his best to pass it to János Corvin, his out-of-wedlock son, but the designated heir was not recognized. Other pretenders entered the fray, among them Maximilian of Habsburg and two Polish Jagiellons. In the end it was one of them, Vladislas (Ulászló) II, who won.

In Vladislas, the oligarchs had found the weak king they wanted. Described as a handsome young womanizer of mild temperament, the new monarch was totally indifferent to state affairs in his Czech and Hungarian kingdoms. The nickname "Dobze" (Yes, All Right) was bestowed on him, as he approved of anything suggested by the barons who had hoisted him onto the throne. Vladislas II Dobze seems to have spent twenty-six years, saying, "yes, yes" to unbelievable waste and to the impoverishment of the state, as well as to decay in his own court. Hungary was once more under the rule of "little kings," lay and ecclesiastical lords. Peasants who had enjoyed liberties in the past found themselves driven back into serfdom, into the new, or "second," servitude. Social classes that had begun to rise found themselves sinking back, and the whole country sank with them. One explanation for this state of affairs is that since power had been shared by king and nobles until then, the arrival of the weak and ineffectual Vladislas II was bound to create an imbalance. But there is also another way to see the rapid industrial and commercial development in Western Europe in the 1500s and the lack of growth in agricultural producers like Poland and Hungary: the voyages of discovery introduced new currents in world commerce, but left suppliers of basic commodities by and large unchanged. Since cattle herding was a lucrative trade for Hungary's landowners, the spirit of innovation scarcely appeared on the Magyar horizon. During the centuries that followed, this developmental gap continued to widen.

In 1514 Hungary witnessed a peasant revolt unprecedented in size. Vladislas II was still on the throne, but decisions were now more than ever being made by the barons of the Royal Council. The ordinary nobles, meanwhile, were trying, without much success, to organize themselves into a kind of national party under the very popular leader, János Szápolyai, destined to become "national king." The immediate cause for the revolt, however, was elsewhere. Pope Leo X issued an edict calling for a crusade, and Archbishop Tamás Bakócz was entrusted with organizing it. In April 1514, 40,000 peasants assembled outside Pest to take up arms against Ottoman invaders, and more were to join them in Transylvania. The complaints voiced at the camp prompted the mob to start a peasant war. A leader emerged, György Dózsa. The peasant army had some initial victories, but retaliation was not long in coming. Led by János Szápolyai, an army of 20,000 noblemen defeated Dózsa's army at Temesvár. The revenge that ensued was merciless, though the number of rebels killed did not exceed "reasonable" limits, for the simple reason that the landowners needed their labor.

The diet implemented retaliatory legal measures. The principal architect of their decisions was the lawyer István Werbőczi. He compiled a body of laws intended to encompass all political and social spheres, a code called *Tripartitum*. Though it was never fully promulgated, the impact of Tripartitum was considerable. It sealed the unity of the national community by elaborating the doctrine of the Holy Crown, merging the Crown, the sovereign's person, and the nobility into one indivisible whole. However, while it held the political nation together, it tore the population in two, erected an "iron curtain" between Hungarians and Hungarians, until 1848. Serfs were now subject to a ruthless yoke, a state of total lack of liberty.

After Vladislas II died, his son, the ten-year-old Lajos II, succeeded to the Czech and Hungarian thrones. Surrounded by two crowned tutors, the Habsburg Maximilian and King Sigismund of Poland, and the Magyar barons, the king did not have a voice in the assembly. Ottoman forces took Sabac and Belgrade. The country was open to invaders by both land and river. There were serious attempts to organize a national defense in 1526. Pál Tomori, archbishop of Kalocsa and grand commander of Lower Hungary, took charge, aided by János Szápolyai, *voivode* of Transylvania. By August, an army of 25,000 was assembled. A smaller army, led by Szápolyai, was late joining the royal army. Nevertheless, there was optimism in the Hungarian camp, even though the army of Sultan Suleiman was double that of Lajos's forces.

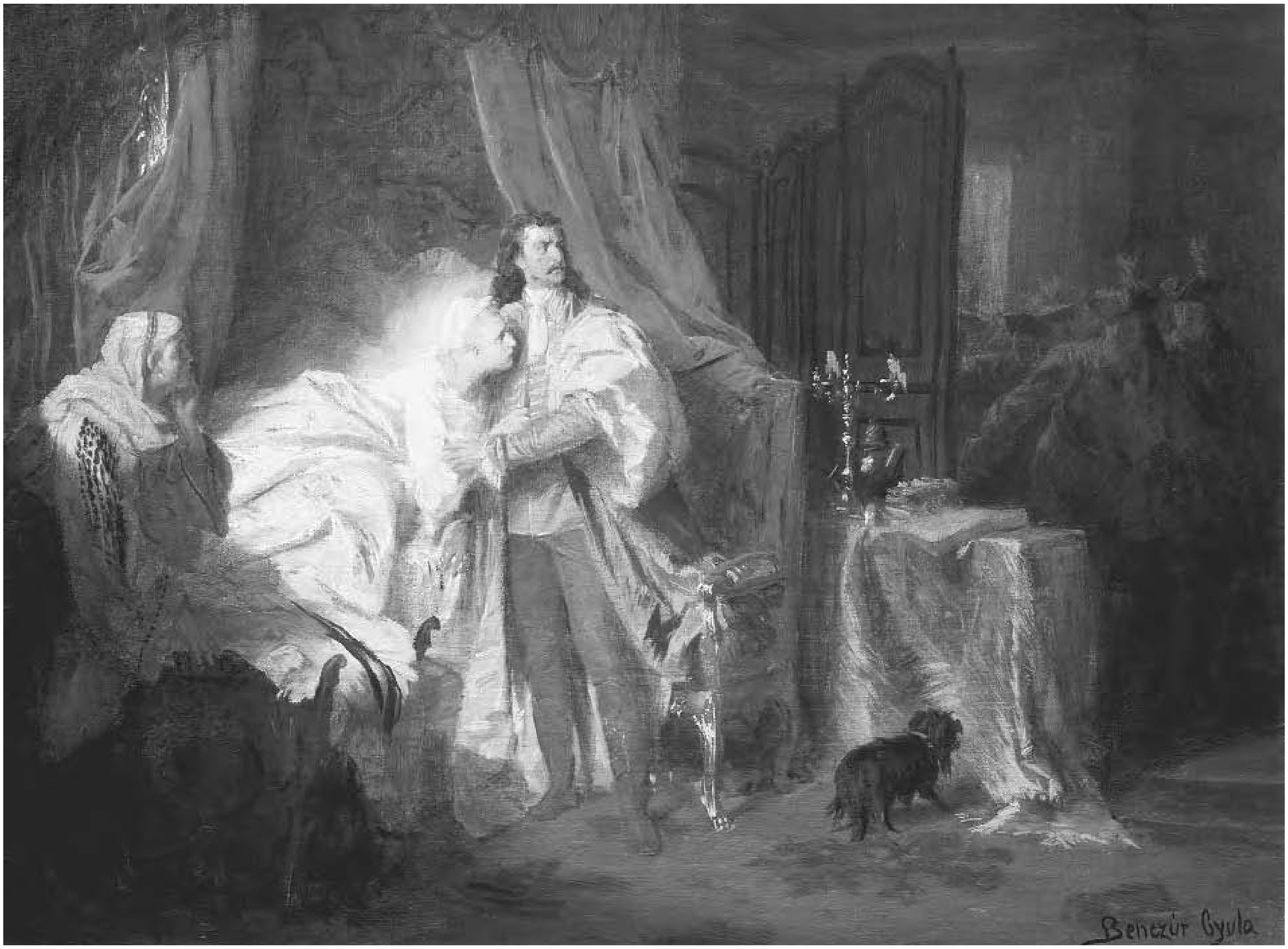
After a number of preliminary skirmishes, the decisive battle took place on the field of Mohács, near the Danube and close to what today is Hungary's southern border. Despite the initial successes of Hungarian charges, within two hours their army had been dislodged and then annihilated. Among the dead were scores of lords and prelates, as well as King Lajos.

The causes of defeat have been the subject of animated debate and historical controversy. Some analysts favored the social explanation, pointing at the ruthless suppression of the Dózsa revolt in 1514, along with the blind and self-serving behavior of the ruling class. There were other factors as well. The seriousness of the Ottoman threat had been realized for some time. It had given rise to the desire to place the country's destiny in the hands of a national king capable of staving off the impending attack. The Hunyadis had met this need and in effect had stabilized the southern frontier. But this had been a temporary solution. Hungary, which in the past had dominated the region, was already on the defensive against this stronger adversary that was pushing forward inexorably, having seized the Balkan buffer states. The Hungarian state, still strong after King Mátyás, had neither the size, the resources, the national leader, nor even the European aid needed to tackle the situation. Weak kings and a new unscrupulous oligarchy had only made the situation worse. By the time Mohács occurred, a conjunction of unfavorable factors had left the country more vulnerable than ever. Hungary lost more than a battle; the state lost its capacity for action.

Suleiman was in no hurry to exploit his victory at Mohács. His plans of conquest certainly included Hungary (and much more of Europe), but he was patient and flexible. Perhaps not realizing that the country was leaderless and disorganized, his armies left Hungary. In November 1526 János I Szápolyai was elected king by his loyal followers. In December, however, a handful of barons met at the Pozsony Diet and, in accordance with the dynastic agreement that the Habsburgs considered the basis of their legitimacy in Hungary, elected Ferdinand I as king of Bohemia and Hungary. With Szápolyai as a national king, and Ferdinand a "German king," there was also the Ottoman sultan; the first had wealth and popularity in his favor, the second was backed by his brother, the Holy Roman Emperor, but it was Suleiman who in fact had much of the country at his feet. In these circumstances, Turkish support given to King János and, later, to his successors in Transylvania, trumped any advantages the Habsburgs might have had.

Hungarian hopes for reunification, illusory as they might have been, were in fact kept alive by the rivalry of the two kings. Treating Szápolyai with "patience," Suleiman was able to use Hungary to threaten Vienna. His clear patronage enabled Szápolyai to take Buda in 1529. Militarily and politically, the Ottoman Empire was to remain present in Hungary for nearly two hundred years. For the moment, instead of occupying the entire country, the Ottomans protected eastern Hungary—soon to become the principality of Transylvania—against Habsburg encroachment.

In the spring of 1541 Ferdinand tried to take Buda, but Ottoman armies foiled the attempt. On 29 August, fifteen years to the day after the Battle of Mohács (the sultan liked symbolism), he occupied Buda without bloodshed. Once



Painting of the capture of Ferenc II Rakoczi, leader of the Hungarian revolt against the Habsburgs. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

the former royal seat became the first Turkish *vilayet* in Hungary, an Ottoman pasha proceeded to lay down its laws. Partition was complete: Habsburgs were to reign in the west, Ottomans in the center, and the Szápolyai child, with his mother, in the future principality of Transylvania. Between two enemies, Hungary's choices were limited. It had to adopt a survival strategy, fighting incessantly on its borders, adjusting its economy to the circumstances, and being receptive to new influences. In this situation, the developmental gap between Renaissance Europe and an increasingly marginalized Central (or Eastern) Europe grew larger. While the West was shaping modernity, in Hungary and its neighbors living conditions, trade, and urbanization were deteriorating.

The sixteenth century had a severe impact on a people laboring under constant harassment and deprivation, so that Hungary emerged from a long period of adversity with a diminished population. Most historians talk of a net loss of 1 million inhabitants, though others bring evidence that loss of human life was compensated by immigration. Even if immigration compensated for some loss, it also profoundly changed the ethnic composition of the country. Ottoman brutality prompted many Serbs to move northward, and colonization encouraged by Vienna brought large numbers of Slavs, Romanians, and others into Transylvania and Transdanubia. In some regions ethnic Magyars were becoming a minority.

The most widespread social trend during these centuries was the increasing enslavement of the peasantry. The gulf between the "nation of nobles" and the *jobbágy* was ever widening. The phenomenon later became known as the second serfdom, and the term *jobbágy* became synonymous with serf. The supremacy of the nobility manifested itself in politics and in the turbulent relationship between the estates and the king. East of the river Elbe, the society that was emerging was increasingly different from that of Western countries: from the sixteenth century onward, a kind of late feudalism was being created, a type of intermediate society, somewhere between the Western and Eastern models. A large noble class had already arisen in Hungary as early as the thirteenth century. Since then, royal authority had been in decline, and the oligarchy had acquired substantial and often dominating political, economic, and military power. The power of the great lords was further bolstered by the support of the noble's "retainers." Ties between the Hungarian baron and his retainers—based on private agreements and not the vassal ties of Western feudalism—always left the noble a free man, while increasing his economic dependency on the lords. Large estates grew, swallowing up more and more noble property. Economic decay among the lesser nobility was also caused by the accession rights of *aviticitas,* which kept ancestral land within the clan, while ensuring that the inheritance was divided among all legitimate descendants. The resulting impoverishment forced many lesser nobles to became artisans, tutors, or, increasingly, civil servants.

These "gentlemen in sandals," however, had not lost their patent of nobility or their political importance. The traditional legal principle of "one indivisible nobility" endured; though poor, the nobles proliferated. While in Western Europe the nobility was crumbling and shrinking, in Central Europe the proportion of nobles was on the increase, reaching 4–6 percent of the population in Hungary and 8 percent in Transylvania.

Titles of nobility were given by the king and the Roman Catholic Church, ennobling soldiers and peasants as a reward for services. The vast majority of this class were barely better off than the peasants, but their social status remained untouchable. A permanent state of war is one explanation for the survival of this class, as was the shared interest of all nobles opposing central (royal) power. While elsewhere in Europe royal absolutism was on the rise, in Hungary the complicated relationship between a nation of nobles and the sovereign seated in Vienna was to last for centuries. This was probably one of the key factors—if not the factor—which led to a weak middle class. So while Western societies were heading toward a nascent capitalism with a powerful middle class, Hungary was stuck in a system of estates that perpetuated the dominance of the nobility and led to late feudalism, or second serfdom. Static conditions were exacerbated by the fact that much of the very small middle class was foreign, mainly German. A class of half a million privileged dominated millions condemned to eternal servitude, according to the famous legal work, the Tripartitum of 1514.

This socially and economically backward system still proved to be a political force vis-à-vis Habsburg absolutism. The eternal disagreement between the king and the noblemen's Diet was seen as resistance against foreign domination and the defense of public rights of the Hungarian state, its uniqueness, and personality. Thus the role of Hungary's nobility could be seen more positively: by defending its own privileges, the nobility also sustained Hungarian national identity.

During the period of fragmented national existence, 1.5 million people lived in the Habsburg-ruled Kingdom of Hungary, just under a million in Transylvania, and the same number under Turkish occupation, with over 500,000 displaced people who had left their homes or found themselves under one administration and then under another.

Early Ottoman administrations were fairly well ordered, so that in the sixteenth century damage to society was still limited. The "century of Magyar decay" began in the later seventeenth century. Ottoman occupation and resistance to it meant a nearly constant state of war, accompanied by pillage, hunger, pestilence, and a deterioration of communities. Well-cultivated plots were abandoned, and families were decimated by the Ottoman practice of enslaving children from occupied lands. The depopulation of entire regions came about not only because of war but also through a number of economic adjustments. Pastureland was extended in order to accommodate cattle herding, a mobile and thus relatively safe and profitable way of life. It was not in Ottoman interests to pursue a policy based solely on plunder. Hungary, in the sultan's overall plan, was a base from which to invade Europe, fitting into a vision of a great Muslim Euro-Afro-Asiatic empire. It was a dream hindered and eventually shattered by the resistance of Central Europe's peoples, Hungarians and Transylvanians prominent among them.

The Ottomans valued the territories they conquered and set out to profit from them as much as possible. This is one explanation for their relative tolerance of religious diversity. Their administrative methods also had to be flexible to ensure cooperation from the population, yet efficient enough to exploit its economic capacity to the limit. This implied the use of taxes, tributes, and ransoms, making civilian administrators important. They governed the conquered lands, but did not overturn native habits and customs.

For the taxpayer—peasant, craftsman, tradesman, and landlord—life had to go on. Indeed, towns and market towns maintained municipal autonomy. Justice was administered by Hungarian judges in conjunction with Turkish *kadi,* and clergymen carried out their ministry with little discrimination. Indeed, the Reformation spread more easily under Turkish rule, which was indifferent to Christian denominational factions, than in the Habsburg Catholic kingdom.

For Istanbul, Hungary was simply a field of military operations and a country to fleece. The destructive effect of the Ottoman period was enormous, while Turkish contribution to Hungarian life consisted mainly of foodstuffs such as rice, maize, tobacco, perhaps paprika, and coffee. The overall balance is indisputably disastrous.

In northwestern Hungary, the most densely populated and richest part of the former kingdom, Ferdinand respected the rights of the Hungarian orders and avoided confrontation. Six rulers from his family succeeded him during the Ottoman occupation, with most of them adopting an increasingly absolutist and intolerant attitude toward Protestants. In the decades immediately after Mohács, a spirit of relative societal peace prevailed. Habsburgs ruled as kings elected according to Hungarian public law and by virtue of their succession rights—in the Habsburg interpretation—but not in any sense by absolute divine right. Hungary did not belong to them but to the Holy Crown. At the same time, Vienna bore the bulk of military expenses, maintaining 20,000 or so soldiers along the military frontiers. It was therefore in the interests of the nobility, jealous guardians of their privileges, particularly fiscal ones, to maintain the political status quo.

THE REFORMATION

As a consequence of the Protestant Reformation, Hungary witnessed a rebirth of humanism, was exposed to the teachings of the great German and Helvetic (Swiss) reformers, participated in the great debates of ideas, and, last but not least, experienced the blossoming of literature. Protestant ideas had found an audience as early as 1525, mainly among the (largely German-speaking) urban population. Among Hungarians, these ideas were often divisive. From the 1540s, Magyars from all walks of life began to follow Helvetic Protestantism, soon referred to as Calvinism. It was propagated by preachers of varying temperaments, but all of them developed their calling in the heat of religious disputes. The education of each of these men was determined by the university they attended, in Wittenberg, Geneva, or elsewhere, but with each adding his own personal touch.

The purification of the Catholic Church, corrupted by its prelates, its wealth, the sale of letters of indulgence, made a strong impression. Additional attraction was provided by the purification of places of worship, the abolition of priestly celibacy, a simpler hierarchical system, and the disappearance of submission to Rome.

The adoption of the mother tongue for prayer, the translations of the Bible and the Psalms, the theological debates and publications in Hungarian were also hugely significant. It was not only churchmen who participated enthusiastically in these debates but the lay public too. Protestants primarily targeted the sins of the "papists" but also extolled hopes for deliverance from the Turkish yoke through a purified "true Christian faith." The Protestant God had to deliver his Hungarian people, just as he had done for the Jews held captive in Babylon and Egypt.

The all-powerful, wealthy Catholic Church of the Middle Ages was becoming a thing of the past. Several rulers had divested it of properties and traditional sources of revenue, distributing them among their servants or simply expropriating the lot. The Mohács debacle and Turkish occupation had left many bishoprics empty. Ferdinand, together with a number of magnates, was quick to take advantage of the situation and appropriated them. Reformed Churches proliferated throughout towns and market centers, among diligent and industrious people. The magnates and nobles who had converted to the new denominations dragged with them their entire entourage: relatives, town dwellers, and peasants. Vast numbers thus switched religious allegiance.

Disputes and conflicts did engender violence and sometimes bloodshed. This did not bring irreparable damage, however, and the spirit of tolerance survived. People learned to live together; the absolute domination of a single state church was no longer possible. Hungary's religious freedom was indeed remarkable when compared to the zealous excesses occurring elsewhere in Europe. The Reformation eventually won over most Hungarians and forced Catholicism onto the defensive. Many schools, as well as the print works and publications of the period, were either Lutheran or Calvinist until the end of the sixteenth century. After that, the Catholic Church threw its energies into the Counter-Reformation, especially with the rise to prominence of Péter Pázmány, cardinal and archbishop of Esztergom, a master of religious polemic.

The legacy of diversity led to an extraordinary event for the period. In 1568 the Transylvanian Diet of Torda decreed religious freedom, although limited to the four recognized rites, Catholic, Evangelical Lutheran, Reformed Calvinist, and Unitarian, and excluding the large numbers of Orthodox Romanians, as well as the handful of Jews and Muslims.

The number of schools and publishing opportunities increased. Protestant colleges were set up in Transylvania, in both Saxon and Hungarian areas, as well as at Debrecen, Sárospatak, and a dozen other towns. There were two hundred elementary schools by the late sixteenth century, and dozens of outlets published Hungarian translations of the Bible (the first by the Protestant Gáspár Károlyi in 1590), prayers, psalms, and a lively literature of polemics. More promising was the fact that books were now appearing in Hungarian, either to propagate religious renewal or to instruct and entertain, representing the first buds of a truly national literature.

TRANSYLVANIA

Wars, famine, and natural calamities at the turn of the sixteenth century had caused demographic and economic disaster in the kingdom, and the situation in Transylvania was not much better. Half of the population is said to have disappeared, and 90 percent of property is thought to have been damaged. These figures may seem exaggerated, but they indicate the extreme gravity of the situation. Transylvania soon recovered, however. Indeed, the seventeenth century came to be seen as its golden age. By 1660 the population had grown to 955,000, made up of six main nationalities (and several smaller ones). Magyars and Szeklers constituted the majority (500,000), followed by Romanians or Wallachians (280,000), Saxons (90,000), Serbians, Ukrainians, and others (85,000). Five languages were spoken and six religions practiced, excluding the Jewish faith and smaller sects.

Magyar settlement in the region has its roots in the migrations, when the variously identified indigenous populations were submerged. Most of the new conquerors left Transylvania in search of pasture on the plain, but the region remained under their military control and soon was resettled by Magyars and Szeklers.

The Szeklers (Székely in Hungarian) arrived with the conquerors in 895, probably as army auxiliaries; they spoke Hungarian and are thought to have been of Magyar or Turkish origin. Deployed to guard the eastern frontiers, by the thirteenth century the Szeklers constituted a homogeneous and tightly knit community that preserved its own social and cultural characteristics. Traditionally all were free and equal; there were neither bondservants nor nobles among them, and their leaders were seen as chieftains. By the sixteenth century, the old military and social structures were eroding, but it was still a closed society, fiercely protective of its freedoms, as proved by numerous uprisings. The Szeklers allied themselves with the two other Transylvanian nations, the Magyars and the Saxons. Together, the three made up the diet of Transylvanian States, which seized its independence from the Hungarian Diet of the royal territory.

The origins of the Saxons in Transylvania date back to the early Árpád period. First invited to settle by Géza III in the twelfth century, they came from Flanders, the Rhine region, and Wallonia, rather than Saxony. They were given considerable privileges to maintain their independent administrative and judiciary system, as they introduced advanced agricultural techniques and artisanship and founded thriving urban centers. Primarily Lutheran and Melanchtonian evangelicals, their churches and Gothic buildings are among the country's most beautiful monuments. Hardworking and commercially prosperous, the Saxons provided the economic base for the golden age of the seventeenth-century princes.

The Romanians, although quite numerous, did not enjoy the same rights as the "three nations." The Orthodox religion was tolerated but not recognized to the same extent as Catholicism and Protestantism. Most Romanians, except for the village chiefs and boiars, who were assimilated into the Hungarian nobility, were serfs. Romanian communities certainly existed in Transylvania around the same time as the Szeklers and Saxons, but the issue of the origins of Romanians in the region divides Hungarian and Romanian historians, reflecting national ideological differences, and seems likely to remain disputed for some time to come.

In the middle of the sixteenth century Transylvania became a distinct and recognized state. The rise and survival of specific administrative and cultural structures culminated in a key historical turning point, a series of anti-Habsburg wars. The first of these was led by Count István Bocskai, who formed an army of free soldiers, called *hajdú,* and was then joined by Transylvania's "three nations." A great fighter of Ottomans in the Fifteen Years War, Bocskai turned against the Habsburgs in 1604 and conducted a successful campaign, reaching the gates of Vienna. Eventually he was forced to sign the Treaty of Vienna (1606), which guaranteed Transylvania's independence and religious freedom, and was followed by a twenty-year tripartite peace treaty with the sultan.

Bocskai's brief era was a historical turning point. It ushered in a century of anti-Habsburg struggles, mainly led by Transylvanian princes. Their objective was always the same: to unify the country under Hungarian sovereignty. The dilemma too was the same: how to drive both Turks and Habsburgs out of Hungary. Though weakened as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia at the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648), the Habsburgs still had an empire behind them. As for the Ottoman Empire, it numbered 30 million subjects and possessed an army that was reputedly invincible. Faced with these two giants, Transylvania, with its 1 million inhabitants and limited resources, was not up to the confrontation, even though it did succeed more than once in rallying the Habsburgs' Hungarian subjects.

Still, Transylvania had its golden age. The country found its brightest star in Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629). He had played an important role under Bocskai and in the struggles over succession. When elected prince, he had to make humiliating concessions to the Ottoman Empire, and he also made a number of internal mistakes, only later realizing that the prosperity of his subjects was better for the treasury than despoilment or irregular and unpredictable fiscal policies. His subsequent economic policy proved fruitful; regulated foreign trade brought in revenues, and everyone profited. Urban centers developed, Renaissance buildings sprang up, and public education reached unprecedented levels. This most eastern Protestant country—back to back with the Habsburgs—was soon drawn into the Thirty Years' War, beginning with a conflict between the Czechs and Ferdinand II, an implacable foe of the Reformation. Bethlen joined the Czechs and campaigned as far as the gates of Vienna. In 1620 the diet offered him the Hungarian Crown, but the Czech defeat at the Battle of the White Mountain cut him short. Nonetheless, the emperor was in a perilous position, and Bethlen was quick to take advantage of this, negotiating a very favorable compromise. Under the Treaty of Nikolsburg (1621), he renounced the royal crown but maintained control of seven counties in Upper Hungary. His sovereignty over Transylvania was never questioned.

Bethlen made several attempts to realize his anti-Habsburg plans, but never achieved national unification. The equation remained the same: the Habsburgs could only be kept out with the support of the Ottoman Empire, but in order to get rid of the latter, Bethlen would have to call on the Habsburgs. In the end, enthusiasm waned. Transylvanian lords were unwilling to mobilize in support of a policy perceived as Bethlen's personal ambition, while the kingdom's nobility wanted to curb powers conferred on him by his elevation to royal status, which Bethlen had in any case turned down.

At a time when absolutism was on the rise throughout Europe, the authority of the Transylvanian princes was of a more personal nature. They were local nobility, preceded by princes from the Báthorys, and succeeded by those of the Rákóczi family, members of which were skilled at amassing wealth. When György Rákóczi died in 1648, he left behind a country that was well governed, prosperous, and with an acquired habit of religious tolerance. His son György Rákóczi II nurtured larger ambitions, though he turned out to be far less successful, mounting a foolhardy incursion into Poland. He never recovered from the defeat, and Transylvania's star fell with him. Successors of little significance followed and Transylvania's golden age came to an end. It was invaded by the Turks and later occupied by the imperial army of Leopold I.

THE HABSBURGS

As Ottoman power weakened during the seventeenth century, Hungary's political center of gravity moved to the Habsburg-ruled kingdom. Despite its misfortunes, the country remained a bastion against the Ottoman invasion. Amid the wars and ravages, new spiritual and cultural waves swept across the entire country, and even its economy managed to survive. Vital links within this fragmented country remained intact, and a tacit contract united Magyars, born of a desire to liberate the entire country, though there was no consensus on how to go about achieving this.

Unlike the absolutist Bourbons, the Habsburgs had to adopt a measured approach toward the various states that made up their rather heterogeneous family empire. Czech resistance was easier to overcome, but the Magyar insistence on sovereignty, defended by a large and powerful nobility, was a greater challenge. Indeed, the Hungarian noble lawmakers did not yield to absolutism until the second half of the long reign of Leopold I (1657–1705), and even then only temporarily. Until that point, Vienna's interventions had been limited.

For centuries, an aristocracy of rich and powerful barons had risen from within a socially differentiated nobility. Over time, through titles and influence, they had become a superior class. The kings ruling from Vienna wanted these magnates as allies and had therefore made several of them counts, even hereditary princes, among them the Pálffy, Nádasdy, Eszterházy, Wesselényi, Forgách, and Csáky families. This new upper class later formed the upper chamber of the diet.

The Counter-Reformation changed the cultural and political landscape. Most squires returned, under duress or for convenience, to Catholicism, and the resulting alliances and quarrels with either the Turks or the Habsburgs, as well as differences in religious loyalties, had serious political repercussions and were not easily overcome. Religious tolerance remained far greater in Transylvania than in the kingdom, and the success of the Counter-Reformation was not unequivocal; Hungary was once again predominantly Catholic, but it remained a multifaith country. Cultural pluralism survived despite the Counter-Reformation's excesses. The Catholic Church regained its former preeminence in public life, with considerable influence in literature, education, and the arts.

The Habsburgs' goal was to keep the peace both at home and abroad, so they left Hungary's noblemen pretty much alone and did not interfere with their treatment of the peasantry, who were now reduced to serfdom, a fate escaped only by the most enterprising. Vienna intervened more readily in commerce than in political matters. It created trade monopolies, entrusting them to foreigners, among whom were the Oppenheimer and Wertheimer families, prosperous Viennese bankers who dealt in army supplies. Monopolies in the trade of cattle, ore, glass, and other products seriously reduced the scope for a free market and the income of the proprietors. Only a handful of rich and enterprising magnates threw themselves into "undignified" commercial activities.

Still, the Magyar lords had not forgotten that their primary duty was to prepare for the decisive war against Turkish occupation, despite the reticence of the Habsburgs. To achieve this, they were ready to cooperate with Vienna. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) had raised hopes that Europe's Christian forces could at last unite to drive out the Ottomans. But Ferdinand III was more interested in negotiating peace with the Ottomans than in risking confrontation. Such evasion was not well received in Hungary. Particularly impatient, and effective, among Hungary's lords was the warrior-poet Count Miklós Zrinyi (1620–1664), *ban* (governor) of Croatia, whose literary work and military-political role earned him an extraordinary reputation. Zrinyi disseminated the idea of a national kingdom, asserting that under the leadership of a strong—even absolutist—national king, the Turks could be driven out and the country reunited. In contrast with the prevailing wisdom of the times, according to which waging war was essentially a matter of money, money, and more money, Zrinyi called for "weapons and the determination of valiant men" (cited in Makkai 1996, 89–90).

The war of liberation for which Zrinyi had longed finally arrived in the 1660s. After a series of setbacks, Christian forces crushed the Turks at St. Gotthard in 1664. The victory was rendered meaningless, however, by the ensuing peace treaty signed at Vasvár. Although Turkish power was by now on the decline, the short but efficient "Küprülü Renaissance" brought major reforms to the Ottoman Empire, and its rule in Hungary was still strong.

While common sense called for moderation, royal absolutism was on the rise, and Leopold I even suspended Hungary's constitution. The closing decades of the seventeenth century thus ushered in the anti-Habsburg *kuruc* movement (the name derives from the Hungarian word for "crusader"), made up of fugitives from imperial justice, and dismissed soldiers. A young baron named Imre Thököly became the first leader of the kuruc. He won battles and conquered much of Upper Hungary, so the Ottomans supported him and even referred to him as Hungary's king. But Thököly is perhaps best remembered for marrying Ilona Zrinyi, widow of a Transylvanian prince who held the fort of Munkács for three years against imperial forces and for being the stepfather to the child Ferenc Rákóczi II.

Thököly—courageous, colorful, and energetic—embodied the ambiguities and contradictions of his time. He had tried to unite the "two Hungarys" with the help, or consent, of the Ottoman occupiers. A wave of paradoxical "Turkophilia" arose throughout the kingdom.

The final attempt by the Turks to take Vienna came in 1683. Saving Vienna was a great Christian victory and was followed by the retaking of numerous Hungarian fortresses. Ottoman-occupied Buda held for another three years. Pope Innocent XI succeeded in forming a new Holy League, supported by huge monetary contributions, and in 1686 an allied army set off toward Buda, under the command of the duke of Lorraine, this time with a large Hungarian contingent.

The siege began in June and lasted seventy-eight days, with a dramatic end: eight hundred tons of gunpowder exploded under the ramparts, hastening victory for the Christians. Ottoman soldiers resisted to the last man, but on 2 September, Buda was liberated. Christian Europe celebrated, but the war of liberation dragged on for two decades. Finally, in 1699, a peace treaty at Karlóca (Karlowitz) put an end to 173 years of Ottoman presence on Hungary's soil.

THE RÁKÓCZI REBELLION

Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735) grew up in Vienna and overcame his Habsburg education only on witnessing conditions in his native land. He then associated himself with the kuruc rebels. After his first attempt to establish a French alliance failed (resulting in his brief imprisonment and exile to Poland), he returned to Upper Hungary in 1703 to lead the already brewing insurrection. The cornerstone of his policies, an alliance with France, made good sense. Louis XIV welcomed the idea of an insurrection in the rear of his Austrian rival, so he granted Rákóczi a sizable annual subsidy out of the French military budget. But the French alliance always remained somewhat tentative, even after Rákóczi's loyalists forced the Ónod Diet (1707) to proclaim the House of Austria dethroned.

The kuruc cause was very popular, but Rákóczi's peasant armies were outsoldiered by the regular imperial troops. Nevertheless, Rákóczi, somewhat naively, continued to wage war until 1711. As the main cause of dissatisfaction—Leopold's harsh treatment of Magyars—was replaced by the more conciliatory approach of Joseph I, and as Louis XIV seemed ready to make peace with the Habsburgs, Rákóczi's hopes evaporated. In 1711 his commanding general signed a peace treaty at Szatmár. The terms offered by the imperial generals were quite fair. The king granted the rebels total amnesty, the restitution of their confiscated property, religious peace, respect for the constitution, and the safeguard of tax exemptions.

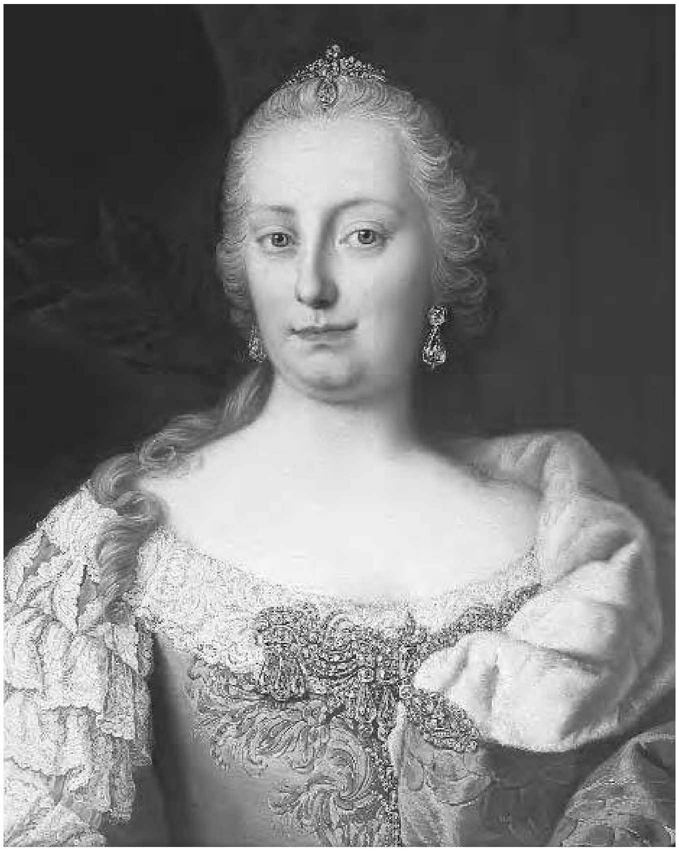
Rákóczi's insurrection may fairly be seen as a lost cause. The loyalty of Magyar nobility was divided, the peasantry was exhausted, and the prince's foreign allies had abandoned him. The long-suffering towns had now been subjected to war for two centuries, and Hungarian currency was worthless. It has also been asserted that Rákóczi was primarily obsessed with his Transylvanian principality, which by this time was firmly under Viennese administration.

COMING TO TERMS WITH VIENNA

The Szatmár peace treaty—sketched out between two opposing generals with both *kuruc* and *labanc* being Hungarian lords—was based on a tacit agreement: the Magyar nation, represented by its nobility, would cease rebelling, and the imperial winner would negotiate an honorable compromise. The king pledged his goodwill to the diet and promised to govern in keeping with its traditional laws, which ensured noble prerogatives. The legislative body was essentially dominated by nobles. Prelates and barons had sat at the table of the diet with the magnates and two noble deputies from each of the fifty-two counties, while members of the clergy and of the towns sat at the lower table. The estates formed a counterbalance to royal power, except during periods of absolutism.

Habsburg rulers of the eighteenth century were more interested in pacifying the dominant classes than in breaking them. The latter, rather than continue to chase the mirage of total national independence, were by and large ready to profit from the compromise. One example of this was the diet's acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction, recognizing royal succession by the Habsburg female branch.

Maria Theresa was twenty-three years old when she became archduchess of Austria in 1740; she became queen of Hungary and Bohemia a year later. With her husband the prince consort, she established the Habsburg-Lorraine dynastic line. Her long reign began with serious problems: Prussia started the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and invaded Silesia, to be joined by Bavaria and France. Thus the young ruler found herself in desperate need of Hungarian military support. At the diet of 1741, Hungary's nobles offered her their "lives and their blood" (Sugar 1984, 147). This meant that more than 100,000 Hungarian soldiers fought in the wars of the coming century and became instrumental in saving the dynasty's rule.



Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria by Martin Mytens the Younger, 1744. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

Maria Theresa's absolutism was moderate. She made concessions that favored the Hungarian estates, but the modus vivendi was fragile, and the compromise required constant renegotiation. For example, the territorial integrity of historical Hungary was not entirely restored. In Transylvania, Romanian and Székely territories were separated and organized into military frontier defense regions under the command of the Military Council in Vienna.

Military reforms were necessary both to ensure the kingdom's security and to support the wars with Prussia. The old system of raising armies, called "noble insurrection," was no longer effective. A permanent army of around 300,000 to 400,000 men, one-third Hungarian, was placed under the Viennese Military Council; its general officers and language of command were German. In the spirit of enlightened absolutism, such measures existed side by side with Maria

Theresa's considerable gratitude and benevolence toward the Hungarians.

Maria Theresa was devout, maternal, and marked by the contrasting traits of her age (the baroque), a mixture of mysticism, pathos, and glitter. She was both a modernizer strongly attached to traditional values, and a devout Catholic quite tolerant toward Protestants. An important element of Maria Theresa's reign was her striving to end confrontation and her search for equilibrium. Thanks to her reforms, the life of her subjects improved. It is fair to say that Maria Theresa and her son, coruler then king Joseph II, transformed the political and social landscape before a new era of national and literary revival began in Hungary.

Catholic teaching orders (Jesuits, Piarists) became active in education. After the demise of the Jesuits in 1773, Maria Theresa's reforms gave public education new impetus. The tradition of attending Protestant universities abroad in Wittenberg, Jena, and Halle continued. Alongside Latin, Hungarian literature was also coming into its own. Its flourishing began in the 1780s, due in part to the spread of rationalist ideas and also to an original initiative of Maria Theresa: she founded a Hungarian Guard unit, attracting to it Magyar cadets who served and studied in Vienna for five years before returning home and contributing to public life.

According to the first reliable census, taken in 1784–1787, the Habsburgs ruled over 23 million people, half of whom lived under the Hungarian Crown, in historical Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia. Hungary was important for the Viennese monarchs; it was the size of their empire's population that made the Habsburgs a great power. This meant that after the breakup of Poland (1772–1795), Russia, France, and Austria (with Hungary) loomed large on the continent, in terms of both territorial mass and their respective populations, while Prussia dominated militarily and England ruled the seas. The sixth power, the Ottoman Empire, was still significant, but would soon become the "sick man" of European politics.

Hungary held an important position in the new European configuration, despite its limited sovereignty and its state of convalescence. Under the Habsburgs, abandoned or sparsely populated territories were systematically colonized by both old and new immigrants, including a million Germans who settled in various regions. These newcomers were settled by special state committees. Priority was given to skilled farmers and artisans, who received material and financial assistance. As well as Serbs, numerous Slovaks and other Slavs joined older settlers, together totaling some 3 million. Adding 1.5 million Romanians, almost half of Hungary's inhabitants were non-Magyars.

The nation's ethnic composition had been reversed. Even though this was to bring on a number of conflicts later, it was not an issue at the time; statistics did not even take ethnicity into account. The new migration wave also changed the religious makeup of the country. Along with Catholics and Protestants, there were now large numbers of Eastern Orthodox and Greek Catholics (Uniates). There were also Armenian Christians and Jews, estimated to number 10,000 at the beginning and over 50,000 by the end of the century. As for the Protestants, despite churches and schools being restored to them, the Catholic Counter-Reformation was pursued with great success. Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance in 1781 ensured religious freedom for all.

For the first time in centuries, Hungary entered a long period of relative peace and prosperity. Society was able to pick itself up, despite its cumbersome and archaic social structure, which consisted of a huge majority of landless peasants on the one hand and a dominant nobility on the other, representing almost 10 percent of the inhabitants. In between the two was a weak stratum of bourgeoisie, soldiers, and civil servants, largely of foreign birth. The magnates and prelates were at the top of the pyramid. The 200 richest families included foreigners who were integrated with the Hungarian aristocracy. They lived a cosmopolitan lifestyle and were familiar with world culture. The 400,000 nobles, on the other hand, were literally and figuratively stuck in the past. Inequality between magnates and common nobles was enormous. Inequalities among peasants were less differentiated. The luckier or more enterprising among them inhabited a tenure of around twenty hectares or more, while the poorest lived in a shack with a backyard. Some of them sold their products on the market, settled in the market towns, and escaped rural servitude. Then there were those who swelled the ranks of agricultural laborers, much in demand by landowners seeking profits from growing markets.

Grievances over this "second servitude" exploitation reached the royal court and did not pass unnoticed. But vis-à-vis the nobility, its hands were tied. In exchange for possessing the Czech and Hungarian crowns (which made Maria a powerful European monarch), she guaranteed the lords' special feudal rights, and she needed their support. The Court promulgated reforms in Austria and Bohemia, but encountered resistance from the Hungarian orders and counties, where the nobility enjoyed a system of self-rule and used it to preserve its privileges. Maria nevertheless succeeded in implementing the Urbarium, a 1767 royal decree regulating peasant-lord relations.

In all respects, a new civilization was being born. There was no lack of books: the first literary dictionary (1766) contained biographies of more than five hundred Hungarian writers. These were astounding statistics for an economically underdeveloped country. Publications in Hungarian increased in number, as did secular, literary, historical, and scientific works.

Hungary's economy remained markedly rural. Factories were rare; in 1790–1800 there were around 125 factories and small manufacturers. Thus Hungary was more closely linked to the spiritual life of Europe than to its industrial revolution. Its wealth came primarily from agriculture. Habsburg court policies discouraged industrialization: Hungary was to remain the empire's supplier of meat, cereals, potash, and wine.

Though still far from giving rise to a genuine urban class, made up of bourgeois, free laborers, and intellectuals, the education system was nonetheless transformed. The first *Ratio educationis* in 1777 subjected schools to state directives and created a uniform system. Training for public health professions was instituted. A welfare system of sorts was created, concerned with orphans, widows, and the education of the children of Gypsies. Justice was dispensed according to set laws and separate from the administration. Maria Theresa put an end to witch trials and torture.

The traditionalist Maria Theresa changed a great many things, not because she was fond of reforms but because she saw them as necessary for the dynasty's survival. All this changed with the arrival on the throne of Joseph II, a zealous and impatient reformer. He contributed toward progress in many ways, but his ten-year reign was too short and resistance too strong for any real change to take place. Maria Theresa was certainly an authoritarian and a reformer, but not to the point of imposing her will without consideration for the interested parties (and certainly not to the extent of alienating magnates and nobles). Joseph, on the other hand, seemed driven by an ardent desire for change for its own sake. The spirit in which he imposed his designs was more modern and enlightened than his mother's; he was undoubtedly more in tune with the times but certainly not with his subjects. Joseph wanted to transform society immediately, while strengthening Austria against other powers.

Upon coming to power, Joseph II immediately set about integrating Hungary into his conception of a unitary state. In so doing, he attacked the privileges of the nobility, the rights of the state, and Hungarian cultural identity. He refused coronation in order to avoid direct confrontation with that jealous guardian of Magyar particularity, the diet. Nevertheless, a number of his decrees were enacted without much resistance. A relaxation of censorship was a notable case in point, as was the Edict of Religious Toleration in 1781. The edict abolished most discrimination against Protestants, Jews, and Orthodox Christians. Joseph II also eliminated Catholic orders with the exception of teaching and care-providing ones, turning hundreds of convents into schools. Civil marriage was introduced and church offices were reorganized. Joseph II wanted to be the architect of a modern state, for the good of both his empire and his people.

In 1784 Joseph II decreed that the official language in all the states was to be German. He did this in order to govern better: German, once extended to education, could train the elite capable of managing a modern state. The decree set three years to execute the project, but nothing, or very little, was to come of it, since in addition to provoking national resistance, the decree was impossible to implement. Even the more enlightened elements in society saw Joseph's measures as unrealistic. Realizing that his reforms were detested by all, Joseph II withdrew all his decrees on his deathbed in January 1790, except for the Edict of Toleration.

His successor, Leopold II, an enlightened and efficient ruler, was able to appease his subjects, before turning back to authoritarianism. His foreign policy proved successful, but in the subsequent decades all the problems of the old regime resurfaced.

NATIONAL AWAKENING

In Francis I a reactionary brute came to the Habsburg throne, a man in sharp conflict with the spirit of Enlightenment and the French Revolution, the influence of which was felt even among tradition-bound Magyar nobles who continued to believe that sovereignty belonged to the "privileged people."

The nation's intellectual elite were even more drawn to the ideas of the Enlightenment, finding them useful to voice their own aspirations. In view of the heavy-handed absolutism of Vienna, they felt that the only path to revival was within the cultural framework. To the reformers, knowledge was the key to development, and language the key to knowledge. The leading organizer and indisputable leader of Hungary's language reform was Ferenc Kazinczy, who spent 2,387 days in a Habsburg prison for having been implicated in a Jacobin conspiracy. He withdrew to his estate and dedicated his life to writing and to guiding a revival of the Magyar language and its literature. In this effort, he became a "dictator" of cultural life, a ruthless critic, imposing an elevated classicist style, stripped of frills, on his fellow writers.

The Magyar language had to adapt to modern life and become useful for conveying new notions. Kazinczy's "neologists" set out to reform grammar and lighten and enrich the vocabulary so as to keep abreast of cultural and technical developments in Europe. They created new words based on Hungarian roots, by borrowing foreign words and then Magyarizing them, or by image association. Reaction among their opponents, called "orthologues," was fierce, but the nation at the time had genuine and complex needs, which the reform movement could meet. To complicate matters and press the urgency of language reform, there were three languages in use throughout the land: Latin was the language of the Catholic Church, the law, and politics; German was used by the Viennese administration; and Hungarian was the language of the people and the new national elite. The promotion of Hungarian, the language of the dominant Magyars, was a major objective, as well as a cultural and political necessity.

At the same time, a growing number of grievances further poisoned the relationship between the court and Hungary. The devaluation of paper money, together with mandatory payment of taxes in silver coin, arbitrary levying of recruits, and lastly, the prolonged absence of the diet, forced the Austrian court to appease the Magyars. The diet was therefore finally summoned in 1825, but the all-powerful chancellor, Metternich, remained hostile toward national grievances as well as toward social radicalism. (The Metternich era was characterized by great power in the hands of a small circle at the court, the *camarilla,* a network of informers, and heavy-handed police intervention.)

The laws voted in by the diet in 1825–1827 and sanctioned by the king restored constitutional rights, abolished arbitrary levying of taxes and recruits, and promoted the use of Hungarian as the official language, but they did not widen the debate of ideas and reforms. This task was taken on by the county diets, and by the young radical reformers whose writings appeared in newspapers and books. Reform did not mean a complete break with the past; small, gradual steps prevailed. Social transformation from one session to another was consequently slow and difficult. Any denunciation of the old regime was punished, and during the 1830s a number of young liberals received prison sentences.

Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) and István Széchenyi (1791–1860) came to represent the two radically different approaches to reforming Hungary's public life. Széchenyi came from a family of aristocrats who had long patronized the arts and intellectual progress. He founded the Hungarian Acad-

Lajos Kossuth, nineteenth-century Hungarian nationalist and revolutionary. (Library of Congress)

emy of Sciences as well as social clubs for aristocrats, and published his ideas about banking, credit, and industry, aspects of modernization he had come to know during his travels. His projects included river regulation to facilitate navigation, the creation of a steamboat company, and the building of a permanent suspension bridge between Pest and Buda. For this English-style reformer, this kind of project was the way to progress, rather than social subversion or nationalist demagoguery. And yet Vienna considered him dangerous, seeing a threat coming from conservative magnates and nobles as well as those more radical, especially Kossuth.

There was a fierce argument between the two over the nationality issue. Széchenyi believed that assimilation would come about through the beneficial effects of general progress; Kossuth hoped that Magyarization would occur as a result of Hungarian democracy, culture, education, and administration. Public opinion sided with the latter view, inflamed by its own national demands against Austria, combined with a desire for preponderance over Slav and Romanian minorities in this multinational kingdom. Széchenyi's fear that an alliance between clamorous Magyar nationalism and the narrow-minded reactionary nobility, his worst nightmare, would become a reality, may have been exaggerated, but it was not unfounded. Still, the count, once praised for awakening the nation, lost popularity, whereas Kossuth, the first to have succeeded in conducting a policy that moved the masses, carried the day and assumed the role of the nation's leader.

Kossuth's dazzling career was due to his personal qualities; the task that was incumbent on him, through a combination of personal qualities, background, and circumstance, was no less than that of knitting together a land whose development had been curbed by external misfortune. Both progress and national freedom had to be fought for simultaneously. He became a highly respected figure in European public opinion and, after his defeat, received a hero's welcome from London to Washington.

Having recently completed a three-year prison sentence because of his seditious journalism, in early 1841 Kossuth launched a journal that was to be the focus of the entire opposition, *Pesti Hirlap* (Pest News), which became especially famous for its dazzling editorials. It was then that Kossuth's political genius really took off. He realized that the platform of the assembly could not on its own generate a sufficiently broad change in public opinion. He needed the press. He knew that the social foundation of his bold reform program was the "middle ground," the ordinary nobility, the intelligentsia, and the bourgeoisie—a middle class in the making. Among them, the subgroup requiring the most delicate handling in order to be won over to his cause consisted of the local squires. With infinite patience, Kossuth cajoled them into gradually giving up some of their privileges and very tentatively introduced the idea of a modest property tax. Even this proposal failed in the 1843–1844 county diets and the national diet, during which there were violent outbursts against the reformers.

This setback did not stop Kossuth, however, who had emerged triumphant from his arguments with Széchenyi. The aristocrat had been eclipsed by the lesser noble who was not, as he himself liked to point out, "born with a silver spoon in his mouth." Kossuth remained leader of the nationalist liberal trend throughout these prerevolutionary years.

REVOLUTION AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In 1848 Hungary and Transylvania had over 14 million inhabitants, 600,000 of whom were nobles, and only 120,000 wealthy lords. But the new middle class, composed of nobles as well as the free professions and the bourgeoisie, constituted a considerable political and economic force. It was a force that operated like a kind of third estate, with the difference that the assorted city dwellers, who were neither noble nor bourgeois, and the large peasantry were mere spectators, waiting for the outcome of the reforms, especially the abolition of serfdom.

Agriculture, unmodernized save for a few experimental farms, was the dominant economic activity. Landowners and tenured peasants continued to use old-fashioned farming methods and had no money for improvements. Industry was no longer in its infancy; there were a thousand factories (and yet this was only a tenth of the number of Austrian and Czech industries).

Urban development continued, and the dusty towns grew and changed. By 1848 Pest-Buda-Óbuda had a population of 120,000, a beautiful suspension bridge designed by two English engineers, a permanent theater, new hospitals, schools, and administrative buildings.

Széchenyi and Kossuth

István Széchenyi (1791–1860) and Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) represent the great dichotomy in nineteenth-century Hungarian public life. Each sought to move Hungarians to take—at times sharply divergent—action to reach a goal they shared: independent national progress. Much of their initiatives met with tragic failure, but their memory remains honored in Hungary, as Washington's and Lincoln's are in the United States; their images appear on currency, streets, parks, and prizes, and associations are named after them.

Their background had little in common. Count Széchenyi was the scion of a wealthy aristocratic family, was raised speaking German, and fought for Habsburg interests as a cavalry officer. Kossuth was born into a Hungarian-Slovak family of modest means, studied law, and took up journalism. During the reform period of the 1820s and 1830s, Széchenyi took his inherited seat in the Upper House of the Hungarian Diet, while Kossuth became a deputy in the Lower Chamber. Both became activists: Kossuth was inspired by reading the radical ideas of European revolutionaries, and Széchenyi by traveling abroad and witnessing the economic and social progress made in industrializing Western Europe, especially in England.

Seeing the miserable living conditions most Hungarians had to endure, they came to different conclusions. Kossuth blamed the country's dependent status and the Habsburg court's policies for Hungary's backwardness and called for radical reforms in political life, starting with far greater freedom from Vienna's increasingly authoritarian policies. Széchenyi saw Hungary's outmoded social institutions and practices as the prime causes of the country's condition, and set out to change them. Indeed, his initiatives laid the bases for modernizing the country. Among the ideas he promoted, and enthusiastically supported, were the construction of steamships and the regulation of rivers, building railroads and a permanent bridge connecting Buda and Pest, social clubs to promote the exchange of ideas, the establishment of a National Academy of Sciences, and organized horse racing in order to improve the native breeds. He was tireless in raising and providing funds for these projects, even though one of his most significant proposals—calling for doing away with the nobles' inalienable right to their lands, and thus making way for the introduction of credit so desperately needed for economic improvements—made him quite unpopular among his peers. Széchenyi took advantage of his position in public life and his family's great wealth to bolster his arguments (and even learned to make speeches in Hungarian), while Kossuth used his considerable journalistic and oratorial skills, which made him popular among young radicals, as well as earning him a term of imprisonment on sedition charges.

In public they showed great respect for each other, but the two unavoidably became political rivals. Although it was Kossuth who took the lead in turning the 1848 revolution into a yearlong war of independence (which almost brought about the fall of the Habsburg Empire), Széchenyi's ideas and actions could be seen as more radical, as they held the promise of more thorough and significant changes. While Kossuth called on Hungarians to take up arms and continue fighting even when there was no hope for military victory, Széchenyi worked to remake Hungarian society. He called on his fellow noblemen to give up many of their privileges, abandon their lives of rural indolence, and take practical steps to make Hungary economically powerful, a course that in his view would give the country a stronger bargaining position vis-à-vis Vienna, inevitably leading to independence without bloodshed and upheaval.

The choice of action offered by these two patriots set a pattern for the rest of Hungary's recent history, including the recent decades: the debate between those who, following Széchenyi's example, work for gradual, "careful" progress, and those who call for radical changes, continues.

Debate among liberal Hungarians focused on the modalities and the pace of change and not on the suitability of another policy. The issue of national minorities was now high on the political agenda; and it was not limited to languages. There were legal, economic, educational, and cultural aspects too.

About half of the population belonged to non-Magyar ethnic groups. In contrast to the past, their assimilation was seldom spontaneous. Though no one yet spoke of national identity as such, a vague national awareness, diffused and mixed in with the social and religious, had been awakened.

The nation was both multiethnic and multidenominational, strongly influenced by cultural and political nationalist awakenings. The Croats, subjects of the Crown but with their own diet and enjoying considerable state autonomy, constituted a particularly complex problem. In the 1840s the Croat nobility had severed its traditional alliance with the Hungarian lawmakers. The Croat National Party and the Illyrian movement, an outcome of Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces created between 1809 and 1813, squared off against pro-Hungarian Croats.

Equally strong cultural nationalist currents existed among the Slovaks in Upper Hungary, the Serbs in the south, and the Romanians in Transylvania. The intellectuals and patriots of these nationalities were unhappy with the introduction of Hungarian as the official language, the concept of one state, one nation, and the assimilationist policy of the Hungarian political class. As for the Viennese court, in accordance with its age-old tactic of divide and rule, it encouraged the minorities to pursue their demands.

In three-nation Transylvania (Magyar, Szekler, and Saxon), the fourth nation, the Romanian, had raised its head, influenced by its intellectuals. The vision of a Greater Serbia as an ideology was also promoted by the Serbian minister of the interior, Ilija Garasanin. As for Serbians living within the kingdom of Hungary, their most important journal, *Serbske narodne novine* (Serb National News), published in Pest, leaned more toward Hungarian reformism. In Upper Hungary, a "war of languages" raged between Magyars and Slovaks. Two intellectuals led the Slovak movement, Jan Kollár and Ľudovít Štúr, both opponents of Magyarization. Kollár's profile illustrates well the complexity of the situation; he was a Lutheran pastor living in Pest, wrote in Czech and adopted a pro-Austrian and Austro-Slav policy. Austro-Slavism, as opposed to Russian Pan-Slavism, envisaged the union of the Slavs of the Habsburg Empire, a vision dear to the great figure of Czech nationalism, František Palacký. Nevertheless, from the Hungarian perspective, Austro-Slavism and the pro-Russian Pan-Slavism were indistinguishable in that both of them threatened the integrity of the kingdom's territory.

The Jewish minority constituted a special case; in the mid-nineteenth century there were some 250,000 Jews in Hungary. Due to a massive influx of Jews from Bohemia and Moravia, followed by another from Galicia, no other ethnic group or religion underwent such a dramatic increase in numbers over a century. These immigrants were on the whole well received. Documents attest to a Jewish presence in Hungary since the ninth century. As with other Jews in Europe, they were dependent on powerful lords, the king first and foremost, from whom they received protection in exchange for services or straightforward ransoms. They were subjected to the customary discriminations: the wearing of distinctive insignia and clothes was compulsory; there were restrictions concerning property and profession; cohabitation with Christians was forbidden, although this last rule was not very strictly enforced. And yet Hungary's few thousand Jews fared far better than those living in other lands. They were spared the massacres perpetrated during the Crusades and, aside from a few isolated cases, were not subjected to violence or mass expulsions. After the reign of Mátyás, things changed. The mainly German urban bourgeoisie let loose its fury on these rival foreigners who practiced "strange rites." Thus alongside religious anti-Judaism, a modern day anti-Semitism emerged. Nonetheless, Hungary had far less persecution and offered a higher guarantee of security to Jews than other countries. In tolerant Transylvania, cases of anti-Judaism were rare except in Saxon towns.

The Habsburg era was particularly difficult for the Jews; the diet practically outlawed them, and a number of towns once again expelled them. In 1783 Joseph II promulgated the "systematic regulation" of the Jews' status, which accorded them a number of civic rights, including access to towns, participation in industry, and admission to Christian schools without having to wear any distinctive identification.

With medieval anti-Judaism fading, competitive anti-Semitism persisted. While the urban bourgeoisie remained on the whole hostile, enlightened intellectuals and nobles favored Jewish emancipation and further immigration. Legal and social integration went ahead, because, unlike most minorities, Jews were willing to modify their ways. They adopted the Magyars' language, customs, and even patriotism. Their contribution was invaluable at a time when pressure from other national minorities began to weigh on the Magyars.

In 1848 revolution broke out in Paris. As the news from Paris reached Hungary, Kossuth went on the political offensive at the Pozsony Diet with his liberal-radical program, which was soon relayed to Pest. The Opposition Circle drafted the "demands of the Hungarian nation," the famous Twelve Points constituting the essence of Kossuth's program and reflecting the ideas of the Pest radicals. The twenty-five-year-old poet Sándor Petőfi, drafted the fiery "National Song," and the next day the young revolutionaries had the poem and the Twelve Points printed without the censor's approval.

The Twelve Points expressed what the nation demanded: freedom of the press, abolition of censorship, a cabinet of responsible ministers and a National Assembly in Buda-Pest, equality of civic and religious rights, equal and universal contribution to public expenses, abolition of tax privileges, a national bank and national armed forces, freeing of political prisoners, legal reforms, and union with Transylvania. The revolution wanted to abolish restrictive and discriminatory laws, indeed, the entire political and economic system. At the Pozsony Diet, conservatives in both chambers were swept aside by Kossuth's party, a victory due partially at least to the rumor that a peasant army led by Petőfi was set to march on the city.

At the imperial capital, the March revolution succeeded because the government was weak and psychologically destabilized. After Metternich's dismissal, the feeble King Ferdinand and his court ratified the key laws of the Hungarian Diet, the "April laws." The promulgation of these laws meant that the revolutionary achievements became legalized. A government accountable to the assembly was to be installed, serfdom abolished, and the road to universal suffrage opened. The main national demands had been granted. The new Hungarian council of ministers, presided over by Count Lajos Batthyány, included Kossuth as minister of finance and Széchenyi as minister of public works and transport.

On 11 April, the ancient diet was dissolved and replaced by the National Assembly, elected by direct suffrage constituted by the nobles, the bourgeoisie, and wealthy peasants. Hungary was now a constitutional parliamentary monarchy, governed by an accountable ministry. The Habsburg emperor, however, remained king of Hungary; Hungarian sovereignty was not internationally recognized, and there was no foreign office in Pest. A national currency, the forint, was soon in circulation, and a Hungarian National Guard and army were established. Finally, following a general election, the first National Assembly of 415 deputies, mainly from the provincial nobility, opened on 5 July, with few radicals elected.

Transylvania proclaimed reunification with Hungary, and the issue of military frontiers under Austrian rule was also resolved. The demands of ethnic minorities were listened to, placated, but basically refused. Hungarian liberals of 1848 were not ready to renounce the concept of a unitary state and to concede autonomous territories to the different nationalities. They felt that liberating the serfs and ensuring equal civic rights to all citizens, regardless of ethnicity or creed, would solve the minority problem.

Croatia constituted a special case. It was part of the Hungarian Crownlands, but enjoyed considerable autonomy and its own diet, while also dependent on the authority of the civil governor designated by the king of Hungary. Neither the *ban,* General Josip Jelačić, a strong national figure, nor the more powerful section of the Croatian political class wanted to march alongside the Magyars. Vienna initially approved Hungary's position with regard to the national minorities and went as far as recalling Jelačić, but quickly restored him. The intention was to put an end to the Hungarian revolution. Victories against the rebels in Italy and in Bohemia, and news that the Paris barricades had fallen, had restored Austria's confidence.

The Habsburg government tried to reverse the political concessions it had made in its moment of weakness and set about encouraging ethnic separatism within Hungary. In the face of danger, the Buda-Pest government hastened its own preparations for war. A national army—called Honvédség, "defender of the Homeland"—was set up, armament and equipment factories bought, political and social rights broadened, and patriotic propaganda increased. "The fatherland is in danger," a slogan launched by Kossuth, reverberated throughout the land. His speech to the assembly led the deputies to vote for recruiting 200,000 men and extending a sizable military credit.

On 11 September, 1848, Jelačić's army entered Hungary. Austria was still negotiating, but clearly Jelačić's war was Vienna's. After Batthyány's resignation, Hungary came to be governed by a Defense Committee, which the assembly vested with all powers. It was Kossuth's moment—his speeches fanned the fires of patriotism and mobilized the population.

On 29 September, the Honvéd army stopped Jelačić at Pákozd. After this, the monarchy dissolved parliament and replaced Batthyány; the Hungarian Assembly declared these decisions null and void. On 6 October, the people of Vienna rebelled, forcing the court to escape to Olmütz (Olomouc) in Moravia. Two days later, the assembly in Pest nominated Kossuth to be president of the Defense Committee, with almost dictatorial powers.

By December, Austria had a new emperor, Franz Joseph. The eighteen-year-old emperor-king soon demonstrated his ambition to reestablish absolute authority at all costs and without compromise. Meanwhile, the legendary Polish general, Józef Bem, had offered his services to Hungary and taken command of the Transylvanian army. Having won several battles, the Austrian commander, General Windischgrätz, told the emperor that Hungarian resistance was over. Vienna, encouraged by the news, issued a manifesto that nullified the 1848 laws and subjected Hungary to the government in Vienna. This caused serious dissent within Kossuth's army and unrest in the Hungarian Peace Party, which was opposed to the pursuit of war. Kossuth's eloquence and his policies won over the peasantry, inspired the army, and rallied the moderates and the undecided—but not the entire political class.

Vienna's absolutist circles wanted to drown Hungarian ambitions once and for all. There was little room for negotiations. Kossuth saw only two courses of action: either to fight until victory had been achieved, which he still thought possible, or to capitulate unconditionally. He chose the former. On 13 April 1849, despite opposition from members of the legislature, Kossuth proposed a Declaration of Independence of the Hungarian state and the dethroning of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine before the National Assembly. The bill was unanimously approved the following day at a public meeting of an enlarged Assembly. Kossuth now had behind him not only the majority of parliament, but also, he claimed, the loyalty of the army and popular support. The break with Vienna and the king was now complete.

Hungary was not proclaimed a republic. The constitutional shape the Hungarian state was to take would be decided later. For the moment, Kossuth was elected president-governor, but, contrary to the wishes of a small radical left, the assembly did not confer full powers on him. Kossuth was more representative of the dominant middle nobility in the assembly than of the Left or, indeed, the opposition, which favored accommodation with Vienna. His principal objective had been achieved. Hungary had become independent.

Despite initial optimism and success, Hungary's days of independence were numbered. Responding to his imperial cousin's call, Russia's Tsar Nicholas decided to deploy his army against the Hungarians. In June the Russians invaded Hungary, and the Hungarians found themselves caught in a stranglehold. Austrian and Russian superiority of forces was overwhelming.

Kossuth's government concentrated on its military effort, while pursuing its liberal democratic policymaking. On 28 July, it emancipated the country's Jews, and an enlightened nationalities law was promulgated on the same day. This legislation gave minorities the freedom to use their mother tongue at the local administrative level, at tribunals, in primary schools, in community life, and even within the national guard of non-Magyar councils. It was the first law in Europe to recognize minority rights. These actions, however, were too late to influence events in the two weeks leading up to military defeat.

After the Russian invasion, hopes of saving the country were slim. On 9 August, General Haynau beat and dispersed the main Hungarian army. Kossuth abdicated, transferred all powers to General Artur Görgey, and sought refuge in Turkey. Three days later, the War Council decided to surrender to the Russians at Világos, near the city of Arad.

The war ended and repression began. The tsar sent his son to Vienna to persuade Franz Joseph to act with clemency, but the Austrians executed thirteen top generals along with the former president of the Council of Ministers, Count Lajos Batthyány, and several other military and civil individuals. Nicholas was able to save only the life of Görgey. Many were condemned to death by war tribunals, others were simply massacred, and thousands received long prison sentences.

The poet Petőfi died two weeks before the end, fighting with Bem's army. He was twenty-six years old. Count Széchenyi fell into a depression in September 1848. His tortured soul found a degree of tranquillity in a psychiatric establishment near Vienna, where he continued to write and to receive friends; he took his own life in 1860.

TOWARD THE COMPROMISE OF 1867

An uneasy calm was reestablished in the Habsburg kingdoms and provinces. The emperor assumed total control, to the point of presiding over the Government Council in person. Proconstitutional ministers resigned one after another. Alexander von Bach, the minister of interior, became the architect of the neoabsolutist turn that began in 1850. He replaced Hungary's counties with five districts, administered Transylvania and Croatia separately from the kingdom, applied harsh censorship, suppressed civil associations, and introduced foreign penal and civil codes.

At the same time, some important 1848 reforms came into effect under the Bach regime: the repurchase of peasant servitude, for example, accompanied by (unsuccessful) antifeudal propaganda aimed at dividing nobility and peasantry. Indeed, the population's state of mind remained surprisingly united around the memory of the lost war of independence; everyone awaited Kossuth's return.

The most original feature of this decade of oppression was passive resistance, which became a way of life and an ethical code. Thinly concealed vitriolic anti-Habsburg references appeared in the press and in literature, and when the government introduced a tobacco monopoly, many quit smoking in protest. Following a decade characterized by hatred and despair, the sense of distress and trauma was to be the basis for the conciliation constructed by the architects of the future 1867 compromise.

Several thousand chose exile, a significant number at the time. Many of these political refugees soon returned, but a thousand or so dispersed in Europe and in the Americas tried to influence public opinion abroad. Kossuth was warmly received in England and in the United States but could not translate public sympathy into action on behalf of the Hungarians. He became the heroic representative of an honorable but hopeless cause.

The notion of returning to the ancien régime was unpopular in Hungary and impossible given the European situation at the time. Austria was unlikely to concede independence around the negotiating table with the rebels. The best minds in Hungary therefore set about formulating a compromise. The compromise was nurtured by liberal moderates, among whom the jurist Ferenc Deák played the key role. The spirit of reconciliation matured in the imperial capital as well. Responding to defeat against Italy and internal rumblings of discontent, Franz Joseph reorganized the government and his states, though without giving in to true constitutionalism and even less to liberalism. The 1860 October Diploma and the 1861 February Patent were the first steps toward a constitutional regime of sorts. But, as distrustful of magnates as he was of liberals, the ruler imposed a centralizing bill which took into consideration the "individuality" of the kingdoms that constituted the monarchy without really giving them satisfaction.

The Hungarian Assembly, convened at last in 1860, responded to the royal move in a moderate petition rather than a resolution proposed by the more intransigent. The emperor rejected the petition and dissolved parliament, handing moderates a defeat. After a few years of maturing, however, political life reemerged, primarily as a result of the celebrated 1865 "Easter article," in which Deák proposed a compromise with a joint Austro-Hungarian administration for shared external and military affairs. The decisive turning point came in July 1866 when Prussia decimated Francis Joseph's imperial army. The Koniggrätz (Sadowa) defeat forced Vienna to reach an agreement with the Hungarians.

Another year passed before the *Ausgleich* (Compromise) of 1867 was put into effect, formalizing relations between Vienna and the lands of the Hungarian Crown. The compromise created a new state system composed of two constitutionally distinct entities united under a single sovereign and sharing governmental institutions—a characteristic that made it more than a personal union. Dualism was, for the moment, the optimal solution for safeguarding both the Magyar sense of identity and dynastic rule.

Aside from sporadic hostile reactions, Hungarian public opinion appeared more satisfied than frustrated, and not without reason. Compared with the 1723 Pragmatic Sanction, the 1867 law was more acceptable to the Magyars. Hungary was under the king's rule but was not directly subject to the Austrian imperial government. The Hungarian half of the empire was far better defined than its other components, and the Magyar sense of identity was respected. Still, the ingenious legal edifice of the compromise did not reflect the actual economic relationship between a rich and powerful Austria and a Hungary handicapped in several ways. In addition, Hungary was not free in foreign and military affairs. In diplomacy, war, and international law, Hungarian national sovereignty was incorporated into Austria-Hungary.

When it came to "common affairs," two equally representative delegations had to be elected by the two parliaments, to deliberate on the financing of foreign and military affairs, each managed by a common ministry. The delegations had no legislative power, and their deliberations took place separately, communication between the two conducted strictly by written notes.

In the fifty years of its existence, this system was the object of incessant controversy, particularly from the Hungarian nationalist left. Political life was dominated by the rivalry between the party of 1848 and Deák's Liberal Party. Until 1905, the latter retained a three-quarters parliamentary majority. The Dual Monarchy survived; its accomplishments pacified the people and turned a reviled emperor into an accepted and even finally well-liked sovereign.

The real losers in this solution were neither the Hungarians nor the Austrians, but Hungary's other nationalities. During the neoabsolutist 1850s, they shared the fate of the Hungarians. Under the new system, the non-Magyar nationalities, who constituted almost half the kingdom's population, were returned to the fold of the Hungarian Crown.

The dualist system and parliamentarianism worked without major hitches, and its liberalism promoted economic growth. Count Gyula Andrássy, head of the Hungarian government, then minister of Austro-Hungarian foreign affairs from 1871 to 1879, worked with Bismarck toward strengthening the Austro-German alliance, keeping Russia at arm's length and defending Austrian interests in the Balkans.

Kálmán Tisza's government ruled between 1875 and 1890. The Tisza era marked both the zenith of liberalism and the beginning of its decline. Internal stability was assured, thanks to the abilities of this prime minister and the preponderance of the Liberal Party, a combination that managed to mix a small dose of "1848" with a strong dose of "1867." It went on to win elections for thirty years, taking between two-thirds and three-quarters of parliamentary mandates.

Apart from a small conservative party and rather weak representation of non-Magyar nationalities, the opposition consisted of independents who relied for support on a nostalgic provincial nobility and on the Magyar peasantry of the Great Plain, who gained little from the development of capitalism. Nor did the new tax-based voting system work in their favor: only 24 percent of the male adults had the right to vote, and voting rights based on noble titles remained in place. National policy was now conducted in the parliament, not at the county level. Alongside magnates and nobles, the benches of parliament, of political clubs and casinos, the editorial boards of newspapers, and the management boards of banks and factories were filling with the bourgeoisie and representatives of the liberal professions, mainly lawyers. Political decisions were often made in the corridors of the National Casino, the exclusive preserve of the aristocracy, or in less exclusive clubs frequented by the nobility and bourgeoisie.

The two liberal-conservative decades corresponded to a period of unprecedented progress in terms of the economy, urbanization, and education. Even though acute problems of social injustice darkened the horizon, the state did not interfere in the citizens' private affairs, and ethnic groups were free to pursue economic activities, to practice their respective religions, and to develop their identities. The country's political class lacked the will and talent to address the new conflicts or to resolve old ones. As the end of the century loomed, Tisza's successors seemed even more inclined to consolidate the gains of the wealthy to the detriment of the less fortunate. They failed to halt either the decline of liberalism or the erosion of dualism.

INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The thousand-year anniversary of Hungary's settlement by the Magyars was celebrated during the 1896 millennial festivities. The stability of the country seemed secure, justifying the optimism and enthusiasm of the crowds, and its economic health was also promising for the time being. In 1910, when the last general census was undertaken, Hungary (without autonomous Croatia) had 18.3 million inhabitants. Ethnic Magyars, at 10 million, made up 54.5 percent of the inhabitants, compared with 51.4 percent in 1900. Other ethnic groups decreased in number slightly, although Germans still constituted 10.4 percent, Slovaks 10.5 percent, Romanians 16.1 percent, and Ruthenians, Serbs, and others combined, more than 8 percent. Nearly half the population was Roman Catholic, 22 percent Protestant. There were almost a million Jews.

The impact of voluntary assimilation, notably of large numbers of Germans, along with a policy of Magyarization, was significant, as was the assimilation process of the Jews, who practiced their faith but readily adopted Hungarian as their mother tongue. For Slav and Romanian nationals, on the other hand, the situation became more precarious, since Magyar nationalism was beginning to overshadow liberalism. With the upsurge of nationalism, the roots of cultural-political conflicts no doubt lay in the idea itself of the one and indivisible Hungarian state. The 1868 nationalities law was certainly a very liberal law that opened the way to assimilation. What the law did not recognize was the collective, corporate right of nationalities to cultural and administrative autonomy. Hungary constituted a single political nation in which all citizens were equal without distinction, but within the framework of a unitary state with Hungarian as the official language. There was, however, a lack of long-term perspective on the part of Magyar liberals. It was unrealistic to count on the assimilation of minorities living in a country in which they constituted almost half the population. Furthermore, the tactics used by over-zealous authorities in their attempt to Magyarize the minorities were counterproductive, as they created antagonism (save in the case of Jews, who assimilated and identified themselves with the Magyars).

Hungary's best thinkers had worked for a modern, industrial, and urbanized Hungarian society and for the creation of a multitude of educated individuals ever since the time of István Széchenyi. Their most vehement opponents often came from Hungary's new civil servants. This rather large body attracted the landed and landless gentry, and came to constitute a political class whose members would later call themselves the "gentlemanly Christian middle class," a specifically Hungarian self-identification. Its members had a strong tendency toward social posturing, reflecting the attitudes and lifestyles of the nobility, whether authentic or borrowed.

In 1910 agriculture employed more than 60 percent of the population; industry, 18 percent; and services, 22 percent. Social divisions were marked, especially in agriculture. Five thousand of the wealthiest families owned 27 percent of the cultivated land, 3.5 million peasants worked tiny plots, and 5 million were practically landless. Still, more of the wealth came from industry, industrialized arts and crafts, transport, and other services than had been the case. The number of factories increased, and the industrial workforce doubled in size. The state promoted and aided industrial growth, railroad building, and the regulation of rivers, as a result of which arable land increased by 4 million hectares. Infrastructure and road building had been taking place throughout the century, but railroad building was even more rapid, especially after 1890, when Hungary's rail network grew to be second only to that of France.

All of these changes had a beneficial impact on developments in education and urbanization, as well as lifestyle and material and cultural civilization. Compulsory state education caused illiteracy rates to fall dramatically. Within thirty years, two-thirds of the male population had an elementary education. A second university was established at Kolozsvár in 1872, and others were set up in Debrecen and Pozsony. In 1895 the Eötvös College was founded, modeled on the École Normale Supérieure in Paris. Education was open to all, and several thousand elementary and secondary schools used languages other than Magyar in teaching.

The economic transformation brought about by industrial and commercial activities, and the increasing contribution of factories to the national revenue, along with other indicators of development, were evidence that bourgeois society was on the rise. The value of industrial production rose from 175 million crowns in 1860 to 1,400 million in 1900, and to 2,539 million in 1913. The industrial growth index soared to 1,450, while the national revenue index climbed from 100 to 453.

These signs of a developing capitalism concealed a society split in two; modern and dynamic on the one hand, and moving at a snail's pace on the other. This contrast explains the sharply divergent views that have been formed about Hungary. Some underline its outmoded, even feudal, structures; others highlight its scientific and technical achievements, the expansion of urban centers, of civil society, the arts, and literature. Life in the villages had changed little, whereas the large towns, especially Budapest, had risen close to the same level as in other European cities.

The capital was created in 1873 out of the unification of three separate towns: Óbuda, an ancient settlement, Buda, the royal seat, and Pest, a small town of peasants, craftsmen, and merchants. Unified Budapest had 887,600 inhabitants, nearly three-quarters of them living in Pest. With all the growth, historic Buda did not lose its "old town" look. On the left bank, Pest revealed a disconcerting blend of styles: neo-Gothic, neobaroque, neoclassical, *Jugendstil* (secessionist), or simply of no particular style. The boulevards and the town center, with the Opera, the neo-Gothic Parliament, the museums, schools and theaters, the palatial banks, the stock exchange, and well-to-do middle-class apartment houses, were reminiscent of imperial Vienna, though less opulent. The capital became Hungarian at the same speed with which it became a modern urban center. In 1850 only 36 percent of its residents were Magyar, with Germans, Slovaks, and others making up the majority. Fifty years later, 85 percent were Hungarian, resulting from immigration and spontaneous assimilation.

Social divisions remained, but class barriers were crumbling in favor of the middle classes. The distinction between persons "of good birth" and commoners did not disappear, but education did have a certain equalizing effect. The growth of bourgeois society was also evidenced by the growing number and diversity of people participating in social, professional, and cultural organizations. These ranged from small clubs to large trade associations, and more and more labor unions.

In particular, the lifestyle of new urban (mostly Jewish) writers, poets, and journalists influenced Budapest entertainment and mass communication, and its practitioners became household names. The capital had half a dozen theaters, large publishing houses, and twenty newspapers representing diverse points of view. Fine arts flourished, and a certain un-definable Hungarian School, presented at the 1900 Paris World's Fair, was admired for its bold and brilliant virtuosity, having no particular characteristic but a certain exoticism. Officially, Budapest of the early 1900s cultivated a conservative national art rather than the fin de siècle art of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, or London. The educated majority, fearing the dilution of national cultural identity, remained suspicious of anything labeled "modern." Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály were undertaking their research into and rediscovery of Magyar folk music, which was later blended into their modernist music.

Hungary thus entered the twentieth century under the fascination of its thousand-year past and pleased with its successes. Most of its citizens were confident, had a clear conscience, and failed to notice the clouds gathering on the horizon. The nation's leaders were able to discard any proposal to move from a Dual Monarchy to a more inclusive federation, or any other notion that called into question Magyar political supremacy within the kingdom.

The first troubling incidents arose from the difficulty of managing the monarchy's "joint affairs," that is, those dealing with finances and the army. Since the joint affairs were the cornerstones of the empire, and since the army was the tool of social and supranational integration of the monarchy's peoples, where individuals could advance regardless of class or nationality, Franz Joseph took a firm stand against critics of the military. He even threatened Hungary's lawmakers with the introduction of universal suffrage, which might have led to the defeat of the Independence Party. The ploy worked. Opposition deputies accepted the emperor's conditions concerning the army and formed a coalition government including politicians of diverse hues.

In 1910 the former liberals, now the National Workers Party, led by István Tisza, came to power. Tisza's personal qualities—intelligence, steadiness, and courage—were undisputed, but he also had a strong authoritarian attitude. He put an end to the nationalist opposition that threatened the monarchy, but was also a supporter of a pro-Magyar policy at the expense of the minorities.

Non-Magyar politicians found in Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the emperor's nephew and heir to the throne, a powerful potential ally. He was above all a defender of Habsburg interests and its power, but he was also decidedly anti-Hungarian. He developed a strong aversion to the Magyars, whom he saw as obstacles to his plans to reorganize the monarchy along federal lines.

Meanwhile, the monarchy had to face even more acute crises abroad. In October 1908 Bosnia-Hercegovina, occupied since the Congress of Berlin (1878), was formally annexed by Vienna. Hungarians did not particularly want an increase in their Slav population, so Bosnia-Hercegovina was shared by the two states of the monarchy, without being made part of Hungary. After some conflicts with the local Muslims, Bosnians by and large came to accept Austro-Hungarian administration. The Bosnian Serbs, however, did not. They looked to Serbia, where the accession of the Karadjordjević dynasty gave rise to the idea of "Greater Serbia." South Slav unrest was a growing cause of concern for the Hungarian kingdom. Even among Croats the idea of separation from the Hungarian Crown was gaining popularity.

Seeing the political crises of the new century, especially in the Balkans, some of Hungary's progressive minds began to advocate a radical transformation of society and cultivated a democratic "counterculture," open to modern ideas. Their guiding light was the poet Endre Ady; the breeding ground for their ideas were journals like *Huszadik század* (Twentieth Century) and *Nyugat* (West), and associations like the Social Sciences Society. One leading mind of this movement was the sociologist Oszkár Jászi. He raised and tackled a variety of issues, including socialism, agrarian reform, and the struggle for political democracy. It was he who developed the modern democratic concept of solving the nationality problems based on cultural freedom for all minorities, but not necessarily calling for autonomy. He retained the concept of the integral and unitary Magyar state, which he hoped would evolve toward a citizens' democracy.

WORLD WAR I

No one foresaw what was to follow the events of 28 June 1914, when Gavrilo Princip, a member of the secret Serbian Black Hand Society, assassinated Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, and his wife in Sarajevo. The belief that Belgrade was behind the assassination led to an Austro-Hungarian ultimatum and subsequent declaration of war. A short punitive expedition was envisioned, and even Russia's likely involvement did not unduly worry the monarchy's leaders. Only the Hungarian prime minister, István Tisza, opposed the war, fearing irreparable consequences if Serb complicity could not be proven and if military and diplomatic conditions were not optimal. When Tisza was finally pressured into agreeing with Vienna's decision, he became one of the strongest supporters of a decisive military solution.

As in all of the belligerent countries, the war was popular. Even the Social Democratic Party gave up its opposition to the war, and Hungary contributed half of the 8 million soldiers eventually fighting on the monarchy's fronts. For a while, even the ethnic minorities exhibited considerable loyalty to the emperor.

Hungarian armies first fought on the southern front against Serbia, then on the Russian front, and finally in the Alps against Italy. Despite the valiant efforts of both soldiers and officers, Hungarian units suffered more than their share of defeats. High command was partially responsible, as were organizational weaknesses and lack of equipment and provisions. The human cost was high. A total of 661,000 Hungarian soldiers lost their lives, more than 700,000 were wounded, and a similar number became prisoners of war.

The final debacle began in 1918 on the Italian front. Along the Piave River, the Austro-Hungarian army was almost annihilated. After the Germans sustained a fatal defeat near the Somme and the Bulgarians withdrew from the war, October brought the second defeat on the Piave, and the monarchy sued for peace on 3 November. Meanwhile, Franz Joseph died after a sixty-eight-year reign and was succeeded by Charles (Karl) IV. The decline of the empire had already begun with the military defeats and economic deterioration in its rural hinterland. Yet, despite military setbacks, desertions, mutinies, strikes, and agitation by the minorities, the destruction of Austria-Hungary was not a foregone conclusion. Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, proclaimed in January 1918, did not envisage it, nor was it part of the Entente's war aims. Due in large part to the activities of émigré politicians representing the monarchy's nationalities, the Allied attitude changed, and by the end of May 1918, even the United States agreed to the dismantling of Austria-Hungary. The creation of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and a South Slav state became part of the war aims. Historical Hungary was finally eliminated when Transylvania was awarded to the Romanian kingdom. The Paris peace treaties, specifically the Treaty of Trianon, which was signed by Hungary on 5 June 1920, satisfied a number of peoples, while brutally carving up the historic homeland of others.

The Hungarian national leaders stuck firmly to their intransigent position, unwilling to give away an inch of their ancient prerogatives. They rejected any trialism or federal project that would have placed the monarchy's ethnic minorities on an equal footing with the Magyars. This position made Hungary the stumbling block to any reorganization of the monarchy. Without Hungary's agreement, the project could not be carried out. Austria was cobbled together through the centuries, piece by piece, into a heterogeneous empire. It was a mosaic of states and provinces with a supranational character, headed by the shared sovereign in the Hofburg. But the Hungarian "mosaic" was drawn on the canvas of a thousand-year historical Hungary. Renouncing this unity could have been seen as generous. According to Magyar public opinion, however, it would have also been something no other nation was asked to undertake—a suicide act.

Hungary now entered a Europe forged by the victors, a small, defeated country of less than 8 million inhabitants. As soon as the monarchy collapsed, successor states occupied the most coveted parts of the kingdom: to the north, Upper Hungary was claimed by the Slovaks and Czechs; to the south, Serbs joined with Croats and Slovenians and created a common kingdom; to the east, Transylvanian Romanians opted to join Romania. After Charles IV abdicated, and his former realm became the Republic of Austria, Hungary was alone to face its vengeful neighbors as well as the Entente army that had already defeated Bulgaria and was advancing to its southern borders.

Attacked on all sides, the country underwent a year of torment. On 25 October 1918, three opposition parties—the Radicals, the Social Democrats, and Count Mihály Károlyi's Independence Party—created a National Council. Károlyi proclaimed Hungary to be a republic before an enthusiastic crowd.

The new premier was a complex individual: son of a historic aristocratic family who became a leftist; a large landowner who distributed one of his domains among the peasants; a pacifist who had served as a cavalry officer. He was a pro-Entente politician, a rival of Tisza, a Wilsonian, and a patriot. Some called Károlyi a "republican royalist"; indeed, he was the last Hungarian statesman to swear allegiance to the king. His government however was too radical for the right and not radical enough for the communist left. Consequently, the "Red count" is remembered as a slightly eccentric man of the Left who represented no one.

In November 1918 the government asked for an armistice on the Balkan front. At a meeting with the Allied commander Franchet d'Esperey in Belgrade, Károlyi insisted on the territorial integrity of Hungary and wanted its frontiers guaranteed until the peace treaty.

The Hungarian leader evidently nurtured certain illusions, whereas the Allies wanted to satisfy the Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, and Romanians (to whom the Bucharest Treaty of 1916 promised Transylvania and vast adjoining territories). The West also had military plans against Soviet Russia, which left the Hungarians with no room for maneuver. As the country's borders were pushed back, Károlyi was unable to maintain his legitimacy. His government resigned. The Social Democrats and the Communist Party—they had merged the day before—proclaimed the Hungarian Soviet Republic on 21 March 1919.

The two workers parties were very different. The Social Democratic Party, founded in 1878, had as its basis skilled workers and, unlike the Communists, had earned respectability. The Communist Party, founded in 1918, followed Russian Bolshevik orders and was composed of left-wing dissident Social Democrats, anarchist theoreticians, and communists trained in Moscow. A militant journalist, Béla Kun, gained leadership of the Party and of the Soviet Republic.

The success of the Communists' power grab can be attributed to the malaise among the unemployed, the wandering demobilized soldiers and wounded veterans, and the demoralization of millions of landless poor. Hungary's masses were in disarray and ready for a revolutionary adventure. In addition, the Communists' condemnation of the punitive Treaty of Trianon and their plans to seek an alliance with the new Soviet Russian government raised hope among many Hungarians.

The first regime formed on Russia's Bolshevik model, Hungary's Republic of Councils, lasted 133 days. It nationalized enterprises, banks, insurance companies, wholesale trade, and apartment blocks. The press, cultural activities, and the professions were subjected to government control. Hardship, rationing, and inflation soon followed. Lands confiscated from large landowners were turned over to cooperatives rather than to the landless peasants and agricultural workers.

Within weeks, the novelty and promise of the communist regime were replaced with disillusionment and resentment. In April Hungary was attacked by a Czecho-Slovak army, leading to war on the northern front, where a Hungarian counteroffensive achieved considerable success. Some among the Allies were willing to negotiate with the Hungarian Soviet regime, while others, especially the French, wanted to send in troops against "Lenin's allies." The issue soon became irrelevant, as the Hungarian Red Army suffered a decisive defeat on the Romanian front, bringing down the regime on 1 August.

INTERWAR HUNGARY

The Romanian army advanced into Budapest, pillaging and requisitioning along the way. The makeshift governments that succeeded the Communists were powerless. The Entente finally ordered the Romanians to go home in mid-November. Meanwhile, several political parties were formed, as was a national army under the command of Miklós Horthy, which entered the capital the day after the Romanians left, on 16 November 1919. Horthy's army was a nationalist force of law and order, targeting communists and their real or supposed accomplices. The victims of its paramilitary detachments included many Jews, socialists, and even democrats. An unprecedented wave of anti-Semitism swept the country, tolerated by Horthy. This "White Terror" can be seen as a reaction to the "Red Terror" of preceding months, but it had other, more disturbing aspects, paralleling developments in other parts of Europe. The brief but bloody rule of the Communist Party undeniably contributed to the upsurge of anti-Semitism and virulent anticommunism. As for the number of victims, estimates vary (as they do for the Red Terror) between a few hundred and several thousand. The Horthy regime was installed in 1920. On 1 March, a national assembly elected Horthy regent of the kingdom. The new government that took office soon after had the task of signing the Treaty of Trianon on 5 June.

Miklos Horthy, Hungary's Regent from 1921 to 1944, and somewhat reluctant ally of Germany during World War II. (Corbis)

There were no negotiations leading to the Trianon treaty. The outcome was a "diktat." The terms imposed on Hungary by the victors were more draconian than those imposed on Germany. Even Austria, also labeled as contributing to the war's start, received a part of the Hungarian kingdom. Hungary's 283,000 square kilometers were reduced to 93,000 square kilometers; its population dropped from 15.2 million to 7.6 million (growing to approximately 8 million by year's end, when Magyars from annexed territories were repatriated). In all, 3,425,000 Magyars, including sizable homogeneous communities, found themselves separated from their motherland in territories given to the monarchy's successor states. Romania received a territory that was larger than that of truncated Hungary. Newly created Czechoslovakia was given territory inhabited by more than 1 million Magyars. Another half a million Magyars found themselves in the Serb-Croat-Slovene kingdom, 60,000 in Austria, and 6,000 in Italy.

Trianon was seen as a national disaster. Though its measures may have been foreseeable since 1919, their flagrant injustice traumatized the Magyars within and beyond the new frontiers. Apart from the economic consequences, the post-Trianon shock drove many Hungarians to nationalism and isolated the country from its neighbors, the future Little Entente, who watched every move Budapest made.

Hungary between the wars has been labeled variously as semifascist, authoritarian, nationalistic, anti-Semitic, semifeudal, and archaic. Reality was more complex, but certain traits of the regime do support these summary judgments. Horthy's rise to power was accompanied by violence and an outburst of anti-Semitism, which was noted at the peace conference. After introducing a *numerus clausus* law to limit Jewish enrollment in universities, Hungary came to be seen as a champion of anti-Semitism. Later, the government of István Bethlen curbed the excesses, and Regent Horthy also distanced himself from the extremists to obliterate memory of his reliance on paramilitary detachments and of his march on Budapest, "the guilty city."

Under Bethlen, Hungary's parliamentary system and the lawful nature of the state were firmly established. However, the regime remained undemocratic, and its tradition-bound ideology was evident throughout its twenty-five-year existence. The countryside was tightly policed by the gendarmes, its rural social structures remained unchanged, and the electoral system was rigged to forestall real radical, or even democratic, changes. Still, Hungary had little in common with Mussolini's populist and corporate Italian fascism. What the two regimes shared was a sense of revisionism, which brought Budapest closer to Rome in the second half of the 1920s.

The perceived injustice of Trianon rallied the middle classes, if not under a common political banner then at least under the banner of erstwhile greatness and of lost ideals. This nostalgia for the past was not shared with equal fervor by the Hungarian masses. Nonetheless, the policies of nearly every interwar government were steered by it.

Bethlen was the most broad-minded Hungarian statesman of the interwar period. His domestic policy was a strange mixture of conservatism and liberalism. The Communist Party was banned—not surprisingly—as was freemasonry. The law came down heavily on clandestine communists as well as extreme right-wing activists. Much to the latter's displeasure, the *numerus clausus* was moderated and lost some of its anti-Semitic dimension. Newspapers of all persuasions proliferated. Censorship was abolished, and the media were able to maintain their autonomy.

The economic domination of large landowners remained intact, but without hindering the development of state-supported financial and industrial capitalism. In politics, the government tried to limit party fragmentation while exploiting splits and mergers in order to gather the center right in its Unity Party. The party was able to hold an overall majority in parliament until Bethlen's resignation in 1931. In the 1926 elections, the party secured 170 mandates (70 percent) out of 245, the National Christian Party 35, the Social Democrats 14, and the smaller groups shared the rest.

Bethlen's diplomatic efforts were entirely concentrated on seeking rectification of the Treaty of Trianon and on obtaining concessions for Magyars separated from their motherland. Thanks to persistence at the League of Nations, Magyars who opted for Hungarian citizenship received partial compensation.

The pro-British Bethlen made overtures to the Entente but in the end had to make do with Italian support, granted to him from 1927. The English expressed a degree of goodwill, but it never went further. France pursued its pro–Little Entente line, and Germany had little interest in its former Danubian ally.

With regard to economics, the Bethlen decade was modestly healthy. The introduction of the new currency, the pengő, in 1927 concluded a consolidation program. The ailing Hungarian economy was badly hit by the Depression of the early thirties, which forced Bethlen's departure. After Gyula Károlyi's brief spell as head of government, Gyula Gömbös led the country until his death in 1936, followed by two short-lived cabinets and then, in 1939, by Pál Teleki.

By 1930, the population of the dismembered Hungarian state had reached 8,688,000, of which 92 percent were ethnic Magyars. Denominational homogeneity had also increased. Catholics now constituted around 66 percent, Protestants 27 percent, Uniates and Orthodox 2.8 percent, and Jews 5.7 percent. Altogether, some 3.2 million Magyars lived in neighboring countries.

Economic adaptation to the country's reduced geography was hard. The Great Plain and Transdanubia provided the bulk of national products. Aside from a little coal, there was no source for energy or industrial raw materials. Waterways had been cut at the new frontiers, and roads and railway lines came to dead ends. There was no outlet to the Adriatic; the forests were in the now foreign Carpathians. The economic consequences of peace were as disastrous as those of war.

Admittedly, there were also some advantages, such as a more educated workforce, low rates of illiteracy, higher industrial concentration, and a slight decrease of the agrarian sector, which, in 1930, nonetheless still employed half of the workforce. The proportion of industrial workers increased to 26.7 percent. Budapest had over 1 million inhabitants, followed far behind by Szeged and Debrecen. There were more railways, more primary schools (7,000 with 30,000 teachers), high-quality secondary schools, and prestigious universities. Also growing were the numbers of newspapers, books, theaters, and physicians: of the last, 96 per 10,000 people in 1930 and 106 in 1940, one of the highest rates in the world. All in all, the composition of society became a little more bourgeois than before, and the level of modernization rose, though still below that of the developed countries.

Growth in industry and mining, however, was considerable. Coal extraction increased by 30 percent, the discovery of rich bauxite deposits gave birth to metallurgy, and electricity production quadrupled. Mechanical industry thrived in some sectors, producing notably locomotives, motorcycles, radios, and other popular consumer products. The electro-technical industry, lightbulb production, and a few chemical and optical products also flourished, even though many new trends, such as personal car manufacture, were neglected. The textile industry developed rapidly, overtaking traditional food industries. On the whole, compared with the prewar period, industrial output increased by 18 percent by 1938, the number of workers by 16 percent, and industry's share of the national revenue reached 36 percent. Still, these factors of modernization could not make up for the slump in agriculture, transport, trade, and crafts, which resulted from Hungary's diminished size, combined with the world crisis. Hungary remained an underdeveloped (though not poor) European country.

The middle classes now occupied a higher rung on the social ladder. Even faced with slow modernization, the period's richest legacy was university, intellectual, literary, and artistic life in all its diversity and richness. A growth in postsecondary education, producing 30,000 graduates annually, was a measure of this progress.

Upward mobility took place among some social strata. A section of the peasantry rose to middle-class level; civil servants were reasonably well off and enjoyed considerable prestige; the urban proletariat who could at least defend their social position acquired through work and union struggles (even though facing poverty and bad housing conditions). Still, there were almost 3 million people at the bottom of the ladder, who were, if not beggars, then at best, rural paupers, half of them living in subproletarian conditions. There were, thus, two Hungarys: one on the road to modernization and becoming a middle-class, liberal society; the other stuck in the past.

In the mid-1930s a hundred or so families and the Catholic Church still owned almost one-third of cultivated land. Beneath them, some 11,000 middle landowners worked 1.7 million hectares. Together, the two groups owned 48 percent of the cultivated land. Halfway up the ladder, some 233,000 landowners and their families shared one-third of the property, farms ranging in size between 8 and 50 hectares. This reveals an inequality of land ownership even among those who were above the poverty line. Far more serious was the condition of the 1.3 million peasants subsisting on plots of one to three hectares. Finally, at the bottom were the "penniless": 1.5 million agricultural laborers and servants, along with the equally destitute domestic servants. These added up to the 3 million beggars, one-third of the population.

The Széchenyi reformers, who wanted to modernize Hungary without resorting to radicalism, had been forgotten. In the view of reformist conservatives, apart from Trianon, a moral degeneration and social disintegration were largely responsible for this state of affairs: the selfishness of the upper classes, their contempt for the underdog, combined with the latter's deference toward those higher up, a system based on connections and nepotism, and foreign, principally Jewish, infiltration. The narrow-mindedness that prevailed in Hungary's interwar "neobaroque" society hindered the adoption of civic values and the rise of a confident middle class that would be industrious and devoted to the public good.

There were signs of change. Notions of public honesty, a work ethic, the value of education, and urbanity in relationships were evolving. Imitating the gentry was becoming a matter of cheap comedy. Despite obstacles, a civil European society was slowly taking shape, sometimes treading on conservative and nationalist sensibilities.

The capital city was the target of both conservatives and populists, for some of whom anticapitalism went hand in hand with anti-Semitism, though they failed to win over the general public. Budapest tended to favor integration rather than segregation for its 250,000 Jews—a quarter of its population. The city's Jewish writers, journalists, thespians, and liberal professionals cultivated a mocking, caustic humor, without provoking rejection by the majority of the population. Urban morality had changed, much to the regret of conservatives, the Catholic Church, and the antiliberal press.

A mindset that emerged after the war, commonly called populism, gained considerable following among young intellectuals of the period by advocating a "third way" between communism and capitalism. Engendered by writers and sociographers, it focused on Hungarian society's most pressing problem, the condition of the peasantry. Known also as village explorers, populists criticized the latifundium system and were strongly anti-German, so it is difficult to call them fascists, even though their writings contained anti-Semitic passages and a few of them associated with extreme right-wing movements.

The vast and rich domain of "pure" literature was dominated by Mihály Babits, a gifted poet and a literary authority. A host of composers, conductors, and performers became internationally renowned under the giant shadows of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. Bartók's music was not well understood in his native country, probably because its universal and cosmic dimension was disturbing, even though it was rooted in popular traditions. Despite the political turn to the right after the mid-1930s, art and literature remained animated until the eve of World War II.

In 1931 Bethlen withdrew from the political scene, replaced by individuals of far more limited vision and far less tolerance. Gyula Gömbös, who came from a family of civil servants, was a career officer and founding member of the Race Protection Party. He shared a Greater Magyar nationalism with his aristocratic predecessors, but Gömbös favored the middle class and sought dialogue with the populists and even with labor. In foreign policy, continuity meant pursuing friendship with Italy and Austria and, after Hitler's accession to power, closer ties with Germany. Internally, Gömbös had only to hold to his predecessors' anticommunist line. Gömbös proclaimed a corporatism designed to forge a national unity between work, capital, and intellectual talent. He presented a national work plan aimed at national union, revealing a determination to create a government that would play a more active role in getting out of the crisis and curbing the decline in living standards, mass bankruptcy among small farmers, and social conflict. In the same spirit, he rose up against ultraconservatives in his own party and distanced himself from the extreme right. This combination inevitably seduced intellectual reformers to some extent as well as wider public opinion; his Party for National Unity won by a landslide in 1935. (Shortly before the Berlin–Rome axis was formed, Gömbös died, and his successors continued the political slide toward Germany.)

After incorporating Austria in March 1938, Germany shared a border with Hungary and was able to exert greater influence in the latter's affairs. Despite protests not only from the Left but from several conservatives, Hungary's course—strengthening links with Germany in the hopes that, with its support, the Treaty of Trianon would be revised—was set. This called for the adoption of state anti-Semitism. The first anti-Jewish law was ratified in May 1938. Berlin made it clear that without Hungary's alignment with the German course in the treatment of Jews, there would be no question of territorial revision. In May 1939 the second anti-Jewish law, this time racially based, came into effect, and a third was introduced in 1941.

From this time on, protofascist movements organized into several parties began to grow. In 1939 they won forty or so parliamentary mandates and became a formidable extremist political force, under the leadership of the future Hungarian Führer, Ferenc Szálasi. Parliamentary plurality survived, but the number of Social Democratic deputies dropped to five, and the bourgeois parties along with the Smallholders Party—the remaining antifascist opposition—were growing weak. The press was still fairly active, although several newspapers were outlawed, censorship was introduced, and Jewish journalists had their work proscribed by the race laws.

Not satisfied with the anti-Jewish measures in effect, Hungary's protofascists increased their pressure on the government. British concessions made to Hitler in the Munich agreements of September 1938 were widely interpreted to mean that the West had abandoned the countries of Central Europe. Horthy still wanted to maintain a degree of independence: he refused to participate in the attack on Czechoslovakia.

To be sure, Hungarians saw some good news in the aftermath of Munich. The Vienna Award returned nearly 12,000 square kilometers of Czechoslovakia—with 870,000 inhabitants, 86.5 percent of whom were Magyars—to Hungary. The following year, a second arbitration took place in Vienna, this time at Romania's expense; Hungary gained northern Transylvania and other regions, in which 1.1 million Magyars made up 51.4 percent of the population. Further annexations in Yugoslavia—home to nearly 275,000 Magyars—ensued the following year. Approximately 2,300,000 Magyars from the separated territories now found themselves back on Hungarian soil. At the same time, Hungary was beginning to pay a price for these developments, first by allowing the Germans to move into Romania across its soil. And, in November 1940 Hungary added its support to the Italian-German-Japanese tripartite agreement.

In 1941 Hitler decided to invade Yugoslavia and invited Horthy to join the attack. Having to choose between a possible British alliance and a pro-German policy—both with punishing consequences—Hungarian Prime Minister Pál Teleki committed suicide. His act of despair changed nothing. In April 1941 Hungarian units entered Yugoslavia in support of a German invasion. Two months later, on 24 June 1941, two days after the German invasion of Russia, Hungary broke off diplomatic ties with Moscow, despite Molotov's assurances that the USSR's intentions toward it were not hostile.

WORLD WAR II

Budapest was waiting for Berlin to ask Hungary to enter the war, whereas the Reich was trying to get the Hungarians to volunteer. A casus belli was provided when, on 26 June, planes identified as Soviet but more likely flown by Slovak pilots, bombed the Hungarian town of Kassa (now Košice). Hungary joined the German attack on the Soviet Union.

With no other goal than further territorial gains in Yugoslavia, Romania, and a dismembered Czechoslovakia, Hungarians were reticent when Germany demanded troops and supplies. There were even tentative moves to reach a separate peace with the Allies, especially after the Allied landing in Africa (November 1942), which aroused speculation that a similar action in the Balkans might follow. For a while, Budapest even resisted German demands for "solving the Jewish problem"—mass deportation to death camps. After the loss of the entire Second Army at Voronezh on the Don and the Battle of Stalingrad, getting out of the war became more attractive. The key idea was to get Hungary into a "neutral" position, fighting Bolshevik Russia but not the English and Americans. This tactic aroused a degree of interest, as did any move likely to weaken Germany, but no more. German intelligence suspected that Hungary was trying to defect and kept a close watch on Horthy's "secret" diplomatic activities.

As far as the Germans were concerned, Hungary's bad faith was no longer in doubt, and the decision to invade the country was soon made. In March 1944 eight German divisions moved into Hungary. The handful of Hungarians who tried to organize resistance were quickly eliminated. Measures were introduced to place Hungary's economy at the service of the German war machine. In Russia, the First Hungarian Army took the place of the Second, which had been crushed at Voronezh. To hasten the Final Solution of the Jewish problem, Adolf Eichmann's team of "experts" arrived. With the collaboration of Hungarian gendarmes, Jews in the countryside were rounded up and sent to the extermination camps.

By August-September 1944, the country was on the brink of becoming a theater for Soviet army operations. Horthy, pushed by those close to him, finally decided to take action. On 15 October, he announced on the radio that he had asked for an armistice and ordered Hungarian units to cease fighting. Only a handful of generals obeyed. The others moved toward the Germans who, informed in advance, immediately occupied strategic positions, while a commando unit kidnaped the regent's only son. Cornered and broken, Horthy capitulated and placed Ferenc Szálasi, leader of the Hungary's Nazis, the Arrow Cross Party, in the post of prime minister. The Hungarians, who already had at least 40,000 dead and 70,000 prisoners of war at the front, found themselves dragged into a suicidal battle alongside a routed Wehrmacht. And as the Red Army headed toward Budapest, the Arrow Cross unleashed terror.

The war's closing months were tragic for Hungary's Jews, once numbering close to half a million and representing the single largest Jewish community in Europe. Nearly all of them were gathered into ghettos and then deported between May and July 1944. A few thousand escaped persecution, and 100,000 survived the camps. The fate of Budapest's Jews took a somewhat different course. On 8 July, Horthy halted deportations from the capital, in response to protests from abroad, but also because he was more concerned about the fate of assimilated Budapest Jews than about the rural Jews. The latter, victims of ceaseless discrimination, had a brief reprieve until the Nazi advance on 15 October. After previous losses, there were still 230,000 Jews in the capital. Thanks in part to Horthy's decision, more than half of these, 119,000, were saved.

Atrocities resumed when Szálasi and the Arrow Cross came to power and continued for the next four months. Switzerland, Sweden, and the International Red Cross were most active in saving the persecuted. Much of the credit for saving lives goes to the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, who later disappeared (and perished) in a Soviet prison, but there were also unnamed Hungarians—peasants, workers, priests, resistance workers, or simply neighbors—who came to the rescue of the persecuted.

German resistance to the advancing Soviet armies reduced Budapest to rubble and condemned its freezing inhabitants to famine. More than 25,000 civilians perished, and a quarter of the city's dwellings were destroyed.

By 4 April 1945, resistance on Hungarian soil ceased. Meanwhile, in Debrecen, closely watched by the Soviets, a provisional national government was formed. Hungary now fell under Stalin's authority. This was decided by the Allies at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, but was also the result of earlier bargaining between Churchill and Stalin over zones of influence, FDR's informal consent, and, perhaps most importantly, the position of various armies. "Whosoever occupies a territory, imposes its system," went the cynical explanation.

In Hungary, the Allied Control Commission was controlled by Soviet Marshal Voroshilov. A national government existed under Allied control, until a peace treaty would restore full sovereignty. In reality, Hungary was a supervised democracy under Soviet occupation.

A provisional National Assembly had appointed a provisional government, dominated by the Communist, Social Democratic, Peasant, and Independent Smallholders parties. It was a delicate composition: the Smallholders, existing under the prewar regime, represented continuity, whereas the former opposition parties and the Communists stood for more or less radical change. Communists were still a distinct minority, holding only two cabinet posts out of eleven, although they could count on several fellow travelers.

This provisional government remained in office for nearly a year. It signed the armistice, declared war on Germany, set up a public administrative machinery, brought war criminals to justice, outlawed fascist organizations, and revoked anti-Jewish laws. Life began again: supplies improved, people returned to work, trains started to run again, and children went back to school.

A long-awaited agrarian reform completely abolished the old system of land ownership. Large properties were confiscated and distributed to agricultural laborers and the poorest peasants.

Hungary faced great economic problems. The Germans had blown up all the Danube bridges and seized public and private property, locomotives, wagons, carriages, and horses. War damages were the equivalent of five years of national product. The country had also had to provide for the Soviet army of occupation and was subjected to looting and rape by Red Army soldiers. To cap it all, Hungary was required to pay heavy reparations—$300 million—to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

In November 1945 Hungarians elected a new National Assembly. These were the first and last free elections during forty-five years of Soviet domination, and the results disappointed Moscow. Although the Communists took 17 percent of the votes (as did the Social Democrats), the clear winner was the Smallholders Party, with 47 percent of the votes. Its leader, Zoltán Tildy, formed a coalition government out of the four National Independent Front parties. The Smallholders ended up with only half of the ministries, due to an arrangement imposed by Marshal Voroshilov.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S RISE TO POWER

After their brief period of power in 1919, members of the Hungarian Communist Party faced severe repression and twenty-five years of clandestine existence. By the time the future leader Mátyás Rákosi and his jailed comrades were handed over to the Soviets in 1940 (in exchange for Kossuth's flags carried off by Russian armies in 1849), the Hungarian Communist Party was completely marginalized and had no popular base. The Party had shrunk to a literal handful of members. But there were many Hungarian communists in Moscow.

Upon returning to Hungary, therefore, the Communist Party had to start from scratch. In no time, it was back on its feet, and with Soviet support it enjoyed a disproportionately high political profile. On Stalin's orders, it played a "moderate" game and refrained from talking about dictatorship of the proletariat on the 1919 model. Instead, it called for a "people's democracy."

The Kremlin, confident of winning in the end, decided not to rush things. Moreover, Hungary was not on the cutting edge of geopolitical struggle. All the same, the country's shaky democracy was under close watch by the Red Army and Soviet secret policemen, who stayed around long after the signing of the 1947 peace treaty.

In order to break the Smallholders Party, Rákosi and his comrades used not only intimidation, but also demonstrations, sabotage, and strikes. Initially, the Party left the Catholic Church alone. By 1948, however, church schools were brought under state control, and convents were shut down. Hundreds of priests and monks were arrested and sentenced. Two years later, the churches, worried about being able to remain alive, signed a concordat and various agreements with the state.

Capitalism on a small and medium scale was left to function alongside the nationalization of banks, mines, and the giants of heavy industry. Staggering inflation meant that Hungarians literally worked for nothing in the eighteen months preceding the introduction of a new currency, the forint, in August 1946. For the state, the moment was ripe, and a three-year reconstruction plan was launched. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union seized properties and created "joint companies," requisitioning plants, equipment, and buildings.

These actions not only resulted in a handsome profit but also constituted a leverage of power for Moscow.

Soon, "domestic enemies" and "suspects" were exposed to persecution by the state security apparatus (ÁVO, ÁVH). Fully operational from 1948, within a few years the ÁVH was able to implicate Ferenc Nagy, president of the Council of Ministers, and Béla Kovács, two leaders of the Smallholders Party, in drummed-up conspiracy plots. After Kovács was arrested and taken to the Soviet Union, Nagy resigned. Other noncommunist party leaders fled the country, resigned one after another, or found themselves imprisoned. The parliamentary facade was maintained, but from 1948 the semidemocratic pretense ceased. The 1949 elections could be seen as the beginning of complete takeover: 96.27 percent of the ballots went to an artificial Popular Front, dominated entirely by the Communist Party.

At the same time, Hungarians went to work and the reconstruction plan launched by the Communists and supported by the other parties was an undisputed success. Factories were running again; artisans and small traders ran their workshops and businesses; intellectuals participated in a lively cultural life. As has already been stated, the distribution of large estates among 642,000 agricultural laborers and destitute farm workers amounted to a revolution and entirely changed the country's profile. The optimists expected the Red Army to withdraw after the signing of the peace treaty in 1947. This did not happen, and the transition to a single-party system put an end to a relatively free and promising period.

Instead of a "people's democracy," Hungary became a single-party dictatorship on the Soviet model: state control of the economy, enforced industrialization plans, collectivization of agriculture. Churches came under attack; there were mass purges and arrests; the intellectuals were brought into line, and a campaign was launched to unmask "traitors who have infiltrated the party" (Lendvai 1988, 438).

The transition to brutality affected everyone. There were mass dismissals in the ministries, municipalities, army, and publishing houses. Imprisonment, without real trials, of Social Democratic leaders, added to the already numerous politicians and officers in prison. The old party of the workers, the Social Democratic Party, had been swallowed up by the Communist Party in 1948. Two years later, the collaborating architects of this forced merger were themselves imprisoned, to join others whom they betrayed a few years ago.

The 1949 trial and execution of the minister of interior, László Rajk, along with several other veteran Communists, ushered in a new fear of a different kind. Between 1948 and 1953, nearly 1.3 million people came before the "people's tribunals," which issued 655,623 condemnations ranging from a fine to capital punishment (all in a country of 9.5 million inhabitants). The exact number of political executions and political prisoners incarcerated, beaten, and tortured is not known.

The primary victims were the working-class people of Hungary. They were deprived of their Social Democratic Party, genuine trade unions, and decent working and living conditions. They were as badly paid and housed as under the regime of the lords, but now they were subjected to the pressures of "production norms" and daily propaganda harassment, when it was not imprisonment for "sabotage" or for stealing a piece of wire. Everyone was a potential "class enemy."

Shortage was one thing of which there was plenty. Millions queued up, physically and metaphorically. Food shortages were of course linked to collectivization. Both old and newly established peasants were forced to abandon their "capitalist" farms and to join the cooperatives. And yet the results of the collectivization campaign of 1949–1950 were poor; without producing more food, it created disruption in society.

In June 1953 Mátyás Rákosi was replaced by Imre Nagy, a little-known member of the Politburo, according to instructions from Moscow. Nagy, though a communist since his youth and an erstwhile Red Army soldier, did not belong to the core leadership of the Hungarian Party in Moscow. He had also run afoul of the Party line because of his opposition to forced collectivization. Perhaps it was precisely this that motivated his promotion, at a point when agrarian policy was failing and an economic crisis was shaking the stability of Communist power. Furthermore, unlike the other four top leaders, Nagy was not Jewish.

Nagy broadcast his program on radio, causing relief after so many years of terror and deprivation. His program included the slowing down of frenetic industrialization, the lifting of constraining measures against peasants, permission to dissolve the kolkhozes, and release of detainees from internment camps. Nagy's patriotic warmth and his speech—part professorial, part rural—made him the first popular Communist politician. Since promises were kept, he earned the trust of his compatriots and the hatred of the Party apparatus, Rákosi in particular.

The June program resulted in relentless infighting between Rákosi and Nagy. Confident of his position, Nagy relied on the power of the word and on public opinion. Until October 1954, he was able to count on Khrushchev's support, but then things changed. The Federal Republic of Germany was allowed to join NATO, and the communist bloc set up the Warsaw Pact.

REVOLUTION OF 1956

Nagy was ousted in April 1955. His refusal to subject himself to the ritual of self-criticism cost him his Party membership card. Rákosi once again held exclusive power. However, at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Party, 14–25 February 1956, Khrushchev delivered his celebrated speech condemning Stalin's crimes and the damaging effects of the "personality cult." Rákosi and the Party apparatchiks were now on the defensive. Hungarian intellectuals organized debate after debate on the most sensitive issues, such as the economy, historiography, Marxist philosophy, and the role of the press. The debate on the latter took place in June 1956, with people listening to speeches broadcast to the street over loudspeakers. After this, events gathered momentum.

In mid-July Rákosi was dismissed at the insistence of the Soviets and went into exile in the USSR. A reshuffle brought to power Ernő Gerő, who tried to implement a halfhearted policy change. A few ÁVH torturers went to prison; a few hundred of their victims were rehabilitated.

This halfhearted thaw did not appease the public mood. The opposition now called for a state funeral and rehabili-

Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy dances with a peasant girl at a reception of the Patriotic People's Front Congress in 1955. A year later student uprisings would call for Nagy's reappointment as premier; after the Soviet suppression of Hungary's move towards independence, Nagy was executed. (Bettmann/Corbis)

tation for Rajk and the other trial victims who had been secretly buried following their execution. For the first time under a communist regime, a crowd of 100,000 demonstrated. At the funeral, the public interrupted the speeches regularly, as Party functionaries rubbed shoulders with surviving victims.

The collective mood was clearly saying, "Enough is enough." Gerő, an unshakeable Stalinist, believed he could carry on, but the majority of Hungary's 860,000 Communists wanted change. There were reformists hoping for "communism with a human face." There were the radicals, who no longer believed in a renewal of society without a decisive break with communism. This was also the general feeling among the Hungarian people, who wanted above all to shake off Soviet domination and to achieve a better life and freedom.

On 23 October, students demonstrated in support of the striking Poles. Young people led the march, writers made speeches, and an actor recited the poem that had signaled the start of the 1848 revolution. The points formulated by students included demands for national independence, Russian withdrawal, free elections, and support for Nagy. The massive procession swelled to 300,000. The atmosphere was celebratory; popular songs were intoned, including the "Marseillaise," and sometimes the "Internationale." Significantly, the communist red star was cut out of the tricolor national flag.

Concessions would have sufficed to appease the public mood, as happened in Poland, but no such response occurred. One section of the crowd laid siege to the radio station, another, to the Party newspaper, a third set about dismantling the symbol of tyranny, the immense statue of Stalin. The night had barely begun, and the regime, armed to the teeth, collapsed like a house of cards.

Communist leaders turned to the only force that could save them, and soon two Soviet divisions stationed close by arrived in the capital. The people of Budapest resisted and retaliated; Russian tanks were blown up with Molotov cocktails. Soldiers and sometimes entire units joined the insurrection. It was the beginning of a national revolution, an uprising supported by a civil population. For five days, the skirmishes raged in Budapest and provincial towns.

The once strong Party was reduced to a handful of leaders in a state of panic. They had no choice but to call on Nagy to speak out against the insurrection. He promised

Revolutionaries and demonstrators wave a flag as they drive through the streets of Budapest on top of a tank at the height of the anticommunist demonstrations. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

amnesty, not realizing that this was no longer a fight for a softer communism, but a fight for freedom. For the first time in a communist system, a revolution was taking place, an antitotalitarian revolution.

Nagy finally understood—too late for public opinion and the insurgents, far too soon in the eyes of the Stalinists. Until then, Nagy was a prisoner of his militant past and his belief in the possibility of reforming communism without abandoning it. On 28 October, however, the Hungarian side of his personality took over. He declared a unilateral ceasefire and announced the immediate abolition of the security police, the commencement of negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and other radical measures, to bring an end to the fighting. The Communist Party disbanded; its most hated leaders fled to Moscow, and a directorium of six took over, aided by a reduced cabinet formed on 30 October. Within forty-eight hours, Nagy made two more crucial moves: he denounced the Warsaw Pact and proclaimed Hungary's neutrality. From here on, changes could not have been more radical: the multiparty system was reborn. The fighting stopped, but insurgents demanded guarantees from the government that promises would be kept.

On 30 October, the Soviet leaders publicly acknowledged their "errors" in dealing with Hungary and the other people's democracies. The text, published in *Pravda,* announced that the Soviet government was ready to negotiate "concerning the presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil" (Hoensch 1988, 218). It was a huge step, but significantly it did not include acceptance of Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, which Nagy raised as a point of negotiations the next day.

One sign of change was the spontaneous creation of self-governing bodies. Calling themselves national committees, revolutionary or workers councils, they took on administrative tasks or the management of institutions or factories. This momentum was leading toward a pluralist civil society. Of course, no one had even heard of a civil society, and yet, from the villages to the large factories, everyone seized a share of the power that belonged to them as citizens.

József Mindszenty, archbishop of Esztergom, was freed and took up a position criticizing the government, referring to its members as "heirs of a deposed regime" and articulating a conservative vision of society and of "cultural nationalism" (Molnar 2001, 317). His speech was broadcast on 3 November. At dawn the next day, Soviet tanks invaded the country.

The fate of Hungary was settled when the Soviets and visiting Chinese leaders opted for military intervention. Hungary declared its neutrality, indicating that it had no intention of moving over to NATO. Moscow gave assurances that it would not threaten Hungary. The Soviets pretended they had every intention of keeping their word. They invited Imre Nagy to negotiate the withdrawal of their troops. Soviet generals arranged to meet their Hungarian counterparts, including General Maléter, at their headquarters near Budapest, to continue negotiations. It was an ambush: the Hungarians were arrested by the KGB in the middle of talks. Meanwhile, plans were made for a dawn attack.

The events in Hungary made front-page news worldwide, but the United Nations discussed the "Hungarian affair" only after the November invasion, and a resolution was passed demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It was in vain, of course. Having crushed the revolution, the Red Army stayed in Hungary for thirty-five years.

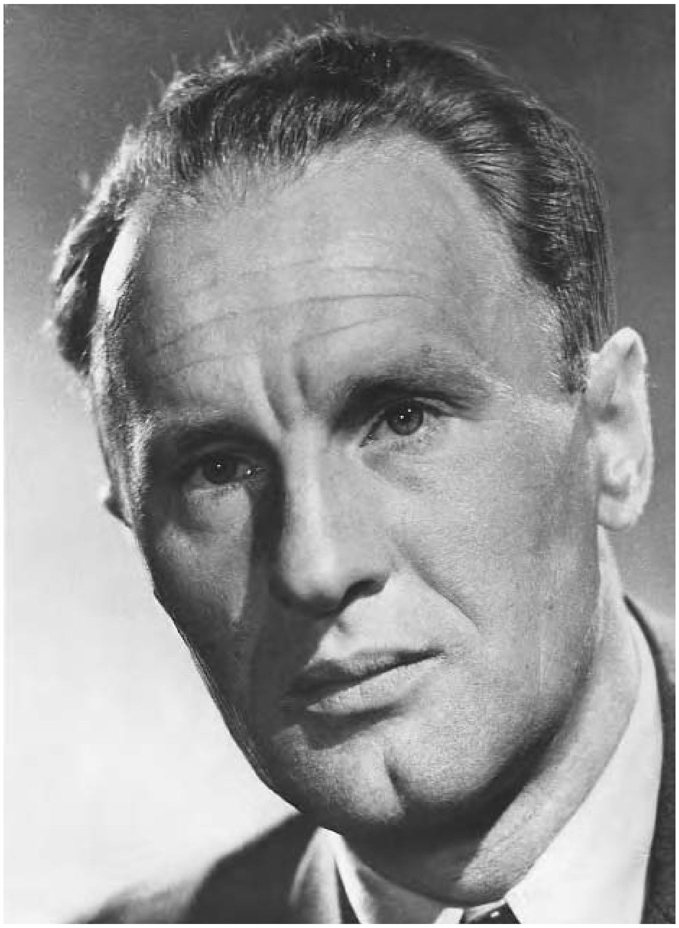
To escape arrest, Nagy went to the Yugoslav embassy. The last minister remaining in the parliament building, István Bibó, wrote a brief memo of the situation. A handful of broadcasters transmitted the final messages, while armed resistance continued in various places for weeks. The first antitotalitarian revolution had ended in a bloodbath. War with the Soviet Union was unthinkable, and no sensible Hungarian would have wanted a third world war. Still, the uprising was an affirmation of selfhood and provided Hungarians with moral capital, though with paltry dividends. National identity had been rescued. Beyond the frontiers, the 1956 revolution demonstrated for the first time that totalitarianism was not to last for a thousand years.

1956–1989

On 1 November 1956, János Kádár announced in a broadcast speech that "the uprising of the Hungarian people has achieved freedom and independence" and promptly left Budapest (Kontler 1999, 430). He went to the Soviet ambassador, Yuri Andropov, and from there, fled to Russia, returning on 7 November in a Red Army truck as the head of a Soviet-appointed government.

The new masters at first presented themselves as successors of the revolution, set only to redress its mistakes. There was no talk of a counterrevolution or of punishing the guilty. The uprising was declared just and the old regime—Rákosi and his allies—were largely blamed for having provoked it. Kádár even talked of Nagy returning to political life. This overture was nothing more than a sham. The leaders of the new Party (rebaptized the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, MszMP) had their course firmly set. The issue of Imre Nagy was solved by the Kremlin in a customary fashion. On 22 November, as Nagy and his friends, trusting their safe conduct, left the Yugoslav embassy to board a bus for home, they were kidnapped at gunpoint by the KGB and taken to Romania. They ended up in a Hungarian prison, where the principal leaders were tried behind closed doors and executed in 1958.

Armed resistance continued for several weeks. The Workers Councils called a strike, and economic life was paralyzed. In December the government dissolved the Workers Councils and National Committees and arrested their leaders, thus cutting the last fictive tie with the revolutionary events. Dozens of Hungarian intellectuals had been executed, committed suicide, disappeared, or were imprisoned.



Hungarian politician János Kádár (1912–1989), one of the leading figures of the Communist regime. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

The Kádár regime now undertook the change in direction that made the Western media describe it later as the champion of communist freedom. The general amnesty in 1963 closed the period of repression and marked a phase of consolidation. Kádár had a sharp political mind, the skill to manipulate others, and the capacity to thwart political intrigue on all fronts. With the opposition broken or at least muzzled, he found himself fighting the exiled Rákosi, as well as plots hatched within his own party's Central Committee. Supported by Khrushchev, he was able to overcome every obstacle. The removal of Khrushchev in 1964 undoubtedly shook him, but his position remained solid. His Socialist Workers Party had half a million members by 1966, and, having eliminated his rivals and opponents, Kádár held all the reins of power. The Soviet leaders no doubt appreciated his success in pacifying Hungary, even if it meant discarding several elements of the Soviet model.

In the early 1960s the regime again adopted old Stalinist methods, forcing peasants into collectives. They were more successful this time than in the Rákosi era, and only a few private farms remained. After a collectivization drive, however, cooperatives were given considerable managerial, productive, and commercial autonomy. This turned into the exception in the socialist universe—something that actually worked. Food shortages disappeared.

Rákosi and Kádár

The two men whose names are associated with lengthy periods of post–World War II Hungary's history, Mátyás Rákosi and János Kádár, did not share much beyond a lengthy membership in the Communist Party. Rákosi was born into a family of small town merchants and was educated to be a banker. Kádár was the son of urban factory workers, whose only experience with higher education was limited to ideological seminars. Rákosi became a communist in a Russian POW camp, and was groomed by Moscow to become a leader of Hungary's small communist movement. He spent many years in the Soviet Union, married there, and spoke fluent Russian. By contrast, interwar Hungary left him with nothing but failure. His role in the short-lived communist dictatorship of 1919 endeared him to few people, and later he was imprisoned for illegal political activities. Possibly the only thing Hungarian he liked was a set of flags, taken by the Russian invaders in 1849, which Stalin's government returned in exchange for his freedom. (Rákosi's Jewish background is hardly worth mentioning: he was not persecuted for it, he rejected all religious belief, and he mistreated people regardless of their religious denomination.) Kádár, by contrast, lived in Budapst as a factory worker and was active in Hungary's tiny communist underground.

After World War II, Rákosi became the uncontested leader of the Party and, after 1948, the dictator of Hungary. Even though he never won an election, he gained a certain popularity because of the Communists' role in land distribution and the rebuilding of the economy. By the 1950s, however, his one-man rule and the brutal repression of any dissent (he even had Kádár jailed and tortured), made him the most hated man in the country. It was in large part Rákosi's slavish imitation of Stalinist practices that brought about the 1956 revolution, and he was one of the first persons to disappear from Hungary's political scene, to live out his years in Krasnodar, Russia, as a total failure.

Kádár was a member of Imre Nagy's government during the few days when the 1956 revolution appeared to have succeeded. Just days later, however, he rode the tanks of the invading Red Army to power. He was genuinely hated by most Hungarians for this betrayal and for the harsh measures he introduced to eradicate dissent in Hungary. The initial years of his long rule were marked by brutality (thousands arrested and scores executed in open disregard for legality) and a dull, rigid paranoia. Kádár had to demonstrate his mastery of the country to his ideological masters in Moscow. By the mid-1960s, however, it was obvious that he had a better insight into the thinking of Hungarians than Rákosi ever had. He saw the need to make material concessions, realizing that most Hungarians, weary of resistance in the face of overwhelming force, were ready to settle for a semblance of "good living" and make peace with his regime. Hungarian policies, guided by the principle of "he who is not against us is with us" (originally uttered by Imre Nagy) must have made the Soviet leaders uneasy. The Party line they tried to enforce was more and more often ignored in Hungary, especially in such areas as private economic initiatives, a relative freedom of conscience and expression, and a commitment to raise the standards of living. From the 1970s on, Kádár's Hungary became "the happiest barracks in the Socialist camp," and the once despised Party leader was seen by most Hungarians as "Old Uncle János." By the time he faded from the scene in 1988, his countrymen thought of him as a modest, plain-living caretaker who "did the best he could for us."

The post-1989 changes in Hungary's economic, political, and social life have created problems as well as blessings. To many, the past does not look so bad. While there are few apologists for the Rákosi era, Kádár's thirty-two-year rule, somewhat like the sixty-eight years Hungarians lived under Franz Joseph's reign, is beginning to take on the appearance of the good old days.

The regime inherited a planned economy, modeled on Soviet lines. Its predecessors had built up heavy industry without the technical means, the know-how and the raw materials, and managed it by a central planning office that was in turn subject to ideology-driven directives. The brief reformist interlude under Imre Nagy was unable to eliminate altogether the negative consequences and the poverty of the population. Behind the spectacular, and often fake, statistics, real growth was minimal and purchasing power lower than before.

Food shortages dropped, thanks to agricultural productivity, but a remedy for inefficiency and reform of an almost nonexistent service sector remained. Reopening the ludicrously overnationalized small businesses soon bore fruit. Restructuring large enterprises, however, was never fully achieved in two decades of the Kádár era. Still, its beginnings were promising and showed some successes.

Economic reforms had their roots in Nagy's attempt to have experts guide some projects. Ten years went by before the experiment was renewed, inspired by the Czechoslovak example, but also due to the political will of the Hungarian leadership and the competence of several brilliant economists. It resulted in an ambitious restructuring plan, introduced in 1968, cautiously named the New Economic Mechanism (NEM). Moscow considered the Hungarian regime's survival more important than ideological conformity. The reforms were launched and pursued, though not without hitches, for four years.

NEM's aim was the creation of a profitable and competitive economy. In order to achieve this in an interventionist system, planning had to be dismantled, structures decentralized, prices freed, and enterprises enabled to manage production, administration, salaries, and marketing as close as possible to market principles. NEM continued until 1972, when the "left-wing" opposition within the Party slowed things down. This marked the end of reformist experiments, until their partial revival in 1980.

Hungary's economy continued to develop appreciably better than those of its socialist neighbors. Progress was especially notable in the private and semiprivate sector (where small contracted groups were self-employed within a state company), a unique feature of the "Hungarian model." The semiprivate sectors, a modest capitalist presence representing 7 percent of the active population, was putting out as much as 30 percent of Hungary's domestic production, contributing significantly to the country's growth. Hungary's socialist market economy was in fact neither socialist nor market, but it did produce results. National revenue doubled in twenty years, the agrarian workforce became much smaller, and real per capita income rose for years.

The economy, however, came up against insurmountable political limitations, first and foremost the single-party system, which had no intention of reforming, much less abandoning its position. The other worrying factor was the issue of debts. By the mid-1980s, the nation's debt had tripled. Hungary's political leaders chose indebtedness to compensate for the slowing down of the economy. The index of real income began a breathtaking fall in the 1980s.

THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM

In Kádár's Hungary, there were no free elections or reliable opinion polls, and the press was as servile as in other communist countries. And yet, the regime, initially held in contempt, produced a relative contentment, and a leader as detested as Kádár became almost popular. His years in power can only be understood if approached through the ambiguities and contradictions involved.

It was said that Hungary was the "happiest barrack in the socialist camp." Living in the Hungarian "barrack" was not overly harsh; it provided satisfactions, material pleasures, and even the prospect of social promotion. In the 1970s Hungarian living standards seem to have been at around the 80–90 percent level of the European average. This represented considerable progress. The average Hungarian had an income that allowed the satisfaction of dreams like buying an East German Trabant car, building a cabin in the mountains or along a lake, or traveling abroad (although seldom all three). Political constraints on individuals, and their private and social lives, had relaxed, and Hungarians were fairly satisfied with their living conditions. It was not freedom, but it was far better than the social and moral bondage of the pre-1956 years.

At the same time, it has been said that Kádár's regime infantilized Hungarians, reducing them to consumers of material goods. Indeed, a consumer society (though a third-rate one) had developed under Kádárism, but who could blame the citizen for being happy to consume? Hungary was slowly becoming a middle-class society, with all of the implications of that label. Creature comforts were no substitute for freedom; they only made nonfreedom more tolerable, and the soft stupidity that had replaced harsh dictatorship was simply less suffocating.

The weakness of this fake liberalism soon became apparent. Since stability and consensus relied entirely on increasing purchasing power and the relaxation of constraints, the first signs of a downward turn evoked rumbles of discontent. Events showed that Hungarians had not completely lost their cultural identity, their desire for freedom, or their civic aspirations.

The year 1989 is remembered as the year when the entire communist system collapsed like a house of cards. The conditions for its collapse had been in place since at least 1985. Among the most immediate factors, stark economic deterioration undoubtedly played a role, if only as a spark. This explanation, however, is far from sufficient. What led to the final crisis—slowly and by process of accumulation—was a transformation in the thinking of both the leaders and the people, the authorities and society. The two parted ways to an extent that no ideology could reconcile. The Hungarian model of communism was never ideologically pure. It allowed a civil society to awaken, which changed the rules of the game. The autonomy acquired by so many individuals in various spheres of public life—in politics, the economy, the media, and in the Party itself—rendered governance within the framework of existing institutions impossible. As for Marxist ideology, it had been reduced to shreds long ago.

Miklós Németh, the last president of the defunct regime's Council of Ministers, admitted that there was nothing that could be done to "normalize" the situation. Power ended up in possession of a civil, diverse society, inarticulate but united in the desire for change.

The "second society" was no longer an underground one. Once the absence of control became evident, no one cared about the remaining taboos—Soviet occupation, Party rule, the authority of a charismatic leader, and finally even 1956, the official memory of which had crippled Hungarian thinking for decades. The failure of "scientific socialism" was no longer even a topic of debate, nor was the conclusive success of private enterprise. The arts, literature, and historiography, which all had been hijacked by a boring ideology, now calmly took up their real tasks as conscientiously as their individual practitioners found it within their powers.

In 1988, after it was already consigned to the scrap heap of history, the Communist Party tried to rescue the situation by hardening its tone and discipline. But it was too late. There was infighting even among Communist leaders, and opposition to the regime was in the open. For over a decade a group of antiestablishment intellectuals had been fighting for their ideas, publishing samizdats (underground publications) and rallying sympathizers, while braving police intimidation.

In May 1989 the government of Hungary made the historic step to dismantle the Iron Curtain, by opening the route to hundreds of East Germans on their way to West Germany via Austria. On 13 June, negotiations began between the party in power and representatives of opposition groups. The outcome of these roundtable discussions was the dissolution of the Communist Party, the introduction of a multiparty system, and the transition to democracy.

Another event signaling the beginning of a new era was the public rehabilitation of Imre Nagy and a solemn funeral honoring the victims of repression. The Committee for Historic Justice, which had been in full operation for over a year, its efforts focused on exposing the truth and extracting a recognition of guilt from the authorities, organized the funeral. It did so without letting Communists exploit the memory of the revolution to their own ends—a measure of its moral authority. The Party was not even represented at the funeral.

Moscow's hope that remnants of its empire could be salvaged by introducing "reform communism" proved to be unrealistic. There is no evidence, on the other hand, of any will to use force in order to preserve the status quo. In the case of Hungary and Poland, the Velvet Revolution was also a negotiated revolution.

SINCE 1989

The Hungarian Republic was solemnly proclaimed on 23 October 1989, the anniversary of the 1956 revolution. Miklós Németh's ministers kept showing up at their offices until spring 1990, when Hungarians decided their future at the ballot box. The election was essentially a loud and clear denunciation of communism. The two successors to Kádár's ideas, the Communist and Socialist parties, received 4 percent and 11 percent of the votes, respectively. The Socialist Party's position on the new landscape was consequently modest, with 33 deputies in the National Assembly. The Christian Democrats obtained 21 mandates, and the Smallholders Party 44 parliamentary seats.

They joined the overall winner, the Democratic Forum, with 165 mandates out of a total 386. Four years later, this balance of power was changed, but the parties who got through in 1990 still occupied the key positions, thus ensuring stability despite alternations. For the first time in a century, Hungarian liberals became significant players in politics. Thirty percent of the electorate voted liberal. Despite being unknown to most until the late 1980s, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, with its eclectic program and composition, presented a reassuring image as being national, Christian, liberal, and, above all, anticommunist. It was invited to lead the ruling coalition for four years. The government was headed by a historian, József Antall, and portfolios were distributed between the coalition parties.

The National Assembly elected as president of the Republic Árpád Göncz, a lawyer, writer, and translator who had spent five years in Kádár's prisons. He became a popular statesman and was reelected for a second term. The republic's foundations were now solid, based on the principle of a division of powers, since a very important institution was created, the Constitutional Court. Its role was to scrupulously monitor respect for the letter and the spirit of the fundamental laws. Local self-government completed the new state structure. The traditional county councils now played a less significant role compared to the past. The 3,000 or so rural councils, towns, and villages, on the other hand, were given substantial autonomy.

Árpád Göncz, president of Hungary (1990–2000). (Embassy of Hungary)

Hungarian democracy matured under Antall's government, among the first in the region to move peacefully from communism to democracy and capitalism. It delivered results as far as the consolidation of the institutional system and respect for public and individual freedoms were concerned. Its foreign policy was resolutely European in outlook. Its conduct was low profile, even if its rhetoric was at times criticized for traces of nationalism.

Antall, catapulted into his post by the leaders of the national-popular wing of the Democratic Forum, had to perform a balancing act between the different tendencies within his party and at the same time with the other components of the government majority. Thus pressed by the Smallholders, Antall worked to transform agricultural property structure in favor of a social class that had still to be invented: independent farmers. This called for two measures: issuing compensation coupons to enable former owners to buy back their land and dismantling agrarian cooperatives. Both ended in controversy. Compensation, extended, and rightly so, to other injured parties, disrupted the economy without really repairing the damage and created chaos in the villages. Coupons were often bought up by intermediaries, and few peasants were able to use them well. Moreover, cooperatives remained alive: only 200 disappeared out of 11,000. As for the net agricultural production index, it fell significantly. This can be attributed to the end of exports to the Soviet bloc, compounded by the financial burden of surplus manpower. Government action contributed to internal dissension in the Democratic Forum. Confident of its clear popular mandate, it set about aligning society to its own ideas—which included a renewed relationship with the country's religious majority, at the expense of militant secularism.

Though Antall had surrounded himself with trusted ministers, his charismatic authority did not prevail throughout his heterogeneous party. The nationalist right was far from being under his authority, and it continued to make statements that were easy to present as controversial by the media. The Forum thus came to have an embarrassing internal opposition in its own right wing, especially its guiding force, the popular-populist writer István Csurka. He professed nationalist and antiliberal ideas, deviating from the party's national liberal image and the more moderate views of its majority. The prime minister was slow to distance himself from the right, due to political necessity and probably also to personal loyalties.

Despite his weaknesses, Antall was a sincere democrat and would never have allowed his regime to be controlled by extremists. It was due to his moral steadfastness that, in the end, it was Csurka who, unable to get a hearing in the Forum, broke away in order to form his own openly nationalist movement.

The issue of punishment of those responsible for crimes committed under communism also occupied political center stage and remained unresolved, perhaps unresolvable. The process hit legalistic obstacles: the statute of limitations had expired in most cases; difficulties arose with defining crimes against humanity; or the guilty had simply died. Indeed, the incriminating facts dated back decades, and the men serving the communist regime, however responsible and morally guilty, were "just obeying legal orders." As in all postcommunist countries, justice went as far as accusing the handful of officers who gave orders to open fire on border crossers. The real criminals, if they were not dead, lived out their retirement peacefully—earthly justice would not touch them. As for the agents provocateurs and other informants of the political police, their names never became public. This aroused widespread indignation, but the desire for revenge abated with the passage of time.

The newly freed mass media criticized authorities and continued to support the opposition rather than government action. This in turn provoked lively responses from the people and parties affected, leading at times to less than civil debates. This was perhaps to be expected, but the sharp, personal, and intolerant tone damaged the political class as a whole.

Indignation over the decline in public civility failed to overshadow the more positive development, a successful shift to a legal and democratic state in four years. Even the noisy claims made by a small group of right-wing intellectuals were seen as signs of maturing diversity in the reemerging political arena.

The issue of ethnic Magyars living beyond the frontiers, apart from its diplomatic aspects, had preoccupied generations of Hungarians since the Treaty of Trianon. The concern, both legitimate and enduring, had also probably been altered by experience. When it became apparent that the old frontiers would not be restored, the rational and desirable solution seemed to be for all the region's countries to work for permeable boundaries, with cultural and, if possible, territorial autonomy for minority communities.

When the communist era came to an end, Hungary was considered the best prepared among the bloc countries for a transition toward a market economy. In reality, the glass was half full, half empty. Among other problems, there were no plans for paying back the mountainous debt (US$11 billion at the end of the communist era). The fiction of full employment was maintained; a dilapidated industry was kept afloat by subsidies, as was a productive but expensive agriculture. The situation was nonetheless manageable, with sufficient reserves of hard currency and, thanks to Hungary's reputation, an intact credit rating.

From 1990 through an economic policy resolutely geared toward the market, Hungary could have maintained its lead and come out of the transition difficulties at least as rapidly and as well as Poland. At the outset, Antall's government took the right direction, stabilizing public finances, launching privatization, and other reforms. At the same time, due to timidity and half-measures, the "classic" problems of transition arose. Antall's government added US$8 billion to the debt and operated with a huge budgetary deficit. Direct foreign investments, the highest among former communist countries, helped, but state or local council ownership remained dominant. The state spent four out of every ten forints; GNP decreased significantly; unemployment was at 12 percent; and inflation fluctuated at around 30 percent.

Living conditions were deteriorating. Enormous sacrifices were demanded of the population, with no evidence that the high price of transformation would lead to financial recovery, to structural reform, and finally to growth. The government tried to navigate between the necessary restrictions and a threatening social crisis. If it did not take draconian measures, it would soon be accused of being lax and populist. If it did, it would be seen as a lackey of the International Monetary Fund. The road from communism to capitalism had never been explored before. It would have been difficult to do better than the Antall government did.

The verdict of the 1994 election discredited the Democratic Forum and its coalition partners. The semimajority system enabled the winners, the new socialists, to gain a majority in parliament. The extreme right and left parties were literally swept aside. As in 1990, the Social Democratic Party was practically absent.

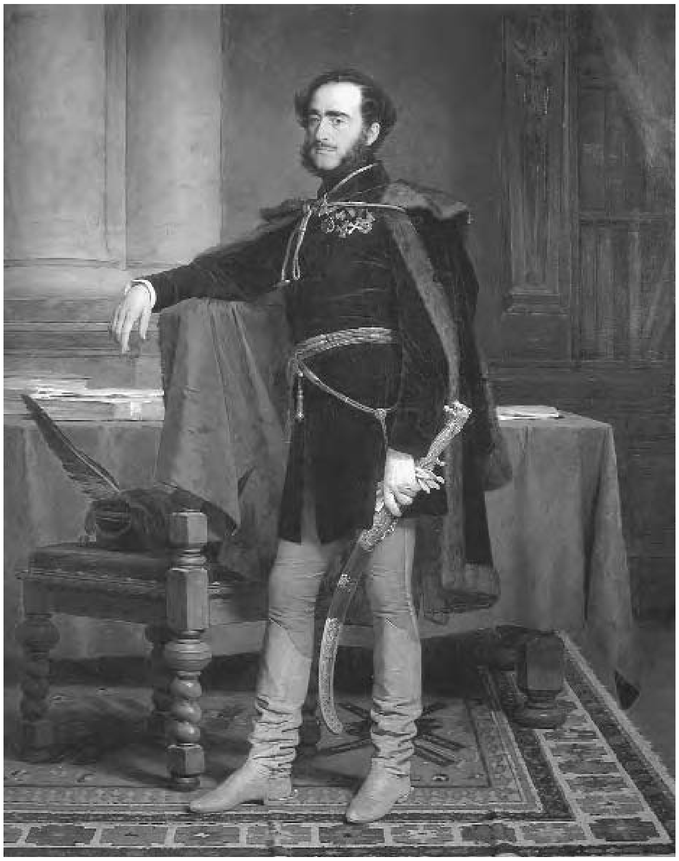
The fact that the same six parties shared most seats in the assembly demonstrated a degree of stability, and the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSzP), with its absolute majority, could have governed alone. Gyula Horn, its leader and future prime minister, decided otherwise. The Free Democrats (SzDsZ) were invited into the government, if only in order to share responsibilities. This unnatural coalition of two former opponents was created in June 1994. There was nothing innovative in the Horn government's political program, but its audacity in economic matters was, for a socialist party, astonishing. Its stabilization program was rather more liberal in tone than socialist, despite being the brainchild of the socialist finance minister László Békési. However, the Békési program remained on paper, and no serious measures were introduced. Then, the unenviable post of chancellor of the exchequer was filled by a neoliberal economist, Lajos Bokros. It was a dramatic turn of events.

In March 1995 the new finance minister presented a program of restrictions called the Bokros package. It was the first time that the question of budgetary balance had been seriously addressed. Among its many measures was the reduction in social loans from a providential state, soon provoking a general outcry, making Bokros the most hated man in Hungary. His package had nonetheless been approved by parliament, with predictable reticence on the part of several socialist deputies and the unions.

The Bokros package was duly carried out, going beyond even the monetary measures prescribed by the IMF: a rehaul of the tax and customs-duty systems, a devaluation of the forint, deregulation, reform of the health service and pensions, plans for the reform of state finances. Considerable savings were made, but the package weighed heavily on citizens; real income fell by 11 percent, along with social benefits and provisions. Dissatisfaction grew, as did nostalgia for the good old days of relative (and artificially maintained) prosperity. However, by 1997, pensioners and other underprivileged sections of society began to feel the benefits of economic growth, a growth largely due to the dynamic privatized industries, to the hundreds of billions gained from privatization, and to the influx of foreign capital. The state was able to spend the equivalent of DM8 billion on reorganizing the economy and repaying foreign debts. The foundations of growth were in place, but this did not alleviate poverty in a growing segment of the population, especially among the Gypsies. The none too rich but satisfied lower middle classes of the era were disappearing.

Adding to the problem of economic reforms, social and national problems came to the surface: anti-Semitism, corruption, public disorder. Budapest, and other Hungarian cities as well, became targets of a new criminal underworld. In four years, 140 bomb explosions (allegedly perpetrated by the "foreign Mafia") remained unsolved. Public opinion accused the police of complicity. Once known as a "safe" city, the Hungarian capital appeared on the verge of being taken over by organized crime imported from Russia, Ukraine, and the Balkans.

The socialists' four years in office were studded with corruption and scandals: obscure bank dealings, assignments of public funds, underworld connections. Leading the opposition was the League of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), who went on to win the 1998 elections. The image of FIDESZ was national and bourgeois. The league was also accused of mild anti-Semitism, but the main representatives of these tendencies was Csurka's extreme right-wing Party of Hungarian Justice and Life (MIÉP). The young, Western-educated operatives of the FIDESZ easily exploited the weaknesses of Horn's dull and old-fashioned socialist government, even turning the socialists' few merits—its ideological neutrality and economic pragmatism—to their own advantage. The already waning popularity of Hungary's postcommunist left was also severely tarnished by its involvement in major scandals.



Count István Szechényi, Kossuth's major rival in the reform movement of the 1820s and 1830s. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

The Horn government fell in the 1998 elections, losing much of its base of popularity among the rising managerial class. The extremely complex, part proportional, part majority electoral system went in favor of FIDESZ. Of 388 mandates, FIDESZ gained 148, its ally, the Smallholders Party 48. The rest of the parties preferred to support FIDESZ in parliament, including 14 members of parliament from the right-wing MIÉP, led by Csurka.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Magyars brought with them to the Carpathian Basin a political system that was shaped by the necessities of nomadic pastoralist lifestyle. Family units resided miles apart from each other, and this implied nearly unlimited freedom in the daily affairs of the individual. Whenever the entire clan, tribe, or tribal federation took to the field, however, this freedom disappeared. Since even the smallest action could mean disaster for all, discipline during these community undertakings was strict, whether they were a joint search for new pasturage, a massive hunting expedition or, especially, a military campaign. Loyalty was to the clan or the tribe and their leaders, offices to which one could rise through succession, which was often influenced by other considerations. Popularity was one such factor, based on perceived leadership qualities and achievements. Most leaders thus chosen were proven military leaders, but the pastoralists also valued other qualities, and often elected a co-ruler recognized for his wise and judicious practices during peacetime. Thus, even though ruling dynasties existed, there was no great social distance between members of these and common pastoralists, and there was a chance for nearly every male to rise to a leadership position.

This "steppe democracy" came to an end when Hungarians converted to Christianity, adopting at the same time the prevailing European social practice of centralized royal authority, along with those of county administration and an increasing stratification that was part and parcel of feudalism. Gone was the free, individualistic roaming of nomadism. Instead, people were increasingly forced to live in villages, which came more and more under the authority of the large landholding lords. As more and more commoners became impoverished, they were forced to become servants, and later serfs, in the service of barons. While the number of serfs increased, so too did the number of those who retained their titles of nobility, but lost all or almost all of their property. The nobility, composed of wealthy landholders and a growing number of common noblemen, together came to consider themselves the "one and indivisible noble Hungarian nation." They attended the diets (periodically assembled legislative meetings), and they made and enforced the laws, most of the time with royal cooperation, but at times in conflict with it. In exchange for performing these duties, and in recognition of their service as the armed defenders of the nation, they were exempt from paying taxes of any kind, a privilege they guarded jealously well into the nineteenth century.

Social injustice aside, this stratification of Hungarian society poisoned public life for much of the modern period. Unfortunately, not all noblemen were endowed with fairness in the way they treated their serfs, the wisdom to manage the nation's affairs, or a sense of patriotic unselfishness. On the contrary, more and more of them took on attitudes that proved destructive for the nation's interest. Some of the wealthiest barons did their utmost to weaken royal authority, attracting many of the lesser nobles to their causes. To be sure, they distinguished themselves in the long anti-Ottoman wars of defense. Their ranks were thinned in battles and replenished by newly created aristocrats, often imported from other lands. Not surprisingly, few of Hungary's aristocrats opposed the Habsburg-supported Catholic Counter-Reformation, and even fewer were enthusiastic supporters of Prince Rákóczi's *kuruc* war of independence.

The common nobility took a more independent position both regarding Protestantism and the anti-Habsburg struggle. They were, by and large, enthusiastic supporters of both causes, even while stubbornly safeguarding their increasingly meaningless privileges. After the defeat of the kuruc armies, this class, which represented a very large proportion of Hungarian society, became disillusioned and fatalistic. Most of its members assumed the parochial stance of passive resistance, withdrawing from national affairs into the ancient, familiar institutions of the counties. Dealing only with local affairs (and only in Latin), refusing to travel, consider, or even read about the new ideas streaming in from the west of Europe, this loudly "patriotic" nobility thus evaded its responsibility to lead Hungary out of its state of severe underdevelopment.

In general, European nobility exhibited contradictory attitudes toward the ideas of the Enlightenment, and especially toward the notions of revolutionary romanticism. In Hungary and Central Europe, however, the situation was made worse by the nearly total absence of a middle class, the stratum of society that was instrumental in bringing about much of Western Europe's modernization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In part because of the centuries-long wars in the region, and in part because of the shortsighted insistence of the nobility to preserve their countries' social institutions, the societies of Central and Eastern Europe did not encourage the rise of commercial-entrepreneurial-professional classes. This was not a matter of education alone. Noblemen were literate (though not widely read), and an increasing number of commoners attended secondary schools. But working in typically middle-class professions (e.g., merchant, manufacturer, or writer) was not seen as befitting a "real Hungarian," and especially not a Magyar nobleman. The one exception was the legal profession. A mushrooming of complicated and time-consuming lawsuits, and the intricate machinery of country administrations, provided a "gentlemanly" opportunity for lawyers. Hungary's business life and fledgling manufacturing activities, on the other hand, were largely nurtured and controlled by Germans, Serbs, Greeks, and Armenians, among others. The presence of the growing Jewish population in these activities was also noticeable. Pest and Buda, along with the few small cities of the late eighteenth century, had an increasingly large proportion of foreign-born inhabitants, and this marked the beginning of the great urban–rural alienation so characteristic of the region.

The weakness and marginalization of Hungary's middle class, combined with the common nobility's retreat from national affairs and the aristocrats' loyalty to Habsburg interests, meant that there was scarcely anyone promoting genuinely pro-Hungarian social-political reforms. There were isolated cases of a few radicals conspiring to break away from Vienna's control, but they were easily uncovered and eliminated by the increasingly efficient police organizations.

In the end, the leaders of the early-nineteenth-century reform movements still came from the two classes that showed few signs of being interested in public affairs. Without forming political parties or creating grassroots movements, a few inspired aristocrats—Count István Széchenyi and Baron Miklós Wesselényi prominent among them—began to sound the voices of reform, in politics as well as in social practice. Wesselényi called for greater independence from Vienna, while Széchenyi was needling his fellow aristocrats to make serious sacrifices in the cause of national progress. The enlightened aristocrats found allies in the ranks of the common nobility. They were first brought together by their shared interest in such nonpolitical issues as reforming the Hungarian language, promoting literature and theater in the vernacular, or founding economic and trade organizations. And, of course, there was a great deal of diversity in their methods and goals, ranging from radical republicans on the left to cautious reformers on the more conservative side. Their increasingly lively debates during the 1830s and 1840s, and the reporting of these exchanges in a burgeoning press, led to the birth of modern political life in Hungary.

The common nobleman turned journalist-activist Lajos Kossuth and the wealthy man of the world István Széchenyi, for example, remained worlds apart politically, even while paying homage to each other's greatness. Kossuth agitated for an immediate and even violent break with Vienna, while Széchenyi promoted such seemingly nonpolitical issues as river regulation, steamship transport, railroad- and bridge building, and the establishment of academies, social clubs and credit institutions, asserting that if Hungary were to become an economic power, independence would follow.

Followers of these two great personalities in fact created Hungary's first political parties, even if they formally established such organizations only after the defeat of the war of independence. The "'48ers" remained stubbornly loyal to the exiled Kossuth's ideas, while their opponents leaned toward a compromise with the Habsburg authorities. Owing to skillful and moderate negotiating by Ferenc Deák, a provincial jurist who came to be called "the sage of the nation," a compromise *(Ausgleich)* was reached in 1867, creating the Austro-Hungarian (Dual) Monarchy.

The era of dualism had several stages of development in Hungary's political life. Even though it was somewhat of an anomaly—two realms ruled by one person who was king of Hungary and emperor of the Austrian lands at the same time, governed by two independent governments, except for the common affairs of defense and foreign affairs—the system worked reasonably well for decades. The aristocracy in both halves of the monarchy retained its leadership role, the nobility preserved some of its privileges, and the numerous ethnic minorities were pacified with token concessions but denied real political power. Elections were regularly held, but the franchise was severely limited, and the formation of political parties, while permitted, was closely scrutinized. A narrow coalition of conservatives remained in power for decades, winning elections by any means and governing with a firm but legalistic and reasonably humane approach.

The unsatisfied land hunger of rural masses, combined with the growth of urban proletariat, contributed to the formation of radical parties and the mobilization of organized labor. However, their growth was hindered by the traditionalist mindset of Hungarians and their mistrust of foreign-inspired radical ideas. The left remained fragmented and weak, its ideas entertained mostly by urbanite intellectuals, until World War I brought a number of additional miseries, and ended up destroying the monarchy and breaking up "historical Hungary."

Defeat and subsequent revolutions had overthrown the bloc of Liberal magnates and bourgeoisie, and created an internal political vacuum. It was filled at first by the agrarian group of conservative landowners and gentry organizations that had formerly played secondary political roles. The leaders of the gentry organizations came from conservative landowners, civil servants, officers, and right-wing intellectuals. Their number and weight were significantly increased by the masses of unemployed former officers, unable to find lucrative employment, and refugee government officials from the detached territories.

This new right wing wanted not merely restoration, but redistribution, that is, a share in political power and positions in the top ranks of the Hungarian army. Its members also wanted leading positions in the civil service and yearned to dominate the professions. They clamored for the imposition of high taxes on the "plutocrats" of finance and industry and the supervision of laissez-faire policies by the state. They intended to implement statist, authoritarian rule in order to sustain the dominance of a gentrified elite. The extreme right wing of this new movement consisted of former leaders of officers' detachments and members of secret racist associations, including paramilitary pressure groups. They were vaguely supported by an antiliberal, anti-Semitic middle class and petit bourgeoisie.

The postwar sense of malaise and hopelessness called for astute national leadership, of which there was little. After a brief period as a bourgeois republic under the government of the naive liberal Count Mihály Károlyi, Hungary became the second country to become a communist-ruled dictatorship. Governed by a body of commissars, led by Béla Kun, who became a communist while in a Russian POW camp, Hungary's Republic of Councils lasted 133 days. It enjoyed a certain popularity at first, because it dismantled the army, nationalized the nation's industries and cultural institutions and promised a land reform. It might have lasted longer if its leaders had moderated their terror and pacified the fears of the victorious Allies. Since they failed to do either, and they managed to alienate most Hungarians, the Communists were forced out by the Allied-supported Royal Romanian Army, which invaded the country in the summer of 1919.

The interwar period was marked by the name of Miklós Horthy, formerly an admiral in the Habsburg navy and a member of Hungary's Protestant gentry. In a country that formally remained a kingdom, even though it was forbidden to have a king, Horthy was elected regent for life, and he asked a number of conservative politicians to form governments. The regularly held elections (with a still severely limited franchise) were lively and provided some room for political opposition. The communists, however, were only able to operate underground, as their party was not allowed to exist. Even if it were, it would not have attracted many supporters. The brief Red Terror of 1919 turned most Hungarians into anticommunists. At the same time, Horthy's government was not widely popular, either. It was blamed for a brief but brutal period of White Terror (in the aftermath of Béla Kun's rule), and even for signing the 1920 Trianon peace treaty, which deprived Hungary of two-thirds of its territory and over half of its population. In addition, the Horthy governments failed to address the issue of agrarian poverty through a comprehensive land reform, preserved the country's anachronistic class system, and in foreign affairs proved to be unable to remedy Hungary's diplomatic isolation.

Hungary's best political minds were, thus, in a difficult position. Feeling betrayed and rebuffed by the liberal democracies of the West, disillusioned by the unfulfilled promises of the radical Left (as it showed its true nature in

Stalin's Soviet Union as well as in Hungary's 1919 Republic of Councils), they were driven to experiment with various "native" ideologies. Most of these were based on an idea that could be called "Hungarian exceptionalism." According to this, the Magyars—having no ethnic relatives nearby and having shown a strong nation-building and maintaining ability in the face of serious threats—ought to rely on their own well-developed political instincts to guide them along a third road, an alternative to both the bourgeois liberal capitalism of the West and the Marxist-Stalinist absolutism of the East.

During the Bethlen consolidation, nationalist extremists were ousted from political positions, but their influence was by no means eliminated; they retained their press organs and a leading role in the army. The executive branch and the armed forces gained the upper hand over liberal parliamentarianism and the democratic strivings of a civil society. Thus the conservative gentry continued to thrive throughout the period of consolidation, only to add to their strength and power during the 1930s.

The economic and political power of the bourgeoisie still, however, continued to grow, and the main tendency of restoration was moving toward liberalization. Bethlen was determined to revive the prewar alliance between magnates and the bourgeoisie in government as well as in local administration. Organizations safeguarding the interests of capitalists were filled with fresh vigor and their influence over the economic ministry increased. Banks and entrepreneurs played a leading role by investing the huge loans acquired by the state. Thus the trust of Hungarian and international monied circles, and economic prosperity in general, were among the firm bases of consolidation.

Portrait of Bela Kun, early-twentieth-century Hungarian communist revolutionary. (Hulton Archive/Getty)

The ideology and propaganda of the new regime were also modified. Efforts to end the prevailing chaos had begun under the banner of militant antiliberalism and anti-Semitism. The adjective "Christian" was not used in a religious sense, as a slogan for moral revival, but with a distinctively anti-Semitic, discriminatory edge. Furthermore, the emphasis on "national character" unambiguously implied territorial revision to prewar boundaries

The institutions, open activities, and propaganda of the White Terror were suppressed. Militant anti-Semitism was on the decline: the government moderated the *numerus clausus* quota law and even encouraged the Jewish middle class to participate in public life. Racism was also eliminated from the interpretation of national character, and the sense of the nation as a political unit was brought back into use. From the mid-1920s on, this concept came to mean the partial or total revision of the Trianon peace treaty. On this point a full national consensus was achieved. Growing professionalism in the techniques of government, authoritarian paternalism, revival of religiosity, patronage of the arts and sciences, and parliamentarianism after the European model were the features with which the system was endowed. Horthy's was a peculiar, neobaroque style of government. The adjectives fascist or semifascist, which the communists used to describe the era, are simply not applicable.

The Depression sharpened social conflicts. Strikes by industrial workers were matched by mass demonstrations in Budapest on 1 September 1930. The Communists made their first reappearance since 1919 in these struggles. The Social Democratic Party also gained strength, and the opposition to the government became more outspoken. The Smallholders, who had been integrated into the government party, began to organize separately once again, as the Independent Smallholders Party. As the left was reinvigorated, right-wing elements also began to mass their forces. Repressed after the White Terror, the extreme right was now reactivated. Frustrated by the misery and the crisis in which they found themselves, many of the lower middle class and unemployed joined these extremists.

The new extreme right could look to Italy and Hitler's emerging movement in Germany for support, especially after Gyula Gömbös, the chairman of the right-wing Hungarian National Military Association, was named prime minister by the regent in 1932. He announced a ninety-five-point "national unity program." Its points included gaining material well-being and security for the population, restricting the "harmful growth of capitalism," establishing safety in the workplace, and restructuring land ownership in a more equitable way. Gömbös's scheme envisioned a unity of labor, capital, and intellectual talent. One important organizational element in his scheme was the corporation à la Mussolini, in which workers and employers would reconcile their interests in disputed matters, with the state serving as mediator. The plan failed because of the strong resistance by capitalists and labor unions alike.

In the 1930s a new force appeared among middle-class intellectuals. The new group called itself *népiek* (the most common translation is "populist"). This group was made up of intellectuals of peasant background who sympathized with the plight of the rural poor. They were also concerned with the difficulties facing members of the middle class of peasant origin. Sociographers such as Zoltán Szabó, Géza Féja, and Ferenc Erdei, the poet Gyula Illyés, the teacher and essayist László Németh, as well as Imre Kovács and József Darvas, were the leading personalities of this progressive, literary, and sociopolitical movement. They referred to themselves as the populist writers. The Hungarian populists differed from the Russian and other Eastern European *narodniks,* as somewhat similar populists were called, in that they did not have a messianic, social-revolutionary creed; they were also different from the romantic populists of Germany, many of whom identified with fascism. The Hungarian populists were, first and foremost, antifeudal and anticapitalist in their ideology. Their primary goal was to elevate the peasantry to a higher status, because they considered it to be the backbone of the Hungarian nation. They wished to rejuvenate the national ideal advanced by the gentry, blending it with the fresh vigor of the peasantry. Their ideology was based on the notion of the "third road," a peculiar Hungarian version of socialism that was national but not fascist, socialist but not Soviet Communist, and one that would bring about "cooperative socialism."

The populists were open to the ideas coming from the democratic left. However, they were also willing to listen to the anticapitalist tendencies and anti-Semitism of the right. When Gömbös flirted with the idea of the New Intellectual Front, these tendencies were quite visible. The populist writers were quick to realize what Gömbös was up to and broke off their relations with the governing party. In the following year, part of the populists began to lean toward the left, while another segment moved over to the right.

The Hungarian fascist movement began to take shape during the first half of the 1930s. By 1935, the various racist and chauvinistic groups were drawn together by Ferenc Szálasi, a former staff officer of the army. In that year, Szálasi founded the Party of Hungarian Will, which, two years later, took the name Hungarian National Socialist Party. Its symbol became two arrows forming a cross, giving it the popular title of Arrow Cross Party. Its leading elite was composed of petit bourgeois individuals, although there were a handful of eccentric aristocrats and chauvinist gentry scions among the members. For some time, the gentry elite of Hungary did not take the Arrow Cross Party seriously. Its members were not admitted to the casinos frequented by the upper class. The elite was contemptuous of the masses even more than of the socialist workers.

Though Hungary was nominally an ally of Germany, by the end of the war Hungary and its political life ended up under German control. Germans were assisted by a newly appointed government headed by Döme Sztójay, a notoriously pro-German former diplomat. Mass arrests and internment of anti-German politicians, leaders of the opposition, and the left were immediately undertaken. In May the deportation of the over 500,000 Jews in the country began and was accomplished within three months. Only the Jews of Budapest were saved from deportation, though profascist thugs took victims there by the thousands as well. (The losses suffered by Hungarian Jewry came to 564,307 people killed, 75 percent of the Jewish citizenry of Hungary. Only 120,000 returned from the Nazi camps, and about the same number survived in Budapest.)

Was Hungarian society responsible for this genocide? Research shows that, were it not for the effective assistance of Hungarian authorities, the German machinery would have been unable to arrange for the mass deportations. As for society at large, a great range in attitudes toward the deportations existed. Apart from a racist minority, the vast majority remained passive, indifferent, or fearful, and several thousand people sympathized with the Jews and took risks to save some of them.

After the failed attempt on 15 October 1944 to disengage Hungary from the war, Horthy ceded power to the Arrow Cross Party and Ferenc Szálasi; this was followed by a five-month reign of random terror. In April 1945 the Red Army removed the last German units and their allies from Hungary. It was, indeed, considered a liberation by most Hungarians. However, liberty did not arrive immediately.

In December 1944 a provisional government was formed in Debrecen by a coalition comprised of the Hungarian Communist Party, the Independent Smallholders and Agricultural Workers Party, the Social Democrats, the National Peasant Party, and the Civic Democrats. The Communists gathered earlier and declared their readiness to cooperate with "democratic forces." Their leaders were mostly "Muscovites" following in the wake of the Red Army: Mátyás Rákosi, Ernő Gerő, József Révai, Mihály Farkas, Zoltán Vas, and Imre Nagy. The Smallholders were led by Béla Vargha, Ferenc Nagy, Zoltán Tildy, and Béla Kovács. The principal Social Democrats were Károly Peyer and Anna Kéthly. Árpád Szakasits, editor in chief of the party daily, *Népszava* (People's Voice), also belonged to the party elite. The National Peasant Party was established by left-wing populist intellectuals in 1939, with few members. The Civic Democrats drew members from the relatively ideology-free urban middle classes, who wanted simply to restore order and rebuild Hungary and, consequently, had never played a significant role in politics.

The Red Army remained master of life and death in Hungary. Stalin hesitated to include Hungary in the Soviet empire, but he had the means to do so. There were hundreds of thousands of Hungarian POWs in the Soviet Union, and their return depended on the behavior of the Hungarians at home. The amount of war reparations was not determined immediately, so Stalin could increase his demands as he pleased. For the time being, however, he settled for favorable trade deals and the establishment of joint Soviet-Hungarian companies (in air transport, shipping, and bauxite and oil production, among others). In this manner, long before Soviet political control over Hungary was established, Moscow had already achieved a stranglehold on the economy of the country.

Noncommunist politicians expected that the Red Army would leave Hungary soon, so that they could create a democratic country in the shadow of Stalin's Soviet Russia. But their plans were endangered as soon as the political police, controlled by Rákosi, was organized in 1945. It proved to be a useful instrument, as it was staffed by thugs, former members of the Arrow Cross, and vengeful radicals, who cared little about laws, human rights, or even elementary rules of decency.

Genuinely free elections took place in late 1945, with the Communists receiving 17 percent, and the Smallholders 57 percent of the vote after a clean but heated campaign. Social Democrats outpolled the Communists by 0.5 percent. A coalition government was created, in which the ministerial posts were to be distributed according to the strength of each participating party. This served Communists well, for they were able to obtain important cabinet posts. Inexperienced and naive Smallholder leaders were unable to stand up to the pressure of the Communists and their allies, which included the Red Army. In response to physical violence, expulsion of deputies, Communist-organized mass demonstrations, and strikes, the Smallholders, winners of the elections, caved in. The political police now had a free hand to arrest "enemies of the state." Social Democrats, who showed greater resistance to Rákosi, became his next target.

Lászlo Rájk was an interesting figure in the struggle for power. Not a Muscovite, he fought in the Spanish Civil War and ended up in a French detention camp. While working with the antifascist underground in Hungary, he was arrested, and his life was saved by his brother, who was a member of the Arrow Cross "cabinet" after 15 October 1944. Rájk was a convinced Marxist and an anti-Semite, for which he earned the special respect of Communists who had formerly been Arrow Cross members. By 1946, the police apparatus was under Rájk's control, who reported directly to Rákosi, not to the prime minister. The police openly participated in terror campaigns against the opponents of the leftist bloc.

By 1947, Stalin had decided that all Eastern European states would be included in the Soviet empire. By then the struggle for power was over, and Rákosi and his Muscovite collaborators were rulers of Hungary in all but name. The prime minister, Ferenc Nagy, was attacked for "harboring criminal elements." In May 1947, while vacationing in Switzerland, he was told that he was under investigation for alleged activities against the republic. Nagy agreed to resign on condition that his four-year-old son be permitted to join him in exile.

New elections were held in August 1947. This time, Communists were not leaving anything to chance: their voters received absentee ballots (the so-called blue slips) and thousands of them roamed the country—in Red Army trucks—voting at every conceivable election booth. Even after this, the Communists received only 22 percent of the total vote. But this made them the largest single party, since the rest of the votes were fragmented. Rákosi could now "legally" take power. Soviet troops were to stay "temporarily" in Hungary, ostensibly to secure communications with forces stationed in Austria. In reality they were to secure Communist control of Hungary. Opposition parties were now banned. In 1948 Rákosi forced a fusion between the Social Democrats and Communists. The takeover was completed, and the Stalinist phase of Hungarian history began.

The politics of terror did not end. The Hungarian branch of the Soviet NKVD (the AVO-AVH) became a huge and busy apparatus, the real executive organ in Hungary. In 1948 the target was the Roman Catholic Church, closely followed by Rajk himself. A show trial was ordered by Stalin, and Rákosi delivered. Rajk and several other top Communist officials were tried in September 1949, after lengthy torture. They confessed to every false charge leveled against them, to no avail. Six of them, including Rajk, were hanged on 15 October. Other show trials followed.

A new Stalinist constitution went into effect on 20 August 1949 (also, ironically, St. István's Day, honoring the nation's founder). The document named the Communist Party as the leading force in the process of building socialism in Hungary. New laws were enacted, giving the ÁVO a free hand against political opposition.

The system imposed on Hungary was a dictatorship that recognized no legality except its own. This was real Soviet-style socialism. Rákosi developed his own personality cult. He was, indeed, the "best pupil of comrade Stalin," as he liked to be called. No other Eastern European communist leader was trusted more by the Soviet dictator, and no other leader was so willing to execute and overfulfill Stalin's orders.

Rákosi and the members of his ruling circle—Ernő Gerő, József Révai, Mihály Farkas—were devoted citizens of the Soviet Union, and their rule in Hungary was based on brute force alone. Between 1949 and 1953, well over 750,000 people out of a population of 10 million were investigated, and 150,000 ended up in prison or in labor camps. Two thousand were executed on trumped-up charges, and thousands were maimed by sadistic investigators. Even high Party officials were not safe: Sándor Zöld, Rajk's successor in the interior ministry, was berated by Rákosi for having the wrong type of friends. Fearing arrest, Zöld killed his wife and children and committed suicide. János Kádár, György Marosán, and countless others were also thrown into jail.

The Hungarian educational system was ordered to create a "new socialist man." From kindergarten to the universities, Marxism became the guiding light. Compulsory Russian language study, together with the study of the falsified history of the Soviet Communist Party, was introduced. With all this, mind-killing boredom and confusion became a matter of everyday life. At the same time, education was made widely available, and illiteracy all but disappeared. Engineering and technological subjects received high priority, along with Marxist studies, while learning about Hungarian history was deemphasized. Children with the "wrong" background were excluded from the universities, while offspring of Party officials received preference in admissions, regardless of their talents. This was affirmative action, Stalinist style.

No questioning was tolerated. Listening to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe or the BBC could land one in jail or in a labor camp. Hungarian literature consisted mainly of anti-Western propaganda. Many Soviet books were translated into Hungarian, mostly of the "socialist realist" variety. The Russian classics were neglected, but thousands of copies of Lenin's and Stalin's works were distributed to libraries and Party offices.

Communists may have won the power struggle and accomplished a cultural coup, but the ruthlessness of leaders and their openly Russifying policies left the people cynical and demoralized. During the 1940s, the peasants were forced into Soviet-style collectives. A series of Five-Year Plans intended to create a "country of steel and iron" out of Hungary, calling for the constant raising of work norms and a hidden but obvious lowering of wages. Emphasis was placed on heavy industry, with consumer needs neglected.

Only by maintaining a constant level of terror could such a system survive. But the Party, quite capable of creating fear, was unable to earn respect for itself. Similarly, there was no respect for law. Morality changed; stealing, cheating, and petty pilfering were no longer considered wrong. "The factory is yours," the simple worker said; "take home as much of it as you can." The situation was no different in the rural areas. There was a huge and widening discrepancy between ideology and reality. Living standards plummeted at a time when the Party preached prosperity.

By 1953, it became obvious that the Party and its ideology served nothing but the goals of Soviet imperialism. The pitiless servility and self-criticism it demanded were rooted in human weakness and fear. When Stalin died, he was replaced by a collective leadership dominated by Malenkov and Khrushchev. The new leaders soon expressed dissatisfaction with the Hungarian situation. In a stormy meeting in Moscow they collectively berated Rákosi and ordered the reorganization of the leadership of the Hungarian Workers Party. Subsequently, Imre Nagy became prime minister, but Rákosi retained the position of first secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party. Révai and Farkas were removed from the political committee. It seemed to all but Rákosi that his policies were repudiated. But the "best pupil of Stalin" did not give up easily. He was convinced that, given time, the new Soviet leaders would recognize his indispensability.

The new prime minister, Imre Nagy, was also a faithful Muscovite. He was not interested in airing the guilty secrets of Rákosi's rule. The major difference between him and his predecessor was that Nagy did not want power for its own sake. He wanted to use his new authority to improve the lives of Hungarians. He naively believed that good relations with Moscow could be maintained without the exploitation of Hungary.

Nagy proclaimed that the forced industrialization of Hungary could no longer be maintained. He hoped that the regime of socialism could gain public support if living standards were improved quickly. He knew he could count on at least some of the Soviet leaders for support.

But the Soviet leadership was divided. Some members supported Nagy, others still favored Rákosi. The Hungarian Party apparat, fearful for its privileges, stood solidly behind Rákosi. Nagy failed to obtain majority support in the Central Committee of his party. The government, tied to the Party apparat by thousands of threads, followed the new prime minister only reluctantly.

In June 1953 the new course proposed by Imre Nagy was reluctantly accepted by parliament. Nagy wanted to reduce support for heavy industry and ordered increased support for the consumer goods industry instead. He permitted the dissolution of collectives if their membership so desired. He closed the concentration camps and ordered the rehabilitation of the unjustly accused. But Nagy was stymied everywhere. The subcommittee of the political committee charged with supervising economic development was headed by Ernő Gerő. Rákosi was the chairman of another subcommittee charged with the rehabilitation of the unjustly accused. They did everything to sabotage Nagy's instructions.

In the meantime, the country breathed a sigh of relief. Collective farms dissolved themselves, their members taking with them their tools and animals. Soon the peasants produced more foodstuffs than before. The end of the persecution of better-off peasants, the so-called kulaks, created a more relaxed atmosphere in the villages. The service industry began to recover from the paralysis of state-imposed restrictions. But the ministry of heavy industry stymied Nagy's plans for reduced investments.

In May 1954 the third congress of the Hungarian Communist Party was held. Rákosi was the keynote speaker and he delivered a vicious attack against Imre Nagy's policies. Nagy, in order to counter the apparat, began to organize a Patriotic People's Front. He thought that this mass multiparty organization would unite the people. He proclaimed that the Party alone could not build socialism. He formulated the thesis later expropriated by his executioner, János Kádár, that "those who are not against us are with us."

In January 1955 the long simmering feud within the Soviet Politburo over policy in Hungary came to the fore. At this time a Hungarian government delegation was visiting Moscow and had to listen to criticism by every member of that august body. In February Imre Nagy suffered a mild heart attack. While he was recuperating, Rákosi made his move. On 14 April 1955, the political committee of the Hungarian Workers Party relieved Imre Nagy of all his Party functions and expelled him from the Central Committee. Rákosi had won a meaningless victory. Although Soviet leaders would not permit him to reinstitute terror, he partially revived previous economic policies and threatened the peasants with recollectivization.

Former Party members who had been jailed began to reappear. János Kádár, Géza Losonczy, Sándor Haraszti, to mention only a few, were walking the streets of Budapest once again and spoke to their friends about the horrors to which they had been subjected. The people, especially Hungary's young, committed writers, listened to their stories with feelings of betrayal. Then the question was raised: "What happened to those who disappeared forever? Why did they have to die?" By the summer of 1956, everyone in Hungary knew that the victims of the show trials were innocent of the crimes of which they were accused. Everyone recalled the announcements of Rákosi as he "discovered" ever newer "conspiracies" against socialism, and personally "unmasked Rajk and his gang." Party propagandists desperately tried to place the blame on Gábor Péter, former head of the ÁVO-ÁVH, now himself in jail. Rákosi continued to boast, but to no avail. There was a general feeling of revulsion toward the dictator.

In 1955 the Austrian State Treaty was signed, and Soviet troops were withdrawn from that fortunate country. Soon

House of Parliament, Budapest. (PhotoDisc, Inc.)

the great powers agreed in Geneva to tone down Cold War rhetoric. Soviet leaders then decided to patch up their feud with Yugoslavia, and Tito's price was to end Rákosi's rule in Hungary.

The Hungarian Workers Party was now in shambles. Party members no longer believed their leaders. On the other hand, the Muscovites and their protégés still tried to hold onto power. Khrushchev and Bulganin visited Tito in Belgrade, but Rákosi refused to make peace with the Yugoslavs.

On 11 May 1955, leaders of Moscow's European satellites signed the Warsaw Pact treaty. This encouraged Rákosi, since the agreement's purpose was the legalization of Soviet occupation in each Eastern European state. In June 1956 the Soviet leaders finally gave in to Tito and removed Rákosi from the Hungarian Party and government. He retired to the Soviet Union, where he lived for the rest of his life. However, he was replaced by Ernő Gerő, who was closely identified with Rákosi's repudiated policies. This should not have surprised anyone: Soviet leaders counted on Gerő to keep Hungary toeing the line.

Then, in October, workers in Poland began striking for better living conditions. This left a lasting impression on the Hungarians, who had always considered the Poles as their friends. On 6 October the Hungarian Workers Party reburied a posthumously rehabilitated Lászlo Rájk. Two hundred thousand people silently marched by his coffin. On 23 October, university students and workers demonstrated on the streets of Budapest, demanding reform. They toppled Stalin's giant statue and demanded that their reform proposal be aired by Budapest radio. The ÁVO-ÁVH opened fire on the demonstrators. The revolution was on.

The Hungarian Revolution—ten days that shook the Kremlin—was one of the most written-about events of the Cold War. Shooting was initiated by the security organs, and Soviet forces, "temporarily stationed in Hungary," were already moving on Budapest. But their intervention was halfhearted and proved to be a mistake. Soviet tanks and armored vehicles were fired on by the revolutionaries, causing severe casualties. The rebels got arms from the Hungarian army whose soldiers were supposed to disperse them. Workers in the armament factories around Budapest also delivered arms. The fighting continued sporadically until 25 October. On that day, a huge crowd gathered in front of parliament, asking for Imre Nagy to address them. They were fired on by hidden ÁVH troops from across the square. Hundreds were killed, and hundreds more wounded. The next day revolutionaries, seeking revenge, besieged the headquarters of the Hungarian Workers Party and killed several of the defending ÁVH troops. Given the butchery committed by the secret police, there were remarkably few incidents of this sort during the revolution.

By 28 October, the Hungarian revolutionaries were victorious. The Soviet government withdrew its troops from

Mátyás Rákosi on trial in 1925. After becoming a communist in a World War I prisoner-of-war camp, he was sent back to Hungary to play a leading role in the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. He was arrested for organizing the underground party and spent sixteen years in prison. He led the 1948 communist takeover of Hungary and ruled as a dictator. The Post-Stalin Thaw and the 1956 revolution removed him from power, and he died in the Soviet Union. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Budapest and began negotiations for the complete withdrawal of the Red Army. A government headed by Imre Nagy was formed; he was trusted by most of the population to lead the country toward democracy. His government included János Kádár and Colonel Pál Maléter, one of the rebel leaders.

On 1 November, however, some prominent Communists, including János Kádár and Ferenc Münnich, disappeared. They left Budapest in Soviet vehicles. By then, fresh Soviet divisions, 200,000 Soviet soldiers and 2,000 heavy tanks and fighting vehicles, were in Hungary. On 4 November, a Sunday, while a Hungarian delegation was negotiating with Soviet representatives about the troop withdrawal, they were treacherously arrested by NKVD operatives led by General Serov. A concerted attack was made on Budapest and other centers of revolutionary activity. In desperation, the Nagy government declared Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and asked for help from the United Nations.

The Soviet attack was swift and overwhelming. It was aided indirectly by the preoccupation of Western powers with the Suez crisis and by the impending U.S. election. The Nagy government eventually took asylum in the Yugoslav embassy, trusting in Tito's sympathy for Hungary's independent course. But the Yugoslav leader betrayed the Hungarians.

Nagy and his entourage were forced to leave the Yugoslav embassy and were promptly arrested by NKVD troops. They were deported to Romania. For more than a year Hungary's legal prime minister was held prisoner in a foreign country. On 16 June 1958, after a short, closed trial, he and several members of his government were executed and secretly buried in unmarked graves.

Before the end of 1956, 200,000 Hungarians had fled to the West. János Kádár's betrayal of Imre Nagy and the brutal revenge that his police force exacted from the population in his name made him the most hated person in Hungary. His counterrevolutionary terror lasted well into the early 1960s. The atrocities and judicial murders were no less brutal and vicious than those in Rákosi's time.

By the mid-1960s, however, it was obvious that the reorganized Communist Party, now renamed the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MszMP), attracted only the most cynical opportunists. Marxist-Leninist ideology was but a dogma in which few believed. By 1968 the regime had grown desperate for legitimacy. It introduced a set of reforms (NEM) intended to stimulate the economy. These reforms were based on modified plans originally introduced by Imre

Nagy in his first premiership in 1954. They established the rights of individual peasant proprietors to cultivate private plots of land as part of their share in their collectives. They were permitted to sell their products on the open market at uncontrolled prices. This way the peasantry's unmitigated hatred for the collectives (reestablished in 1959–1961) was somewhat eased. The prices of essential consumer goods (such as bread, sugar, flour, and meat) were still subsidized and regulated. The state retained its monopoly on foreign trade, but controls over internal trade were relaxed.

The reforms brought about unprecedented economic activity. They also brought a certain measure of prosperity for Hungary. The stores soon filled up with long-missed consumer goods, and the population began to recover from the misery to which it had been subjected since 1947. Commerce with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, which brought in automobiles and other industrial products such as freezers and television sets, began to expand. Hungarians were increasingly permitted to visit relatives and friends abroad, and a trickle of former refugees, now citizens of their adopted countries, began visiting Hungary. The press was permitted to criticize lower Party officials for misusing their power. But there were also taboos that could not be touched: no one was permitted to question Soviet-Hungarian relations, and the revolution of 1956 could be discussed only in derogatory terms.

In August 1968 Hungary participated in the suppression of the Prague Spring, which seemed to confirm the Kádár line, namely, that no independent course was possible for the Eastern European Soviet satellites. In time, however, Kádár took a further step; he coopted many Hungarian intellectuals if they were willing to abide by his rules. These rules were determined by subjects that were supported, others that were tolerated, and again others that were forbidden. Those who refused to cooperate had to keep silent. But the Kádár regime needed experts in technical fields and had to support talented individuals in these areas regardless of their political opinions. Thus Kádár adopted the slogan, originally coined by Imre Nagy, that "those who are not against us are with us." Nevertheless, this was not a regime moving toward democracy. Kádár remained an old-fashioned dictator whose word was final.

All in all, however, Hungarians began slowly to prosper. The country was becoming, as the popular saying went, "the happiest barrack in the socialist camp." Kádár was gradually accepted as the architect of a better life. This was the basis of his own *Ausgleich* (compromise); as long as life continued to improve and forbidden subjects were left alone, his system was accepted. The populations of other Eastern European socialist countries watched Hungary with envy. Soon Western reporters were claiming that Kádár could win even in a free election, but of course their assertion was never tested.

In 1972 there was a slowdown in the reform process. Further reforms were stopped or were even reversed. It seems that Kádár went too far. There were complaints by hardliners that the peasants were too greedy and that they earned more than industrial workers in whose name socialism was being built. Instead of paying more to workers, Kádár decided to tighten the screws on the peasants. The new policy, however, backfired. Food production slowed down, and there were empty shelves in the stores, forcing Kádár to hastily reverse course. Then the oil crisis of 1973 hit Hungary hard. Although the Soviet Union continued to supply Hungary with oil and natural gas at somewhat below world market prices, the subsequent reordering of the world market created great difficulties. The opening to the West that Kádár attempted faced grave difficulties. Hungary's industry was not modern enough to compete. The volume of exports declined while production costs continued to increase. Yet Hungary was able to obtain loans from Western banks, and these loans eventually reached US$20 billion. Kádár's greatest mistake was that he did not insist on using the loans for the modernization of Hungary's industry. Instead, the loans were used for subsidizing products that otherwise could not be sold, especially for products delivered to the Soviet Union. Therefore Hungary's loans were actually helping the Brezhnev leadership postpone *their* economic reform program. The repayment and interest charges on the Western loans soon became a real burden for Hungary. Kádár tried to hide the fact from the population, but by the mid-1980s, his compromise had begun to unravel.

The ascendance of Mikhail Gorbachev to power signaled a real turning point. Eastern European communist leaders learned soon enough that they could no longer count on Soviet tanks, nor could they call in the KGB to help out in case of difficulties. At the same time, intellectuals were emboldened to demand greater freedom of expression, and dissent increased. Suddenly history became a very important subject. Its practitioners, both amateurs and professionals, increasingly resorted to underground publications to inform their readers about an alternative to "official" Marxist-Leninist history. This was particularly damaging in Kádár's Hungary, where the true history of the 1956 revolution remained a sore point in the nation's memory. The Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history, long questioned, lost its last vestiges of credibility.

Kádár was becoming old and feeble, yet he clung to power. Perhaps he believed that he alone knew how to deal with the "Soviet comrades." But younger members of his party's central committee were becoming restless. In March 1988, at a meeting of the political committee of the HSWP, János Kádár was relieved of his post as first secretary. The Kádár era was over. Károly Grósz, a gray apparatchik, became his successor, and Rezső Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, and others took the reins of the Party into their hands.

The Communist Party created by Kádár could not survive his demise. Dissenting voices could be heard even at the highest levels of the Party. Imre Pozsgay broke with his colleagues first. On the basis of a study concluded by members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he proclaimed that the 1956 "events" were a popular uprising against abuses by the Party. Suddenly he was not alone, and the hardliners were in a minority. In May 1989 Kádár was retired. In June, Kádár's victims were reburied in the presence of hundreds of thousands of mourners. On the day Imre Nagy was rehabilitated, Kádár died, a lonely man, not hated but considered irrelevant.

Miklós Németh, a young member of the Party's political committee, formed a new government with dynamic young supporters. Németh soon declared the complete separation of the government from the Party. The new minister of education, Ferenc Glatz, a historian, abolished the compulsory teaching of the Russian language and Marxism in the schools. Gyula Horn, the minister of foreign affairs, began to forge an independent foreign policy for the Hungarian state. In the summer of 1989 President George Bush visited Hungary and delivered a rousing speech at the Economics University (formerly named for Karl Marx).

In October the last congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party was held. It was dominated by the reformers, who beat back several attempts by hardliners demanding "administrative measures" to restore the Party to power. In the end, the Party declared itself dissolved. Two successors emerged, one led by the reformers who took the name Hungarian Socialist Party, and the other the old MszMP. Both parties proved irrelevant in the new order. By then a multiparty system was rising in Hungary.

In the first free elections held since 1945, in June 1990, a new party called the Hungarian Democratic Forum emerged as the strongest, with 24 percent of the total votes. Its closest rival, the left-of-center Association of Free Democrats (SzDSz) gained 21 percent. The revived Smallholders Party and a new Christian Democratic Party gained 11 percent and 7 percent respectively. The Socialist Party received 11 percent, and the most dynamic party, the Alliance of Young Democrats, received 10 percent of the votes.

The Németh government had already committed itself to the democratic reorganization of Hungarian society. It opened the border with Austria to a flood of East German refugees. This indirectly contributed to the collapse of the Honecker regime in East Germany. Soon Czechoslovakia followed with its "Velvet Revolution," and the Eastern European segment of the Soviet empire dissolved.

In July 1990 the freely elected Hungarian parliament approved the formation of a coalition government headed by József Antall from the Hungarian Democratic Forum. Negotiations with the Soviet government were already under way for the complete removal of Soviet troops from Hungary. An agreement signed in March 1990 stipulated that all Soviet personnel and military equipment had to leave by July 1991.

The Warsaw Pact dissolved in March 1991. The Antall government rapidly moved toward the establishment of an economic system based on the private ownership of property. The last vestiges of communist rule were being removed; the media were now completely free and often criticized the government with great enthusiasm.

During the 1990s, genuinely autonomous associations of a newly forming civil society once again began to emerge. By 1993, more than 10,000 new voluntary associations had been registered, ranging from the Chamber of Society and the Alliance of Social Associations to such special-interest bodies as the Chamber of Retired Persons, the Associations of the Virgin Mary, the Association of Friends of the Arts, or the Association of Danubian Fishermen.

Neither democracy nor civil society can exist without each other, and this is why the strengthening of civil society is such an important phenomenon in the current history of the Hungarian nation. This development promises to bring about the renewal of Hungarian culture as well as the democratization of society. The flowering of civil society is one of the best guards to block the rise of authoritarian trends. This is true even when the number of such associations appears to be excessive, or when their aims and interests are too varied or deviate too far from society's general mores. The teaching of tolerance and ethical behavior will have to be included in the curricula of all schools. Only such a nationwide effort can lead to success and provide for a favorable environment for the full development of democratic institutions.

Hungarian democracy could be an achieved fact within a very short time. If the problems of the economy created by nearly four decades of mismanagement can be solved, Hungary should enter a new era of prosperity the likes of which it has not recently experienced. This may all end in a debacle, however; as early as 1991, old "values" emerged in Hungary, among them nationalism, anti-Semitism, and impatience with dissenting opinions. Unless strong efforts are made to avoid the pitfalls represented by such trends, Hungary may find itself in a precarious position once again.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Perhaps nothing has had as great an influence on the development of Hungarian culture as its transitory, borderline nature, rooted in Hungary's location and reinforced by recurring clashes between civilizations. When Magyars first settled in the Carpathian Basin some 1,100 years ago, they brought with them a strong sense of ethnic identity and a set of cultural values. In time, their national identity and their culture were forced to evolve to accommodate (more or less successfully) the diverse coinhabiting ethnic groups. One might ask, in light of the above, how were Hungarians able to preserve their culture, unique language, and ethnic characteristics? Other peoples in the region—Huns, Avars, Yazygs, Cumans, or for that matter Romans—simply disappeared, and their cultures also disappeared or were swallowed up by latecomers.

Around the year 1000, the newly created kingdom of Hungary was accepted into the Christian community of European nation-states; thus it became a border outpost of Christianity. The freshly (and not all that easily) converted Hungarians became soldiers in the service of a militant faith. Along with peoples of the Balkan peninsula, the Bohemian Czechs, the Poles, and the Lithuanians (Christianized a few centuries later), they became guardians protecting the eastern edge of feudal Europe against the continuous incursion of aggressive newcomers from the East.

There was much to learn. Beyond the strict, often harsh discipline of Christianity, which prescribed building churches, supporting a clerical hierarchy through taxes, and abandoning old ways, the move away from nomadic pastoralism called for permanent settlements, adopting agriculture as a primary support of life, and accepting centralized authority, giving up the rough individual "freedom and equality" of their former tribal existence. Slavery, for example, was not unknown in nomadic societies, but it was by and large limited to captive outsiders or individuals punished for transgressions. The overwhelming majority of Magyars at the time of the settling were free and equal individuals, obeying their tribal chiefs out of personal loyalty, which was earned through a combination of individual virtue, leadership abilities, and success. The new ways called for the establishment of dynasties (houses), whose members succeeded to the throne in accordance with rigid rules and whose all-encompassing authority was supported not only by secular force but also by the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church. Refusing to obey a royal command was not only a severely punishable crime, it also became a sin, a transgression against the divinely sanctioned order of the world, condemning the offender to eternal damnation.

The "new ways" were introduced into newly Christianized Hungary by representatives sent from neighboring countries. These were realms in which both Christianity and the prevailing social order of Europe, feudalism, were firmly established. Clergymen, courtiers, and knights arrived from mostly German-speaking lands immediately west of Hungary.

Hungary's rulers were relentless in enforcing the new order, and they succeeded in creating a new European nation out of their reluctant subjects. Peace, stability, and order resulted from the adoption of the new ways. At the same time, there arose a sense of losing individual freedoms and ethnic identity, and this vague but persistent dissatisfaction continued to run as a thread through Hungarian history.

Two elements of this attitude are especially worth mentioning. The old ways were held to be worth preserving and in order to support this position, were presented in an unrealistic, romanticized manner. It was asserted that the pre-Christian, pre-European ways of life—pseudonomadic pastoralism, combined with a raid-and-trade attitude toward their neighbors—suited the Hungarians naturally, served them well and brought them victories, security, and success. Supporters of this view, of course, ignored the disastrous defeats suffered by Hungarian raiders in the mid-tenth century and the tightening ring of hostile alliances surrounding the Carpathian Basin. Sooner or later, these factors would have forced Hungarians to choose between retreating to the steppe lands or being militarily eliminated.

The new ways were also opposed because they were introduced and often enforced by foreigners, whom Hungarians, having extensive experience with duplicity and betrayal during their long migration through Central Eurasia, never came fully to trust. This attitude may have originated from the archetypal suspicion that the proselytizer-civilizer (or liberator) has ulterior motives, wishing to tame or even subjugate the unsuspecting object of his attention. In fact, there were to be numerous episodes throughout history when such antiforeign suspicion appeared to be justified. The territory of Hungary came to be a desirable piece of real estate and figured prominently in the expansionist designs of neighbors.

This is not to suggest that Hungary ever became inhospitable. Nor could Magyars afford to become hostile to non-Magyars. From its beginnings, the country's population was marked by ethnic and linguistic (and later denominational) diversity, which was welcomed by rulers and subjects alike. The first king, István, married a Bavarian princess, Gizella, who brought with her a retinue of "Germans." The practice was followed throughout the rule of the Árpád dynasty, and the influx of foreigners swelled when rulers invited settlers, especially Saxons from German lands, to repopulate regions devastated by the 1241 Mongol devastation. Throughout these centuries, the number of original Slavic and Romanian coinhabitants grew and was augmented by new immigrants, attracted by the wealth and hospitality of the Hungarian land.

The nation's culture was beginning to show signs of division along a different line. While the rural majority lived their lives in the traditional way, altered only superficially by the regulations imposed by the Catholic Church and their lords, the ruling elite pursued a lifestyle and accepted standards of behavior that were Western European and communicated in Latin. Until the sixteenth century, we know of only a few fragments of texts that were written in the Hungarian language. Perhaps the best known among them is a bilingual Latin-Hungarian funeral oration from the early thirteenth century.

Education was under the control of the Catholic Church and was limited to learning rudimentary Latin and a modicum of theological, rhetorical, and musical skills needed to perform Christian services. Before the eighteenth century, attempts to establish full-fledged universities on Hungarian soil proved to be short-lived. Learning beyond the middle grades had to be sought abroad, at Italian, French, or German universities, where secular, humanist approaches were beginning to make inroads. Graduates of these universities were the pioneers of literary and scientific activities in Hungarian. They were also the first secular men (less frequently women) of letters. Going beyond the limits of their religious education, many of them became wandering intellectuals in the service of lords or rulers, since there was no literate public to support their literary activities. Among these freelancers, Sebestyén Tinódi, the lutanist chronicler of the sixteenth-century anti-Ottoman struggle, stands out. The outstanding men of letters in late Renaissance Hungary, however, were of more privileged status: Janus Pannonius, the learned humanist cleric and one of King Mátyás's closest advisers, who recorded his impressions in witty Latin poetry; Bálint Balassi, the dispossessed aristocrat who used Hungarian to craft lyrical poems about his amorous attachments and his soldiering, which took him to a battlefield death; and Miklós Zrinyi, the *ban* of Croatia and daring military commander of the southern borderlands, who penned epics dedicated to the nation's defense and sharply worded prose on public affairs.

The teachings of the Protestant reformers, especially Calvin, reached Hungary in the middle of the sixteenth century and spread rapidly. There was no need to be a Roman Catholic to be distinguished from the invading Muslim Turks (who were generally tolerant of nonbelievers; nonbelievers, after all, were the *reaya* [flock] whose taxes maintained the sultan's magnificence and power). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Calvinism came to be seen as the true Hungarian religion, while Roman

Catholicism increasingly was identified with the Habsburg Empire. The majority of Hungarians became Calvinists, which meant being both a non-Muslim and an opponent of the Austrian-German Habsburgs at the same time. Protestant organizations also took over some of the culture-preserving functions of the Roman Catholic Church. Not surprisingly, successive Habsburg governments considered Calvinist Hungarians especially rebellious and independent minded.

The Protestant Reformation also energized Hungarian writing. Beginning with the translation of the Bible (first accomplished by the Calvinist Gáspár Heltai in 1551, and soon to be followed by Catholic translations) and religious texts, professional writers of hymns, homilies, and religious propaganda appeared among Catholics as well as among followers of the new denominations. The spreading practice of book printing (the first application of which was a short-lived shop set up in Buda in 1472) brought literacy to more and more commoners, though schooling was still far from universal.

The virtual state of war, imposed by the Turkish military presence as much as by the struggle between the various domestic factions, slowed Hungary's cultural progress. It was only after the Ottoman occupation ended in 1699, and decades later, when the anti-Habsburg *kuruc* struggles came to an end, that Hungarians could consider rebuilding and reorganizing their country. The independence campaigns led by Thököly and Rákóczi produced a large amount of rebellious songs, a few issues of a periodical publication, and touching philosophical memoirs by the exiled leaders.

There was, however, a new threat represented by the Habsburg court's announced aim to remake Hungarians into German-speaking, Catholic, and obedient subjects. The Catholic Counter-Reformation succeeded to a great extent, and the resources of the devastated country just as quickly came under the control of Habsburg or pro-Habsburg aristocrats. Indeed, much of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hungary's culture—from postsecondary education to scientific work and theater—was shaped on the baroque Austrian-German model. During the heated seventeenth-century struggle between Protestants and Catholics, many writers devoted their talent to producing religious texts, supporting their denomination and attacking the opposition. Among the best known of these writers was Péter Pázmány, who was archbishop of Esztergom, a patron of Hungarian education, and a particularly effective polemicist.

Transylvania, Hungary's easternmost province, escaped direct Ottoman occupation by virtue of its location and skillful diplomats. As a consequence, it did not suffer huge population losses, and it remained a relatively wealthy, orderly, and even powerful political entity. It preserved some "ancient freedoms" for many of its citizens, wise and enlightened government practices, a relatively peaceful coexistence among its ethnic groups, and a considerable degree of religious tolerance in an increasingly intolerant region. As a result, Transylvania became a bridge between the various neighboring cultures, a haven for refugees, and a place where such cultural activities as book printing, the funding of schools, scientific research, and even artistic, literary, and musical undertakings were favored and patronized. This golden age of Transylvania nurtured multiethnic urban centers, accomplished scientists, and a number of internationally recognized printers.

After surviving between "two pagans" (as a contemporary Hungarian writer described the Ottoman and Habsburg threats to his nation's independence), Hungarians stubbornly resisted all Habsburg attempts to turn them into German speakers. At times, during the kuruc campaigns of Thököly and Rákóczi, they even accepted Turkish alliance to frustrate Vienna's imperial plans. There was a rationale behind such an "anti-European" behavior. While the Ottoman occupation was exploitative and often brutal, turning all non-Muslims into second-class citizens, it interfered little with the Hungarians' way of community life, their religious practices, or their cultural activities. Conversion to Islam was rarely attempted by force, nor were Hungarians required to learn to speak Turkish. As for the Habsburgs, their claim to the Hungarian throne was legally sound, and the role of Habsburg-led Christian armies in the country's liberation was undeniable. It was also recognized by many Hungarians that Habsburg efforts to modernize and "civilize" Hungary had the potential to improve the everyday life of its population. In spite of this, the growing Austrian influence on Hungarian life, bolstered by the growing Habsburg military-administrative control, soon came to be considered as far more dangerous to national identity than the Ottoman threat ever was.

Recurring struggles against armed Hungarian insurgents and the stubborn legalistic obstructions raised by the Hungarian county administrations prompted the Viennese court to moderate its goal of Germanizing the country, choosing instead to enlist the aristocracy in its empire building. With the court's promise to respect the nation's "time-honored" institutions, the lords of Hungary were allowed to maintain their feudal practices (including serfdom, which kept the rural poor tied to the land and subject to harsh exploitation) in exchange for which they were expected to become loyal to the ruling house. Since many of the aristocrats, not all of whom were ethnic Magyars, benefited from the redistribution of properties after the Turks were expelled, the bargain was not difficult to make. There were even certain elements of this cooperation that ended up benefiting the Hungarian language and literature. Empress Maria Theresa gathered a number of young nobles from Hungary into a guard unit. The intent was to civilize and tame these young men by exposing them to the cosmopolitan life of the court, but a number of these former guards decided to transplant what they had learned in Vienna to their native soil. Their writings may have been imitative of baroque sentimentality, but they wrote the first novels, dramas, and scientific books in Hungarian.

The bargain prevailed until the 1780s, when the Habsburg court, motivated by a combination of rationalist governing principles and absolutist tenets of royal authority, mounted an attack against the Hungarian language and culture. This was the wrong time to irritate the already suspicious Magyars and widen the rift between them and Vienna. Nurtured by the ideas of the Enlightenment and

Mathematics and Sciences

Scholarly research and discovery have a long tradition in Hungary that began at the end of the fifteenth century and gained worldwide recognition starting in the eighteenth century. The Bolyais, Farkas Bolyai (1775–1856) and later his son, János Bolyai (1802–1860), pioneers of non-Euclidean geometry, achieved international recognition for their work. Hungarians assumed an increasingly active role in scientific and intellectual life.

Loránd Eötvös (1848–1919), after whom the University of Budapest is named, was the greatest Hungarian scientist of theoretical and experimental physics. Eötvös's research resulted in the so-called Eötvös Law (1866), which Albert Einstein considered a pillar of his theory of relativity. For many years Eötvös studied the problem of gravity and designed the world-renowned Eötvös torsion balance (pendulum), which is still used all over the world for gravity measurements and for geophysical explorations.

In the late nineteenth century two Hungarian schools of mathematics gained prominence: one group worked at the Technical University of Budapest, another at the University of Kolozsvár-Cluj (which later moved to Szeged). Perhaps the best-known representative of this generation was János (von) Neumann (1903–1957), a 1927 Budapest Ph.D. who later joined Princeton's Institute for Advanced Studies. He developed the binary code, the basic element of modern computer operations, pioneered research in quantum mechanics, and participated in work leading to the development of the atomic bomb. Others in the same field included John G. Kemény (1926–1994), a mathematician on the Manhattan Project, one of Einstein's assistants, and codeveloper of BASIC computer language, and Pál Erdős (1913–1997), whose interest was focused on the theory of numbers and the calculus of probabilities.

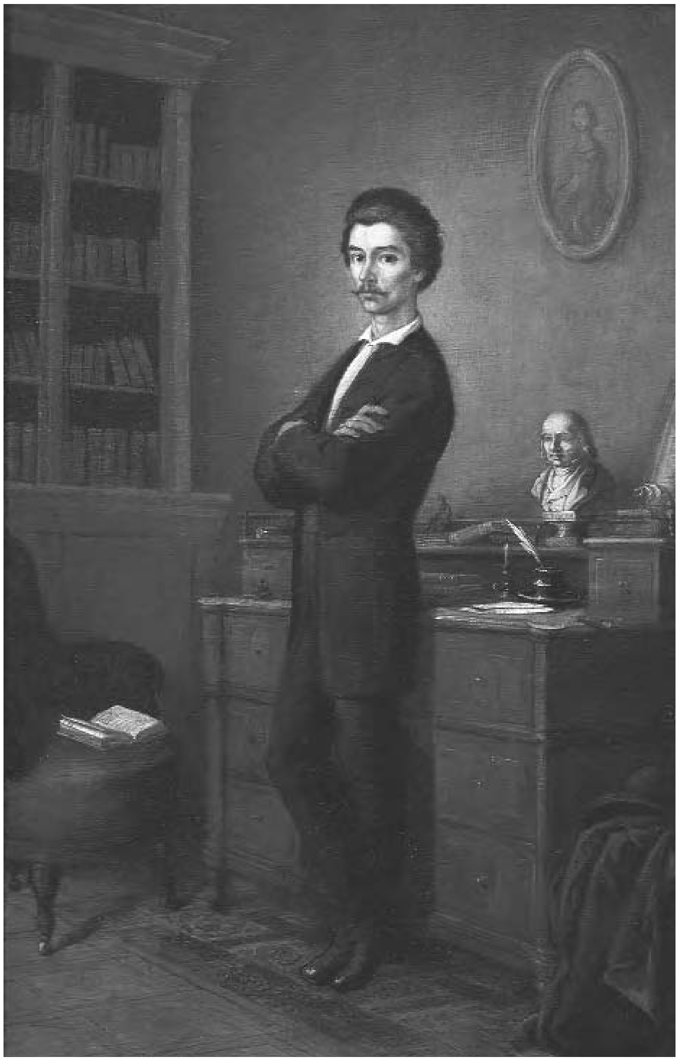
Three Hungarian-born physicists, Edward Teller, Leó Szilárd, and Eugene P. Wigner, worked closely with Enrico Fermi. The four of them persuaded Albert Einstein to write his historic letter in 1939 to President Franklin Roosevelt that led to the start of the Manhattan Project, making them the primary architects of the atomic age. Teller was later instrumental in the development of the hydrogen bomb, submarine-launched rockets, and the conceptualization of the Star Wars missile defense system, while Szilárd became an advocate for the peaceful use of atomic energy and the international control of nuclear weapons, efforts for which he received the Atoms for Peace Award in 1959.

romanticism, a new political attitude—modern political nationalism—appeared on the scene. The 1784 language ordinance of Emperor Joseph II ordered that all official business in the Habsburg Empire be conducted in the German language. There were good reasons for issuing this edict: the unification and modernization of the multilingual empire and the need to rationalize the state and municipal administrations justified such a step from the point of view of enlightened absolutism. Nevertheless, the imperial edict awakened the national pride of the nation's intellectual elite.

A broader awakening of national identity was also taking place. It was prepared by the continent-wide thirst for knowledge and self-knowledge known as the Enlightenment, combined with ideas engendered by the French Revolution and the attitude of romanticism, with its emphasis on "the spirit of peoples." The first two were applicable in the sciences and in politics, while romanticism championed the cause of cultural diversity, as expressed by the multitude of languages. It became fashionable to use Hungarian, not just at home but in writing for the public.

It was found, however, that the long underutilized and marginalized Hungarian language was not fully capable of conveying the notions of the times. A few committed intellectuals set out to remedy this by initiating an energetic language reform movement, the major cultural initiative of the 1820s, unconnected to any religion. Led by the most enlightened minds of the times, first among them Ferenc Kazinczy, the movement promoted the rediscovery of ancient Magyar words and the creation of new ones in accordance with the sense and music of the language, and the use of this renovated language in all spheres of life. The efforts of the language innovators were opposed, and their excesses often ridiculed, but their ranks were swelled by the best writers and publicists of the times, and they proved to be victorious in a few decades. One gem of the reform movement is Hungary's national anthem, written by Ferenc Kölcsey, a moving masterpiece that stood the test of time very well.

The reformed and invigorated Hungarian language was put enthusiastically to use by the great generation of poets and writers during the century's middle decades. Central among them was Sándor Petőfi, whose name still evokes the native genius of Hungarian poetry. A descendant of a lower middle-class rural family, thoroughly assimilated into Hungarian life although of Slavic descent, Petőfi was the quintessential poet of his age. Somewhat of a social misfit, he dedicated his entire short life to poetry. Folk elements provided much of his early inspiration, combined with sentimental, but always fresh, themes of love. When he joined a circle of like-minded dissidents in Pest, who came to be known as the Young Hungary movement, his lyricism took on an increasingly radical republican edge,



Sándor Petőfi *[the poet],* in His Study, *by György Vastagh. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)*

which fit the spirit of the 1840s. His poem "National Song" is thought to be one of the sparks that set off the bloodless revolution of 15 March 1848, and Petőfi's name is as closely connected with the subsequent war of independence as those of Kossuth or the generals. Fittingly, the "comet of the revolution" was killed on a battlefield, probably by a Russian lancer, during the final days of Hungary's anti-Habsburg struggle. His poetry, easy to recite and difficult to translate, remains central to appreciating Hungarian literature.

Hungary's men of letters supported the revolutionary cause almost without exception, even if some of them lost hope, or accepted defeat, sooner than others. Brooding over the lost cause of national independence remained the central theme of cultural life for decades. Perhaps to explore the wealth of the Magyar language, or perhaps to get away from dismal reality and boast instead with past glories, a full-blown nationalist-romantic attitude made its appearance in literature, as well as in the music and arts of Hungary. Wealthy patrons and an enthusiastic public supported the creation of oversized paintings of historical events that still decorate public buildings, and the numerous Hungarocentric musical compositions of the period. In literature, the most popular and prolific representative of this escapist trend was Mór Jókai, who produced more than one hundred volumes of fiction in his long life. His novels and stories have been widely translated and remain on every Hungarian's reading list.

To complicate matters, the Kingdom's non-Magyar coinhabitants discovered their own ethnic identities at just about the same time as the ruling Magyars did. Their demands, in such areas as language rights or local school issues, were often diametrically opposed to perceived Hungarian national interests. At times, in fact, they appeared to threaten the continued existence of historical Hungary. The stage was thus set for bitter interethnic struggle in various areas of public life. Yet, until the mid-nineteenth century, the Hungarian public remained quite tolerant toward national minorities and their cultural aspirations. After 1849, however, things changed. The nationalities, especially the Romanians and the Croats, played an active military role in defeating the Hungarian revolutionary cause, and this was long remembered. Magyar nationalists now called for an assertive program of assimilating ethnic groups into Hungarian culture. Some of the best minds called for moderation and tolerance in this regard, but their views were seldom heeded, with disastrous consequences for interethnic relations in the coming decades.

The late-nineteenth-century modernization of Hungary (now as the larger half of the Dual Monarchy created by the 1867 compromise) brought both positive and negative results. Railroads and factories were built and an excellent industrial system for cloth and food production was created. The cities, especially Budapest, developed rapidly in the demographic, economic, and cultural sense alike. At the same time, the nation's social problems remained unsolved: the rural population lived in neglect and misery, and the common nobility—traditionally considered to be the nation's patriotic backbone—became the impoverished, déclassé gentry. Some of their members were absorbed by the civil service bureaucracy as low-level officials, while others became employees in business or manufacturing firms or managers of estates owned by aristocrats and foreign, largely Jewish absentee landlords. Hungary's gentry thus came to form a perpetually discontented segment of society. Its members considered themselves the traditional nation-making elements of the population. In their frequently and loudly expressed opinion, the "alien" industrialists and financiers (many of them foreign born or Jewish) marginalized and oppressed "true Magyars," and hastened the destruction of Hungarian culture. As they saw it, that culture could be found only in the villages, whose dwellers were "bravely struggling" for survival against the "alien" cities.

Budapest was the proud capital of dualist Hungary, with its smokestacks, cafés, ever taller apartment buildings, electric streetcars, and a population that in 1910 was more than one-quarter Jewish, German, and otherwise non-Magyar. Moreover, the city's cultural and intellectual life was decisively altered. Budapest was now a metropolis, where a well-educated citizenry sought out its own kind of news and entertainment. The scores of daily newspapers and theaters, along with the clubs, cafés, and other signs of modern urban life turned the nation's capital into a separate, at times indeed contrasting, entity in the heart of the country.

Budapest's artists and intellectuals held the key to modernizing the taste and outlook of Hungarian readers, acquainting them with new styles and radically different attitudes concerning various aspects of their society. They gravitated toward newly established journals of arts and opinion, of which *Nyugat* (West) had the greatest impact. Started in 1906, it immediately attracted a talented corps of contributors, among them Endre Ady, Hungary's preeminent modern poet, who broke with all traditions in form and content alike. He and his followers broadened the scope of Hungarian literature, leaving behind the adoration of rural (populist) traditions, and often braving the extreme limits of the public's tolerance on such matters as religion or patriotism. While most of them were ethnic Magyars, of gentry background, their writings appeared in publications often financed or edited by non-Magyars. The new bourgeoisie of the capital was generous in supporting culture, but it wanted its own culture. This enabled the traditionalists to set up the dichotomy between Budapest and "real Hungary" (a depiction that is sometimes detectable even in today's attitudes).

By the twentieth century, the conservative national movement, by now fossilized into formalism, was still in official command of cultural life. The man who for decades was recognized as the leading writer of semifeudal Hungary was Ferenc Herczeg, a "gentleman writer" who began by describing the life and pastimes of the urban gentry—a devil-may-care life lived with elegant nonchalance—and he described it with the facility of a confirmed insider. He was genuinely favored by this class, which went so far as to identify itself with the nation. It is their position and problems that we see reflected and solved in Herczeg's (once widely read) historical novels and plays. Bitterly opposed to any new literary trend, Herczeg was lauded as "author laureate" of interwar Hungary. His most durable works are a number of short stories, written with a technique similar to Maupassant's, in which he gives a realistic portrayal of his environment. By this time, however, a new Hungarian culture—still fraught with contradictions—was already in the making.

The urbanizing wave of 1890 produced only initial and ambiguous results—a ferment was aroused, a restless searching for new ways; the rising Hungarian urban bourgeoisie found its voice. At the outset, the new trends found a literary organ in the review *A Hét* (The Week), started in 1890 under the editorship of József Kiss, a successful Jewish poet. Although uneven in content, it managed to rally more than one writer seeking a way out of the suffocating atmosphere of formalism that overhung the literary scene at the end of the century. Intellectually alert and lively in tone, marked by an urbanism that mocked at rigid authority, *A Hét* strove, in essence, to create a modern, big-city literature as opposed to the manorial provincialism of the traditionalist school.

Throughout Europe, a dominant trend and school of thought of the period was naturalism, calling for a more profound, unvarnished, raw representation of life, a greater emphasis on psychological analysis, a physiological and biological outlook, free thought, antireligious views, and materialism. The new poetry was characterized largely by a loosening of old forms and manners, and a freshness, lightness, and urbanism of content. Among the forerunners of modern Hungarian culture we find writers, each speaking in his own individual voice, who were representatives of critical realism, cultivating chiefly the psychological short story. The careers of nearly all of them, after promising starts in the last decade of the nineteenth or the early years of the twentieth century, were soon to be broken off as some died young, others lost interest, or their ambition spent itself.

The modern era of Hungarian literature, which began to take shape around the turn of the century, is usually regarded as dating from 1905 when Endre Ady first appeared on the scene with his entirely new intonation in poetry. A fermentation began in cultural life, inseparable from the social turmoil. The Dual Monarchy was caught in constant crisis; the heterogeneous economic and social structure raised burning questions for which there was no solution; the poor peasantry began to stir; the organized working class gathered strength and a radical group formed within the middle class, small in number but aggressive and consistently fighting for bourgeois transformation.

The pioneers of this cultural revival sprang from different strata of the bourgeoisie and middle class. They followed diverse aims but were unanimous in their opposition to the derivative flatness and chauvinism, the sentimentality and the lack of higher aspirations that characterized the dominant national literature; they were out for more advanced trends instead. They had a healthy interest in foreign works of philosophy, literature, music, and the arts. Owing to Hungary's peculiar historical and social background, many of the successive trends in the arts and literature of developed bourgeois countries made their impact felt simultaneously; Nietzsche and Bergson, Spencer and the positivists, Baudelaire and the French symbolist poets, the naturalists and their opponents, the soft-toned fin de siècle lyrics of Vienna and the slum poetry of German naturalism, all arrived and found followers at about the same time. A strong influence on the prose genres was exercised by the great critical realists—Tolstoy, Ibsen, and France; no less was the effect of Dostoevsky and Zola. Yet all this was not mere imitation; the writers of the period were consciously adhering to, and wished to carry on, the traditions of Hungarian literature. Interest revived for everything that was truly national and genuinely vernacular. From the mannerism of the end-of-century sham populism, creative intellectuals turned toward the original treasures of Hungarian peasant culture and of Hungary's past, to find those models of harmony and perfection that had ceased to exist in their own epoch.

The world outlook and political consciousness of the new literary movement was very diverse. Some of the writers were motivated by no more than a search for new tones, new flavors, new sensations, new styles. There were those who realized that the revolution in letters heralded a social transformation, and that the literary tumult was necessarily linked with ideas and was part of the fight for a new Hungary.

Some only fought for the consistent application of liberal views, for full freedom of writing; others strove for a ruthless exposure of reality. Often these conflicting aspirations would be apparent not only in the same review or within the same literary coterie, but also in the various stages of the careers of individual artists, writers, and critics. Two tendencies were distinguishable, both in the review *Nyugat* and in the new literary movement: one of a more bellicose spirit, bent on politics, readily responding to changes, influenced by bourgeois radicalism, interested in socialism and emotionally siding with plebeian trends; the other leaning rather to liberal conservatism, with a nimble sense for everything new and artistic. The first can be characterized by the names of Endre Ady and Zsigmond Móricz, the second by those of Mihály Babits and Dezső Kosztolányi.

In its critical approach, however, the movement was lacking a defined and consistent program; its partisans and critics (Ernő Osvát, Aladár Schöpflin, Lajos Hatvany) saw the essence of their mission as waging war against conservative nationalism and made a point of linking the fresh values of the movement to the mainstream of national literature, and were otherwise advocating liberal views, the free evolution and self-assertion of the individual. The main combatants of *Nyugat,* their personalities and works, with Ady as their leader, became the subject of heated and loud polemics. Some of the conservatives borrowed weapons from the political armory (with charges like "high treason" and "alien mentality") and, to a lesser degree, fought with arguments of literary aestheticism.

The central figure and star of Hungarian literature, in fact of the entire cultural scene, was Ady, the greatest creative genius of Hungarian poetry after Sándor Petőfi. He was born into a family of lesser nobility, and received a Protestant education imbued with a passion for national independence in the *kuruc* tradition. He went to Debrecen to study law, but soon took up journalism. He was introduced to the world of theatre, literature, and journalism. A turning point in his life came at the end of 1899 when he went to Nagyvárad (today Oradea, Romania). In this bustling and spirited city, whose intellectual, political, and social life went far beyond that of the provinces, the backwardness of Hungary came home to Ady as a startling realization. He became first a convinced liberal, then an increasingly militant radical. Here also he emerged as a brilliant journalist with a sharp eye and farsighted knowledge. He came to represent Hungarian political journalism waging a spirited battle against chauvinism, obscurantism, and ignorance.

At first, Ady wrote the light, cynical parlor poetry of the fin de siècle, but his second volume showed his future greatness. In the summer of 1903, after many passing affairs, he fell in love with the attractive wife of a local businessman, Léda. Theirs was a great, sensuous, tormenting love and it gave birth to hundreds of outstanding poems. It was with Léda's support that Ady went to Paris in 1904 and in 1906–1907. The trips were liberating and stimulating; he saw the justification of what he had been trying to formulate at home. Those were the years when the French radicals began their secularizing campaign and seeing this affected Ady's ongoing dispute with clericalism. He also came to see the contradictions of bourgeois democracy and the controlling role of wealth. At times this realization would make him embrace Nietzsche and plunge him into disillusion and despair; at other moments it would make him feel that social conditions (in France and Hungary alike) called for radical political changes.

After his Paris visits, Ady's verse was entirely different from anything that Hungarian poetry had produced up to that time in both tone and message. His first volume of this type of verse, *Új versek* (New Poems; 1906), was followed by a rapid succession of other innovative volumes, along with a torrent of short stories and newspaper articles. What was the striking novelty of his writing? Ady's was a great self-contained world, his language was powerful and individual; the wide range of his themes included the heroes, ideas, and movements of Hungarian national history, including the disappointing contemporary vision of the "Hungarian wasteland"; the agony of the poet in a materialist world, fighting a "Great Lord with the Boar's Head." Another group of themes included the thousand and one aspects of love, the unashamed presentation of his love for Léda, songs of all the warped complexities of love, and evocations of passing, sensual love affairs. Another strand was that of poems evoking death, fleeting time, downfall, fear, and solitude, verses that conveyed the restlessness, strain, and worries of the modern big city dweller, seeking refuge in God or quarreling with God. Two new themes of crucial importance were the proclamation of his historical mission and a repeated evocation of his own personality. Ady's poetry was at the same time modern and ancient; it was also in the mainstream of the latest European intellectual trends and rooted in the time-honored core of Magyar tradition. The richness of his verbal flow, and the multitude of his own coinages or revivals from the archaic vocabulary of the language combined into a fascinating idiom, unlike that of anybody else.

The other outstanding figure of twentieth-century Hungarian literature, also a member of the *Nyugat* circle, was Zsigmond Móricz, a master of Hungarian prose. After attending a distinguished Calvinist school, he became a divinity student and studied law, only to end up as a low-paid, conservative-minded country journalist in metropolitan surroundings. He was thirty when the *Nyugat* published his first short story "Hét krajcár" (Seven Pennies), making Móricz a celebrated writer. Ady's poetry and later friendship gave him stimulus and guidance, while his own stodgy, considerate temperament hailed the ardent self-consuming genius of the poet. From the writing of "Seven Pennies" until his death, Móricz's output was unbroken; he published one of the most voluminous and most impressive oeuvres in Hungarian literature. He attracted notice primarily as a new portrayer of peasant life, evoking the Hungarian village writhing in the stranglehold of the estate system, a world overshadowed by the figures of his peasant heroes. Yet some of Moricz's best novels and short stories portrayed the life of the Hungarian gentry at the turn of the century—a picture of decay going on behind a glittering facade. The effect thus produced was one of extraordinary authenticity.

Others from the *Nyugat* circle included Margit Kaffka, Hungary's first woman writer of note, a friend of Ady, who made her debut as a poet in the fin de siècle style. Subsequently, she took to writing short stories, intrigued by the problems that faced the modern woman—moral, social, human, and vocational problems. Endowed with great sensitivity and a gift for portraying the emotional life of her characters, she evolved an individual impressionistic staccato style and a way of creating atmosphere, introducing subjectivity into her description of objective processes, such as the decline of rural gentlefolk and the succession of generations. Hers was an impressionistic idiom, peculiarly emotional and charged with tension, attentive of details, and evocative. In November 1918 she died in the influenza pandemic that swept across Europe.

Among the poets of the period, Árpád Tóth stands out as a masterful lyricist and one of the most likable and original figures of the *Nyugat* generation. His writing speaks in the voice of a quiet, melancholy man, longing to find refuge in other, imaginary, worlds. Ady's tone found a continuation of great fidelity in the poetry of Gyula Juhász, a poet of landscapes, portraits, descriptions, and moods condensed into sonnets with strong pictorial quality, a keen sense of color and many ties with the traditions of Hungarian history and literature. His poetry of hopeless desire—the devoted pieces of the Anna Cycle addressed to the distant woman—are among the most often quoted masterpieces of Hungarian lyric poetry.

Not all *Nyugat* poets resembled Ady in tone or in lifestyle. In fact, two of his greatest contemporaries represented different trends. Mihály Babits was a great poet, novelist, essayist, and translator, the prime authority in Hungarian letters during the 1930s and an outstanding humanist. Fitting in well with the mildly conservative Hungarian intelligentsia at the turn of the century, marked by respect for classical culture and holding liberal views that had taken on a conservative complexion, the young provincial teacher believed in art for art's sake. He was a virtuoso in playing with styles, a master of verse forms displaying high artistry in his use of language, a thinking poet with a philosophical turn of mind, a master in bold and unusual verse constructions, and in the use of words. He avoided Ady's radical fervor and desire for action. In politics too, he leaned toward the conservative side; the mob scared and repulsed him. After the tragedies of World War I and the resulting Trianon treaty, he withdrew to the liberal-conservative stand of politically disinterested observer who entrenched himself behind aesthetic arguments. Babits came to the defense of all that was positive in culture and literature against challenges from the political side.

Dezső Kosztolányi's oeuvre is the most extensive and, in its influence, the strongest after that of Babits, so distant from Ady. He was born into provincial intelligentsia, the son of a teacher proud of his noble ancestry. He also took up journalism and settled in Budapest as a fashionable publicist. His poems—colorful, musical, and embodying a facility and high artistry of form—display all the requisites of the art nouveau. Kosztolányi was a sovereign artist and knew the secrets of the Hungarian language, which he loved passionately. In his novels and especially in his short stories, the best Hungarian linguistic heritage is allied with the polish and clarity of French; the pointed sentence construction of the early twentieth century is combined with sensuously colorful images. He was one of the most zealous adherents and propagators in Hungarian letters of the Freudian achievement.

Frigyes Karinthy achieved wide popularity as a humorous writer, even while he was one of the most versatile, many-sided talents of *Nyugat*. Born into a family of Budapest intellectuals and growing up as the prototype of a city dweller, the principal scenes of his life were the café, the editorial office, and the street. The meaning and essence of his work was to criticize and reassess the philosophy, social conditions, manners, and morality of his times, with an outlook that was a blend of French rationalism, Freudian interpretation, and respect for sciences. Philosophical thinking marks his short stories, reflections, and novels.

Gyula Krúdy was a truly singular figure. Born into the gentry, the impoverished provincial nobility, his life was that of the struggling Budapest journalist and author. He created a prose style of his own in which "atmosphere" overshadows plot and character development, and construction is dissolved in a web of reflections and rambling digressions, giving readers a peculiar dream world where present and past are blurred and blended together, and the characters lose their contours to dissolve into local color.

Running parallel to the *Nyugat* movement there existed, on the one hand, a more pungent, sardonic, militantly outspoken style giving utterance to the lower-middle-class outlook, as well as a neo-Catholic literary movement, and a type of Hungarian drama that attracted great popularity abroad. Ferenc Molnár was the most gifted among these playwrights. He started as a journalist, but soon became one of the best-known and most sought-after writers for the stage; his plays scored one success after another both abroad and at home. After World War I, he spent more and more time abroad, and he lived in New York until his death. Molnár was a many-sided author; his short stories and light sketches are the works of a sharp-eyed, perceptive man capable of caustic satire. His writing is stamped with some cynicism and, at the same time, a measure of often spurious sentimentalism. His most popular prose work is the much translated *A Pál-utcai fiúk* (The Paul Street Boys), a novel for adolescents that, by its unstudied and objective treatment of its subject, poignantly captures all the beauty and torment of childhood. Molnár's rise as a successful dramatist began with *Liliom* in 1909, a piece that is half drama, half mystery play, with the local color typical of Budapest in those days. (Based on this play, the musical *Carousel* was a great success on Broadway.)

Although many of Hungary's leading men of letters voiced criticism of the country's social order, few became committed leftists. This was especially true after the 133-day Republic of Councils in 1919, during which Hungarians gained their first and lasting impression of communism. One early figure of the organized socialist movement was Lajos Kassák, who roamed all over Europe, working in factories. He developed an individual style, reminiscent of those of Italian futurists and German expressionists. He became a revolutionary anarchist, a maverick both in literature and in politics, fiercely opposing both the Social Democrats and the meandering policies of the Communists.

Sports and Games

Centuries of living on the steppes of central Eurasia kept alive in Hungarians the urge to compete in physical activities, as these skills often ensured survival. This innate predisposition was encouraged throughout the centuries. During the Middle Ages, horseback riding and the use of various weapons was widely practiced. Physical education was among the earliest subjects introduced at the country's schools, and the most popular leaders of the nineteenth-century reform era, István Széchenyi, Lajos Kossuth, and Miklós Wesselényi, were themselves practicing athletes. The Physical Training Institute (later to become the College for Physical Education) was established in the nineteenth century to train coaches and athletes alike. Not surprisingly, when the Olympic games were revived in 1896, seven Hungarians competed against athletes of thirteen other nations and won two Gold, one Silver, and two Bronze Medals.

The tradition continued, even during periods of economic hardship and political oppression. In addition to seeking personal distinction (a kind of "nobility"), being a winner in sports also became a means through which young Hungarians could escape the limitations and restrictions in their lives. During the decades of Communist rule, for example, athletic skill qualified one to become a member of teams traveling to Western countries, a rare and coveted privilege.

Hungarians have been enthusiastic supporters of the modern Olympic Games, one of the few global venues in which the size or wealth of a nation does not necessarily determine the outcome of competition. During the first hundred years of the Games, Hungary won a total of 141 Gold, 123 Silver, and 151 Bronze Medals. The country's athletes have been particularly successful in water polo, soccer (although not recently), women's and men's swimming, boxing (with László Papp winning Gold Medals at three consecutive games), Greco-Roman wrestling, men's gymnastics, men's and women's fencing, the pentathlon, kayak and canoe racing, and table tennis.

The game of chess was brought to Hungary by Beatrix, queen of King Mátyás (1458–1490), who was an outstanding player of her time. In modern times, players such as József Szén and Géza Maróczy led the Hungarian team to several world championships. In recent decades, the Polgár sisters have achieved great success in world tournaments.

Several athletes of Hungarian birth or descent have become well-known in the United States, including the golfer Julius Boros, the Super Bowl champion New York Jets quarterback, "Broadway Joe" Namath, Larry Csonka of the Miami Dolphins, the place-kicking Gogolák brothers, the tennis star Monica Seles (Szeles), and the championmaking gymnastics coach Béla Károlyi.

Breeding and training dogs can be seen as a sport, even though Hungary's canines have more often been considered useful work mates than pets. The best-known Hungarian breed in the United States is the puli, a medium-sized dynamo with long black hair matted into dreadlocks, and a perpetual urge to herd something. A larger look-alike of the puli is the white komondor, also used for tending flocks as well as a formidable watchdog. The kuvasz, with retriever-like white hair of medium length, is a popular rural household dog. The vizsla, with smooth, reddish-gold hair and thoughtful eyes, is an excellent hunting companion, as is the agár, Hungary's variant of the speedy whippet, and the Transylvanian kopó, a black-and-white medium-size pointer.

Some Hungarian writers hailed the Bourgeois Revolution of 1918 and the Council Republic of 1919, looking to them for the solution to national and social problems. However, most of them became disillusioned even before those 133 days came to pass. In a way, the response to the Hungarian Council Republic became a cultural touchstone; every trend and every group took a stand for or against it.

A lost war, distorted revolutions, a harsh period of counterrevolutionary terror, and the overriding tragedy of the country's dismemberment by the Trianon peace treaty was a burdensome legacy that marked the interwar cultural life of Hungary. In 1920 a kingless kingdom of Hungary was established and consolidated, giving a strongly feudal character to the state, even though some capitalist development did take place. The establishment was conservative and proreligion; old prejudices and privileges were now mingling with chauvinism and a rising anti-Semitism.

In cultural life, as in other areas, the best minds of Hungary were seeking answers to some of the great problems of the age. Their struggle assumed various forms. Some saw the solution in improving Hungary's economic and social structure and a continuation of the bourgeois revolution; others in a land reform; yet others called for the demolition of the obsolete framework of the Hungarian state body. These trends dominated the culture of the period; they left their mark on almost all writing, whether political essay, descriptive poem, reportage, or pieces of sociography or journalism.

A host of writers, bringing a new mentality and coming from new social strata, appeared on the scene. A few self-educated writers from the poor peasantry and the working class had already entered the nation's cultural scene earlier. But it was during the interwar period when Hungary saw the rise of popular talent. A few of them came from the industrial working class, but far more from the ranks of land workers, poor peasants, and small farmers; they brought with them the gift of expressing deeply rooted emotions and representing formerly unknown domains of reality. Their emergence from the social depths did not necessarily coincide with a progressive world outlook, and certainly not with any radical ideology. But they combined their experience of life with awareness, and sometimes with progressive ideas, and gave birth to grand compositions in verse and prose.

This was also a time of striving after new forms appropriate to the demands of the times; it involved a more profound and differentiated rendering of the human frame of mind and behavior, a reshaping of literature to match the conditions of a changed world. All this led to thriving new forms in various genres such as the novel, the short story, the analytical poem, and so on.

Upon closer inspection, three main trends were distinguishable. The first was a trend toward the unsophisticated, the genuine, and the straightforward. A sincere desire was at work here to renew the means of expression in the arts and literature, to make them more creative by the addition of something that is at once new and old, simple and peculiarly intricate. This trend, which had its European counterparts, was associated in Hungary with two political drives (sometimes allied, more often divergent): a plebeian democratic movement and a right-leaning nationalist one.

The second trend ran parallel to European avant-garde movements. Its aim was to extend the expressive power of language; introducing new domains into the scope of literary representation; giving poetry a multiplicity of facets, rendered with greater passion and ardor; adding a measure of lyricism to the novel and a grain of epic to verse; setting off and giving greater prominence to the poet's ego or merging it in the community. Although the influence of the avant-garde movement on Hungarian literature was less decisive in determining its physiognomy than it was on the French or even the Czech, the results and achievements, viewed collectively from a higher angle, have left their traces with almost every writer of the age.

The third main trend was that of the analyzing intellect. It manifested itself in lyrics as a leaning toward philosophy, a strong bent for contemplation, a subtle analysis of the poet's personality, and a ready response to the slightest impulse, emotional or intellectual; partly in prose as the psychoanalytical approach and a more differentiated portrayal of milieu in the analytical novel. Scholarship was characteristic of these late *Nyugat* followers, sometimes called "a generation of essayists."

However, the greatest men of the epoch, who expressed the essential message of their times more convincingly than other contemporaries, were also receptive to many diverse trends and responsive to most new ideas. In Attila József and Béla Bartók, we find a popular simplicity of approach combined with avant-garde revolts and an analyzing intellect, all summed up and resolved in a classical harmony. Still, the official culture of Horthy's Hungary harkened back to the nationalist school of the late nineteenth century, in order to avoid the most radical aspects of the Nyugat followers. This traditional trend of Hungarian prose writing found a continuation in Ferenc Móra. He strived for a deeper and more diversified knowledge of Hungarian country life, of which he was a masterful interpreter endowed with the gifts of a fully individual style, mild irony, profound erudition, and a rare sense of humor.

The "third generation" of the *Nyugat* made its appearance in the 1930s under difficult conditions: the growing pressure of fascism and an increasingly dehumanized world bore down on its members. They arrived equipped with considerable learning in world literature and a high degree of responsiveness to foreign cultures, which suggested translation as an almost natural form of expression. By means of translations and essays, they tried to introduce into Hungarian culture and learning the assets of bourgeois literature as a quasi-defense against the cruelty of their age. Their ways branched off in many directions: some withdrew into splendid isolation, others sought refuge in irrationalism. Several eminent members of this generation were murdered by Nazism. The most gifted survivors, after periods of varying length, came perhaps grudgingly to approve of socialism.

A poet who is characteristic of this generation is Sándor Weöres. He was a boy when he first published his poems, and soon came to impress everyone by his superb mastery of form in almost every style and tone. A man of universal erudition, he translated everything from ancient Indian texts to T. S. Eliot. The basic themes of his poetry are the total senselessness of life and society, tinged with nihilism, trying to find consolation in irrationalist philosophies and pseudo-Oriental myths. World War II, and the years that have elapsed since, have confirmed his aloofness. He was a brilliant versifier and a great master of form; he has created an almost entirely new rhythmic pattern and held up bright and undreamed of possibilities inherent in Hungarian verse. Unique are his torrents of color and scene, his gift for creating myth and atmosphere, his evocative power.

A unique figure in Hungary's interwar cultural life was Dezső Szabó. Except for Marxist socialism, he advocated every major intellectual trend of his age and, as an impelling character with a keen interest in politics, he exerted considerable influence, especially on youth. Originally he prepared for a linguistic career and was an admirer of French literature. After spending a year in Paris, he became an assistant schoolmaster in the provinces, a young man bursting with energy, self-esteem, and a sense of mission. From a clerical anti-Semite, he changed into an extremist radical; after philology and politics, his interest turned to literature, and he joined the editorial staff of *Nyugat* in 1911. In his political writings, he put his finger on the crucial issues of his time. The philosophical foundation of Szabó's writings was a combination of Nietzscheanism and positivism, marked by extreme antirationalism, antidemocratic views, and a yearning for a "new unity." He was against capitalism but his response to it was a desire to turn back the clock. Eventually racialism came to dominate his thoughts, the idolization of the "Hungarian race," the cult of the Hungarian peasant as the vehicle of the vital national force. Szabó's most impressive novel after a series of remarkable, striking short stories and novelettes was *Az elsodort falu* (The Village That Was Swept Away), a three-volume saga written in an expressionist free-flowing, torrential style; in it, through the mythically magnified figures of a few heroes, he depicts the diminution of the Hungarian race, extols the primitive soundness of the Hungarian village, and shows the depraving, enervating influence of the town against a full panorama of Hungarian life before the war. This is a distorted view of Hungarian life. Everything is presented as a part of the struggle between Hungarians and Jews, and every problem is simplified into a contest between the peasantry and foreign capital. Szabó's critique is mordant, ruthless, and exterminating when his intent is to demolish, while his concepts are hazy, mystical, and undefined when he means to construct.

The impact of *The Village That Was Swept Away* was tremendous. Its pathos and expressionist-romantic style, its readily acceptable anti-Semitism and racialism, its peasant cult and its social criticism fitted the hazy discontent and increasingly reactionary temper of post-1919 youth and petit bourgeoisie. Thus it happened that the former contributor to *Nyugat,* the learned teacher who had been groomed on French culture, came to be seen as one of the ideological forerunners of Hungarian fascism. Yet, within a few years, Szabó saw German domination as threatening as he had seen the Jewish "danger" earlier. He now turned the blade of his racial theory against the "Swabians," pouring his venom on the influence of German culture that hamstrung the Hungarian intelligentsia. This new element was expressed in his articles and new novels with their verbal torrents, dimly drawn characters and hardly a trace of plot. He became more and more isolated; his quaint, unsociable nature, his self-worship and merciless criticism, which was right and wrong at the same time, alienated the literary world from him. From 1934 almost until his death, he published his own articles and booklets. With the advance of German Nazism his life took a strangely tragic turn: his assault on Nazi racial theory from a racial standpoint was doomed to failure from the start. Szabó died, most likely of starvation, during the 1945 siege in battered-down Budapest.

The group whom it is customary to call populist intellectuals (often but not always of peasant origin themselves), was a complex political and cultural entity. Basically, it was an intellectual "third force" movement, which looked to the peasantry as its mainstay. The failure of the 1919 dictatorship gave rise to the notion that only through an alliance between the peasantry and the bourgeois-nationalist intelligentsia would it be possible to settle the great social problems of rural Hungary. Beginning in the 1930s, an outlook began to manifest itself, widely called "third road" or "third force," popularized and kept alive by a political movement with an impressive cultural record. Its chief characteristic was a conception of a "special Hungarian road," the insistence on a "third course," somewhere between the extremes of capitalism and socialism. It rendered a great service by calling public attention to the social problems of rural Hungary, doing so in political writings and sociological studies as well as fiction, and in propagating its democratic concepts with much vigor. Its aspirations, however, were often thwarted by nationalist trends clinging to it.

The heyday of the populists came after 1935. This was when members of the group wrote their most significant works, and their magazine *Válasz* (Answer) came to be one of Hungary's fearlessly militant periodicals. However, external pressure from the fascist state power, as well as internal strife, soon disrupted the group. After 1938, the greater part of the movement's members withdrew into passivity; a good many drifted to the political right, while a minority joined the antifascist resistance.

Characteristic of populist artists is a focus on the life of poor peasants, portrayed with a fidelity to the facts and with the authenticity of self-confession. They demonstrated a more realistic way of seeing things, occasionally with a scrupulous care for detail and naturalistic undertones. Populists drew a vivid picture of rural Hungary, the relationship of the various strata of the peasantry to one another and to other social classes and the diversity of these relations. Those joining the movement included poets like Gyula Illyés, novelists and short story writers like Péter Veres, József Darvas, and Iván Boldizsár, historians of literature like Géza Féja, sociologists like Zoltán Szabó, political writers like Imre Kovács, as well as economists, ethnographers, demographers, and art historians. The greater part of intellectual Hungary, especially the younger generation, turned with great interest toward the populists.

Gyula Illyés, the leading figure of modern Hungarian literature, was born in a Transdanubian manor, a descendant of shepherds. His parents had made great sacrifices to give their son an education. After university studies, he lived for years in Paris, where he formed friendships with French writers, including Tzara, Aragon, Eluard, Breton, and others. His literary career too dates back to the Paris years of free verse and surrealist and expressionist experiments.

After his return home in 1926, Illyés became one of the most valued young contributors to *Nyugat.* In his first two volumes, he laments for the plight of poor villagers in sweeping, rhythmical free verse. The young poet's rebellion strikes a note of vigorous defiance, blending *Nyugat* traditions and those of the contemporary French school with an innate respect for reality, a vivid imagination, and sudden outbursts of stifled anger. With each passing year, his tone became more strident, developing into a kind of community art, expressing the destitute, oppressed peasants' troubles and sorrows with conscious self-discipline in a highly polished form. Illyés created realist lyrics marked by transparent construction of Gallic lucidity, an almost inevitably epic flavor, a thorough knowledge and skillful evocation of everyday life, a free manner and the cadence of informal speech, and a blending of rustic impulses with European civilization.

By the mid-1930s, Illyés stood at the centre of the populists, in a political as well as ideological sense, while acting as a liaison with the *Nyugat* circle. This was when he wrote his major works, among them two remarkable prose works, *Puszták népe* (People of the Puszta) and *Petőfi* (both in 1936). *People of the Puszta* is a sociological study, but its literary craftsmanship, latent irony, and the broad perspective of vision have made it into a major artistic work. *Petőfi,* at once an essay and a biography, is one of the finest books ever written on the great Hungarian poet. It is an analysis and a personal confession, an assessment of the stature of the poet-revolutionary and an appraisal of his significance.

Illyés hailed the liberation of Hungary in 1945 and the ensuing land reform; he saluted the national reconstruction efforts and the Hungarian peasant entering on a new life. During the years of Stalinist terror, his writings evinced weariness and dejection, a voice of reservation and concern about Hungary's lot. This was when he wrote *One Sentence on Tyranny,* a long, bitter outcry against communist dictatorship, published only after 1956.

A contemporary of Illyés, Béla Balázs became a disciple of communism after he had made a name as a bourgeois writer. He was one of the eminent members of the first *Nyugat* generation, a teacher and aesthete. He was most consistent in carrying out the great command of twentieth-century lyric poetry; brushing aside the outside world, he turned inward in order to probe the world of the spirit in a number of singular poetical short stories and dramas. Bartók's *Prince Bluebeard's Castle* was composed to a Balázs libretto. There formed around Balázs in the 1910s a small coterie of admirers, one of whom was György Lukács, then a fledgling writer. The Great War dislodged this sensitive, introvert author from his groove: he volunteered for the army. When the true aspect of war was brought home to him, he became a socialist, among the first to join the newly founded Communist Party of Hungary, and commissar of theatres for the Hungarian Council Republic.

Political exile took Balázs to Vienna, Berlin, and, finally, Moscow. Filmmaking attracted him, and his *Der sichtbare Mensch* (The Visible Man) and *Der Geist des Films* (The Spirit of the Screen) became fundamental works of cinema aesthetics.

The 1930s saw the rise and maturing of Attila József, the greatest and most tragic poetic genius of interwar Hungary. His father, a worker in a Budapest soap factory, emigrated when his son was three years old, leaving his mother to fend for her little family by taking in washing. During World War I, József's family sank into dire poverty. After his mother died, the talented young József obtained a scholarship to attend Szeged University. He was only seventeen when his first volume of verse, *A szépség koldusa* (Beggar of Beauty) was published to acclaim. There followed one year in Vienna, and one in Paris, a period when the young man gained his introduction into literature and politics. In 1927 he returned to Budapest and for the rest of his life tried to eke out a living by writing poetry. In the 1930s he joined the underground Communist Party but soon broke with it. The final years of his life saw his mental health worsen, even while he continued writing. On 3 December 1937, József took his life by jumping in front of a speeding train.

The most salient characteristics of József's lyrics are a profound knowledge of conditions and a fundamental realism. He speaks in the voice of a poet who had the capacity of discerning the contradictions as well as the distress and predicaments, and the greatness of mind never to varnish human conditions.

József's influence can be felt on nearly all of his contemporaries. The most prominent member of this group was the lyricist Miklós Radnóti. Although Radnóti was an erudite, highly gifted poet and translator with a teacher's diploma, he was refused employment everywhere on account of his Jewish extraction and was compelled to do odd jobs and translations for a living. Beginning in 1941 he was called up several times to do service spells in forced labor camps, and finally, in 1944, was sent to one of the most brutal German extermination camps in Bor, Yugoslavia. A few days before the end of the war, when the captives were force-marched toward Germany, the exhausted poet was shot dead by an SS guard.

Radnóti's voice soared highest in the last few years of his life, in the years of humiliation and persecution, of horror and extreme peril. In eight eclogues (the last of which was written behind the barbed-wire fences of Lager [Camp] Heidemann in Bor), he expresses in dialogue through the rigorous discipline of the classical verse form and by using delicate shades of meaning, his perturbation at the ever more savage horror of the era, and despite all that, his confidence in an idyllic peace that would come, perhaps when he was dead. Radnóti kept writing poems until the last moment; he evoked the world of concentration camps with a rare degree of perceptivity, describing each stage of his calvary with more and more perfect versification, in an exceptionally condensed and mature poetry.

Hungarian culture began to live again in the early months of 1945. The way was now clear for all trends and ambitions; only openly fascist writers were denied any opportunity of expression. The cultural scene was marked by a coexistence of diverse trends: progressive and conservative, socialist and antisocialist trends; all were thriving side by side.

The year 1948, when the Communist Party came to rule Hungary, saw the dissolution of various cultural groups and publications that represented diverse trends of political opinion. Between 1949 and 1953, the reading public expanded, and a substantial number of writers came to accept the goals of the new regime.

From 1949 onward, especially after 1950, the brutality that characterized the Stalinist period became increasingly apparent. The goal of building socialism was replaced by the efforts of a dogmatic leadership to maintain itself in power. The standard of living had ceased to rise; the pace of industrialization was forced; and unlawful and brutal acts were committed in cities as well as villages. Patient persuasion and constructive debate were supplanted by authoritarianism. The meaning of socialist realism was interpreted in a doctrinaire, narrow-minded, and inflexible manner. Artists assumed and perfected a tendency to varnish the unpalatable truth. Dissenters were silenced, imprisoned, even eliminated. These tormenting problems and the artists' crisis of conscience were reflected in a number of outspoken literary works created during the 1953–1956 period of cultural thaw. In the autumn of 1956 the Union of Hungarian Writers, along with other cultural associations, sided enthusiastically with the workers and students demanding their rights. The few days during which Hungary's press was free saw the publication of Illyés's "One Sentence on Tyranny," along with a torrent of similar expressions of pent-up anger, aroused by communist tyranny.

The Kádár regime at first repressed all signs of intellectual dissent, whether it came from writers, students, or from the general public. Thousands of artists, students, and intellectuals were imprisoned, and scores were killed. Kádár heeded Khrushchev's advice to crack down on writers who were potential dissidents. The best literary periodicals ceased publication, and the Writers Union remained disbanded until 1959.

In 1960 there was an amnesty, and most writers were released. A second amnesty in 1964 released all political prisoners. Hungary's cultural life gradually became cautiously tolerant to a relatively wide variety of trends. The Moscow-dictated dogma of socialist realism was scarcely paid even lip service. As a consequence, many artists, long silenced, returned to the cultural scene. The spirit of Helsinki, providing for the free flow of information across borders, had come to prevail. Even a variety of Western art, cinema, and foreign literature became available. The tolerant policy governing culture was derived from the political slogan "Those who are not against us are with us," voiced by the once hated Party first secretary, János Kádár. His regime gained a degree of legitimacy because of giving a "longer leash" to Hungary's citizens. The 1960s and 1970s were often referred to as the "Age of the Three T's" (the letters standing for the Hungarian words for "support, tolerate, and prohibit": *támogat, tűr,* and *tilt*). An increasing number of artists were supported or tolerated, and fewer remained in the last category.

The "year of miracles," 1989, opened the floodgates of free expression throughout East Central Europe. Hungari-

Hungarian or Hungarian-Born Winners of the Nobel Prize

The physicist Fülöp Lénárd was the recipient of the Nobel Prize in 1905 for his work on cathode rays.

Róbert Bárány received the 1914 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine for his studies concerning the physiology and pathology of the human ear's vertibular apparatus and its balancing function. (He accepted the award two years later when released from a Russian prisoner of war camp.)

In 1925 the chemist Richard Zsigmondy received the Nobel Prize for elucidating the heterogeneous nature of colloidal solutions.

Albert Szent-Györgyi (1893–1986) was awarded the 1937 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine for his discoveries in connection with biological combustion processes, with special reference to vitamin C.

George Charles Hevesy developed isotopes as tracers in chemical research, which earned him the 1943 Nobel Prize for Chemistry. He also discovered the new element Hafnium, and ended up receiving the Faraday, Copley, and Bohr Medals, the Enrico Fermi Prize, and the Atoms for Peace Award.

George Békésy was awarded the 1961 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine for his research on the mechanism of stimulation of the human inner ear.

Eugene P. Wigner received the 1961 Nobel Prize in Physics. He clarified the mechanics and interaction of protons and neutrons in the atomic nucleus, and was instrumental in building the first atom bomb.

Dénes Gábor won the 1971 Nobel Prize in Physics for his pioneering work in the development of holography.

The writer and human rights activist Elie Wiesel, who was born in Hungary, was recognized for his fight against violence, oppression, and racism with the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize.

In the same year, John C. Polányi was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for his work in chemical reaction dynamics.

In 1994 the chemist George Oláh received the Nobel Prize for developing new ways to use hydrocarbons.

Also in 1994 John Harsányi received the Nobel Prize in Economics for his proof of equilibrium in the theory of noncooperative games.

In 1998 the Organization Against Land Mines received the Nobel Peace Prize. One of the five organizers and leaders of this organization was Judith Majláth, a 1956 refugee from Hungary.

Due perhaps to the scarcity of writings translated from their language into any of the "major" languages, Hungarian writers or poets have had few chances to compete for the Nobel Prize in Literature. Finally, in 2003, the novelist and short story writer Imre Kertész was awarded that prize in recognition of his lifetime activity recording the struggle between inhumanity and hope.

ans had been watching the deadly boredom of communist culture making a series of retreats ever since 1956, and acknowledged its final capitulation with quiet satisfaction. In tandem with political liberalization, cultural life has also rid itself of all arbitrary restrictions. Long-forgotten works of art are presented, staged, and performed. State controls have been removed, which (perhaps unfortunately) also means that cultural commodities (books, periodicals, theater tickets) have become less affordable to a public that is struggling with the negative consequences of privatization, cutbacks, and rampant competitive marketization. All in all, however, few Hungarians wish to return to the era of cheap paperback volumes of Soviet pseudo-literature and low-priced tickets to watch films glorifying fake Soviet achievements. In a free and democratic society, Hungarians once again have the opportunity to create their own truly Hungarian and at the same time open and diverse national culture.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The past century of rapid worldwide economic development did not leave Hungary untouched, notwithstanding the country's numerous misfortunes in other regards. Hungary's economy has advanced from a nearly feudal condition to a midlevel stage of industrial development. Perhaps the most spectacular growth took place around the turn of the century, with great advances made in food processing, foundry, and transportation. Much of this progress was cut short by the Trianon peace treaty of 1920, which deprived the nation's industry of nearly all of its natural resources and much of its markets, as well as disrupting the well-developed rail network. The rampage of political extremism following World War I did not help, nor did the worldwide depression of the 1920s, during much of which Hungary remained isolated in the economic as well as political sense. By the late 1930s, however, there was a certain amount of consolidation taking place. The price for this recovery proved to be steep, though, since much of it was accomplished by developing closer ties with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, and led to Hungary's involvement in World War II as an ally of the Axis powers. In addition to the huge human losses at the front, this also meant that some of the most desperate closing skirmishes of the Second World War were fought on Hungarian soil. As a result, in 1945 the country's capital city lay in ruins, with all of its bridges and about half of the residential dwellings destroyed, and its factories incapacitated. The decimated and undernourished population, however, accomplished the challenges of reconstruction energetically and heroically. By the 1950s, Hungary may have appeared drab and poor, but its economy was able to provide basic necessities for the population.

After 1948–1949, when the Communists established themselves as the ruling and sole political party, the government controlled by Mátyás Rákosi began to slavishly imitate the Soviet course of economic development. It used the most brutal coercion to force peasants, who had just received land for the first time in history, to join collectives, and proceeded to squeeze profits from them to finance rapid expansion of heavy industry. At first, Hungary concentrated on manufacturing the same assortment of goods it had successfully produced before the war, such as locomotives and railroad cars. Soon, however, heavy industry came to receive more than 90 percent of investment, disregarding the country's poor resource base and its favorable opportunities in other areas of production.

The Soviet Union became Hungary's principal trading partner, supplying crude oil, iron ore, and much of the capital for Hungary's iron and steel industry. Heavy Soviet demand also led Hungary to develop shipbuilding and textile industries. Soviet pressure, Western trade restrictions, and the new Hungarian practice of favoring domestic and regional autarky combined to reduce the flow of goods between Hungary and the West to a trickle.

The government's wage controls and a two-tier price system made up of producer and consumer prices (controlled separately) were used to limit domestic demand and cut relative labor costs by raising consumer prices and holding back wages. Popular dissatisfaction increased in the wake of material shortages and export difficulties. Agrarian growth also stagnated, and the area of cultivated land actually decreased.

With the onset of a relative thaw after the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin died in 1953, Imre Nagy became Hungary's prime minister and, following the Soviet example, implemented major reforms. He halted the collectivization drive, allowed farmers to leave collective farms, eased production quotas, raised procurement prices for farm products, and increased investment in agriculture. He also shifted investment from heavy industry to consumer goods production. But the changes were too timid, and productivity actually worsened after 1953. In 1955 hard-liners regained control, and the reforms were halted.

The brutal defeat of the popular revolution of 1956 was followed by a standstill for Hungary's economy. The new Party leadership under János Kádár realized that notions of Marxism-Leninism, as dictated from Moscow, had little to do with reality, and began to consider economic policies that would actually improve the people's living conditions. This course had some immediate results: by the early 1960s, the real income of Hungarians nearly doubled, household consumption grew accordingly, and the wave of popular resentment that faced Kadar had diminished considerably. A second effort to collectivize agriculture began in 1959. Instead of coercion, however, the government this time offered incentives to those who would join cooperative or collective farms. By 1962, more than 95 percent of agricultural land had come under the state sector's control. Major investments were made in agriculture, mechanization rose by 50 percent, and farm prices were raised to make the sector viable.

Heavy controls were relaxed in other areas as well. Engineering and chemical branches received greater support, resulting in the production of buses, machine tools, precision instruments, and telecommunications equipment, as well as artificial fertilizer, plastic, and synthetic fiber. These resulted in increased imports of energy, raw materials, and semifinished goods. Hungary's economy was growing during the 1960s, and the population's living standard was improving, but continuing growth was not foreseen. In addition to the limited

Three steel workers convene on the train tracks in front of the mill's smokestacks in Dunaújváros, Hungary. Dunaújváros was an important center for iron and steel industry in Hungary, ca. 1950–1980. (Paul Almasy/Corbis)

supply of natural resources, Hungary had also exhausted its labor force reserves. By the mid-1960s, it was clear that the policies followed since 1949 were no longer viable.

Hungary's industries lagged far behind those in the West; its communication and transportation infrastructures were so weak that they stood in the way of further growth. The USSR and other socialist countries were in no position to help, so Hungary's leaders realized that they would have to seek these critical inputs from the West. The government introduced the NEM (New Economic Mechanism) in 1968. In order to improve enterprise efficiency and make its goods more competitive, the government abolished universal compulsory planning, granted enterprises greater autonomy, and unleashed some market forces. (The program stalled, or was made to stall, within four years, but a burgeoning balance of trade deficit, slumping performance, deteriorating terms of trade, and other problems prompted the leadership to start the reform process anew in the late 1970s.)

The NEM and a favorable economic environment contributed to good economic performance for a few years. The economy grew steadily; neither unemployment nor inflation was apparent, and the country's balance of payments improved as exports grew. Cooperative farms and factories provided much needed goods and services. By about 1970, Hungary had reached the status of a medium-developed country. Its industry was producing 40–50 percent of the gross domestic product, while agriculture was contributing less than 20 percent.

The energy price increases of the 1970s had a disastrous effect on Hungary's trade. In response, the country's leadership made a number of major policy errors, the worst among them being the assumption that Hungary's economy could be shielded from the world's energy crisis. Many NEM reform measures were negated or crippled, and by the late 1970s Hungary was forced to turn to the convertible currency market for loans. A partial reinstatement of the command economy and a hasty recentralization combined to exacerbate Hungary's economic woes.

The NEM was brought back into force in 1978, but it was too late to undo the damages. To avoid bankruptcy, Hungary obtained loans from the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank, introduced a stricter stabilization program and obtained bridge financing from the Bank for International Settlements. The leadership also renewed its support for economic reforms, which creditors viewed as a positive step toward more efficient use of resources and improvement of the country's balance of payments.

Under the new stabilization program, Hungary had slashed its investment spending to about a quarter of the earlier level, and increased prices steeply, calling for greater austerity, efficiency, and profitability. It has also streamlined its ministries, dismantled some huge enterprises and trusts, stimulated the growth of small and private firms, implemented a competitive pricing system, decentralized foreign trade, created small stock and bond markets, enacted a bankruptcy law, carried out banking reform, and levied value added and personal income taxes.

In spite of all these measures, growth remained far below the expected level during the seventh, and last, Five-Year Plan (1986–1990). The country enjoyed favorable treatment from international capital markets, mainly because its reporting system was considered the most reliable in the region, it had good debt-servicing records, and there was no lack of economic and entrepreneurial talent on the scene. In the latter half of the 1980s Japanese banks even increased their loan portfolio and sought to make low-risk loans to East European countries, particularly Hungary, which took the loans to restructure its industry, renovate power stations, implement its energy rationalization program, upgrade its telecommunications system, and finance foreign trade. As a result of a deteriorating convertible currency account, Hungary's debt has continued to grow.

In addition to the standard characteristics of East Central European socialist states (central planning, budgetary policies driven by ideology, state ownership of means of production, and chronic shortages), Hungary also inherited high external indebtedness from its forty-year experiment with socialism. At the same time, some early, clumsy attempts at reprivatization were also detectable. In 1980 the public sector's share in the "official" GDP (which ignored the burgeoning "unofficial economy") was 90 percent, with 10 percent domestic, and 0 percent foreign private owned. During the final decade or so of the socialist era, the shares of these sectors in the GDP changed dramatically. In 1990 the respective percentages were 76, 23, and 1; in 1991 they were 70, 27, and 3; in 1992 they were 56, 36, and 8; and in 1993 they were 42, 45, and 13. If one was to include the unofficial "gray" sector of the economy, the actual public-private-foreign ratios were 83, 17, and 0 in 1980; and 37, 50, and 13 in 1993. These are perhaps the most telling numbers about the changes in the Hungarian economy. The corollaries of this restructuring were not entirely positive: output declined by 20 percent of the GDP between 1989 and 1994, and incomes dropped by 8–10 percent in real terms between 1990 and 1994. There was also a shift in the occupational structure: far more persons came to be employed in the service sector of the economy.

Suddenly there were three working environments available to Hungarian workers. State employment provided greater job security, better fringe benefits, and lower pay. The "competitive" private sectors, domestic or foreign, offered less job security, fewer fringe benefits, longer hours, and 24–30 percent higher pay. The third alternative was the unofficial economy in which people from both sectors traded marketable skills for unreported, untaxed incomes.

The growing number of unemployed and unemployable was the inevitable result of a budget and market driven rush of downsizing because of obsolescent skills and/or of poor physical health. Combined with demography and the high ratio of pensioners, this placed crushing burdens on the active wage earners. The ratio of economically inactive dependents to 100 active wage earners was 117 to 100 in 1987 and 167 to 100 in 1993.

Hungary is referred to as an upper-middle income country in the World Bank's world development reports, and its comparative economic performance among twenty-eight postcommunist states is generally praised. However, neither assessment takes account of the social impact of rapid economic change.

The Kádár era generated new patterns of social mobility and stratification. With the exhaustion of the economy's growth potential and the onset of political entropy, both processes came to a standstill in 1983. Upon the change of the political regime and the revival of the private economy, new patterns of social mobility and stratification surfaced after 1992.

According to one estimate, 1 million people, or 20 percent of the active labor force, were "winners," and the rest were victims of stagnant or rapidly declining incomes and deteriorated living standards. The principal winners were those with higher education (8.1 and 14.5 percent of the labor force in 1980 and 1993, respectively), those with market-convertible skills, and specific elite groups with discretionary access to incomes generated by the market and "unofficial economy" and the recipients of preferential resource allocations by government agencies.

Income inequality did not begin with the onset of economic transformation in Hungary, but it did gain momentum. Trends indicate a gradually widening gap between the lowest and the highest 20 percent of recipients. It is the lifestyle and conspicuous consumption of the upper 1 percent that is seen as unjustifiable by market criteria, as well as morally reprehensible by the public's quasi-egalitarian standards. Groups and individuals who have become vulnerable on this score are the new—partly managerial, partly "Wild East" entrepreneurial—business elites and the new kleptocracy of politically well-connected executives of industry, banking, and commerce. The wealth and power, converted into ever higher positions, splendid homes, and luxury cars tend to catalyze public skepticism about social justice in a parliamentary democracy.

Hungary's postcommunist governments have gone to great lengths to cushion the impact of economic transformation. Still, even the disbursement of 26–28 percent of the budget (arguably the highest percentage in Europe) for social welfare purposes has failed to slow down the growth in the number of those living at or below the poverty level. Their numbers were 1 million in the 1980s, 1.5 million in 1991, 2 million in 1992, and 3.0–3.5 million in 1994. (To be sure, using the yardstick of the old bankrupt welfare state is an unrealistic device with which to measure poverty. Thus World Bank and IMF numbers of around 10 percent ought to be closer to the mark. This is not to deny the severity of hardships faced by social victims of economic transformation.)

Equally essential, however, is to see the "winners" of postcommunism and efforts by the well-off intelligentsia to keep politicians on the defensive. They use the poverty issue to forestall, as long as possible, the full implementation of economic restructuring and, with it, the inevitable decline of public welfare, often in the form of state patronage of cultural activities, disbursed to intellectuals.

Challenges to the economy are more than merely structural. Rapid industrialization and the priority of plan fulfillment over environmental concerns have resulted in serious air and water pollution problems in Hungary. One-third of the country's population lives in regions where air pollution exceeds international standards. Electric plants burning high-sulfur coal and automobiles emit most of the pollutants that foul Hungary's air. (Sulfur dioxide emission is particularly great.) Prevailing winds from the west and southwest carry much of Hungary's sulfur dioxide emissions into neighboring countries, and acid rain has damaged 20–30 percent of the country's forests.

Pollutants also foul the rivers and ground water. The Tisza, Duna, Szamos, Sajó, and Zagyva are Hungary's most polluted rivers, and the water supply of many towns and villages is only marginally fit for human consumption. Hungary emits almost 2 million cubic meters of polluted water per day. Industrial waste from chemical, rubber, iron, paper, and food processing industries accounts for 70 percent of the polluting effluent, less than half of which is treated. Even an adequate residential sewage system is available only to 65 percent of the population.

Hungary produces more than 5 million tons of hazardous waste annually, and it reportedly accepts huge amounts of similar waste from Austria, Switzerland, and Germany in return for hard currency. After years of public protest, in the late 1980s Hungary constructed an incinerator in Dorog capable of burning 25,000 tons of hazardous waste per year. Hungary operated a nuclear waste dump between the villages of Kisnémedi and Püspökszilágy, but precise information on the disposal of radioactive waste from the country's nuclear power plant is unavailable. Hungary has antipollution agreements with Czechoslovakia and Austria, but has no such agreement with Romania and complains about Romania's chronic discharge of phenol, oil, and even arsenic and other hazardous pollutants into the Tisza and smaller rivers.

The future of the economy is tied in many respects to its resources. Hungary's geology is dominated by young sedimentary rock that has few minerals and raw materials except bauxite, soft coal, and small deposits of uranium, natural gas, oil, iron ore, manganese, and copper. On the other hand, Hungary has large tracts of fertile land and a favorable climate. The country's shortage of raw materials has necessitated vigorous foreign trade, especially after 1920, when Hungary lost much of its pre–World War I territory. Raw materials, semifinished products, spare parts, fuels, and electricity accounted for the bulk of imports, and their cost equals one-quarter of Hungary's gross domestic product.

Hungary's coal deposits total 4.5 billion tons and include hard coal (15 percent of the total), brown coal (30 percent), and lignite (55 percent). Hungarian coal generally has a low energy content and lies at great depths in thin seams, making mining difficult and costly. Deep mines in the Mecsek Mountains near Pécs and Komló yield some coal suitable for coking. Thick layers of higher-quality brown coal lie 200–300 meters beneath Tatabánya and Dorog, while lower-quality brown coal lies under the Carpathian foothills near Miskolc and in the central Danube Plain. The Várpalota Basin in Veszprém County and the southern slopes of the Mátra Mountains yield lignite. Hungarian experts predict that the country's coal reserves will last 400 years at the present production levels.

Hungary's natural gas and oil deposits are far smaller than its coal reserves. The country's largest natural gas deposits are located near Szeged, Hajdúszoboszló, and Miskolc. Geologists predict that natural gas reserves would be used up by the middle of the twenty-first century. Small crude oil deposits lie beneath Szeged, Zala County, and other areas. The Zala crude is highly viscous and difficult to transport. Wells at Lispeszentadorján, Lovászi, and other sites yield high-quality oil, but they are almost exhausted. In the late 1970s drillers struck oil in the mid-Danube-Tisza region (the central part of the country) and near Sárkeresztúr, Endrőd, and Ullés. However, geologists anticipate no new major oil discoveries and expect the wells to run dry soon.

Hungary began mining uranium near Pécs in the 1950s with Soviet assistance. Estimates of the actual size of the country's uranium deposits are vague, but official sources indicated that Hungary had uranium reserves sufficient to supply its domestic needs until the year 2020.

Chronic coal mining problems and shrinking domestic hydrocarbon reserves have plagued the economy since the

Paks nuclear power plant. (Serge Attal/Corbis Sygma)

mid-1970s. The reliance on imported energy increased steadily from 37.2 percent in 1970 to 51.3 percent in 1986. The Soviet Union furnished most of Hungary's energy imports, but Soviet production setbacks and demands for better trade terms complicated Hungary's energy supply problems after the mid-1980s.

Hungary slashed investment in coal mining in the late 1960s and 1970s, when Soviet oil and natural gas were less expensive alternate fuels. Consequently, coal's share of domestic energy production dropped from 62.7 percent in 1970 to 36.6 percent in 1986. Coal accounted for 26 percent of Hungary's energy consumption. In the early 1980s rising oil and natural gas prices prompted Hungary to reopen the flow of investment into coal mining but the country still suffered from a severe shortage of miners, and its mines were unable to keep pace with rising demand. The government approved substantial pay increases for miners in order to attract new workers. In 1986 Hungary's mines employed 79,566 workers who labored between sixty and seventy hours per week and produced coal worth $779 million. Total annual coal output has hovered around 24 million tons since 1975, but hard coal production actually fell by 23 percent between 1975 and 1986, and the calorific value of coal output declined by 18 percent in the same period. Coal, coke, and briquette imports totaled US$268 million in 1986.

Hydrocarbons, including oil, propane, natural gas, and gasoline, accounted for 61 percent of total energy consumption in 1986. Natural gas production has increased considerably since the mid-1960s, exceeding 7 billion cubic meters in 1986 and 1987. Domestic consumption, however, has far outstripped production since 1970, nearly doubling from 5.9 billion cubic meters in 1975 to 11.5 billion in 1986. Hungary's wells supplied 94.8 percent of its natural gas consumption in 1970 but only 66.1 percent in 1986. Natural gas imports totaled 4.8 billion cubic meters in 1986 and cost US$366 million. The Soviet Union supplied Hungary with 90 percent of its natural gas imports.

Hungarian wells have pumped 2 million tons of crude oil yearly since 1975, mostly from the Szeged region, but observers expected production to decline after 1990. Oil imports totaled US$1.1 billion in 1986, while exports added up to US$332 million. Hungary exported oil by reselling Iranian and other Middle Eastern oil acquired in various compensation schemes.

Hungary launched an energy rationalization program in the early 1980s aimed at maintaining levels of domestic oil and gas production attained in the mid-1980s, increasing exploration, and substituting natural gas and other fuels for oil. The conservation program, backed by stiff price hikes, netted positive results. Oil consumption dipped from 12.5 million tons in 1979 to 9.1 million tons in 1985, and Hungary's imports of petroleum and petroleum products dropped from US$1.3 billion in 1985 to US$1.1 billion in 1986.

Hungary's power plants had a 6.8 billion kilowatt capacity in 1986 and generated 28 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, almost double the amount generated in 1970. The increase failed, however, to keep pace with demand as consumption rose from 17.9 billion kilowatt-hours in 1970 to 38.6 billion in 1986. Hungary overcame the 1986 shortfall by importing 11.9 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. Transmission lines from the Soviet Union carried one-third of Hungary's imported electricity.

In the late 1980s thermal power stations generated 70 percent of Hungary's electricity and burned 65 percent of Hungary's brown coal production and nearly all of its lignite output. Hungary has constructed large thermal power stations in the last fifteen years, including a 1.9 million kilowatt heat and power plant at Százhalombatta in Pest County that generated almost 40 percent of the country's electricity.

Southern Hungary's uranium reserves supplied the 880 million kilowatt Paks nuclear power plant in Tolna County, the country's only nuclear power facility. The plant's first reactor went on line in 1983, and its second followed a year later. In 1986 the plant generated 7.4 billion kilowatt-hours, or 26.5 percent of the nation's electricity output and 19.2 percent of its consumption. Hungary and the Soviet Union agreed in 1986 to build four additional 440-megawatt reactors at Paks in the next decade. Officials hoped that the plant would supply 40 percent of Hungary's electricity by the early 2000s.

In the late 1980s Hungary's hydroelectric power stations generated less than 1 percent of the country's electricity, but Hungary has joined with Czechoslovakia to build two hydroelectric power stations on the Danube at Gabcikovo in Czechoslovakia and at Nagymaros in Hungary. The project, which was scheduled for completion by 1993, received Austrian financial assistance. However, in May 1989 the Hungarian government suspended work on the power station because of public concern over the damage it threatened to cause to the environment. The power stations' total projected capacity was 3.6 billion kilowatt-hours per year, and their estimated cost was US$1.4 billion.

The Bakony and Vértes Mountains contain 10–12 percent of the world's known bauxite reserves and deposits of manganese ore, the only alloy necessary for steel production found in Hungary. The only iron ore mine, located at Rudabánya, produces ankerite and siderite that contain only 24–27 percent iron and require lime before smelting. In the late 1980s the country's limestone and dolomite reserves satisfied the needs of its iron industry. Copper mines at Recsk remain undeveloped because of lack of financing and because of copper's low price on world commodity markets.

The aluminum industry developed rapidly after World War II and in the late 1980s employed more than 40,000 workers. The production of bauxite (used in making aluminum) more than doubled since the war, reaching more than 3 million tons in 1986, while alumina (aluminum oxide) output totaled 856,000 tons in the same year. Increased bauxite production was depleting deposits near the surface, however, and costly deep mining had become necessary. Conversion of alumina into aluminum is highly energy intensive, and a lack of inexpensive electricity prevented Hungary from converting more than 25 percent of its alumina output.

Soviet technology and raw material inputs were key factors in the development of Hungary's iron and steel industry. The large steel mills at Dunaújváros in Fehér County, Ózd, Miskolc, and Budapest have used local low-grade iron ore, but more than 80 percent of their raw material input originated in the Soviet Union. In the late 1980s the industry suffered from several major problems. First, Hungary's iron and steel mills were less cost effective than West European mills because, among other factors, Hungary had to pay to transport and process Soviet ore that had only a relatively low (45–50 percent) iron content. Second, the prices Hungary received for its iron and steel exports to convertible currency markets had fallen. These exports generated losses for the industry, but Hungary continued the trade for several reasons: the domestic market could not absorb enough output to maintain satisfactory use of the country's mill capacity, the state subsidized losses on metallurgical exports, and export income provided the industry with the grounds to increase wages. The industry underwent a sweeping reorganization as part of a 1987 restructuring program that included the elimination of 2,400 jobs. Hungary produced no iron ore in 1986, and analysts expected the country to reduce iron and steel output by up to 10 percent in 1988.

Arable land, pastures, meadows, vineyards, and gardens occupy 70 percent of the total land area. Hungary has large tracts of fertile black soil, especially in the Great Plain region. Even though the climate can be harsh, it is generally favorable for agriculture. Concentrated in mountainous areas, the forests occupy 1.5 million hectares and contain mostly deciduous trees of little value except for holding moisture. The government launched an extensive reforestation effort after World War II, but domestic timber still supplies only a small percentage of the country's needs.

The future of the Hungarian economy also depends on its workforce. Until the 1980s, many Hungarians supplemented their income by working outside jobs, tilling household plots, or operating private businesses. Most enterprises used labor inefficiently, creating underemployment and relatively low productivity. The postcommunist measures are forcing enterprises to operate more efficiently and thus threaten the loss of many jobs. Compared with Western countries, however, Hungary's unemployment problem was relatively small: a 4 percent unemployment rate is generally considered full employment in a free market economy; in Hungary this percentage would amount to 240,000 people.

Women joined the workforce in great numbers after World War II and contributed significantly to reconstruction and the government's industrialization drive. Families supported the entry of women into the workforce because they could not survive on a single income or they desired a higher living standard. In 1949 29.2 percent of active earners were women; by 1987 they accounted for 46 percent. Likewise, whereas 34.5 percent of working-age women were active earners in 1949, 75 percent were active earners by 1987. Fifty-nine percent of Hungary's working women were manual workers; the remainder worked in white-collar jobs. (About 70 percent of men were manual workers, and 30 percent had white-collar jobs.) Women dominated low-paying jobs in the textile industry, the service sector, canneries, and commerce; in the white-collar area, women dominated in education, health, and clerical office jobs.

PROSPECTS

According to most experts, the economies of East Central Europe will take a long time to catch up with those of their Western neighbors. It is estimated that if the fifteen countries of the current EU enjoy economic growth of 2 percent a year, and the countries joining in the next few years grow by 4 percent a year, then it will take the new members, on average, more than fifty years to draw level with the old ones. Of course, other factors may be at work, and growth and convergence rates will probably vary widely from country to country, but in this scheme of things, it will take thirty-four years for Hungary to "catch up" with the West.

What is clearer to most observers is that Hungary's economy can grow only if its factories and farms become more efficient and competitive. There are three complicating factors. First, except for excess workers in existing enterprises, Hungary no longer has an untapped labor pool, such as the one that existed after World War II in the female and peasant populations. Second, the country has few natural resources, and raw materials have become more costly on both Western and regional markets. Third, Hungary can pay for imports of raw materials and efficiency-improving Western technology only by exporting goods whose quality and price compete in the world market.

Joining the EU may not in itself bring an economic boom. In the event Hungary's growth rate does not meet expectations, the advantages of EU membership could be balanced by serious burdens. The country will be saddled with the rules and expenses of a club meant for the rich, while its income remains far below the average and may even decline in relative terms. Problems may also arise from adjusting to the EU's common visa and border regime. Border controls, already gone from most of the EU, will disappear from the new members in three or four years. By that time the new members are expected to have perfected tough border controls of their own against non-EU countries, including friends and trading partners. This prospect worries Poland, which would prefer a more open border with Ukraine, and Hungary, which would like to keep ties with ethnic Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries.

There is also the possibility of tensions between the EU's older members and those newer ones that, like Hungary, have regained their freedom and, in some cases, their independence, relatively recently, after decades spent taking orders from Moscow. The forces of nationalism that helped oust the communist order in East Central Europe in 1989–1991 are still strong here, and not always far from the political mainstream. Like all Central Europeans, Hungarians would prefer to join an EU in which their country is respected, not one in which they are bossed around casually by France or Germany. Hungary's interests might be best served by opposing policies that impose new costs on industry and new regulatory burdens on government, and by insisting on the freedom to keep taxes low, public spending down, and labor cheap.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

More than a few of the 15 million Hungarians alive today worldwide may find the pace of change staggering. Many were born in a kingdom governed by a regent and saw their native land change, in rapid succession, first into a pseudo-fascist dictatorship fighting a losing war; then a devastated and occupied republic led by a weak coalition; then a satrapy of Stalin's empire; then a short-lived republic frantically led by idealistic amateurs; then a cowed and vengeful police state; then a fake socialist resort; and then, quite suddenly, a fully constitutional parliamentary democracy at the mercy of global forces.

Since 1989, when Hungary regained its national sovereignty and found itself in a position to make genuine progress toward democracy and the rule of laws, the nation was faced with a number of challenges. Some of these derived from Hungary's location, its societal makeup or from its history, while others—just as problematic—arose from the new European realities. The lessons of the past and the actualities of a new Europe made it clear for all Hungarians that their country could scarcely go its own way.

The changes of 1989, while truly revolutionary in their depth and breadth, came about as a result of relatively civil negotiations, conducted at a roundtable. Efforts were made to include or represent as many elements of society as possible, and there was a surprising degree of patience exhibited by the parties. The Communists showed unusual humility, and speakers for the incoming power did not press their obvious advantage. (Of course, the kid gloves came off during the elections of subsequent years.)

Hungary's institutional transition was essentially completed by 1994, but the country's socioeconomic transformation is still in progress. After decades of living in the stifling comfort of central planning, this is a difficult process. It is made even more complicated by two major challenges to the country's leaders: On the one hand, they are called on to democratize public life, marketize the economy, and establish a rule of law. At the same time, Hungary's citizens keep loudly reminding their government not to forget *their* priorities, which add up to a set of nearly unrealizable expectations when it comes to providing goods and services. Underlying it all is the issue of cultural and spiritual survival, as well as political and economic survival. After surviving for 1,100 years in the face of numerous invasions, occupations, and periods of oppression, many in public life sound cautious, even alarmed, seeing the multitude of new forces on the Hungarian scene.

THE PRESENCE OF THE PAST

Four decades of communist rule ended in 1989, but the communist legacy is likely to be felt for some time. The forced adaptation of the Soviet model changed practically all of Hungary's political, social, and economic institutions. This is true for the other formerly socialist countries of the region. Hungary's communist period, however, has a number of characteristics that, considered together, may distinguish it somewhat from the experience of its neighbors. As pointed out by leading observers of the Hungarian scene, these elements include (1) the exceptional harshness of the Stalinist years between 1948–1953, (2) the spontaneous popular revolution of 1956, (3) János Kádár's coercive, terroristic policies, which later turned into a sustained commitment to legitimacy building through economic reforms and seeking a national consensus, (4) an increasingly civil and self-moderating interaction between the regime and its internal opposition, and (5) the surprisingly pragmatic cooperation between the outgoing and incoming political elites during the year of change, 1989.

After the Yalta regime gave free rein to Soviet expansion into East Central Europe, the Hungarian people and their neighbors had only two available options: accommodation and survival, or resistance and inevitable repression. The second option, that is, an armed uprising against the regime and its Soviet masters in October 1956, was not a premeditated choice but a collective act of public outrage. It was rooted in two widely shared aspirations: the nation's attempt to regain its freedom, and the people's seeking to reclaim their sense of personal dignity and civic identity. With this in mind, it can thus be argued that there was an intrinsic causality between intolerable oppression and the revolution of 1956, on the one hand, and between that singular and regionally unique event and the rest of the hypothesized attributes that characterized people–regime interactions in Hungary in the next three decades, on the other.

The precedent of the 1956 revolution is not meant to be an all-purpose explanation for what came to pass in Hungary during the next thirty-three years. Other factors, such as the country's relatively minor strategic importance for the USSR, the peculiar chemistry of Kádár's personal relations with his Kremlin superiors, and many other external factors were also responsible for the relatively sheltered environment in which the people and the regime came to craft a common survival pact after the defeated revolution.

Freedom, or at least a longer leash in a cage, can be earned in many ways. Hungary's choices in October 1956 were either to fight or to submit to the tyrant. In any case, the record is clear that the Hungarian people paid dearly with blood on the streets of Budapest, with the execution of hundreds, the incarceration of thousands, the forced exodus of many tens of thousands to the West, and the relative personal autonomy that the denizens of the Soviet bloc's "jolliest barrack" came to enjoy in the 1970s and in the 1980s.

The attainment of normalcy, or at least the absence of debilitating political and economic crises, has been the East European societies' age-old aspiration. This is to be expected in the part of Europe that served as a battleground in two world wars, was the scene of the Holocaust and other acts of genocide, and was the bloody political testing ground for transplanting the Soviet model to alien soil. In any case, Kádár's Hungary in the 1970s came close to "normalcy" and managed to instill a consequent sense of public well-being that most people still consider as the benchmark against which to measure living conditions and the performance of the political incumbents in the mid-1990s.

Hungary's "homo Kadaricus" (Kadarian man) was unambiguously materialist, but with a twist. Whereas the predominantly materialistic Western European public could afford the luxury of preoccupation with consumption and the even greater luxury of pursuit of both materialist and idealistic postmaterialist goals under the solid shelter of liberal democratic political institutions, the average Hungarian was bereft of choices of this kind. The regime's repressive tolerance helped foster a new context of social interaction. It gave relatively free rein, in the Hungarian sociologists' terminology, to the realization of personal interests in the nonpolitical realm. As a result, a "survival of the fittest" (or best connected) bargain culture was born in Hungary. The upshot was the rise of an adulterated sense of civic identity and political infantilism. Corruption and misuse of power above and widespread disregard of laws and administrative rules below were two facets of a symbiotic whole of moral decay and diminished civic competence. These behaviors have remained largely unaffected by legal and institutional changes in the postcommunist period.

The task at hand is the redefinition of the ruling party's style of governance from the "vanguard" to the "system management" mode and the consequent empowerment of the state for the implementation of the party's political will.

NATIONAL SECURITY

At the end of the communist era, the Hungarian People's Army numbered around 160,000 in personnel, and military expenditure exceeded 3.5 percent of the nation's gross domestic product. In 2000 the Hungarian Defense Forces included 53,000 persons, and defense expenditure was 1.61 percent of GDP. As for alliances, in the summer of 1990 Hungary and several other member states suggested a review of the Moscow-dominated Warsaw Treaty Organization, and soon after moved for its dissolution, which took place in 1991. Simultaneously, the Budapest government succeeded in getting the Red Army to withdraw from Hungary (after forty-six years), and in the summer of 1991, the Moscow-controlled economic and trade block Comecon was disbanded as well.

The newly acquired independence raised the issue of how to guarantee national security. Hungary's foreign policy priorities proclaimed by the first freely elected government, led by the historian József Antall and his Hungarian Democratic Forum, cut across political parties and included (1) striving for Euro-Atlantic integration, (2) maintaining good neighborliness to ensure regional stability, and (3) actively supporting Hungarian minorities living abroad primarily in neighboring countries (altogether a community of 3 million ethnic Hungarians). All Hungarian governments in office since that time have considered and continue to consider these goals to be of primary importance.

EU ENTRY

In May 2004 Hungary, along with the Baltic states, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus, and Malta, joined the European Union (EU). The preparations for entry gave these countries the motivation and the models they needed to entrench or restore democratic institutions and market economies, replacing the communist and socialist ones previously imposed there. Even the skeptics in the new member countries should be pleased with this. A country well equipped to join the EU is a country well equipped to make its way in the world otherwise, if it chooses to do so.

As it happens, voters in all the East Central European countries eligible to join the EU have supported entry, often by large majorities. Now they are preparing for the shocks and strains, as well as the opportunities and rewards, that lie ahead. Of course, EU entry does not in itself bring wealth. The countries of East Central Europe will take decades to catch up with their Western neighbors. Any East Central European country where the growth rate sags will suffer for it. It will be saddled with the rules and expenses of a club meant for rich people, while its income per person remains far below the average and may even decline in relative terms.

East Central Europeans also face challenges in adjusting to the EU's common visa and border regime. Border controls have already disappeared across most of the EU. They should disappear among the new members too, but only after three or four years. By that time, the new members are expected to have perfected tough border controls of their own against non-EU countries, including friends and trading partners. This prospect presents a certain concern for many Hungarians, who desire to remain in close contact with the Hungarian minorities in Romania, Serbia, and Ukraine.

The EU may yet emerge the stronger for all this, if the assertiveness of the Central Europeans emboldens them to push harder for policies that make the Union work better. As poor countries with threadbare institutions, their interests should lie in opposing policies that impose new costs on industry and new regulatory burdens on government. They should insist on the freedom to keep taxes low, public spending down, and labor cheap. Those are also good policies, as it happens, for stagnant rich countries, of which the EU has more than its share.

There is the possibility of tensions arising between the EU's older members and those newer ones that have re-

Hungarian men and women on stilts dancing with EU and Hungarian flags at the monument of the statues of Hungarian kings at the Heroes Square of Budapest on Saturday 1 May 2004. Hungary celebrated the EU enlargement as nine other European countries, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined the European Union. (AFP/Getty Images) gained their freedom and, in some cases, their independence, relatively recently, after decades spent taking orders from Moscow (or Belgrade, in the case of Slovenia). The currents of nationalism that helped overturn the communist order in East Central Europe in 1989 still run strong there, and not always far from the political mainstream. Central Europeans want an EU in which they and their countries are respected, not one in which they are bossed around casually by countries such as France or Germany. President Jacques Chirac's outburst that the Central Europeans should have remained silent instead of supporting U.S. policy on Iraq, betrayed the patronizing and bullying attitude that future EU members least want to encounter in Brussels. Forewarned by Chirac, they will enter the Union in a more combative mood, complicating their future relations with France and its increasingly like-minded ally, Germany.

TOLERANCE IN POLITICAL DEBATE

Hungary's sharp political debates serve a purpose, in that they decide who wins and loses elections. However, in the bitter and desperate manner in which they are more and more frequently conducted, they are also breeding attitudes that negate the very purpose of the debate. One of the approaches that tend to embitter these debates (in Hungary and elsewhere) is the attempt to forge a number of small facts, which may be statistically correct, into one all-encompassing construct of "truths," and then declare this newly forged model to be "the Truth." The manufacturing of such political truth calls for a considerable amount of commitment, even fanaticism. In the past, such fanaticism was often fueled by religious faith, and in the modern world by equally strong adherence to secular, man-made ideologies. Believers in a truth are totally dedicated to it, and are convinced that there is only one road to travel to serve the interest of their community or nation. (This practice of worshiping a single saving truth is, of course, not limited to Hungary or even East Central Europe. After all, National Socialism and fascism originated in Western Europe, and Marxism was the manufactured dream of the German Karl Marx and his mentor and ally, the German industrialist Friedrich Engels, only to be taken to its extreme conclusion by the Russo-Tatar Lenin and the Georgian Stalin.)

Political discussion in Hungary was long distorted by the fact that the various partners each believed in a single truth. Whether this meant a strict loyalty to the Holy Crown, an abiding faith in the basic goodness of the Magyar peasant, or a worshipful imitation of models concocted in the British Library, beliefs of such intensity called for intolerance of "others" who could not or would not see "the Truth." It became an accepted tenet that doubters and questioners were either stupid, in which case they could be ignored, or liars and scoundrels, in which case they were labeled not just political opponents and debating partners but enemies to be destroyed or made impotent by any and all means. On a personal level, this attitude has led to brawls, even murders, in pubs or in legislative chambers. In a more damning manner, it provided the justification for the wide variants of hatreds that dominated Hungary and the region in the past century.

Believers in a single truth simply are incapable of making compromises in politics. Therefore, politics, which in democratic societies is the art of compromise, in East Central Europe led to vendettas and prompted political figures to work for the physical destruction of their "enemies." This attitude continues to be the major reason for the slow development of genuine participatory democracy throughout East Central Europe.

Hungarian society is ready for a transformation. The country is no longer surrounded by implacable enemies, and the West is paying a lot more attention to developments in the region. This means that there is no excuse for reviving the spirit of extremist nationalism that caused so much human and civilizational harm during the past century, and which, by the way, proved to be counterproductive as regards to alleviating the nation's ills. After 1989, there were some voices calling for just such a return to the 1930s. Hungarians heard the extemists' simplistic slogans, read their overheated arguments, and saw mass demonstrations.

Nevertheless, such exclusive nationalism no longer represents a significant force in the thinking of Hungarians. Although the scarcity of true democratic traditions continues to cause problems in Hungary's efforts to become a stable democratic society, the elections since the collapse of the communist regime have shown that Hungarians have finally accepted the rules of Western-type participatory democracy. The greatest progress has been made in the explosive growth of civil society.

Society as a whole, however, is still threatened by the dominance of the idea of the single truth. This idea has penetrated Hungarian mentality to such an extent that it will be very difficult to eliminate. To discover and then to defend the one Truth "to the death" has become a matter of honor for most citizens in every sphere of life, including the family. Few political parties or educational institutions have realized that this way of thinking simply must be changed.

The attitude demanding devotion to the idea of a single truth is so pervasive that its elimination will require the cooperation of all segments of society. It will be necessary to start teaching children about its dangers at an early age, and to inculcate them with tolerance and respect for the laws, as well as for those who do not conform to social norms laid out by the single truth. The teaching of tolerance and ethical behavior will have to be included in the curricula of all schools. Only such a nationwide effort can lead to success and provide for a favorable environment for the full development of democratic institutions. As long as the political parties and all social strata do not see this need clearly, history will remain an "enemy" of Hungarian democracy, even if economic conditions of the country take a turn for the better.

It is, of course, quite possible that the question of the continuing survival of the Hungarian nation, its language, and its culture eventually will become moot, in light of globalization and the information revolution. This may be the fate of all the nations of Europe. In such a future (which, of course, is by no means inevitable), all European nations will be amalgamated into a European Union dominated by a universal culture that will not be English, German, French, or Italian but European. The Union also will bring about the Europe-wide spread of uniformly democratic institutions.

The glass appears to be more than half full: institutional changes have become irreversible; free enterprise has taken deep roots and will soon dominate the economy; and the people, however dissatisfied with inept politicians and clumsy policies, do believe in democracy and do vote for the party and the candidate of their choice. Hungary is no longer a barracks, but the half-built home of 10 million free, albeit somewhat discontented citizens. Democracy works, and it is here to stay.

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CHRONOLOGY

1st millennium B.C.E.	Finno-Ugric period of the Hungarian people. Separation of the Finno-Ugric languages in western Siberia. Separation of the Ugrians, Magyar people group in the southern Ural region (Bashkiria).
5th–8th c.	Hun then Avar rule in the Carpathian Basin.
8th–9th c.	Migration of the Hungarian tribes from the Urals to the Black Sea region.
896–900	Hungarian settlement of the Carpathian Basin. Árpád is chosen chieftain; his male descendants become hereditary rulers.
899–970	Hungarian raids into Western Europe and the Balkans.
955	Hungarian raiders defeated at Lechfeld (Augsburg) by German-Moravian forces. Prince Géza is baptized into the Roman Catholic Church.
1001	Coronation of Géza's son, István I (later St. Stephen).
1046	Vata's pagan rising.
1077–1116	László I (St. Ladislas) (1077–1095) and Kálmán I (1095–1116) expand into Croatia and Dalmatia.
1142–1162	Saxon settlements in Transylvania; struggle against Byzantine expansion.
c. 1192–1195	The Pray Codex, containing the oldest Hungarian text.
1222	The Golden Bull, first charter of rights for the nobility.
1241–1242	Mongol invasion devastates the country, followed by reconstruction.
1301–1308	Struggle for the Hungarian throne between Wenceslas Przemysl, Otto von Wittelsbach, and Charles of Anjou; won by latter.

1308–1342	Dynastic marriages link Hungary to Naples and Poland.
1343–1382	Lajos I (Louis the Great) reconfirms the Golden Bull.
1349	The Black Death in Hungary.
1370–1382	Lajos becomes king of Poland.
1416–1456	Wars against Ottoman threat.
1442–1443	János Hunyadi defeats Ottomans in Transylvania and Serbia.
1444	Hunyadi is defeated at Varna (Bulgaria). Ulászló I dies in battle.
1446–1452	János Hunyadi rules Hungary as regent for infant king.
1448	Hunyadi's defeat at Kosovo Polje.
1456	Hunyadi stops Ottoman expansion at Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade).
1458–1490	Mátyás I Corvinus, Hunyadi's son, reconstructs the kingdom and introduces Renaissance culture.
1472–1477	First Hungarian printing press in Buda.
1505	Decision of Diet at Rákos to elect a king, excluding a foreign ruler.
1514	Peasant uprising led by György Dózsa. István Werbőczi's Tripartitum reduces peasants to serfdom.
29 August 1526	At Mohács, army of Suleiman I defeats the Hungarian army.
	Two rival kings, János Zápolyai (1526–1540) and Ferdinand I (1526–1564), divide the country between them.
1540–1570	Rule of János Zsigmond (Zápolyai) in eastern Hungary.
1541	Ottomans occupy Buda and central Hungary.
	Division of Hungary into three parts.
	The Reformation reaches Hungary.
1566	Suleiman's last campaign in Hungary; the fall of Szigetvár (September).
1568	Transylvanian Diet at Torda proclaims religious freedom.
1570	Treaty of Speyer: Eastern Hungary becomes Principality of Transylvania.
1571–1586	István Báthory, future king of Poland (1576–1586), Prince of Transylvania.
1581–1602	Zsigmond Báthory rules as Prince of Transylvania.
1591	Habsburgs invade Transylvania.
1598	Zsigmond Báthory hands over Transylvania to the Habsburg king.
1604–1606	Campaigns against the Habsburgs led by István Bocskai.
1606	Peace of Zsitvatorok with Ottomans.
1606–1608	Zsigmond Rákóczi rules as Prince of Transylvania.
1608–1613	Gábor Báthory rules as Prince of Transylvania.
1613–1629	Transylvania's golden age under Gábor Bethlen.
1630–1648	György Rákóczi rules as Prince of Transylvania.
1644–1645	Campaign of György Rákóczi I, in alliance with the Swedes.
	Peace of Linz: religious freedom for the serfs.
1657–1705	Leopold I introduces Habsburg absolutism in Hungary.
1664	Miklós Zrinyi's winter campaign; Battle of St. Gotthard.
	Peace of Vasvár leaves Turkish conquest intact.
1672	The beginning of the *kuruc* liberation struggle.
1683	Ottoman siege of Vienna; defeat of Ottoman forces.
1686	Recapture of Buda from Ottomans.
1687	Transylvania falls under Habsburg rule.
	Diet at Pozsony recognizes Habsburg right of succession in Hungary.
1691	*Diploma Leopoldinum:* Transylvania becomes independent principality.
1697	*Kuruc* rebellion in the Tokaj region.
	Eugene of Savoy wins a decisive victory over Ottomans at Zenta.
1699	Peace treaty of Karlowitz ends Ottoman rule in Hungary.
1687–1918	Hungary under the Habsburgs.
1703–1711	War of liberation led by Ferenc Rákóczi II.
1711	Treaty of Szatmár ends rebellion and results in compromise between Habsburg monarchy and Hungarian rebels.
1722–1723	Hungarian Diet accepts Pragmatic Sanction.
	Habsburgs agree to rule Hungary subject to constitution and laws.
1767	Urbarial Patent regulates size of serfs' land holdings and labor services.
1781	Edict of Tolerance: religious freedom to non-Catholics.
1785	Decree of Joseph II reorganizing public administration in Hungary; abolition of perpetual serfdom.
1786	Romanian peasant insurrection in Transylvania.
1790–1792	Leopold II softens Habsburg policy.
1800–1848	Movement to reform the Hungarian language.
1802	Founding of the Hungarian National Museum.
1805	Laws printed in Hungarian and Latin, first achievement in the struggle for the recognition of the Hungarian language.
1830	Publication of *Hitel* (Credit) by Count István Széchenyi.
1832–1848	Period of reforms in the Diet. Lajos Kossuth leads the liberal-radical

	opposition. Diet makes Hungarian the country's official language. Opening of the National Theater at Pest. First railway line.
1848–1849	Hungary's War of Independence against Austria. A revolution against the absolute monarchy breaks out in Pest (15 March).
	Abdication of Emperor Ferdinand.
	Franz Joseph is enthroned.
	After the victorious spring campaign the Hungarian army retreats.
	The National Assembly, transferred to Debrecen, proclaims Hungary's independence and the dethronement of the Habsburgs (14 April 1849).
	Armies of Tsar Nicholas I invade Hungary to rescue Habsburg rule.
	Hungarian army lays down its arms to the Russians at Világos (15 August).
	Franz Joseph revokes Hungarian constitution and assumes absolute power.
1849–1850	General Haynau's martial rule in Hungary.
1851	Proclamation of the Principles of Government and open absolutism.
1860	István Széchenyi commits suicide.
	October Diploma issued.
1861	February Patent issued. First, brief parliament of the neoabsolutist period.
1866	The Austrian army is defeated by the Prussians at Sadowa (Königgrätz).
1867–1918	Dual Monarchy.
1867	Austro-Hungarian Compromise *(Ausgleich)* based on mutual concessions.
1867–1871	Count Gyula Andrássy's government.
1868	Hungarian parliament adopts liberal laws regarding education and the rights of the national minorities in the kingdom.
	In Hungarian-Croatian compromise, Croatia gains autonomy and control over its domestic affairs.
1871–1879	Gyula Andrássy serves as minister of foreign affairs of Dual Monarchy.
1873	Pest, Buda, and Óbuda are united, Budapest is born.
1879	Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Germany form the Dual Alliance.
1882	Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and Italy form Triple Alliance.
1894	Funeral of Lajos Kossuth.
	Libel trial of Romanian politicians (Memorandum trial).
	Sanctioning of laws on church–state relations.
1908	Annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina by Austria-Hungary.
	Launching of the progressive literary periodical *Nyugat* (The West).
1910	Mass emigration to America (more than 1.5 million).
28 June 1914	Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, at Sarajevo; outbreak of World War I.
1915	Count Mihály Károlyi forms Independence Party.
1916	Franz Joseph dies.
1918	General political strike.
	Defeat and disintegration of Austro-Hungarian monarchy (October).
	Democratic revolution.
	Abdication of King Charles IV.
	Formation of Hungarian National Council presided over by Mihály Károlyi.
11 January 1919	Károlyi becomes president of the republic.
1919	Law on land reform published.
21 March 1919	Hungarian Soviet Republic proclaimed under Communist leader Béla Kun.
1919	Anti-Bolshevik committee formed in Vienna under Count István Bethlen.
	Romanian forces occupy Budapest.
16 November 1919	Admiral Miklós Horthy's paramilitary forces enter the capital.
1920–1945	Trianon Hungary.
1 March 1920	Horthy elected regent of the kingdom.
4 June 1920	Under the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary loses two-thirds of its territory, 60 percent of its population, and most of its natural resources.
6 November 1921	Dethronement of the House of Habsburg.
1922	Hungary joins the League of Nations.
1927	Italian-Hungarian friendship treaty.
	Monetary stabilization.
1932–1936	Under Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös, a turn to the right, toward Germany and Italy, takes place.
1934	Rome Protocol on Hungarian, Italian, and Austrian cooperation.
1938	First anti-Jewish laws.
	First Vienna Award restores southern Slovakia to Hungary.
1939	Hungary regains Magyar-inhabited region of Carpatho-Ukraine.
	Second anti-Jewish laws.
	Rise of the Hungarian Nazis, the Arrow Cross Party, at the elections.
1940	Second Vienna Award restores northern Transylvania to Hungary.
	Adherence to the tripartite pact of Berlin-Rome-Tokyo.
1941	Hungary joins German attack on Yugoslavia.
	Hungary enters the war against Soviet Union (June) and declares war against Allies (December).

1942–1943	Prime Minister Miklós Kállay attempts peace overtures toward the Allies.
1943	The Hungarian Second Army is annihilated at Voronezh on the Don.
	Secret negotiations with Britain.
1944	Germany occupies Hungary (19 March).
	Deportation of almost half a million Jews from the provinces.
	Red Army crosses Hungarian border.
1944	Horthy proclaims armistice on the radio (October 15).
	Germans occupy strategic points.
	Horthy appoints Arrow Cross leader Ferenc Szálasi as head of the Council of Ministers.
	Assassination or deportation of 105,000 Jews.
	Anti-German provisional government formed in Debrecen.
1945–1989	Postwar and Communist Hungary.
1945	Soviet troops drive all German troops out of Hungary (April 4).
	Legislative elections (November 4): Smallholders Party 57 percent, Communist Party 17 percent. Coalition government includes four Communists.
1946	Proclamation of the Republic; Zoltán Tildy becomes first president.
	Nationalization of banks and the iron and steel industry.
1947	Three-year plan of reconstruction.
	Peace treaty signed in Paris (February 10).
	Arrests and sham trials of non-Communist politicians.
	Forced resignation of Premier Ferenc Nagy.
1948	Forced fusion of the Social Democratic Party with the Communist Party; further nationalization.
	Closing of church-operated schools.
1949	Hungarian People's Republic proclaimed with Soviet-style constitution (August 20); Cardinal József Mindszenty and other Church dignitaries arrested and tried.
	Trial and execution of Communist Minister of Internal Affairs László Rajk.
1949–1953	Stalinist political, economic, and social systems are imposed.
1953	Stalin dies.
1955	Reformer Imre Nagy becomes prime minister, implements New Course.
1956	Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party (February).
	Opposition group of Hungarian intellectuals (Petőfi Circle) grows.
	Solemn funeral of Rajk and other victims of Stalinist terror (October) culminates in mass demonstrations in Budapest.
	The Hungarian Revolution erupts (23 October).
	Soviet army invades Hungary (4 November) and installs János Kádár.
	Hungarian Workers Party renamed Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.
	Exodus of 200,000 Hungarians.
1957–1963	Period of repression.
	Imre Nagy and associates tried and executed (June 1958).
	Trial of writers and freedom fighters; over 300 executions.
1961	Recollectivization of agriculture.
1963	General amnesty; relaxation of repression.
1968	Launching of economic reforms: "New Economic Mechanism."
1984	Hungary begins to establish semi-independent foreign policy.
1987	Democratic opposition spreads.
1988	Károly Grósz replaces Kádár as Communist Party leader.
	Creation of democratic political parties.
1989–	Post-Communist era.
1989	The year of changes.
26 January	Exhumation and reburial of Nagy and his associates is authorized.
	Workers are granted the right to strike.
10–11 February	Central Committee formally endorses the idea of multiparty system.
20–21 February	Central Committee approves draft of new constitution, omitting leading role of the Communist Party.
11 March	Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) holds its first congress.
23 March	Revived Smallholders Party holds its first congress.
6 April	Withdrawal of 10,000 (of the 62,000) Red Army troops from Hungary announced.
8–9 May	Central Committee relieves János Kádár of his party posts.
14 June	Tripartite roundtable talks begin for a democratic transition.
16 June	Reburial of Imre Nagy and associates; hundreds of thousands attend.
6 July	János Kádár dies; Imre Nagy rehabilitated by Supreme Court.
11–12 July	U.S. President George Bush visits Budapest.
September	Foreign Minister Gyula Horn announces "temporary suspension" of agreement with East Germany; East German citizens are allowed to cross into Austria.
10 October	Central Committee changes party's name to Socialist, led by Rezső Nyers.
23 October	Republic of Hungary proclaimed.

March 1990	Legislative elections: Democratic Forum forms center-right coalition government, headed by historian József Antall. Árpád Göncz, president of the republic.
1994	Legislative elections. Socialist (ex-Communist) Party gets an absolute majority. Gyula Horn forms a coalition government with Liberal Democrats.
1996	Commemoration of the eleventh centenary of the arrival of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin.
1997	Protocols signed for Hungary to join NATO.
2004	Hungary joins the European Union (EU).

CROATIA

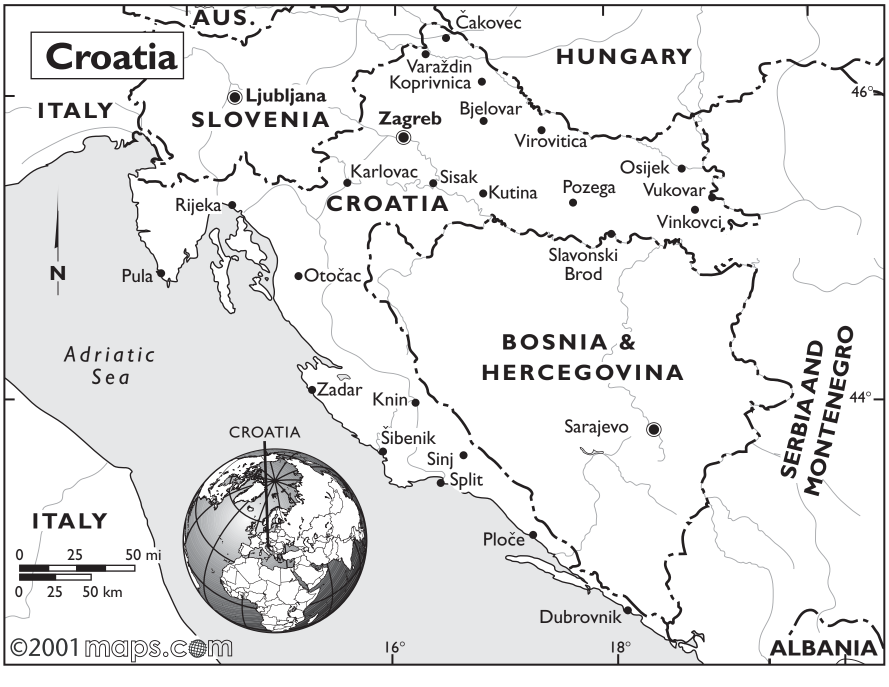
MARK BIONDICH

LAND AND PEOPLE

GEOGRAPHY

The Republic of Croatia (in Croatian, Republika Hrvatska) is situated in Southeastern Europe. It is located in the northwestern part of the Balkan Peninsula, bounded by Slovenia in the northwest, Hungary in the northeast, Serbia-Montenegro in the east, Bosnia-Hercegovina in the south and east, and the Adriatic Sea in the west. Croatia is a comparatively small country with a total area of 56,538 square kilometers, with a coastline that extends 5,790 kilometers (mainland 1,778 kilometers, and the islands 4,012 kilometers).

Croatia is composed of four historic provinces: Croatia proper (with Zagreb), Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Istria. Croatia proper, which is composed of the areas known as Medjimurje, Hrvatsko Zagorje, Moslavina, Banija, Kordun, Lika, and Gorski Kotar, is the most heavily populated area and also the industrial and agricultural center of Croatia. According to the census of 31 March 2001, Croatia proper had a population of 2,571,764, or 57.9 percent of Croatia's total population. The principal towns are Karlovac, Petrinja, Sisak, and Čakovec. Slavonia is a fertile agricultural and forested lowland bounded in part by the Drava River in the north and the Sava River in the south. Wheat and corn are the primary crops; the leading industry is food processing. It also has oil and natural gas deposits. According to the 2001 census, this province had 797,870 inhabitants, or 18 percent of the total population of Croatia. The principal towns of Slavonia are Osijek, Slavonski Brod, and Vukovar. Dalmatia extends along the Adriatic Sea. In 2001 it had 861,482 inhabitants, or 19.4 percent of the total population of Croatia. Its principal towns are Split, Zadar, Šibenik, and Dubrovnik. The local economy is oriented toward the sea; the scenic location and historic monuments make Dalmatia an important tourist destination. Split is the largest town and a leading commercial center. Shipbuilding and the production of plastics, chemicals, and cement are the major industries. The town of Zadar is also a leading tourist center, in addition to having industries that produce liqueur, processed fish, textiles, and cigarettes. The city also has several Roman monuments and medieval churches and palaces. Šibenik is a seaport and naval base, with shipbuilding, metalworking, and aluminum industries. Dubrovnik is also an important tourist and cultural center. Istria is a mountainous peninsula approximately 3,900 square kilometers in size. Although the vast majority of the peninsula is part of Croatia, a smaller part of the northwestern portion belongs to Slovenia and Italy, including the city of Trieste. The area is thickly forested and predominantly agricultural. In 2001 Istria had a population of 206,344, representing about 4.7 percent of Croatia's total population. Pula is the principal town and a shipbuilding center. It is a major seaport and industrial center, with shipyards, docks, and varied manufactures.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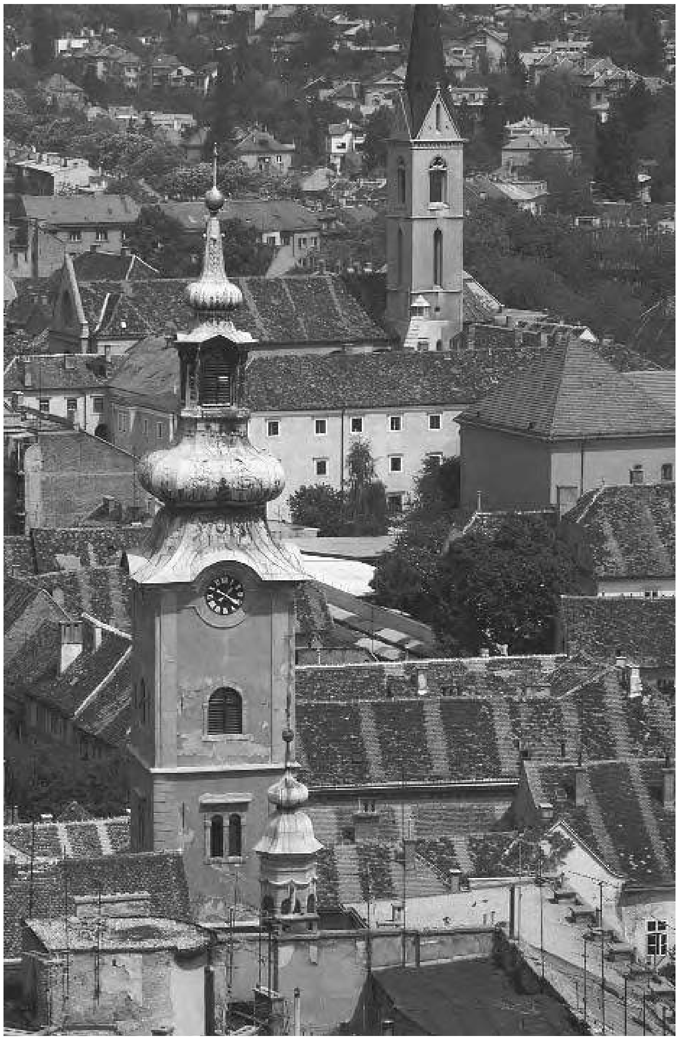

Clock tower in Zagreb. (Tim Thompson/Corbis)

Croatia is a geographically diverse land composed of three distinct zones: the Adriatic (or Littoral), the Mountainous (or Dinaric), and the Continental (or Lowland). The Adriatic zone consists of the relatively narrow strip of territory running along the Adriatic coastline, consisting of the peninsula of Istria, the Croatian Littoral, Dalmatia, and the islands. The coastline extends 5,790 kilometers. The climate in this zone is characterized by hot and dry summers and mild and rainy winters. The Adriatic zone may be divided further into a northern part, consisting of Istria and the Kvarner, and a southern part, which includes Dalmatia.

The Croatian Adriatic has a total of 1,185 islands and islets with a total coastline of 4,012 kilometers. Of the 1,185 islands and islets, 718 are islands in the conventional sense, of which only 66 are inhabited. There are an additional 389 "rocks" and 78 reefs. There are fourteen islands with a total size of more than 50 square kilometers. Eight of these islands are larger than 100 square kilometers: Krk (409 square kilometers), Cres (405.8 square kilometers), Brač (394.6 square kilometers), Pag (299.7 square kilometers), Korčula (284.6 square kilometers), and Hvar (276 square kilometers), Dugi Otok (114.4 square kilometers), and Mljet (100.4 square kilometers). The inhabited islands are sparsely populated. According to the 1991 census, only four islands had more than 10,000 inhabitants: Korčula (17,038), Krk (16,402), Brač (13,824), and Hvar (11,459).

The Continental (or Lowland) zone is composed of Croatia proper with Slavonia. The western part of this zone lies in the Dinaric Alps; the eastern part, drained by the Sava and Drava rivers, is mostly low lying and agricultural. Slavonia is a fertile agricultural region and hence the country's chief farming region and a center of livestock breeding. The northwestern part of this zone, and especially the capital Zagreb with its environs, is industrially the most developed part of the whole country. The climate in this entire zone may be termed continental. Winters are normally cold and snowy while summers are short and humid. More than one-third of Croatia is forested and consequently lumber is a major export. There are also some natural resources like oil, bauxite, copper, and iron ore.

The Continental and Adriatic zones are separated by the Mountainous (or Dinaric) zone, which consists of low mountains and highlands. This transitional zone is a barren, rocky region lying in the Dinaric Alps and consisting of the Lika region and the Velebit range. This hilly and mountainous area is economically the least developed part of Croatia. A considerable part of Croatia lies at an altitude of over 500 meters, but there are no mountains higher than 2,000 meters. The highest mountains are found in the Mountainous zone (e.g., Risnjak at 1,528 meters, Velika Kapela at 1,533 meters, and Plješivica at 1,657 meters) or close to the sea (e.g., Velebit at 1,758 meters). The highest mountains in Dalmatia are Biokovo (1,762 meters) near the sea and Dinara (1,831 meters) in the hinterland.

Croatia has no mountains exceeding 2,000 meters, although it has twenty-one mountains with peaks exceeding 1,000 meters above sea level. The five tallest peaks (and the mountain ranges where they are located) are Dinara (in the Dinara Mountains) at 1,830 meters, Kamešnica (in the Kamešnica range) at 1,810 meters, Sveti Jure (in the Biokovo range) at 1,762 meters, Vaganski vrh (in the Velebit range) at 1,757 meters, and Ozeblin (in the Plješivica range) at 1,657 meters.

Croatia's rivers belong to the Adriatic and the Black Sea basin. The rivers in the interior are large and calmer (e.g., Sava, Drava, and Danube). The coastal rivers are shorter and have a higher gradient. The longest coastal rivers are the Mirna and the Rasa in the Istrian Peninsula and the Zrmanja, the Krka, and the Cetina in Dalmatia.

Croatia has approximately thirty small lakes. Only three of these are larger than 10 square kilometers. The largest is Lake Vrana (30.7 square kilometers) near Biograd-na-moru in Dalmatia. The second largest is the man-made Lake Peruča (13.0 square kilometers) located on the Cetina River near Sinj, also in Dalmatia. The third largest is Lake Prokljan (11.1 square kilometers) along the Krka River near Šibenik. There are also a number of artificially constructed lakes. The largest is Lake Peruča; others include Lakes Lokve and Bajer in Gorski Kotar and Trakošćan in the region of Hrvatsko Zagorje. Lake Kopačevo and the surrounding swamp forests in the Baranja region of eastern Croatia are a

Plitvice Lakes, a World Heritage site. (Corel Corporation)

major bird habitat. The most famous lakes in Croatia, and also an important tourist destination, are the Plitvice Lakes. This chain of sixteen lakes is designated as a national park with a total area of 19,479 hectares.

Croatia has eight national parks: Kornati (30,200 hectares in size), Plitvice Lakes (19,479 hectares), Krka (14,200 hectares), Paklenica (3,617 hectares), Mljet (3,100 hectares), Risnjak (3,014 hectares), Brijuni (2,700 hectares), and Northern Velebit (10,900 hectares). Additionally, there are six "nature parks" totaling 317,502 hectares in area, two "strict" reserves totaling 2,395 hectares, and sixty-nine "special" reserves totaling 30,372 hectares. There are also twenty-eight protected nature areas totaling 17,544 hectares. These state-protected nature zones amount to roughly 7.5 percent of Croatian state territory.

Croatia has a total of 3.15 million hectares of agricultural land of which roughly 2 million is cultivated. The rest consists of pastures, moors, and fishponds. The majority of cultivated land (81.5 percent) is privately owned. There is 59,000 hectares of land allotted to vineyards. In 2001 there were 1,142 companies employing 22,300 employees in the agricultural sector. Of the three geographic zones in Croatia, only the Lowland zone (i.e., Slavonia), with its fertile soil and continental climate, is favorably suited for agriculture.

POPULATION

According to the last Croatian census, conducted on 31 March 2001, the total population of Croatia was 4,437,460. Croats compose the vast majority of the population, numbering 3,977,171 persons, or 89.63 percent of the total population. Of the country's minorities, the most numerous are the Serbs, who number 201,631 or 4.54 percent of the population. Nearly a dozen other nationalities compose the remaining 258,658 inhabitants (5.83 percent). The 2001 census indicates that important changes have taken place in Croatia's population since the last census, which was conducted in March 1991. These changes can be attributed almost entirely to the breakup of Yugoslavia and the war in Croatia (1991–1995).

According to the 1991 census, which was conducted on the eve of the war in Croatia, the Republic of Croatia had 4,760,344 inhabitants, that is, 322,884 more people than it had in March 2001. In 1991 Croats composed 77.9 percent of the population while in 2001 that percentage had increased to 89.6 percent. Conversely, the Serb component of the population has declined over the same period from 12.2 to 4.5 percent. Historically, Serbs have been the largest non-Croat nationality in Croatia and were settled primarily in those regions that had formed from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries parts of the Habsburg "military

The Croatian Language

Croatian is the official language of the Republic of Croatia. It is the mother tongue of over 5 million persons in Croatia and other parts of former Yugoslavia. The Croatian language belongs to the South Slavic group of the Slavic branch of Indo-European languages. It is virtually identical to Serbian and closely related to Slovenian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian.

The Croatian language may be divided into three dialects, each named according to the word used for "what": Kajkavian *(kaj),* Čakavian *(ča),* and Štokavian *(što).* The Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects have a relatively limited territorial base within Croatia: the latter is spoken in Zagreb, its wider environs, and the region of Hrvatsko Zagorje, and the former in Istria, part of the Croatian Littoral, and some of the northern Adriatic islands. Štokavian is the most widely spoken dialect in Croatia. The Štokavian dialect may be further grouped into three subdialects, according to the treatment of vowels in certain words. On this basis, Štokavian may be grouped into ekavian, ikavian, and ijekavian variants. The modern Croatian literary language is based on the ijekavian variant, while the ekavian variant, which is spoken in Serbia proper, forms the basis of modern literary Serbian.

The Croatian language has a rich and long literary history. The earliest written records in Croatian date from the ninth to the eleventh centuries and are in Old Church Slavonic, a liturgical language developed by the Greek missionaries Cyril and Methodius. Old Church Slavonic was based on the Macedonian Slav vernacular of Salonika's hinterland, which Cyril and Methodius adapted to written form. The script employed to write this language was known as Glagolitic; in Christian Orthodox societies it was eventually replaced by the Cyrillic script, while in Catholic Slavic countries it was replaced by the Latin script, in the Croatian case by the fourteenth century. Thus the Croatian variant of Old Church Slavonic in the Glagolitic script represents the earliest form of literary Croatian.

The first major text written in Croatian Old Church Slavonic was the Baška Tablet (ca. 1100) recording the donation by the Croatian King Zvonimir of a property to the Benedictine convent of the island Krk. Written in the Glagolitic script, the tablet is so named because it was found in St. Lucy's church near Baška on the island of Krk. It stands as a cornerstone of Croatian literary development, although fragments of earlier inscriptions written in Glagolitic and dating from the eleventh century have been found on the islands of Krk and Cres (the Valun Tablet) and in Istria.

The Croatian language flourished during the Renaissance, particularly in Dalmatia and Dubrovnik. The most famous literary figure of the time, the humanist writer Marko Marulić (1450–1524) of Split, wrote his famous epic poem *Judita* (Judith; 1501) in Croatian and had it published in Venice in 1521. A younger contemporary, the playwright Marin Držić (1508–1567) of Dubrovnik, also distinguished himself. The first Croatian grammar, the *Institutionum linguae Illyricae* (Rome, 1604), was published by Bartol Kašić (1575–1650) in this same era. Although Kašić's native dialect was Čakavian, he urged the use of the ikavian variant of Štokavian as the basis of Croatian. It was one of the earliest attempts at standardizing the Croatian literary language. Kašić also began translating the Bible into Croatian; Matija Petar Katančić completed his project in the early nineteenth century. The city-state of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) produced a number of outstanding humanist and Renaissance writers. In addition to Marin Držić, it produced great writers like Ivan Gundulić (1589–1638) and Julije Palmotić (1605–1657). Ivan Belostenec published the first Latin-Croatian dictionary in 1740.

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frontier," that is, Kordun, Banija, Lika, and western Slavonia, although a sizable minority settled also in northern Dalmatia. In 1991 Serbs composed an absolute majority in eleven Croatian municipalities. During the war in Croatia these municipalities and some adjoining territories seized by the Yugoslav People's Army formed part of the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina. In August 1995, during the Croatian Army's Operation Storm, the Serb population of this region either fled or was expelled. The other national minorities have not witnessed major changes, although the category of "Yugoslav" has disappeared entirely; in 1991 Yugoslavs composed 2.2 percent of the population.

According to the 1991 census, Croatia had a total of 6,694 settlements: 205 urban settlements (i.e., towns, cities) and 6,489 rural settlements (villages, hamlets). In all, 57.1 percent of the Croatian population lived in urban settlements. By far the largest city is Zagreb. In 2001 it had a population of 779,145. The three largest cities after Zagreb are Split, Rijeka, and Osijek.

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Although the center of gravity of Croatian culture and literature lay in Dalmatia until the seventeenth century, after that point the center shifted north to Croatia proper. In the nineteenth century the Croat national awakeners, known as the Illyrian movement, had a critical role in the further evolution of Croatian literature and language. In the 1830s Zagreb became both the political and cultural center of the Croat lands. However, the Illyrianist awakeners first had to contend with the name of the spoken language. They initially referred to it as "Illyrian" and later as "Croatian or Serbian." For the remainder of the nineteenth century, the language was referred to as "Croatian" or "Croatian and Serbian." After the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in December 1918, the term "Serbo-Croatian" became official. The proponents of Yugoslavist unitarism believed that just as the Croat, Serb, and Slovene "tribes" would be melded into a hybrid Yugoslav nationality, so too would the "Croatian or Serbian" tongue merge into a single literary language. However, this proved problematical on many levels. As Yugoslavia's political experience soured and resistance to state centralism stiffened among the non-Serbs, resistance to linguistic unity grew also.

This raises one of the controversial aspects of the Croatian language question, namely, its relationship to the Serbian language and whether the two are really the same language. In 1850 a group of Croat, Serb, and Slovene intellectuals signed the so-called Vienna Literary Convention, calling for the creation of a common language of Croats and Serbs. Many Croat intellectuals rejected it; nevertheless it raised the whole issue of linguistic unitarism. For nineteenth century Croat intellectuals of a Yugoslavist cultural orientation, it was hoped that linguistic unity would nurture cultural and perhaps, at some distant future point, even political unification of the South Slavs.

Thus what initially began as "Croatian or Serbian" subsequently became "Croato-Serbian" or "Serbo-Croatian," first in royalist and then communist Yugoslavia. The communist authorities at first referred to Croatian and Serbian languages, but in 1954 twenty-five Serb, Croat, and Montenegrin writers and linguists met at Novi Sad to pass a new law designating "Serbo-Croatian" as the official language and passed a resolution calling for the publication of a common Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian orthography and dictionary. In Croatia this decision was resisted, implicitly or explicitly, on both political and cultural grounds. Politically it was seen as a manifestation of Belgrade centralism and culturally as a degradation of Croatian to the status of a regional dialect. In March 1967 eighteen Croatian scholarly institutions published the "Declaration Concerning the Name and Position of the Croatian Literary Language," which emphasized that although Croatian and Serbian possess the same linguistic basis, they are nonetheless two separate languages. The declaration was an early indicator of the level of dissatisfaction of many Croat intellectuals with the treatment of Croatian culture, and indeed the Croat nation generally, in communist Yugoslavia. This growing dissatisfaction culminated in the Croatian reform movement known as the so-called Croatian Spring, which was crushed in 1971 but not before it renounced the Novi Sad Agreement. Following the demise of communism in Yugoslavia and the move toward Croatian independence, Croatian was proclaimed in December 1990 as the official language of the Republic of Croatia.

In 1991 Croatia had a population density of 84.2 inhabitants per square kilometer. The most densely populated areas of Croatia are the cities of Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, and Osijek, in addition to the Medjimurje region. The cities of Split and Zagreb have population densities (persons per square kilometer) of 1,386.7 and 544.5, respectively, while Osijek and Čakovec municipality (in Medjimurje region) have population densities of 249.7 and 164.1, respectively. The population density (per square kilometer) of other selected towns and municipalities is: Donja Stubica municipality (123.4), Ivanec municipality (120.3), the city of Karlovac (126.9), Rijeka (393.6), and Varaždin (250.7).

Among the twenty counties (and the city of Zagreb), the population is distributed as follows:

County	*Number*	*Percentage of Total*
Bjelovar-Bilogora	133,084	3.0
Dubrovnik-Neretva	122,870	2.8
Istria	206,344	4.7
Karlovac	141,787	3.2
Koprivnica-Križevci	124,467	2.8
Krapina-Zagorje	142,432	3.2
Lika-Senj	53,677	1.2
Medjimurje	118,426	2.7
Osijek-Baranja	330,506	7.4
Požega-Slavonia	85,831	1.9
Primorje-Gorski kotar	305,505	6.9

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County	*Number*	*Percentage of Total*
Šibenik-Knin	112,891	2.5
Sisak-Moslavina	185,387	4.2
Slavonski Brod-Posavina	176,765	4.0
Split-Dalmatia	463,676	10.4
Varaždin	184,769	4.2
Virovitica-Podravina	93,389	2.1
Vukovar-Srijem	204,768	4.6
Zadar	162,045	3.7
Zagreb (county)	309,696	6.9
Zagreb (city)	779,145	17.6
Total	4,437,460	100.0

Among the four provinces the majority of the population is found in Croatia proper:

Province	*Population*	*Percentage of Total*
Croatia proper (with Zagreb)	2,571,764	57.9
Dalmatia	861,482	19.4
Istria	206,344	4.7
Slavonia	797,870	18.0
Total	4,437,460	100.0

From the census of 1890 until 2001, the population of Croatia has grown by close to 1.6 million people:

Evolution of the Population of Croatia, 1890–2001

	1890	*1921*	*1948*	*1991*	*2001*
Total	2,854,558	3,443,375	3,779,858	4,784,265	4,437,460

In 2001 the estimated population growth was 1.48 percent, reflecting a birthrate of 12.82 per 1,000 inhabitants (the death rate is 11.41 deaths per 1,000). The infant mortality rate is 7.21 deaths per 1,000 live births. Life expectancy is approximately 73.9 years (70.28 years for men and 77.73 years for women).

Croatia is a highly homogeneous society, with most of the population (96.12 percent) identifying Croatian as their native language. (Another 1.01 percent identify Serbian as their "mother tongue," 0.16 percent Serbo-Croatian, and 2.71 percent as "other" or "unknown.") The literacy rate for persons over ten years of age is 98.23 percent (99.33 percent for men and 97.23 percent for women).

Of the total population of 4,437,460 in the 2001 census, the single largest religious denomination is the Roman Catholic, with 3,897,332 adherents, representing 87.83 percent of the population. There are 6,219 followers of the Greek Catholic and 303 followers of the Old Catholic rites, representing 0.14 percent and 0.01 percent of the population, respectively. The largest non-Catholic denomination is the Orthodox Christian with 195,969 followers representing 4.42 percent of the population. The religious composition of the remainder of the country is as follows: Muslim 56,777 (1.28 percent); Jewish 495 (0.01 percent); Adventist 3,001 (0.07 percent); Baptist 1,981 (0.04 percent); Evangelical 3,339 (0.08 percent); Jehovah's Witness 6,094 (0.14 percent); Calvinist 4,053 (0.09 percent); Methodist 15 (0.00 percent); Pentecostal 336 (0.01 percent); other 4,764 (0.11 percent); agnostic 132,532 (2.99 percent); atheist 98,376 (2.22 percent); unknown 25,874 (0.58 percent). The statistics on religious affiliation generally reflect the country's nationality composition. For example, the Orthodox Christian population (4.42 percent) is predominantly of the Serb nationality (4.54 percent) and most Croats (89.63 percent) are Roman Catholic (87.83 percent).

The 1990 Constitution of the Republic of Croatia provides for freedom of conscience and religion and free public profession of religious conviction. Croatian governments since 1990 have in practice generally respected these rights. Although Croatia has no official state religion, the Roman Catholic Church has since the end of World War II been a powerful national symbol. Since 1990, it has enjoyed a special relationship with the state not shared by other denominations; the line separating the Roman Catholic Church and the state has occasionally appeared blurred since the first democratic elections. The then ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) periodically attempted to identify itself more closely with the Catholic Church. Under Franjo Cardinal Kuharić, the former archbishop of Zagreb, the Catholic Church identified itself with the Croat national cause. More often than not, however, the Catholic Church retained an independent role in society and was occasionally critical of the political situation in Croatia and some of the semiauthoritarian measures of the government. Since 1997, under the new head of the Catholic Church, Archbishop Josip Bozanić, the Catholic Church has publicly promoted reconciliation, dialogue, and the return of refugees.

The Croatian government requires that religious training be provided in schools, although attendance is optional. Schools filling the necessary quota of seven minority students per class offer separate religion classes for these students. In classes not meeting this quota, minority students may fulfill the religion requirement by bringing a certificate that they had received classes from their religious community. Since 1990 the Croatian government has not imposed any formal restrictions on religious groups or their ability freely to conduct public services. The Roman Catholic Church receives direct subsidies, as well as state financing for some salaries and pensions for priests and nuns through the government-managed pension and health funds. Other religious communities still do not have such an agreement with the state, nor is there yet a law that regulates these issues. Catholic marriages are recognized by the state, eliminating the need to register them in the civil registry office. The Muslim and Jewish communities have sought a similar status, but the issue has yet to be resolved to their satisfaction.

The official coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia is a historical Croatian coat of arms in the shape of a shield. The checkered pattern has twenty-five alternating red and white fields, so that the upper left corner of the shield is red. Above the shield is a crown with five peaks, which touches the left and right upper ends of the shield, bending in a slight arch.

The crown is divided into five small shields with historical Croatian coats of arms, in the following order, from left to right: the oldest known Croatian coat of arms, then coats of arms of the Dubrovnik Republic, Dalmatia, Istria, and Slavonia. The height of the smaller fields in the crown is 2.5 times the size of the fields in the main shield, while the width of both sets of fields is the same. The oldest known Croatian coat of arms has a yellow (golden) six-pointed star and a white (argent) new moon on a blue shield. A golden rim borders the entire coat of arms. The coat of arms of the Dubrovnik Republic has two red beams on a navy blue shield. The Dalmatian coat of arms has three yellow (golden) crowned leopard heads on a blue shield. The Istrian coat of arms has a yellow (golden) goat with red hoofs and horns facing left, on a navy blue shield. The Slavonian coat of arms has two horizontal white (argent) beams on a blue shield. Between the beams there is a red field with a marten in motion facing left. There is a yellow (golden) six-pointed star in the chief blue field. A red line trims the entire coat of arms.

The flag of the Republic of Croatia consists of three bands of color—red, white, and blue—with the Croatian coat of arms in the center. The length is twice the width. Its colors, in the order red, white, and blue, are laid horizontally, each one-third the width of the flag. The Croatian coat of arms is placed in the center of the flag so that the upper part of the coat of arms (the crown) overlaps the red field of the flag, and the bottom part of the coat of arms overlaps the flag's blue field. The center of the coat of arms is placed at the point where the diagonals of the flag meet. The Croatian tricolor was first used during the Revolutions of 1848–1849.

The national anthem of the Republic of Croatia is "Lijepa naša domovino" (Our Beautiful Homeland). Composed by Antun Mihanović (1796–1861), it was first published as a poem under the title "Croatian Homeland" in the 14 March 1835 issue of the journal *Danica* (The Dawn). The original poem was much longer than the official national anthem; only the first and last eight verses were adopted for the official version. In 1846 the Croatian Serb Josip (Josif) Runjanin composed the musical score. The anthem was first played as such in 1891. The text of the anthem of the Republic of Croatia is:

Lijepa naša domovino,	Our Beautiful Homeland
Oj junačka zemljo mila,	O so fearless, o so gracious.
Stare slave djedovino,	Our fathers' ancient glory,
da bi vazda sretna bila!	May God bless you, live forever!

Mila, kano si nam slavna,	You are our only glory,
Mila si nam ti jedina.	You are our only treasure,
Mila kuda si nam ravna,	Yes, we love your plains and valleys,
Mila, kuda si planina!	Yes, we love your hills and mountains.

Teci Dravo, Savo teci,	Sava, Drava, keep on flowing,
Nit' ti Dunav silu gubi,	Danube, do not lose your vigor,
Sinje more svijetu reci,	Deep blue sea, go tell the whole world,
Da svoj narod Hrvat ljubi.	That a Croat loves his homeland.

Dok mu njive sunce grije,	When his fields are kissed by sunshine,
Dok mu hrašće bura vije,	When his oaks are whipped by wild winds,
Dok mu mrtve grobak krije,	When his dear ones go to heaven,
Dok mu živo srce bije!"	Still his heart beats for Croatia!

HISTORY

SETTLEMENT AND NATIVE RULE TO 1102

Relatively little is known of the early medieval history of the lands that today compose Croatia or of the people who bear the Croat name. The name Croat (in Croatian, *Hrvat*) is of unknown origin but was apparently first mentioned in the third century C.E. in an inscription discovered near the Sea of Azov. Many scholars now believe that the original Croats were not Slavs but nomadic Sarmatians who roamed Central Asia and permanently entered Europe around the third or fourth century C.E. This theory proposes that these Croats settled in a land called White Croatia, in what is now southern Poland near Cracow, where they established a short-lived and rudimentary state. These Croats, some scholars have claimed, ruled over and were eventually assimilated by the far more numerous indigenous Slavic-speaking tribes of that region; eventually they bequeathed to these Slavs their name.

According to a tenth century Byzantine source, in the seventh century C.E. the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius enlisted the Croat tribes of White Croatia against the Avars, a people who were threatening Byzantine control of the western Balkans. At that point, around 630, the Croat tribes migrated southward and eventually settled in their present-day homeland, thereby establishing the Croat presence in the western Balkans. In their new homeland the Croats gradually displaced or assimilated the indigenous population, which consisted of Illyrian tribes, Vlachs, and a Romanized element in the towns of Dalmatia.

At the time of the Croat settlement of the Balkans, the Roman presence and culture had already permeated the region for half a millennium. In 35 B.C.E. the Roman emperor Octavian had conquered the eastern Adriatic coastal region and by 14 C.E., Rome had subjugated the indigenous Celtic and Illyrian tribes of the western and central Balkans. The Romans brought with them law and order and bequeathed many lasting monuments. In order to govern more effectively their Balkan possessions, the Romans

Diocletian's Palace

The Roman emperor Diocletian (r. 284–305 C.E.) was born in Salona, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, in 245. At the end of the third century, Diocletian built a palace in what is today the city of Split, just a few kilometers from Salona. Following his abdication in 305 (the motives for which still remain unclear), he retired to the palace.

Today the palace lies in the heart of Split. The importance of Diocletian's Palace far transcends local significance because of its level of preservation and the buildings of succeeding historical periods, stretching from the Roman period onward, that form the very fabric of old Split. The palace is one of the most famous architectural and cultural constructs on the Adriatic coast and holds an outstanding place in the Mediterranean, European, and world heritage. In November 1979 UNESCO added the historic Split inner city, built around Diocletian's Palace, to its register of World Cultural Heritage sites.

Despite its obvious importance, Diocletian's Palace is hardly an archeological site. That is to say, its shape and style need to be extrapolated from its remains, which have been altered because of construction over the centuries. The ground plan of the palace is an irregular rectangle with towers projecting from the western, northern, and eastern facades. It combines the qualities of a luxurious villa with those of a military camp. Only the southern facade, which rose directly from the sea, was unfortified. The elaborate architectural composition of the arcaded gallery on its upper floor differs from the more severe treatment of the three shore facades. A monumental gate in the middle of each of these walls led to an enclosed courtyard. The southern Sea Gate has a simpler design, perhaps because it was originally intended as the emperor's private access to the sea or as a service entrance for supplies.

The dual nature of the architectural scheme is also evident in the arrangement of the interior. The transverse road linking the eastern and western gates divided the complex in two. The more luxurious structures (such as the emperor's apartment) were located in the southern half. Although for many centuries almost completely filled with refuse, most of the substructure is well preserved. A monumental court formed the northern access to the imperial apartments. It also gave access to Diocletian's Mausoleum on the east, and to three temples on the west. The northern half of the palace, which was divided in two parts by the main longitudinal street leading from the North Gate, is less well preserved. It is believed that each of these parts formed a large residential complex, housing soldiers, servants, and other facilities. The palace is built of white limestone, tufa (or porous stones) taken from the nearby river beds, and brick. One can still find along the road from Split to Salona the impressive remains of the original aqueduct, which was restored in the nineteenth century. Diocletian's Palace is one of Croatia's historical and archeological treasures.

divided their territories into separate provinces linked by roads, towns, and fortresses. Three Roman provinces encompassed what later became the Croat lands: Dalmatia (i.e., Dalmatia, most of Bosnia-Hercegovina), Pannonia (i.e., eastern Slavonia, northeastern Bosnia), and Savia (i.e., western Slavonia, Croatia proper). But perhaps the greatest legacy of Rome was the separation of the empire, in 395 C.E., into western (Roman) and eastern (Byzantine) halves. This division eventually became a cultural chasm, following the church schism of 1054, and a permanent feature of the European cultural landscape. It likewise separated the South Slavs. The Croats settled on the territorial cusp of this chasm.

By the late eighth century, two powerful empires were contesting the Croat lands: the Germanic Frankish Empire to the northwest and the Byzantine Empire to the southeast. Most of the Croat tribes lived under loose Byzantine rule, but in reality the Croats alternated between Frankish and Byzantine control in this period; the Franks dominated in the north (the Roman provinces of Savia and Pannonia) and Byzantium in the south (Dalmatia). However, the Byzantine Empire continued to exert a far greater political and cultural influence at the time.

It was in this context that an obscure figure named Ljudevit, apparently the ruler of a rudimentary principality in Pannonia, led a revolt in 818 against the Franks. The revolt was suppressed by 823, but the first steps in Croatian political development had been taken. With Ljudevit's revolt suppressed, the focus of Croatian politics moved to Dalmatia, where Croats had already established their first port towns (e.g., Šibenik, Biograd, Nin), a small navy, and a seat of government (Knin). The most notable of these early Croat rulers in Dalmatia was a tribal chief named Trpimir (r. 845–864), who gave his name to the dynasty (Trpimirovićes, r. 845–1089) that governed first the Croatian principality and then the independent kingdom. Trpimir led successful military campaigns against the Bulgarians and the Byzantine Empire in Dalmatia and issued the first charter in which he is mentioned as the prince of Croatia.

Under Branimir (r. 879–892), the Croatian principality in Dalmatia established close links with the papacy; in 879, the year of his accession, he obtained the pope's recognition of Croatia as an independent principality. The Christianization of the Croats, undoubtedly a lengthy process, began in this period. Missionaries came to Croatia in greater number during his reign. Most of them were disciples of Sts. Cyril and Methodius; they brought with them liturgical texts in the Old Slavonic language and in the Glagolitic script, which the two saints had developed. From that point, liturgical services were held in this language and church books were written in this script. This was the beginning of the written word among the Croats.

Under Tomislav (r. 910–928), Croatia became an independent kingdom and a powerful state in the western Balkans. He organized a strong military and defeated the Magyars who had recently arrived from the Russian steppe and forced them permanently across the Drava River, which today forms the border between Croatia and Hungary. As a result, he brought Slavonia under his rule, thereby unifying the two Croatian principalities. As an ally of Byzantium, Tomislav helped defeat the Bulgarians and was granted in return the right to administer the coastal towns (e.g., Zadar, Split, and Trogir), thus rounding off his state from the Adriatic Sea to the Drava River. In 925 Tomislav was crowned king, apparently by or in the presence of a papal legate.

Several able rulers succeeded Tomislav, foremost of whom were Držislav (r. 969–997) and Petar Krešimir IV (r. 1058–1074), during whose reign Croatia achieved its greatest territorial extent. Both rulers bore the title of "King of Dalmatia and Croatia," administered the relatively prosperous Dalmatian towns, and successfully resisted encroachments by Venice in the west and Byzantium in the southeast. During the reign of Dmitar Zvonimir (r. 1075–1089), a Charter containing his name and title was engraved in stone. Known as the Baška Tablet, it is the oldest artifact written in the Croatian language, in the Glagolitic script. However, the death of Dmitar Zvonimir marked the end of the native dynasty and independent statehood.

At that point a struggle ensued for the Croatian throne. A faction of nobles or tribal chiefs contested the succession and offered the Croatian throne to the King of Hungary, László I (Ladislas, r. 1077–1095), who was the late Zvonimir's brother-in-law. In 1091 László accepted, and in 1094 he founded the Zagreb bishopric, which later became the ecclesiastical center of Croatia. Another Hungarian king, Kálmán I ("the Book Lover," r. 1095–1116), crushed the opposition after the death of László and won the crown of Dalmatia and Croatia in 1102. Kálmán forged a lasting link between the Croatian and Hungarian crowns. The nature of that link has long been contested, however. Croats have maintained that the 1102 union was based on an agreement *(pacta conventa)* of equals (i.e., the Croatian nobility and the Hungarian king), whereby the two kingdoms were joined in a personal union under the Árpád dynasty. According to the terms of this union, Croatia managed for centuries to remain a sovereign state. However, Hungarians have long asserted that Hungary annexed Croatia outright in 1102. Although Hungarian influence in Croatia remained significant after 1102, the fact remains that Croatia retained its own prorex, or viceroy *(ban),* privileged landowning nobility, and an assembly of nobles, the diet *(Sabor).* This union remained in place until 1918.

CROAT LANDS (1102–1526)

One of the main trends in the political history of Croatia in this period was the political fragmentation of the Croat lands (i.e., Croatia proper, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Istria). This trend was not immediately apparent, since the Hungarian-Croatian state was initially a significant political and military force in the area between the German (i.e., Holy Roman) and Byzantine Empires and a rival to the Venetian state in the Adriatic. Despite the devastations wrought by the Tatar invasion of 1242, the Croats and Hungarians managed to resist their more powerful neighbors. Only the internal weaknesses of the kingdom, which were caused by the strengthening of noble prerogatives at the expense of the monarchy, enabled the fragmentation of the Croat lands.

Although much of Bosnia (though not Hercegovina) had originally formed part of the Croatian principality and kingdom, from the twelfth century, Bosnia began increasingly to disassociate itself from the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom. Bosnia first became a separate principality under ban Kulin (r. 1180–1204), who managed to solidify Bosnian autonomy at the expense of its more powerful neighbors. This autonomy proved ephemeral, however. Only in the fourteenth century did Bosnia become a formidable state. The first Bosnian monarch was ban Stefan Tvrtko I (r. 1353–1391), who in 1377 became "King of Bosnia and Raška (Serbia)" and later conquered parts of Croatia and Dalmatia. However, the Ottoman Turks conquered most of Bosnia in 1463, followed by Hercegovina in 1483.

Much of Dalmatia was lost in this same period. Between 1115 and 1420, the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom and Venice waged twenty-one wars for control of the province. The Dalmatian cities repeatedly changed hands. Both Serbia and Bosnia also competed for Dalmatia; the coastal area around the Gulf of Kotor became part of the Serbian state around 1196, and the Bosnian kingdom dominated parts of Dalmatia in the fourteenth century. The only part of Dalmatia to avoid direct foreign rule was the Republic of Dubrovnik, known by its Italian name Ragusa, which became an important mercantile center, in addition to being a focal point of medieval Croat and South Slavic culture and literature. It had been founded in the seventh century by Romans fleeing Slavic incursions, but was gradually "croatized." Ragusa became a powerful merchant republic by skillfully cultivating relations with its far more powerful neighbors. It was a protectorate of the Byzantine Empire until 1205, of Venice until 1358, of Hungary-Croatia until 1440, and finally of the Ottoman Empire until 1806. It was the first Christian state to establish treaty relations with the Ottoman Turks. It remained independent throughout these centuries until it was abolished in 1806 by Napoleon and incorporated into his Illyrian Provinces.

Following the extinction in 1301 of the native Hungarian Árpád dynasty, Charles Robert of the Italian branch of the French Anjou dynasty ascended the throne. King

Charles I (Károly, r. 1308–1342) and his son Louis/Lajos ("the Great," r. 1342–1382) temporarily restored royal power, which had been undermined by the Croatian and Hungarian magnates. Louis defeated Venice, and at the Peace of Zadar (1358), he restored virtually the entire Croatian coastline to his rule and placed Dubrovnik under his protection. Following his death, however, a period of internal anarchy commenced and the enormous territorial expanse of Hungary-Croatia was reduced. In 1409 a large part of Dalmatia was lost to Venice, when Ladislas of Naples, a claimant to the Hungarian-Croatian throne, sold Venice his rights to Dalmatia. Between 1420 and 1428 all of Dalmatia was lost to Venice, with the exception of Dubrovnik. The internal weakness of the Hungarian-Croatian state prevented the kingdom from slowing or stopping the Ottoman Turks, whose advance into Europe posed the greatest danger to the Hungarian-Croatian state. In the mid-fifteenth century the Ottomans moved into the Balkan Peninsula. In 1417 the Romanian principality of Wallachia submitted to Ottoman rule, and after 1440 Dubrovnik accepted Ottoman protection against Venice. The Ottomans then conquered Constantinople (1453), Serbia (1456), Bosnia (1463), and Hercegovina (1483). Ottoman armies inflicted decisive defeats against a Croatian army at Krbava (1493) and far more importantly, a Hungarian army at Móhacs (1526). The latter defeat destroyed the independent Hungarian-Croatian state and brought the Habsburg dynasty of Austria possession of the throne.

CROAT LANDS (1526–1790)

Following the battle of Mohács, most of Croatia came under Ottoman rule. On 1 January 1527, the Croatian Landed Estates, meeting at Cetingrad, elected Ferdinand I of the House of Habsburg as King of Croatia in return for his pledge of support in defending the kingdom against further Ottoman incursions. He also pledged to respect their political rights and social privileges. During the following century, Croatia served as a Habsburg outpost in the defense of central Europe against the Ottomans. Between 1527 and 1699, much of Croatia remained under Ottoman occupation. A smaller portion, known as Royal Croatia, was under Habsburg rule while Dalmatia and much of Istria remained in Venetian hands.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Croat lands had, as a result of Venetian and Ottoman encroachments, become politically fragmented. For centuries to come they would remain divided into Croatia proper (Royal Croatia, centered at Zagreb), Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Istria. The region of Slavonia was after 1526 incorporated directly into the Ottoman Empire. It was recovered from the Ottomans only in 1699 by the terms of the Treaty of Karlowitz (Srijemski Karlovci). However, after 1699 Slavonia was administered as a province distinct from Croatia proper. The two provinces, Slavonia and Croatia proper, were permanently reunited only in two stages, in 1868 and 1881. Dalmatia had been contested by Venice and Hungary-Croatia ever since the twelfth century. By the 1420s, the coastal islands and most of Dalmatia, with the exception of Dubrovnik, had become Venetian possessions. Istria (in Croatian, Istra) had by the fifteenth century been absorbed by the Habsburg dynasty of Austria and Venice, which controlled its northeastern and southwestern parts, respectively.

In the Habsburg monarchy, Croatia managed to preserve its internal administration, that is, the diet (Sabor) and viceroy (ban). But the rights of the native nobility were progressively diminished to the benefit of the Habsburg dynasty. In order to enhance the prestige of his dynasty and to avoid future succession conflicts, Ferdinand I arranged for his heirs to be recognized as future kings of Bohemia (after 1549) and Hungary-Croatia (after 1563), which in practice (though not in theory) meant that these kingdoms became hereditary Habsburg possessions. Habsburg rule in Croatia never seemed secure, however, largely because of the Ottoman threat. The Habsburg rulers formed a defensive cordon, lined with fortifications, known as the military frontier (in Croatian, *Vojna krajina*). The first section of this frontier was formed in 1538, under the control of the Croatian diet and ban. However, by 1630 the military frontier had been removed from the administration of the Croatian diet and was governed directly by agents of the Habsburg dynasty. Since the ongoing warfare against the Ottoman Turks had taken such a devastating demographic toll on the native population, the Habsburg authorities settled thousands of agricultural colonists in the military frontier, who, in return for land, served in military units. These frontiersmen (in Croatian, *graničari;* in German, *Grenzer*) were composed mainly of Croats, Serbs, Germans, and others. In this way, the nationality composition of Croatia was changed and the country became an ethnically far more heterogeneous society.

Disenchantment with and resistance to the Habsburgs grew over time. The most noted incident in Croatian history, which is known to Croatian historiography as the Zrinski-Frankopan conspiracy, was in fact part of a larger anti-Habsburg conspiracy centered in Hungary, where it is remembered as the Wesselenyi conspiracy. Following the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which brought an end to the Thirty Years' War, the Habsburgs again asserted their dynastic prerogatives in Hungary-Croatia. Habsburg absolutism and the existence of the military frontier to the detriment of Croatian political autonomy fueled hostility to the dynasty. In 1663 hostilities were initiated between the Ottoman Turks and the Habsburg monarchy. In the initial stages of this war, Habsburg armies managed major gains. Many Croatian and Hungarian nobles hoped that the Habsburg monarch, Leopold I, would retake all the territory that had been lost to the Turks in the sixteenth century. However, on 10 August 1664 the Habsburgs hastily concluded peace with the Ottomans at Vasvár. That led a number of prominent Hungarian and Croatian nobles to rebellion, in the hope of restoring the independence of Hungary-Croatia. Among the conspirators were the Hungarian Palatine Ferenc Wesselenyi, the bishop of Esztergom, Gyorgy Lippay, the Croatian ban Nikola Zrinski, his brother Peter Zrinski, and their brother-in-law, Krsto Frankopan. Eventually, the Hungarian conspirators, Peter Zrinski, and Frankopan were arrested. They were condemned for high treason and executed at Wiener Neustadt on 30 April 1671. The conspiracy put an end to Croatia's two leading magnate families.

In 1699, by the terms of the Treaty of Karlowitz (Srijemski Karlovci), the Ottoman Turks were forced to cede to the Habsburgs all of their Hungarian and Croatian territories. By 1718, the Ottomans no longer posed a danger to Dalmatia. Thus, at the dawn of the eighteenth century, the Croat lands achieved "liberation" from the Turks. Liberation came at a price, however. Slavonia and other Croatian regions (e.g., Lika, Krbava) were henceforth administered separately from Royal Croatia (Croatia proper), which was also referred to as Civil Croatia. Although the Ottoman threat progressively receded in the eighteenth century, the military frontier remained a separate administrative region beyond the control of the Croatian diet; it was abolished and incorporated into Croatia only in 1881. Nevertheless, the diet continued to assert Croatian political sovereignty. In 1712 it accepted, independently of the Hungarian diet, the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, which stipulated that a female could assume the Habsburg throne; the Pragmatic Sanction enabled Maria Theresa to become empress. However, because of Maria Theresa and (her son) Joseph II's policies of absolutism, centralization, and administrative Germanization, the rights of the Croatian kingdom were gradually reduced even further. In fear of these centralizing tendencies, the Croatian nobility firmly allied itself with their far more powerful Hungarian counterparts, who were able to offer firmer opposition to the Habsburgs. Joseph II's reforms exposed latent ethnic and linguistic rivalries within the monarchy. By attempting to bring the empire under strict central control and decreeing that German replace Latin as the official language of the empire, Joseph II brought Hungary to the verge of rebellion, a fact that would have important consequences for Croatia.

THE NATIONAL AWAKENING (1790–1848)

The French Revolution (1789) and the Napoleonic era (1795–1814) introduced to Croatia and all of Eastern Europe the ideologies of nationalism and liberalism. The Napoleonic era also brought about extensive territorial changes in Europe, and the Croat lands were no exception. More importantly, this era saw the first stirrings of national awakening in the Croat lands. From the 1790s onward, the Croatian nobility was confronted by both Habsburg absolutism and growing Hungarian national assertiveness, which challenged the traditional nature of the Croato-Hungarian relationship. In addition to the traditional threat posed by Habsburg absolutism and administrative Germanization, the Hungarian nobility now posed, in the era of nationalism, a threat in the form of Magyarization (the imposition of Hungarian culture and institutions).

During this same period, French revolutionary ideas and armies established themselves in the region. As a consequence of Napoleon's military campaigns in northern Italy in 1796–1797, the Republic of Venice disappeared. According to the Treaty of Campo Formio (April 1797), signed by France and Austria, the Habsburgs acquired Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia. In this manner, Croatia-Slavonia was again united with Dalmatia under the same dynasty, although they were administered as separate provinces. However, according to the Treaty of Schönbrunn (October 1809) between Napoleon and Austria, the Habsburgs were forced to cede part of Carinthia and Croatia south of the Sava River, which together with Istria and Dalmatia formed the so-called Illyrian Provinces (1809–1813), which were attached directly to France. Napoleon's army had entered Dubrovnik in 1806 and the French proclaimed the dissolution of the Dubrovnik Republic. After the defeat of Napoleon, all of these regions were ceded to the Austrian empire. Although the Illyrian Provinces had only a brief existence and were directly under French rule, they subsequently provided Croat Romantic nationalists of the 1830s and 1840s, who adopted the Illyrian name, with political inspiration.

Under the influence of the French Revolution, and because of resistance to Germanization and Magyarization and the internal development of rich cultural and state traditions, a national revival occurred in Croatia after 1836. The Croat national awakening became known as the Illyrian movement (1836–1848) and was led by Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872). The Illyrian movement laid the basis of a standardized Croatian literary language and alphabet; it formed the first national newspapers and national institutions. The Illyrian movement also prompted the use of Croatian in the diet, in place of Latin; from 1847 the diet began using Croatian in its deliberations. The appeal of the Illyrian movement was limited, however, almost entirely to the Croat intelligentsia of Croatia-Slavonia and much later, of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Istria, and Dalmatia. Slovene and Serb support was weak from the outset.

The most significant factor shaping modern Croat national identity and nationalism has been the concept of historical rights, that is, the belief that the medieval Croatian kingdom had never completely lost its independence, despite the union first with Hungary (1102) and then the Habsburgs (1527). Like their counterparts in Hungary, the Croatian nobility ("political nation") had defended their social privileges, identity, and political rights by associating them with the institutions of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. All Croat nationalists, even those of a South Slavic orientation, operated within a framework of historic state right. The second factor shaping Croat nationalism was the identification with other Southern Slavs, which was a reflection of Croat numerical inferiority in relation to the Habsburg monarchy's Magyars and Germans. It also stemmed from the fact that there was a numerically significant Serb minority in Croatia.

Both factors, the state-oriented, historically rooted perception of nationalism and emphasis on Slavic solidarity, were evident in the Illyrian movement. Like national awakeners everywhere in Eastern Europe at the time, Gaj and his associates had to ask themselves a basic question: what is the Croat nationality? They opted for a linguistic definition, but by doing so they ran into a peculiar problem. Of the three dialects spoken in Croatia, two (Kajkavian, Čakavian) were purely Croatian, but the third (Štokavian) was spoken not just by the majority of Croats, but all Bosnian Muslims and Serbs. They opted for the Štokavian dialect, calling it "Illyrian" in order to appeal to Croat and Serb intellectuals alike, but a dilemma persisted. If Croats were to be identified as speakers of Croatian ("Illyrian") residing in historic Great Croatia, then how were those people who regarded themselves as Serbs, spoke virtually the same language, and composed roughly 25 percent of the population of Croatia, to be identified? The problem of identity thus proved particularly problematical in the Croat case.

THE NATIONAL PROGRAM (1848–1918)

During the revolutions of 1848–1849, the two most important Croat political leaders were Gaj and ban Josip Jelačić (1801–1859), who headed the Croatian royal administration. Their political program, and that of the Illyrian movement, was the unification of all the South Slavs of the Habsburg monarchy around an autonomous Croatian kingdom, within a federalized Habsburg monarchy. The Croatian diet adopted a "national" program that abolished serfdom, expressed loyalty to the dynasty, and firmly established the idea of the unification of all Croat lands (the so-called Triune Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia) within a reformed monarchy. Because of the dangers posed by Magyar nationalists, who were led in the Hungarian revolution (War for Independence) of 1848–1849 by Lajos Kossuth, the Croat national program was based on resistance to the Hungarians, who did not recognize Croatian autonomy, and support for the Habsburg dynasty, which was viewed as an ally against Magyar nationalism. In 1848 representatives of the Illyrian movement attended the Slavic Congress in Prague and supported František Palácky's plan for a federalized Habsburg monarchy. The Illyrianists did not, it is worth pointing out, advocate the creation of a Yugoslav state encompassing Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Gaj and the Illyrianists did win some support from Serb intellectuals of the Habsburg monarchy, that is, the Serb leaders of Croatia and southern Hungary. This political cooperation reflected the greater danger posed at the time to Croat and Serb alike by the Magyars, who were intent on creating a Magyar nation-state and Magyarizing all non-Magyars.

Following the suppression of the 1848–1849 revolutions, the Habsburgs introduced a period of absolutism. Only in 1860 did the Habsburg authorities restore constitutional life and initiate a series of political experiments concerning how the monarchy should be governed. When this period of political experimentation ended in 1867, Croat national leaders would be greatly disappointed. The year 1867 represented an important turning point in the history of the monarchy. After being defeated by Sardinia-Piedmont (1859) and Prussia (1866), the Habsburg authorities realized the need to restructure the monarchy and to come to terms with the Magyars. The *Ausgleich* (Compromise) of 1867, which was negotiated by Emperor Franz Joseph and the Magyar ruling oligarchy, transformed Austria into the Dual Monarchy, or Austria-Hungary (also known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire). According to the terms of the *Ausgleich,* Hungary and the "Austrian" lands became two states joined in personal union through a common monarch (the Habsburg emperor of "Austria" and king of Hungary); the two states shared joint ministries of war, finance, and foreign affairs. Otherwise, they were independent states.

Equestrian statue of Josip Jelačić by Anton Dominik Fernkorn. (Charles Philip/Corbis)

The Ausgleich perpetuated the division of the Croat lands. Croatia-Slavonia and the military frontier were regarded by the monarchy as historically belonging to Hungary. Istria and Dalmatia, however, belonged to the non-Hungarian half of the empire, which was officially referred to as "the kingdoms and crown lands represented in the Imperial Parliament." Dalmatia was designated as one of three Austrian kingdoms, while Istria had the status of a margraviate. In 1868 the Croato-Hungarian *Nagodba* (Agreement) was signed, whereby the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia was recognized by the Magyar ruling oligarchy as a "political nation," with autonomy within the Kingdom of Hungary. A Croatian diet dominated by pro-Hungarian deputies adopted the Nagodba. Croatia-Slavonia obtained autonomy in internal matters, retained its own Sabor (diet), administration, and education system, all of which employed the Croatian language. In 1881 the Croatian military frontier was incorporated into Croatia-Slavonia. However, Hungarians continued to wield significant influence over internal Croatian affairs. For example, the king appointed the Croatian ban on the recommendation of the Hungarian minister-president; since the ban could influence the autonomous Croatian administration, the Hungarian government was able readily to manipulate internal Croatian politics and administration. Indeed, under Károly Count Khuen-Héderváry (who was ban from 1883 to 1903), this proved to be the case, as Croatian autonomy was reduced to a bare minimum. Throughout the era of dualism (1867–1918), Hungarian leaders continued to believe that the Nagodba provided ample (indeed, too much) autonomy to Croatia, but Croat patriots always remained strongly opposed to its terms.

After 1868, there were two opposing Croat political movements in Croatia-Slavonia. One emphasized a purely Croat identity, while the other continued in the Illyrian tradition, albeit in a different form. The first movement was Ante Starčević's Party of (Croatian State) Right, formed in 1861, which adopted a program based on historical state right. Frustrated by the Croat failure to gain autonomy in 1848, and by the lack of Serb support for Illyrianism, in which he had participated as a student, Starčević advocated a purely Croat identity. Starčević claimed that the Croatian kingdom's state right had never been abolished and that it was thus de jure an independent entity. Starčević adopted a political concept of nationality, inherited from the old notion of a noble "political nation," and defined Croats simply as all people residing in Great Croatia, be they Catholic, Muslim, or Orthodox Christian. Great Croatia encompassed present-day Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Slovenia. Although he recognized the existence of Serbs in Serbia proper, he refused to recognize the existence of "political Serbs" (or any other nationality) in those lands regarded as historically Croatian, for there could only be one nation on the territory of the Croatian state. Thus the Serbs of the Habsburg lands remained, in the minds of the Party of Right, Orthodox "Croats," just as the Bosnian Muslims were viewed as Muslim "Croats." Starčević's nationalism revealed the powerful hold of historical state right on the thinking of all of Croatia's nineteenth-century intellectuals.

The other Croat political movement was the National Party of Josip Juraj Strossmayer. Strossmayer was a leading Croatian Catholic bishop and proponent of cultural Yugoslavism. Strossmayer and his supporters continued in the Illyrian tradition; they promoted the cultural unity of all South Slavs in the Habsburg lands. They believed that cultural interaction and cooperation would eventually lead to greater political cooperation between the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes of the monarchy. Like the Illyrianists before them, the proponents of cultural Yugoslavism in the 1870s and 1880s hoped at the very least to achieve Croatian autonomy within a federalized Habsburg monarchy. However, Strossmayer's influence, and the appeal of Yugoslavism, was limited only to the small liberal intelligentsia in Croatia, and almost entirely to Croat intellectuals. It was essentially a Croat program and reflected a continued sense of Croat weakness; as an ideology it was designed to strengthen the Croat position, together with Serbs and Slovenes, within the monarchy. Strossmayer's Yugoslavism failed to attract many Serb intellectuals, who continued on the whole to look to Serbia for leadership and saw Yugoslavist ideology as a Croat attempt to assimilate Croatian Serbs to a Yugoslav or Croat identity. It is worth remembering that Strossmayer's National Party, although recognizing the "genetic" distinctiveness of Serbs in Croatia, refused to recognize Serbs as a "political nation" in Croatia. To do so would have meant opening the door to separate Serb rights in or even demands for territorial autonomy within Croatia. The thinking of the Croat political elites thus fit the Central European pattern of "historic" and "nonhistoric" nations, with the Croats (like the Magyars, Germans, Poles, and Czechs) falling into the former and all other nationalities into the latter. Strossmayer's achievements were primarily in the cultural sphere. He founded the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences (1866) and was instrumental in the creation of the University of Zagreb (1874). Ultimately, both the Party of Right and National Party were neutralized by Khuen-Héderváry, who ignored the Nagodba and exploited Croat-Serb rivalries to promote Magyar rule in Croatia.

Croatia's Serbs established their own political party in 1881, known as the Serb Independent Party, following the incorporation of the military frontier into Croatia-Slavonia. Adopting a linguistic definition of nationality, the Serb intelligentsia initially argued that all speakers of the Štokavian dialect were Serbs. The disparities in Croat and Serb nationalist ideologies made cooperation between the two nationalities increasingly difficult in late-nineteenth-century Croatia. This was a pressing matter, given the fact that in 1881 Serbs constituted one-quarter of Croatia-Slavonia's population. The Serbs were concentrated in those parts of Croatia that had formerly been part of the military frontier (e.g., Lika, Kordun, Banija, parts of Slavonia, Srijem). Initially the Croatian Serbs hoped to defend their traditional religious autonomy, but as the Orthodox population began acquiring a Serb identity, religious demands gave way to demands for national rights, such as the use of Cyrillic script and cultural and political autonomy. Most Croatian Serbs wanted the former military frontier removed from Croatian administration; many hoped for eventual unification with Serbia. At the dawn of the twentieth century, there was little common ground between Croat and Serb in the Habsburg lands.

In the first years of the twentieth century a younger generation of Croat and Serb politicians, dissatisfied with the Croat and Serb predicament in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, forged a new cooperation. In 1905 an important alliance of the leading Croat and Serb parties in Croatia was formed, known as the Croato-Serb Coalition, consisting of Croat and Serb politicians who believed their fortunes would be best served by cooperating in Croatia against the Habsburg authorities. The greatest contribution of this coalition was to put an end (albeit temporarily) to Croat and Serb political rivalries in Croatia. By 1908, the "Croato-Serb Coalition" won a majority in the diet. The Habsburg authorities hoped to break the coalition; they brought charges of treason against Croatian Serb leaders, but the subsequent trials scandalized European opinion and strengthened the Croato-Serb Coalition. This coalition dominated Croatian politics to 1914, and during World War I some of its most prominent leaders chose political exile to advocate among the Western Allies the creation of a Yugoslav state.

Two characteristics distinguished this generation of supporters of "Yugoslavism" from Strossmayer's generation. First, they increasingly thought in terms of creating a Yugoslav state, which would encompass all the South Slavic regions of Austria-Hungary (i.e., Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia, southern Hungary, Bosnia-Hercegovina) and Serbia and Montenegro. This tendency reflected the intense and growing dissatisfaction with Austro-Hungarian rule. Second, they adopted an innovative but in retrospect flawed belief that the South Slavic peoples (Croats, Serbs, Bosnian Muslims, Slovenes) constituted one (a Yugoslav) nationality, and that Yugoslav identity would gradually supplant Croat, Slovene, and Serb identities. This variant of Yugoslavism is referred to as "integral" Yugoslavism or Yugoslavist "unitarism": it was the notion that Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes were simply "tribes" of a single Yugoslav nationality, just as Prussians, Bavarians, and Saxons were "tribes" of a single German nationality. Some of the more radical followers of this "integral" Yugoslavism began forming revolutionary societies in the decade before World War I and employing violence against Austrian and Hungarian officials in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. Gavrilo Princip, the Serb student who assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914, came from one such revolutionary organization. Thus, in the period from 1905 to 1914, the "South Slav Question" emerged as an important issue in Austro-Hungarian domestic politics, and an issue of European significance.

WORLD WAR I AND THE FORMATION OF THE YUGOSLAV STATE

What made the South Slav Question an issue of European significance was the emergence of Serbia as a regional Balkan power during the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913. During those wars, a pro-Russian Serbia had doubled in size and thus was perceived by the Austro-Hungarian government as a serious threat, especially given the growth of revolutionary societies in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was Vienna's perception of a Serbian threat, combined with growing radicalism in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, which prompted the Habsburg authorities to go to war against Serbia in 1914, which, in turn, sparked World War I.

Following the outbreak of the war, many Croat politicians and intellectuals left the monarchy to work for the cause of Yugoslav statehood. In April 1915 a number of these exiled politicians, led by the Croats Ante Trumbić and Frano Supilo, formed the Yugoslav Committee in London. Fearing Italian pretensions toward Dalmatia and Istria, Trumbić and the Yugoslav Committee promoted the cause of a South Slavic state, encompassing the South Slavic lands of the Habsburg monarchy and Serbia-Montenegro. Dalmatia in particular was contested by a number of powers. According to the terms of the secret Treaty of London (1915), the Allies promised Dalmatia to Italy in return for Italian support in the war against the Central Powers.

In July 1917 the Serbian premier Nikola Pašić and Trumbić signed the Corfu Declaration, which called for a common state of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes with a single democratic, constitutional, parliamentary system, under the Karadjordjević dynasty of Serbia. The Declaration promised equality for the three national names and flags, the three predominant religions, and both scripts (Cyrillic and Latin). However, it did not indicate whether the new state would be highly centralized or a federation of historic provinces. Pašić advocated the former, Trumbić and the Yugoslav Committee the latter.

The Dual Monarchy's authority over its South Slav lands ended abruptly in October 1918. At that time, a "National Council" of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs was formed in Zagreb and became the de facto government of the monarchy's South Slavic regions; the Slovene politician Anton Korošec headed the National Council, and its vice presidents were Svetozar Pribičević and Ante Pavelić (who was no relation to the leader of the Croatian fascist movement from 1929–1945). On 29 October, the Croatian Sabor annulled the eight-century-old union between Croatia and Hungary and authorized the "National Council" to act as the supreme political authority in a new state, called the "State of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs," which encompassed all of the South Slavic lands of the former Habsburg monarchy. In November 1918 Pašić, Trumbić, and Korošec met in Geneva and signed an agreement providing for a joint provisional government but recognizing the jurisdiction of Serbia and the National Council in the areas under their respective control, until a constituent assembly could convene. However, the rapid conclusion of the war, and the fact that Italy began seizing parts of Dalmatia and Istria, prompted the National Council to rush headlong into union with Serbia. It did so in spite of the objections of the Croat Peasant Party leader Stjepan Radić, who would soon become the dominant politician in Croatia, and without obtaining guarantees of autonomy. Leaders in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Vojvodina favored union; on 24 November, the Montenegrins deposed the Petrović dynasty and declared unification with Serbia. On 1 December 1918, Prince Regent Alexander Karadjordjević and delegates from the National Council, Vojvodina, and Montenegro announced the founding of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The Paris Peace Conference recognized the new kingdom in May 1919.

KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES (YUGOSLAVIA) (1918–1941)

Formed on 1 December 1918 and proclaimed in Belgrade, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (which was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929) was from its inception plagued by numerous political, nationality, social, and other problems. The question of centralism versus federalism bitterly divided Serb and Croat; a lasting democratic solution eluded the country's leaders and led to the imposition in January 1929 of royal dictatorship. Only in 1939, on the eve of World War II, did Croat and Serb leaders manage to reach a political settlement. However, that agreement came far too late and failed to satisfy nationalists on either side.

The creation of Yugoslavia fulfilled the dreams of many Croat intellectuals of Yugoslavist persuasion but ignored some fundamental differences in national ideologies, histories, and cultures among the different nationalities. Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes had conflicting political and cultural traditions, and the Yugoslav state possessed significant non-Slav minorities (including, among others, Germans, Albanians, Magyars, Romanians, and Turks). Confessional differences were a divisive rather than integrative factor; the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Islamic, Jewish, and Protestant faiths were well established and normally cut across territorial and nationality lines.

After 1918, many Croats would repeatedly point to the fact that the decision to join Serbia in a new kingdom was never authorized by the Croatian diet, which had broken all ties with the Habsburg monarchy on 29 October 1918. Although it had then ceded to the short-lived State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, and its executive, the National Council, some of its sovereignty, it never authorized the subsequent act of unification. Had it been given the chance to do that, in all likelihood it would have authorized unification. That is because the Croat lands (like the Slovene territories) were threatened in the fall of 1918 by Italy, which as one of the victors of the war began occupying territory on the Adriatic coast. Furthermore, in the fall of 1918 massive rural disturbances swept through the Croatian countryside; the middle-class Croat politicians in Zagreb feared the social revolutionary implications of these disturbances, which prompted them, together with the Italian threat, to move even more quickly toward unification with Serbia.

However, once the rural disturbances had been quelled and the Italian threat had receded, the new state's political and other problems quickly surfaced. To Serb politicians, the new kingdom was first and foremost a state of all Serbs; it represented the unification of all Serbs within a unitary state under the scepter of the Serbian Karadjordjević dynasty. The Serbian establishment (i.e., the middle class, bureaucracy, and army) believed that the best way to safeguard the recently obtained unity of Serbs was to have a highly centralized state that ignored local historical individualities. Croats and other non-Serb nationalities were as a consequence deprived of their national rights and increasingly experienced the Yugoslav kingdom as a Great Serbian state; Serbs dominated the government, police, and military. The two leading Serb parties were the Democratic Party, which attracted the support of some non-Serb unitarists, and the National Radical Party, which was a Great Serbian Party. The national question in Yugoslavia was essentially a Croat-Serb rivalry over state organization; it was a clash between uncompromising visions of centralist rule versus historical identities and rights. The main political conflicts of the interwar era stemmed from this Croat-Serb dispute.

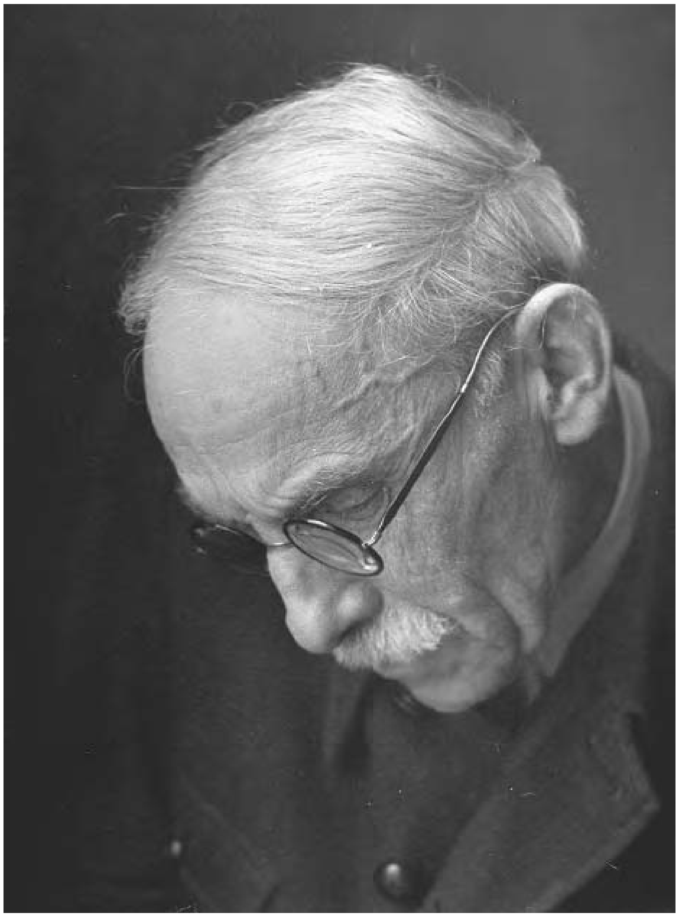
In the 1920s the dominant Croat party was the Croat Peasant Party (HSS, Hrvatska seljačka stranka), which had been founded in 1904 by Stjepan Radić (1871–1928) and his brother Antun (1868–1919). (The party's nomenclature changed many times. From 1904 to 1920 it was known as the Croat People's Peasant Party [or HPSS], from 1920 to 1925 as the Croat Republican Peasant Party [HRSS], and after 1925 as the Croat Peasant Party [HSS]). Its strength was rooted in Croatia's socially dominant countryside; it demanded Croatian political sovereignty and peasant social right. The HSS had been opposed to the nature of Yugoslavia's unification in 1918. In November 1920, in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the HSS reaped the benefits of this opposition. Radić's HSS emerged as the only serious political party in Croatia. Its hold over the Croatian countryside was reaffirmed in the March 1923 elections, when it expanded for the first time to Dalmatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. From 1920 to 1924, the HSS adopted a policy of abstention; it refused to participate in the Constituent Assembly (1920–1921) or Parliament thereafter (1921–1924). When other anticentralist groups left the assembly in 1921, the National Radicals and Democrats won by default an opportunity to adopt a centralist constitution. The 1921 constitution (the Vidovdan Constitution, so named after the date of its promulgation, 28 June, or St. Vitus Day) provided standard civil and political liberties but, far more importantly from the perspective of the new multiethnic state, allowed no room for local historical individualities and gave non-Serbs inadequate representation.

Having adopted abstention from Belgrade as a policy in itself, Radić took his Croat campaign for autonomy to the outside world. He had hoped in 1919 to send a representative to the Paris Peace Conference but was thwarted by the Yugoslav authorities. In 1922 his party issued a memorandum to the Genoa conference, but the Great Powers ignored it. In 1923 he secretly left the country for London and then, in 1924, the Soviet Union. In the meantime, the Democratic Party, the Slovene People's Party, and the Yugoslav Muslim Organization formed a political coalition that toppled the National Radical Party. In March 1924 Radić, who at the time was in Vienna, ordered the HSS to end its boycott and go to Belgrade. In July 1924 King Alexander gave Ljubomir "Ljuba" Davidović, the leader of the Democratic Party, a mandate to form a new government. Davidović hoped to bring the HSS into his government and thus ease political tensions in the country. Radić returned to Yugoslavia in August 1924, but not before visiting the Soviet Union where he enrolled the HSS in the Soviet-sponsored Peasant International. In October 1924 Alexander forced the resignation of the Davidović government for its flirtation with the now allegedly communist HSS. The National Radicals were returned to power and at the end of December 1924 banned the HSS and ordered the arrest of Radić and the entire party leadership.

Radić would remain in prison from January to July 1925. Political realities and the possible dissolution of his party forced him to make a deal with Alexander. In July 1925 he recognized the monarchy and the HSS joined a government coalition with the National Radical Party, still led by Pašić. This seemingly unnatural union lasted until January 1927, even managing to survive a major corruption scandal that forced Pašić to resign in April 1926. After leaving government early in 1927, the HSS campaigned for decentralization, tax equality for the non-Serbian regions, and political reform. In the fall of 1927 Radić formed a political alliance with his former nemesis, the Croatian Serb politician Svetozar Pribičević, leader of the Independent Democratic Party (SDS, Samostalna demokratska stranka). Their alliance, known as the Peasant-Democratic Coalition, represented a united Croatian front for political reform and decentralization, against Belgrade. On the other hand the two major Serbian political parties, the National Radicals and Democrats, were increasingly torn by factionalism. Their internal party divisions facilitated the growing political importance of King Alexander. Political tensions grew in 1928. In June 1928 a Montenegrin Serb deputy, a member of the National Radical Party, shot Radić and three other HSS deputies during a session of parliament. Two deputies died instantly and Radić died two months later. The HSS and its Croatian Serb ally, the SDS, withdrew from Belgrade and demanded sweeping political reform. On 6 January 1929, King Alexander Karadjordjević abrogated the constitution, dissolved the parliament, banned political parties, and declared a royal dictatorship.

The 6 January dictatorship, as it was known, proved more destructive than Alexander and his advisers originally believed. Civil liberties were suspended, existing institutions of local self-government were abolished, and strict laws against sedition, terrorism, and propagation of communism were imposed. The dictatorship only heightened existing differences, as non-Serbs viewed the dictatorship as an instrument of Serbian hegemony. The king named a Serb army officer, General Petar Živković, as premier and officially changed the name of the country to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. As part of his campaign to erase "tribal" differences and identities, the king replaced traditional provinces with new territorial units, called *banovine* (sing., *banovina*), named mainly after the country's major rivers. In this way, Croatia was divided between Sava and Primorje provinces; the former was named after a river and encompassed Croatia proper and much of Slavonia, while the latter, meaning "Littoral," encompassed Dalmatia and some parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In the end, Alexander's policies backfired. Not only did they further antagonize the non-Serbs, many of whom saw the dictatorship merely as a vehicle of Great Serbian interests, but Serbs too. For democratically inclined Serb politicians, the price paid for state unity was far too high; the dictatorship further diminished the already fragile unity within the Serbian political establishment. The dictatorship failed to produce an understanding of common national interests and ultimately strengthened the country's centrifugal forces. In Croatia, the royal dictatorship unified Croat opinion in its opposition to the perceived threat of Serbian hegemony. The government's policy in 1932–1933 of prosecuting Vladko Maček, successor to Radić, for terrorist activity proved disastrous; it further alienated the Croat population. The extreme nationalists of the Croat political right fled abroad in 1929; Italy granted asylum to Ante Pavelić, the leader of the Ustaša (insurgent) movement. The movement's singular objective was the liberation of Croatia and creation of an independent Great Croatian state, one that could be formed only with the destruction of Yugoslavia.



Champion of the Croat peasant cause Vladko Maček. (Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

In 1931 Alexander formally ended his personal rule by promulgating a constitution that provided for the restoration of limited democracy. Political parties were legalized, but "tribal" groups (religious, ethnic, and regional) and all organizations that threatened the integrity and order of the state were banned. The Croat and Serb opposition leaders could not agree on a common platform. The HSS hoped for the restoration of democratic governance, but its primary goal was achieving Croatian sovereignty within Yugoslavia. The Serb opposition was interested in a return to parliamentary life but deeply divided on the question of Croatian autonomy, which most Serb politicians were unwilling to concede. Political developments and tensions in the early 1930s were exacerbated by the worsening economic crisis, which hit Yugoslavia particularly hard. Foreign trade slumped, unemployment rose, and the large agrarian sector stagnated. The economic crisis brought renewed accusations from Croats (and Slovenes) that Belgrade was exploiting Croatia (and Slovenia).

In October 1934 a Macedonian terrorist working with the Ustaša movement assassinated Alexander at Marseilles while he was on an official state visit to France. Prince Paul, cousin of Alexander, nominated a three-person regency that ruled for Alexander's son, Peter II, who was still a minor. Paul hoped to liberalize the regime and reconcile

Serb and Croat without amending the 1931 constitution. To that end, the Belgrade government freed Maček and in 1935 held elections that revealed significant dissatisfaction with the existing political system. Paul then called upon the Serb politician, Milan Stojadinović, to form a cabinet. His new government granted amnesty to political prisoners and permitted political parties additional leeway, but it refused to restore democracy and failed to solve the "Croat Question."

Maček realized that growing domestic and international tensions worked in favor of a positive resolution of the Croat Question and potentially even a federalist solution; he refused to compromise with the Stojadinović government. On the other hand Stojadinović alienated many Serb nationalists by signing a concordat with the Vatican; the National Assembly canceled the concordat, after the Serbian Orthodox Church denounced it. Stojadinović also initiated a rapprochement with Rome, designed in part to neutralize the Ustaša extremists who were protected by fascist Italy. Paul forced Stojadinović's resignation in February 1939 and named Dragiša Cvetković the new premier.

By this point, domestic political strife and portents of war induced Prince Paul to instruct Cvetković to reach an agreement with the HSS. For its part, the HSS managed to maintain its political stronghold in Croatia and the predominantly Croat-populated areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina. On 26 August 1939, after months of negotiation, Cvetković and Maček reached an agreement *(Sporazum)* that created an autonomous Croatia. Under the *Sporazum,* Belgrade controlled defense, internal security, foreign affairs, trade, and transport; but an elected Sabor and a Crown-appointed ban (viceroy) would decide internal matters in Croatia. Paul then appointed a new government with Cvetković as premier and Maček as vice-premier. The *Sporazum* failed to satisfy nationalists on either side. Maček was denounced by the Croat political right for renouncing Croatian independence and some supposedly historic Croatian territories (i.e., Bosnia-Hercegovina), while Serb nationalists attacked Cvetković for conceding far too much territory, abandoning Croatia's Serbs to Zagreb, and for not restoring parliamentary rule in the country. This arrangement returned autonomy and some attributes of statehood that Croats had lost after unification in 1918. This might have been a step toward the federalization of the state and a solution to the Croat Question, but World War II rendered all of this temporary.

WORLD WAR II (1941–1945)

Despite the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, Yugoslavia managed to remain neutral until 1941. When Greece repelled an Italian invasion in October 1940, Germany was forced to come to Italy's assistance. In late fall of 1940 and winter of 1940–1941, Germany pressured the Balkan states to join the Tripartite Pact; Romania and Bulgaria signed in November 1940 and March 1941, respectively. Virtually surrounded by hostile states, neutral Yugoslavia desperately sought allies. It recognized the Soviet Union in 1940 and signed a nonaggression agreement with Moscow in 1941. When Berlin pressed Yugoslavia to join the Axis, Paul and his cabinet concluded that their military situation was hopeless. On 25 March 1941, Yugoslavia joined the Tripartite Pact. In exchange, Germany promised not to violate Yugoslavia's sovereignty.

However, on 27 March, military officers overthrew the Cvetković-Maček cabinet, declared the sixteen-year-old Peter II king, and formed a new cabinet under General Dušan Simović. The new government affirmed Yugoslav loyalty to the Tripartite Pact because of the country's perilous position. Nevertheless, the putsch provided Germany with a pretext to invade. In a twelve-day lightning offensive beginning on 6 April 1941, in which Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria also participated, the Yugoslav army was crushed. The king and government fled, and on 17 April remaining resistance forces surrendered unconditionally.

Germany and its Axis allies partitioned the country. The largest single entity emerging from this partition was the Independent State of Croatia (NDH, Nezavisna država Hrvatska), which consisted of present-day Croatia (minus Istria and much of Dalmatia), Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Srijem (part of Vojvodina). However, Italy controlled Istria (as it had since 1919), and in 1941 Rome annexed most of Dalmatia as well. The NDH was in actual fact an Italo-German condominium. Both Nazi Germany and fascist Italy had spheres of influence in the NDH and stationed their own troops there. The Croatian fascist movement, the Ustaše (sing., Ustaša), headed by Ante Pavelić, was a relatively small group that had lived in political exile since 1929. The agenda they espoused was basically a Croat nationalist program that was influenced only to a small degree by fascist and Nazi ideologies. During the war, the movement unleashed a brutal and murderous policy against those minorities deemed to be "alien" to Croatia and her national interests. As a consequence, Ustaša authorities slaughtered tens of thousands of Serbs. The Croatian authorities also collaborated with the Nazi authorities in implementing the Final Solution. As a result, approximately 32,000 Croatian and Bosnian Jews perished in the Holocaust. Most were killed at Croatian camps, like Jasenovac, although approximately 7,000 were deported to Auschwitz.

The dominant political party in Croatia, the HSS, disintegrated during the war. Although Maček refused collaboration with the Axis, he never contemplated active resistance. As a result, the HSS inner leadership withdrew into the political shadows. To ensure his quiescence, the Ustaša regime had Maček imprisoned; he spent nearly a year in the Jasenovac camp and then the remainder of the war under house arrest. One segment of the HSS right wing sided, actively or passively, with the Ustaša regime or was coopted by it, believing that statehood had at long last been achieved; the left wing gradually opted for the Popular Front led by the Communists.

Armed resistance to the Axis in wartime Croatia (and generally throughout partitioned Yugoslavia) took one of two forms. On the one hand remnants of the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army formed small guerrilla units known collectively as Četniks. They were led by Colonel Dragoljub "Draža" Mihailović, a Serb nationalist and monarchist, who hoped for a return to the status quo ante. However, following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ, Komunistička partija Jugoslavije) launched its own resistance to the Axis while simultaneously articulating a program opposed to that of the Četniks and government in exile. The Communist-led Partisan movement eventually became the most effective resistance movement in Croatia and Yugoslavia. Although the KPJ had been banned in 1921 and then decimated by police repression, internal Party factionalism, and, not least of all, the Stalinist purges of the 1930s, it was the only entity in 1941 to possess a "Yugoslav" political program. The KPJ/Partisan leader, Josip Broz "Tito" (1892–1980), a native of Kumrovec, Croatia, had become a communist as a POW in Russia after 1917. In 1937 he became general secretary of the KPJ, and in the years immediately preceding World War II, Tito reorganized the Party and attempted to give it a stronger organizational base. In 1937 he oversaw the creation of a Communist Party of Croatia (KPH, Komunistička partija Hrvatske), essentially an extension of the KPJ.

In wartime Croatia both the Četniks and Partisans recruited heavily from the Serb population, which was exposed to the murderous policy of the Ustaša regime. For much of 1941, the line separating Četnik and Partisan units in the field was imprecise. Both had the same pool of recruits, and in the early days of the war they were willing to collaborate for the sake of survival. However, in the winter of 1941–1942 Četnik-Partisan conflicts erupted into open warfare. Henceforth, the Četnik movement turned increasingly to collaboration with the Axis, first with the Italians in Croatia and Montenegro, and eventually with the Germans and even the Ustaša authorities. The Partisan movement in Croatia, headed by Andrija Hebrang, established itself within the framework of the broader, Yugoslav communist movement; part of their appeal in Croatia, among Croats, was that they advocated a federal system in which Croatia would become one of the constituent republics of a new Yugoslavia. As support for the Ustaša government waned in 1941–1942, because of its arbitrary policies and persecution of Serbs, Jews, and Croat opponents, the Partisans benefited. In some parts of Croatia (e.g., Dalmatia, which was annexed by Italy), the local population sided with the Communist resistance in the first days of the occupation. However, the Croat element in the resistance began substantially to grow only in the winter of 1942–1943.

In November 1942, at Bihać in northwestern Bosnia (then part of the NDH), Partisan leaders convened a meeting of the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ, Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobodjenja Jugoslavije), a committee of Communist and noncommunist Partisan representatives from all of Yugoslavia. AVNOJ became the political umbrella organization for the people's liberation committees that the Partisans had established to administer territories under their control. AVNOJ proclaimed support for democracy and the rights of all nationalities. A second session of AVNOJ was convened in November 1943. It included representatives of various ethnic and political groups and built the basis for Yugoslavia's postwar regime. AVNOJ formed a National Committee to act as the temporary government, named Tito a marshal and prime minister of Yugoslavia, and issued a declaration forbidding King Peter from returning to the country until a popular referendum had been held on the status of the monarchy. At the Teheran Conference in December 1943, the Allied leaders (Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin) decided to support the Partisans. In June 1944 the exiled King Peter appointed the Croat politician, Ivan Šubašić, who had been prewar ban of Croatia, as prime minister of the government in exile. Šubašić accepted the resolutions of the second AVNOJ conference, and Peter agreed to remain outside Yugoslavia. In September 1944 the king succumbed to Allied pressure and summoned Yugoslavs of all nationalities to back the Partisans. The following month, the Soviet Red Army helped the Partisans liberate Belgrade; from that point, the German retreat from the NDH and all of partitioned Yugoslavia intensified. The last German and Ustaša forces left Croatia in early May 1945.

World War II was devastating for Croatia and its people. It also provided a vivid new set of memories to kindle future hostility between Croat and Serb. In four years of war, approximately 1.1 million persons were killed in the different parts of partitioned Yugoslavia. Although the figures are still contested, it is now believed that roughly 60 percent of all deaths were on those territories that were part of the Independent State of Croatia. The Serbs, of whom approximately 350,000 died on the territory of the NDH, suffered the largest number of casualties. It is believed that roughly 200,000 Croats and 86,000 Bosnian Muslims died between 1941 and 1945. Many of Croatia's towns, production centers, and communications systems were either ruined or heavily damaged; malnutrition and disease were common. The formal cessation of hostilities in Europe, which occurred on 8 May 1945, did not bring immediate peace. Collaborators were hunted down and usually executed without trial. The Ustaša militia and regular Croatian army retreated to Austria in early May 1945, accompanied by thousands of civilians fearing communist rule. After surrendering to British forces, they were repatriated to the Partisans near the town of Bleiburg. Many of these soldiers and civilians were summarily executed; others were marched back to Yugoslavia where they ended up in camps or prisons.

COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA (1945–1990)

After 1945, the most salient feature of Croatian life was a communist dictatorship. Yugoslavia's new communist authorities suppressed all manifestations of Croat (and other) nationalism, labeling advocates of Croat national interests Ustaše, even if they had no ties to the wartime fascist regime. The political oppression and administrative centralization experienced under the KPJ (later renamed to League of Communists of Yugoslavia or SKJ, Savez komunista Jugoslavije) harkened back to the days of interwar Yugoslavia, especially the period of King Alexander's royal dictatorship (1929–1934), when Croat national rights were suppressed. Croat nationalists had long objected to Croatia's perceived exploitation, and by the 1960s even some of Croatia's Communists eventually began to feel that Croatia was again being exploited by Belgrade. This oppression was not limited to political or economic life but allegedly extended to the cultural realm. National aspirations would peak again in the late 1960s and early 1970s during the Croatian Spring. Only with the collapse of communism in 1989 was Croatia gradually able to move toward independence and democratic governance.

One of the many political changes introduced by the Communists in 1945 was a federal system; it was their attempt to resolve the national question that had plagued Yugoslavia since its creation in 1918. Croatia now became one of six federal republics. In a sense, 1945 represented the unification of the Croat lands. The new Croatian republic acquired those parts of Dalmatia that had been occupied by Italy between 1918 and 1920 and held throughout the interwar era. The Italo-Yugoslav peace treaty of 1947 gave Yugoslavia (i.e., Croatia) the islands that had been ceded to Italy in 1920. Most of the Istrian Peninsula, together with the town of Rijeka, which had in 1919 passed to Italy, was ceded in 1947 to Yugoslavia.

Despite this "national unification," democratic institutions and political parties were suppressed. The exiled King Peter had surrendered his powers to a three-person regency in late 1944. On 7 March 1945, a provisional government took office with Tito as prime minister and war minister and Šubašić in charge of foreign affairs; all the remaining cabinet posts went to Tito's followers. In November 1945 the Communist authorities organized elections for a Constituent Assembly. Alleged wartime collaborators were barred from voting. Moreover, all candidates were supposed to be nominated by the Communist-controlled People's Front, the successor to the wartime People's Liberation Front that encompassed all noncollaborationist political parties and organizations. Noncommunist politicians were harassed. Šubašić and other noncommunist ministers resigned in protest, while the HSS (whose leader Maček fled the country in May 1945), Serb Radicals, and other parties boycotted the election.

The Communist-dominated Constituent Assembly then proceeded to abolish the monarchy and on 29 November 1945 established a Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. In January 1946 the Constituent Assembly adopted a constitution based on the Soviet model; Yugoslavia became a federation of six people's republics held together by a strong central government. The constitution included direct KPJ control over all aspects of state activity. Tito was head of the KPJ, government, and armed forces. Only after the break with the Soviets in 1948 did Tito and the KPJ gradually move away from this rigid Stalinist model.

Between 1945 and 1948, the government ruthlessly punished wartime collaborators. Many members of the Croatian army as well as smaller numbers of Slovene and Serb collaborators (along with civilian refugees) repatriated in May 1945 to the Partisans were summarily executed. In Croatia, the Communist authorities also used allegations of collaboration to stifle legitimate political and religious opposition. The HSS leadership either fled or was suppressed. The Roman Catholic Church, which strongly opposed the new communist system although a segment of it had collaborated with the wartime Croatian fascist regime, was exposed to persecution. The archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, protested government "excesses." In September 1946 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for war crimes and his alleged collaboration with the wartime Croatian fascist authorities. He served five years before the regime released him; he lived the rest of his life in his native village, under virtual house arrest. Communist oppression took a heavy toll against real and alleged collaborators. According to some estimates, after the war the Communist authorities executed over two hundred priests and nuns who allegedly collaborated with the Ustaša regime in some capacity. Consequently, Yugoslav-Vatican relations deteriorated. The Yugoslav government severed relations in 1952 when Pope Pius XII named Stepinac a Cardinal. The authorities permitted the funeral and burial of Stepinac in Zagreb in 1960, after which Yugoslav-Vatican relations gradually improved. Diplomatic relations were reestablished only in 1970.

The break with the Soviet Union in 1948 prompted a number of domestic political changes. Among them was Tito's belated decision to permit greater political rights to the six constituent republics. A greater degree of regional autonomy was now deemed necessary in order to maintain his own internal political support. A few prominent Yugoslav Communists had defected to the Soviet side in 1948, and for years thereafter the Yugoslav authorities imprisoned thousands of suspected pro-Soviet Communists. One of the more prominent victims of this anti-Stalinist purge was the Croat Communist leader Andrija Hebrang, who had led the wartime Croat Partisan movement and risen to high rank after 1945. However, in 1948 he was purged and probably murdered in prison for his alleged anti-Tito behavior. In actual fact, he was probably removed because he had established a significant power base in Croatia, which posed a potential threat to Tito.

Despite the 1948 break with Stalin, the Yugoslav Communists attempted to prove their allegiance to Marxist-Leninist theory by implementing Stalinist social and economic policies. The Stalinist course was reversed at the Sixth KPJ Congress in 1952, which proved to be a watershed in Yugoslav political change. Henceforth the KPJ (now renamed SKJ, for League of Communists of Yugoslavia, or Savez komunista Jugoslavije) attempted to articulate a path to socialism distinct from the Stalinist model. The constitution that was adopted partially separated Party and state functions and restored some political rights to Croatia and the other constituent republics. Constitutional foundations were also laid for worker control over enterprises and expanded local government power. The 1953 constitution established the Federal People's Assembly, which was composed of two houses: a Federal Chamber, representing the regions; and a Chamber of Producers, representing economic enterprises and workers groups. The executive branch, called the Federal Executive Council, included only the ministries dealing with national affairs and foreign policy.

Economic decentralization was also instituted, representing a step away from the harsh Stalinist practices of collectivization of agriculture and suppression of market. This

During the funeral for Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac. (Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

decentralization also led to friction among the republics, which now sought preferences in the national allocation of resources. By the 1960s, this friction generated new intrarepublican tensions. In fact, the 1963 constitution decentralized the political system even further, to the benefit of the six republics. The Federal Assembly was divided into one general chamber, the Federal Chamber, and four chambers given specific bureaucratic responsibilities. In an effort to end regional conflict and promote national representation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the constitution directed that individual republics be represented in the Chamber of Nationalities, which was a part of the Federal Chamber.

Although the 1963 constitution reflected the "liberal" and reformist leanings of the Yugoslav leadership in those years, substantial power existed outside the institutional structures. Aleksandar Ranković, the state secretary of the federal security police, led an obstructionist bloc that opposed economic reform and advocated a return to the pre-1953 strong Party role. In the many deadlocks between the reformist and conservative groups, Tito remained the ultimate arbiter. In general, he supported economic reform while resisting those tendencies that sought the decentralization of state and Party power. Tito's decision to remove Ranković in 1966 was a victory for the SKJ reformist wing, represented by the likes of Edvard Kardelj, the chief theoretician of Yugoslav socialism, and the Croat Communist Vladimir Bakarić. His ouster removed one of the most important Party conservative elements from power. After 1966, the media were permitted to discuss more freely Party policies. Central control over some economic enterprises was loosened. The SKJ also decentralized its structure, allowing for more power at the level of the republican parties. Increasingly all major decisions required compromise. That in turn led occasionally to stalemate on some issues, in particular pertaining to economic development. In Croatia and Slovenia, the two wealthiest republics, resentment mounted in the late 1960s at what they perceived as economic exploitation by Belgrade to the benefit of Serbia and the poorer regions (Macedonia, Kosovo, and Montenegro).

The decentralization of the 1960s engendered regional reformist tendencies for political liberalization. In Croatia this movement became known as the Croatian Spring (1966–1971), which was as much a call for political liberalization as it was for greater Croat national rights within Yugoslavia. Demands were openly voiced in Croatia and even within the reform-minded wing of the League of Communists of Croatia, headed by Miko Tripalo and Savka Dabčević-Kučar, for decentralization, greater rights for Croatia and the other republics, economic reform, and political pluralism. Croat nationalists, based in powerful cultural institutions like Matica Hrvatska (Croat Literary-Cultural Foundation), urged the reformist wing of the Croatian League of Communists to adopt even tougher attitudes vis-à-vis Belgrade. Eventually they went beyond Party policy and even voiced separatist demands. In 1967 a group of Croat intellectuals, including Miroslav Krleža, the most respected literary figure in twentieth-century Croatia, signed a statement denying the validity of "Serbo-Croatian" as a historical language and promoting Croatian as a distinct language. Croat historians recalled exploitation of Croatia by the Serb-dominated interwar government, and Croat economists complained of disproportionate levies on Croatia for the federal budget and development fund. Party leaders in Zagreb won popularity by defending the economic interests of Croatia. Finally, in November 1971, university students went on strike and demonstrators marched through the streets of Zagreb demanding political reform and greater national freedoms. At that point, Tito urged the Croatian Party leadership to suppress the nationalist movement in Croatia.

When the Croatian Party failed to comply, Tito intervened personally in the winter of 1971–1972 to suppress the Croatian Spring, which by that point had taken on overtly separatist dimensions. The intervention involved an extensive purge of the reformist wing of the Croatian Party. The Croatian purge and the imposition within the Party of a more conservative wing created a more pliant Party leadership in Croatia that supported Tito's Party centralization. The new Croatian Party leaders were politically far more reliable. Eventually the purge extended well beyond Party ranks. Thousands of persons were arrested, some were killed, while many others chose political exile. The University of Zagreb's ranks were purged and the authorities temporarily disbanded Matica Hrvatska. Nationalists and liberals were purged from other Croatian institutions. The rise of nationalism halted the liberalizing tendency in the federal Party. In 1972 Tito also conducted a purge of the Serbian Party; the reformist wing (e.g., Latinka Perović, Marko Nikezić) was ousted in favor of a more conservative faction of Party veterans. After 1971–1972, Tito called for stricter adherence to democratic centralism. In 1974, at the SKJ's Tenth Congress, Tito was elected president of the Party for life. The press was muzzled, dissidents were harassed and arrested, universities were forced to remove professors deemed politically unreliable, and a renewed effort was placed on promoting Tito's cult of personality.

Despite crushing reformist tendencies in Croatia and elsewhere in 1971–1972, Tito addressed some of the concerns raised by republican leaders. Among these were the question of decentralization and the nature of the Yugoslav federation. A new constitution, promulgated in 1974, stipulated that each of the six federal republics was a state with its own borders. In doing so, the new constitution decentralized the Yugoslav political system even further; Tito believed the reform would satisfy Croat (and other non-Serb) demands for increased republican autonomy and thus dampen secessionist sentiment. In effect, the 1974 constitution enshrined many of the decentralizing tendencies of the late 1960s. It also created new representative federal institutions and a complex system of political checks and balances, designed to enhance the power of the SKJ. The most important legacy of the 1974 constitution was that it transferred numerous powers from the center to the republics. Although the Croatian Spring had been suppressed, and a new leadership imposed that stifled political creativity for the next seventeen years, some of the concerns raised by Croat reformers had been adopted.

After 1971, Tito gradually withdrew from decisionmaking. Although he continued to address Party cadres and appoint Party officials to the Presidium, by the late 1970s, he no longer presided over meetings of the SKJ Presidium or new State Presidency. The latter institution consisted of nine members, that is, Tito and one representative from each republic and autonomous province, with equal representation for each republic and province. In his last years he began paving the way for a power sharing government-by-consensus, which he believed to be the best hope of binding the federation after his death. The 1974 constitution had given substantial new powers to the republics, which obtained veto power over some federal legislation, and now both government and Party became increasingly stratified between federal and regional organizations. In 1979 the Presidium, which was chief executive body of the SKJ, began annual rotation of its chairmanship. After Tito died in May 1980, his power to name Presidium members devolved to a special commission including regional Party leaders. This was yet another step toward Party decentralization. Rotation of the Presidium chairmanship continued through the 1980s on a regular schedule, following a formula that divided the position equally among the eight federal jurisdictions. Although Tito had devised the rotational system to prevent Party domination by one individual, he had placed great importance on a strong central Party surviving him. By 1980, however, the centrifugal political forces gradually building in the previous decades had already significantly eroded the single-party structure.

FROM TITO TO DISINTEGRATION (1980–1991)

Although the causes of Yugoslavia's breakup predate Tito's death on 4 May 1980, that event serves as a symbolic turning point in the political history of the country. Henceforth, Yugoslavia was governed by a rotating Federal Presidency, consisting of one representative from each of the six republics and two autonomous provinces. Consensus politics were the order of the day. However, by 1980 the SKJ was no longer a monolithic entity. It was merely the sum of its constituent parts and represented the interests of its republican constituencies. Given the country's complex nationality composition, consensus rule proved increasingly difficult over the long run.

Thus Tito's death inaugurated a period of political uncertainty. Yugoslavia's collective presidency assumed full control in a fairly smooth transition, but the country's strongest personality and unifying force had disappeared. Yugoslavia had clearly entered a new era. The divisive issues that Tito had held in check became more pronounced; the political system that he bequeathed to the country was a structure torn by regional and nationality divisions. Tito's death undeniably weakened Yugoslavia and served to strengthen centrifugal forces. The internal breakup of Yugoslavia commenced, albeit slowly. The 1980s were a time of gradual political and economic deterioration and a period that saw intrarepublican and nationality hostilities boiling just below the surface of the Yugoslav political culture. It was also a decade singularly lacking in strong political leadership.

For example, in 1981 riots occurred in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, where Albanians called for republican status for their autonomous province, which was part of Serbia. It was the first post-Tito crisis and revealed differences within the Yugoslav polity. The political crisis prompted radically different responses from different quarters of the SFRY. The Serbian leadership and Yugoslav People's Army (JNA, Jugoslavenska narodna armija) urged a hard line; the leadership of Slovenia urged reform. In Serbia, which had historically been the dominant political entity within Yugoslavia, the response to two decades of decentralization and fragmentation was recentralization. In 1984 the Serbian Party officially demanded repeal of the autonomy granted in 1974 to Kosovo and Vojvodina. In 1986, the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences composed a "Memorandum," subsequently stolen from the Academy's offices and leaked to the press, which spoke of alleged discrimination against Serbs in communist Yugoslavia. The memorandum attacked the 1974 constitution for limiting Serbia's control of its two autonomous provinces and also for further weakening Serb unity within the SFRY. The memorandum alleged that, since Serbs lived scattered across a number of republics outside Serbia (i.e., Croatia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina), decentralization only exposed them to cultural assimilation and political and social marginalization in these republics, to the benefit of dominant groups (Croats in Croatia, Montenegrins in Montenegro, and Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina). The memorandum was not so much a blueprint for future action as it was a list of popular grievances long felt in Serbian educated society. When Slobodan Milošević became secretary of the League of Communists of Serbia in 1987, his political program spoke to the grievances articulated in the memorandum.

The Kosovo crisis of 1981 prompted the passage of a number of constitutional amendments that consolidated the principles of rotational government. However, neither the Twelfth nor the Thirteenth SKJ Congresses (1982, 1986) gave the Party a new political direction. Regional divisions were now more pronounced and resulted in stalemate between the forces of centralism and federalism (or decentralization). Serbia, historically the most outspoken exponent of strong central power, was increasingly at odds with Slovenia and Croatia, which historically had supported regional autonomy and resented the central government's policy of redistributing their relatively greater wealth to impoverished regions of the south. By the late 1980s, the resentment of exploitation turned into resistance, which was both economic (withholding revenue from the federal treasury) and political (threatening secession unless granted substantial economic and political autonomy within the federation). Intrarepublican disputes prevented the emergence of a political consensus on the Yugoslav level.

The 1989 collapse of communism in Eastern Europe undoubtedly quickened the pace of Yugoslavia's dissolution. The governing SKJ held its last Party congress, the Fourteenth Extraordinary Congress, in Belgrade in January 1990. In the course of this congress, the League of Communists split along republican lines. It could not agree on how to reform Yugoslavia politically, now that communism had disappeared in Eastern Europe, or in which general direction to proceed. There was only a vague consensus that reform was needed and that democratic elections were inevitable. But how Yugoslavia would look after these reforms were implemented or whether it would survive them at all was open to heated debate. On 22 January 1990, the delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia, which had agreed in the fall of 1989 to permit democratic elections in Slovenia in the New Year, urged the federal Party to legalize a pluralist system. Delegates of the League of Communists of Croatia, which had in December 1990 also agreed to hold multiparty elections in Croatia, supported them. However, on 23 January 1990, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia rejected the Slovenian reform proposals. At that point, the Slovenian and Croatian delegations left the Congress and the federal Party disintegrated.

Following their withdrawal from the Belgrade Congress, the Croatian Communists moved ahead with plans for multiparty elections. These elections were conducted in two stages, on 22 April and 6 May 1990. The Croat Democratic Union (HDZ, Hrvatska demokratska zajednica) of Franjo Tudjman won a plurality of votes (41.5 percent) and secured a majority of seats (197, or 60 percent) in the Croatian parliament, known as the Sabor. The new Sabor then elected the HDZ candidate Tudjman president of Croatia; he was inaugurated on 30 May. The HDZ hold over Croatian politics remained intact until Tudjman's death in December 1999. The HDZ saw itself as the defender of Croat national rights, Croatia's territorial integrity and sovereignty, which it held to have been long suppressed within Yugoslavia. It was a Croat nationalist party and quickly moved forward with its goal of greater political rights for Croatia within a restructured, decentralized, and noncommunist Yugoslavia. On 25 July 1990, the new Croatian parliament ratified amendments to the Croatian constitution. The "socialist" adjective was dropped from Croatia's official nomenclature, and the Communist flag was replaced by traditional nationalist symbols. In December 1990 a new constitution was promulgated.

Portrait of Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia (1990–1999). (Embassy of the Republic of Croatia)

The leading Croatian Serb party, which was formed on 17 February 1990, was the Serb Democratic Party (SDS, Srpska demokratska stranka). It was the handiwork of three Croatian Serb intellectuals, Jovan Rašković, Dušan Zelenbaba, and Jovan Opačić, who served as the party's first president and vice presidents, respectively. Founded at the town of Knin, Croatia, the SDS quickly established itself as the undisputed leader of Croatia's Serbs. On 20 May 1990, the SDS withdrew its deputies from the newly elected Croatian Parliament and declared a boycott. At the same time, one of its deputies, Milan Babić, announced the establishment of an Association of Serb Municipalities in Croatia. This association was supposed to link all the predominantly Serb populated municipalities of Croatia, where the SDS has scored its major electoral gains. On 26 July, one day after the Croatian Parliament ratified a number of amendments to the Croatian Constitution, the SDS declared that the Serbs had a right to hold a referendum on autonomy within Croatia. The SDS created a Serb National Council, which ostensibly was supposed to serve as the supreme political authority of the Croatian Serbs. The Croatian government immediately rejected the idea of a Serb referendum, and in August 1990 it began trying to disarm Croatian Serb police and replacing Serbs in the police and reserve forces. At the same time, an oath of loyalty was required of all Serbs in the public sector.

The SDS had a Serb nationalist agenda, but originally it advocated only territorial and cultural autonomy for Serbs within Croatia. Only later did it move toward outright secession of the predominantly Serb-populated areas from Croatia. According to Babić, under the influence of propaganda from Belgrade, which claimed that the new Croatian authorities were preparing to commit genocide against the Croatian Serbs, the SDS shifted from a relatively moderate, autonomist position to a more radical and uncompromising position. Rašković had favored negotiations with the Croatian government, but this course was rejected by almost all other leading figures within the SDS. As a result, Rašković was gradually marginalized within the SDS, which accepted Milošević's concept of Serb unification. If the Croats had a right to break away from Yugoslavia, then the Croatian Serbs had the right to remain in what was left of Yugoslavia.

To that end the SDS organized, on 9 August and 2 September 1990, a referendum on Serb "sovereignty and autonomy" within Croatia. The vote took place in Croatian municipalities where the Serbs formed either an absolute or relative majority of the population and was limited only to Serb voters. The result was overwhelmingly in support of Serb autonomy. The Croatian government declared the Serb referendum illegal and redoubled its attempts to disarm the Serb police. On 30 September the Serb National Council, presided over by Milan Babić, declared the autonomy of the Serb people in those municipalities of Croatia where they possessed either an absolute or a relative majority. The Croatian Serb leadership would accept autonomy within Croatia as long as it remained part of Yugoslavia; if Croatia opted for independence, the Croatian Serbs indicated their readiness to secede from Croatia. Days later, on 4 October, the JNA seized possession of all territorial defense weapons stockpiles in Croatia, which would later be given to the SDS. On 21 December, the SDS announced the creation of three Serb Autonomous Districts (SAO, Srpske autonomne oblasti): SAO Krajina (encompassing the following regions of Croatia: northern Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija); SAO Western Slavonia (the municipalities of Grubišno Polje, Pakrac, Daruvar, and parts of Novska and Nova Gradiška); and SAO Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem (eastern Croatia). When the SDS attempted to establish its control of local government and police in these three areas, it clashed with the Croatian authorities. Overt conflict between Serbs and Croatian police forces erupted in the spring of 1991.

In October 1990 Slovenia and Croatia had proposed to the other republics that Yugoslavia be restructured as a loose confederation of sovereign states, each with its own army and foreign policy. Based on the model of the European Community (EC), the formula included monetary union and a common economic market. In February 1991 Croatia and Slovenia passed resolutions to dissolve the Yugoslav federation into separate states as the next step after their 1990 declarations of the right to secede. The respective assemblies also passed constitutional amendments declaring republic law supreme over federal law and essentially overriding the authority of the 1974 federal constitution. The Serbian leadership dismissed these plans; the large Serb minorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina (31 percent in 1991) and Croatia (12 percent) would become citizens of foreign countries.

The Serbian leadership, which was still run in 1990 by a conventional communist regime headed by Milošević, attempted to halt Yugoslavia's fragmentation by reviving its historical tradition of geopolitical dominance in Yugoslavia. Milošević's call for the union of all Serbs in one state coincided with those outside Serbia agitating for the creation of a Great Serbian state on the ruins of Yugoslavia. The Milošević regime forged a close alliance with the new Croatian Serb leadership and intervened in the nascent conflict between the Croatian authorities and Croatian Serbs, supposedly to protect the latter from alleged oppression at the hands of the former. As a result, tensions mounted between Serbia and Croatia. The purpose of this alliance between Belgrade and Knin was to carve out a purely Serb area in Croatia that would remain part of a rump Yugoslavia (or Great Serbian state) in the event of Croatian secession. The plan forged at the time in Milošević's inner circle called also for the forcible removal of the majority of the Croat and other non-Serb population from the approximately one-third of Croatia that was supposed to become part of a new Serb-dominated state. These areas included those regions designed by the Croatian Serbs as SAO Krajina, SAO Western Slavonia, and SAO Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srijem. Following the Croatian Serb declaration of independence from Croatia on 19 December 1991, the Serb authorities collectively referred to these three SAOs as the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK, Republika Srpska krajina).

The Croatian Serbs began receiving increasing support from the Serbian government. Before Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia in June 1991, this support was largely logistical and financial. Following secession and the outbreak of open warfare, this support included arms and personnel. Serb volunteer and police forces in Croatia were being supplied and led by officials of the Serbian Interior Ministry. Ultimately, they were able also to rely on the support of the JNA. The project to create a Great Serbian state had Milošević in a central command responsibility, in his capacity as the president of Serbia. But he worked closely with or exercised substantial influence over numerous key persons who influenced the actions of the Federal Presidency, the Serbian Interior Ministry, the JNA with affiliated Serb-run militia (known as the Territorial Defense) and Serb volunteer groups, and the Croatian Serb leadership. The objective of this combined project was the creation of a Great Serbian state on the ruins of Yugoslavia.

In 1990–1991 Milošević exercised control over four of the eight members of the Federal Presidency of Yugoslavia, thereby managing to set its agenda or neutralize its effectiveness as the need arose. The four members of the Federal Presidency who in 1991 formed the so-called Serb Bloc were Borisav Jović (Serbia), Branko Kostić (Montenegro), Jugoslav Kostić (Autonomous Province of Vojvodina), and Sejdo Bajramović (Autonomous Province of Kosovo). From May 1989 to April 1992, Jović was the representative of the Republic of Serbia and held different positions within the Federal Presidency, including vice president and president. Milošević used Jović and the others as his agents in the Federal Presidency and through them he directed the actions of the Serb Bloc. After 1 October 1991, from which point there were no longer any representatives in the Federal Presidency from Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the four members of the Serb Bloc exercised fully the powers of the Federal Presidency, including that of collective commander in chief of the JNA.

The collaboration of the JNA, which was led in 1990–1991 by Generals Veljko Kadijević (federal secretary of national defense, 1988–1992) and Blagoje Adžić (JNA chief of staff, 1989–1992), was essential for both Milošević and the Croatian Serb leadership. During the war in Croatia, the JNA participated in the ethnic cleansing of the Croat and other non-Serb population from the Serb Krajina. It carried out the policies of the Serbian government in Croatia by directing the actions of local Croatian Serb police and security forces. They also introduced Serb volunteer groups into Croatia and supported their activities. The JNA leadership was in constant communication and consultation with Milošević, his inner circle, and the Croatian Serb leadership. The Serbian Interior Ministry was also instrumental to the Serbian war effort in Croatia. It provided arms, funds, training, and other assistance to Croatian Serb regular police units and to paramilitary organizations in Croatia.

The leading Croatian Serb figures in 1990–1991 were Jovan Rašković, Dušan Zelenbaba, Jovan Opačić, Milan Martić, Milan Babić, and Goran Hadžić. In late 1990 Rašković was marginalized within the SDS because of his decision to hold talks with the Croatian government. Al-

Two Croatian soldiers hold a Yugoslavian flag bearing a hole in the center, after fights against the Yugoslavian army and the Serbian militias, during the siege of Vukovar. (Antoine Gyori/Corbis Sygma) though his two vice presidents, Zelenbaba and Opačić, had opposed these negotiations, they were seen in Belgrade as too close to Rašković and were ultimately themselves marginalized. The new SDS triumvirate in 1991 consisted of Martić, Babić, and Hadžić. Martić served as head of internal affairs (January–May 1991) and defense minister (May–June 1991) of the SAO Krajina, and then as minister of internal affairs for the SAO Krajina (later the RSK, June 1991–January 1994). In this position he commanded the Croatian Serb police force (referred to as Martić's Police, or Martićevci). Babić served as president of the Executive Council of the SAO Krajina (January–May 1991), then as president of the SAO Krajina (May–December 1991), and finally as president of the RSK (December 1991–February 1992). In these political posts, he helped organize and administer the actions of the Croatian Serb forces. Finally, Hadžić held a number of important administrative posts in the Croatian Serb leadership from March 1991 to February 1992. From February 1992 to January 1994 he served as president of the RSK. In these posts, he helped establish, command, and direct police and militia operations. Through Serbian government and JNA channels, the Croatian Serb leadership was given logistical assistance and directions for the take-over of those areas deemed to be Serb and the subsequent forcible removal of the Croat and other non-Serb population.

In 1990–1991 the latent tensions in Croatia between the Croatian authorities and SDS prompted the Serbian government formally to demand intervention on the part of the JNA. Led by an officer corps that was predominantly of Serb and Montenegrin nationality, the JNA took a dim view of political pluralism that threatened the power of central institutions. Especially troubling were Slovene and Croat assertions of republic sovereignty, which threatened the very existence of the Yugoslav state. On 9 January 1991, the Yugoslav President Borisav Jović sought the Federal Presidency's approval for authorization of JNA force against Croatia and Slovenia; the JNA would be permitted to disarm the militias of those two republics. The Macedonian and Bosnian representatives, Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogić Bogićević, respectively, voted against the proposal, ensuring its defeat. However, the secondary proposal, ordering all paramilitary groups in Croatia and Slovenia to disarm within ten days, was passed. The following day, the JNA issued a ten-day ultimatum for the dissolution of the Slovenian and Croatian militias and all paramilitary formations in those republics. The Croatian and Slovenian governments ignored the order and on 17 January agreed to coordinate mutual defense policy. Eight days later, the JNA ordered the arrest of the Croatian defense minister, Martin Špegelj, who was forced to go into hiding. In the spring of 1991 the JNA would intervene in dozens of battles between separatist Serbs and Croatian police in Croatia, ostensibly as a peacekeeping force preventing a wider conflict. In actual fact, the JNA eventually openly supported the Croatians Serbs and actively participated in the occupation of Croatian territory.

On 21 February 1991, the Croatian Parliament declared that all federal laws not in compliance with the amended republican constitution of December 1990 were null and void. The Croatian declaration restricted any use of federal emergency measures and stated that Croatia would secede from Yugoslavia by June 30. A similar timetable was adopted by Slovenia. The Serb National Council at Knin declared that the Croatian Serbs would remain part of Yugoslavia if Croatia seceded. In March 1991 the conflict between the Croatian authorities and Croatian Serbs intensified when Croatian Serb police forces attempted to consolidate power in those areas with significant Serb populations. The Serb police, headed by Martić, took control of the police station in the town of Pakrac, and battles erupted when Croatian Special Forces attempted to retake the station and establish Croatian authority in the town and municipality. On 31 March 1991, a second and more serious armed confrontation occurred between regular police forces of the Croatian Interior Ministry and Croatian Serb paramilitaries at Plitvice National Park. One Serb and one Croat were killed. The Federal Presidency ordered the withdrawal of the Croatian police from Plitvice. The JNA then moved into Plitvice, ostensibly interposing itself between the combatants. On 1 May, another armed confrontation occurred between Croatian regular police from Osijek and Serb villagers at Borovo Selo, a suburb of Vukovar in eastern Croatia. Two Croatian policemen were wounded and two taken prisoner. When a larger detachment of Croatian police were sent to rescue the prisoners at Borovo Selo, twelve of the Croatian policemen were killed and over twenty were wounded. On 3 May, the JNA occupied Borovo Selo. The Croatian Serbs declared that they would not obey Croatian laws that were not in accordance with federal laws; on 12 May, the Croatian Serbs held a referendum to stay in Yugoslavia. A week later, Croatia held a sovereignty referendum in which 93 percent of those voting opted for Croatian independence. The Croatian Serbs boycotted the referendum. Five weeks later, on 25 June, Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence from Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Federal Parliament declined to recognize Slovenian and Croatian secession on the following day and authorized the JNA to occupy strategic points in Slovenia on the pretext of defending Yugoslav territorial integrity against an illegal secession. The JNA operations in Slovenia proved disastrous, however. The Slovenian militia had managed to capture roughly 2,000 JNA soldiers within days. On 18 July, the Federal Presidency authorized the withdrawal of JNA units from Slovenia, thereby acceding to its secession and the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

The cease-fire in and JNA withdrawal from Slovenia moved the conflict decisively to Croatia, where there was a noticeable intensification of the fighting. The war that was waged in Croatia from July to December 1991 between Croatian militia and police, on the one hand, and Croatian Serb forces and the JNA on the other, proved particularly brutal. Many large towns were devastated (such as Vukovar) while others suffered tremendous damage (including Dubrovnik and Karlovac). JNA and Croatian Serb forces seized roughly one-third of Croatian territory, which was organized, after 19 December 1991, into the self-styled Croatian Serb state called the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK, Republika srpska krajina). From these territories they systematically expelled Croats and other non-Serbs. For example, on 18 August 1991 the Croatian Serb police chief, Milan Martić, issued an ultimatum to Croats to leave the village of Kijevo in the Serb-held Krajina. One week later, on 26 August, a combined JNA–Croatian Serb police attack was launched on the village and the Croat population was expelled.

On 22 August 1991 the Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman, issued an ultimatum to the JNA ordering it to withdraw from Croatia immediately or be treated as an occupying force. The ultimatum was ignored, and on 25 August the JNA began an assault on the town of Vukovar in eastern Croatia, thereby initiating the three-month long Battle of Vukovar. The JNA undertook operations against other towns in eastern Slavonia, resulting in their occupation by JNA and Serb police forces. In response, after 14 September 1991, Croatian forces began their blockade of all remaining JNA garrisons in Croatia, somewhat improving their decidedly inferior military position. On 1 October, the JNA began shelling the city of Dubrovnik.

One of the central objectives of Serbian government and Croatian Serb policy during the fighting in Croatia between July and December 1991 was ethnic cleansing, that is, the deportation or forcible transfer of the non-Serb civilian population from Serb-held territory. During that period, the JNA enabled the Croatian Serbs to carve out their own statelet (i.e., the Krajina or RSK) in Croatia. Serb forces (JNA units, militia, police contingents, paramilitary units) attacked towns and villages. (The two most prominent paramilitary leaders during the Croatian war were Željko Ražnatović, "Arkan," and Vojislav Šešelj.) In 1990 Arkan created the Serb Volunteer Guard, commonly known as the Arkanovci, "Arkan's Tigers." They were under the command of the Serb militia (Territorial Defense) in eastern Croatia. Arkan's Tigers maintained a significant military base in Erdut, near the town of Vukovar, which served as the training center of other militia units and also as a detention facility. Arkan himself functioned as the commander of the base in Erdut. Šešelj, who was president of the Serb Radical Party (SRS) and a supporter of the Great Serbian cause, recruited and provided substantial support to Serb volunteers, commonly known as Četniks (*četnici*), who perpetrated crimes in Croatia. In order to achieve a nationally homogeneous Krajina, Serb forces surrounded non-Serb settlements and demanded that their inhabitants surrender all weapons. Then the settlements were attacked.

After the takeover, these forces in cooperation with the local Serb authorities established a regime of persecutions (torture, murder, other acts of violence) intended to compel the non-Serb population to leave. Sometimes they rounded up the remaining Croat and other non-Serb civilian population and forcibly transported them to locations in Croatia controlled by the Croatian government or deported them to locations outside Croatia, in particular Serbia and Montenegro. On other occasions, the Serb forces in cooperation with the local Serb authorities imposed restrictive and discriminatory measures on the non-Serb population and engaged in a campaign of terror designed to drive them out of the territory. Almost all of the non-Serb population was eventually killed or forced from these occupied zones. According to the March 1991 census, the non-Serb population of the areas that became part of the RSK was approximately as follows: Croat, 168,026, and other non-Serb, 55,895. Virtually the whole of this non-Serb population of over 220,000 was ethnically cleansed (i.e., forcibly removed, deported, or killed) from the RSK in 1991–1992.

The most devastating example of wanton destruction and ethnic cleansing in the Croatian war took place in the town of Vukovar. The siege of Vukovar lasted from late August until 18 November 1991, when the town finally fell to combined JNA and Serb paramilitary forces. During the course of the siege, the town was largely destroyed by JNA shelling, and hundreds of persons were killed. When the JNA/Serb forces occupied the city, hundreds more Croats were killed by Serb troops; the non-Serb population of the town was expelled. Between 18 and 20 November, after the termination of the military operations in and around the town of Vukovar, the JNA deported thousands of Croat and other non-Serb inhabitants to the territory of the Republic of Serbia. In one well documented incident that occurred on 20 November, military forces under the general command of the JNA removed approximately 255 Croats and other non-Serbs from Vukovar Hospital. The victims were transported to the JNA barracks and then to the nearby Ovčara farm, where they were beaten and then executed. Their bodies were buried in a mass grave. According to the prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), at least 20,000 Croat and other non-Serb inhabitants were deported from Vukovar, at least 5,000 from Ilok, and at least 2,500 from Erdut near Vukovar. Homes, property, cultural institutions, and historic monuments were deliberately destroyed.

On 23 November 1991, former U.S. diplomat Cyrus Vance, who in October had been appointed U.N. special envoy to Yugoslavia, negotiated an agreement in Geneva between Milošević, General Kadijević, and Tudjman. It called for lifting the Croatian militia's blockade of JNA barracks and withdrawing JNA forces from Croatia, which began on 28 November. Both sides committed themselves to an immediate cease-fire. On 4 December 1991, the Croatian delegate on the Federal Presidency, Stjepan Mesić, resigned his post of president of Yugoslavia. On 2 January 1992, Tudjman and Milošević signed at Sarajevo a final cease-fire agreement that paved the way for the implementation of the so-called Vance Plan. On 14 January, the first U.N. cease-fire monitors arrived in Croatia. On 12 February, Vance recommended to the secretary-general of the United Nations the deployment of U.N. peacekeeping forces in Croatia. Nine days later, under Security Council Resolution 743, the United Nations established a U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia that was to be stationed in four U.N.-protected areas (UNPAs), which had been taken by Serb forces during the fighting. The JNA was to complete its withdrawal from Croatia, and displaced persons from the UNPA zones were supposed to be permitted to return to their homes. The UNPROFOR peacekeeping force numbered 14,000. Meanwhile, on 15 January 1992, most European and some non-European states recognized Croatia as an independent state, and in May 1992 Croatia became a member of the United Nations.

The six-month Croatian war wrought mass destruction, claimed over 10,000 lives, and produced nearly 500,000 refugees and displaced persons. By early 1992, overt hostilities between Croatia and rump Yugoslavia had ceased. The JNA completed its withdrawal from Croatia by spring 1992, but large portions of its weaponry and personnel were turned over to the police and militia of the so-called RSK. Displaced persons were not allowed to return to their homes, as envisaged by the Vance Plan. The UNPROFOR mission in Croatia merely froze the territorial status quo that had been established in January 1992; Croatia's Serbs, who hoped to remain part of a Yugoslav or Great Serbian state, held nearly one-third of Croatia. Their RSK remained a dependency of Milošević's Serbian regime. In 1993 the RSK authorities staged a referendum resoundingly in favor of integration with the Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia. However, in 1995 the Croatian Army retook the RSK in two separate operations, code-named Flash (May 1995) and Storm (August 1995), which led to the forced exodus of much of the remaining Serb population. The only area to remain under Serb control at that time was eastern Slavonia, and on 12 November 1995, during the Dayton peace negotiations that brought an end to the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Croatian and Serbian government negotiators agreed to the peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia into Croatia.

The "Basic Agreement" allowed for a transitional period of demilitarization and government by an international administration backed by an implementation force. In January 1996 Security Council Resolution 1037 established the UNTAES (UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia). Control of the region was handed back to Zagreb on 15 January 1998, and with the government's agreement, an OSCE mission took over some of the UNTAES tasks, including police monitoring. As of 2002, only a small U.N. contingent of fewer than thirty observers remained in Croatia's Prevlaka Peninsula, which had been occupied by the JNA in 1991.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

After 1945, the most salient feature of Croatian political life was communist dictatorship. Only with the collapse of communism in 1989 has Croatia gradually moved toward democratic governance. At the end of World War II, Croatia again became part of a reconstituted Yugoslavia after its brief wartime "independence." One of the many changes introduced by the Communists in 1945 was a federal system in an attempt to resolve the national question, which had plagued Yugoslavia since its creation in 1918. Croatia now became one of six federal republics. However, democratic institutions and political parties were suppressed in Croatia as elsewhere. The Catholic Church was persecuted and the archbishop of Zagreb (later a cardinal), Alojzije Stepinac, was sentenced to life imprisonment for his alleged collaboration with the wartime Croatian fascist authorities. Communist oppression took a heavy toll on real and alleged collaborators.

Croat nationalism was suppressed but nevertheless persisted in Communist Yugoslavia. The political oppression and administrative centralization experienced under the League of Communists of Yugoslavia harkened back to the days of interwar Yugoslavia, especially the period of King Alexander's royal dictatorship (1929–1934), when Croat national rights were suppressed. Croat nationalists had long objected to Croatia's perceived exploitation, and after 1945 even Croatia's Communists began to feel that Croatia was again being exploited by Belgrade. This oppression was not just limited to political or economic life, but allegedly extended to the cultural realm; for example, the use of the Croatian language was prohibited in favor of "Serbo-Croatian." The so-called Croatian Spring of 1966–1971 was as much a call for political liberalization as it was for greater Croat national rights within Yugoslavia. Demands were openly voiced in Croatia and even within the reform-minded wing of the League of Communists of Croatia, headed by Miko Tripalo and Savka Dabčević-Kučar, for decentralization, greater rights for the Croatian and other republics, economic reform, and political pluralism.

The Croatian Spring was forcefully crushed in late 1971, as were reform movements in other parts of Yugoslavia. In Croatia thousands of Croats were imprisoned, some were killed, and many emigrated. Despite crushing political reform tendencies in Croatia and elsewhere in 1971, the Yugoslav leader, Marshal Josip Broz Tito, decided to address some of the concerns raised by republican leaders. One of those issues was decentralization and federalism. The new constitution, promulgated in 1974, stipulated that each of the six republics was a state with its own borders. Thus the 1974 constitution decentralized the Yugoslav political system tremendously; Tito believed the reform would satisfy Croat (and other non-Serb) demands for increased republican autonomy and thus dampen secessionist sentiment.

The death of Tito in May 1980, however, weakened Yugoslavia and increased demands for secession. The internal breakup of Yugoslavia began. The country was henceforth governed by a rotating presidency, consisting of one representative from each of the six republics and two autonomous provinces. Consensus rule proved increasingly difficult. The federal Party, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, was by this time merely the sum of its parts and not an independent force. In 1981 riots occurred in Kosovo, where Albanians called for republican status for their autonomous province, which was part of Serbia. It was the first post-Tito crisis and revealed differences within the Yugoslav polity; the Serbian leadership and Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) urged a hard line while the leadership of Slovenia urged reform. In the end, martial law was imposed. In 1986 the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences composed a memorandum, subsequently leaked to the press, which spoke of alleged discrimination against Serbs in Communist Yugoslavia and the need to address various contemporary threats to the Serb nation. According to many observers, the memorandum articulated a Great Serbian program that was subsequently adopted by Slobodan Milošević. When Milošević became the secretary of the League of Communists of Serbia in 1987, the implementation of this program began in earnest.

The unified League of Communists of Yugoslavia held its last Party congress in Belgrade in January 1990. Divided over the question of how to reform the country politically, now that communism had collapsed in Eastern Europe, the League of Communists disintegrated. Democratic elections now became possible. In the spring of 1990 both Slovenia and Croatia held democratic elections that brought non-communists to power. The Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) of Franjo Tudjman, which was a Croat nationalist party demanding greater political and national rights for Croats within Yugoslavia, won the Croatian elections of April and May 1990. A referendum in May 1991 resulted in over 90 percent of the population voting for Croatian independence. The Croatian Serbs boycotted. A month later, on 25 June 1991, Croatia and Slovenia seceded from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

GOVERNMENT AND STATE AUTHORITY

Croatia is a parliamentary democracy with a republican form of government. State authority is divided into legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The legislative branch is represented by a unicameral parliament known as the Sabor. The judiciary is independent and includes district, constitutional, and supreme courts. The executive branch is composed of a president and a prime minister with his cabinet. The prime minister, whose cabinet implements those policies designated by the Croatian Parliament, heads the government of the Republic of Croatia. The government organizes and directs legislative issues, initiates general domestic and foreign policy, and directs the work of state administrative bodies. The cabinet, known officially as the Council of Ministers, has its members appointed by the prime minister and then approved by the parliament.

Although Croatia possessed a constitution in the communist era while it was still part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the communist authorities had drafted it without any serious input from the population. Following the collapse of communism in 1989 and the democratic elections of the following year, a new Croatian constitution was adopted on 22 December 1990. It asserted the sovereignty of the Croatian republic within Yugoslavia and affirmed that Croatia was the national state of the Croat nation. The constitution also guarantees basic civil, human, and political rights to all citizens. These include the right of free political association, equality before the law, and the same rights and freedoms for all, regardless of race, gender, language, religion, political or other belief, national or social origin, property, birth, education, social status, or other characteristics. Members of all national minorities in theory have equal rights, including the freedom to express their nationality, to use their language and script, and cultural autonomy. Freedom of conscience and religion are also guaranteed. All religious communities have equal rights before the law and are separated from the state. Religious communities are free publicly to perform religious services and to open schools and social and charitable institutions and to manage them.

The Sabor is the home of the Croatian parliament in Zagreb. (Richard Klune/Corbis)

All citizens are guaranteed the right of public assembly and peaceful protest and the right to freedom of association for the purposes of protection of their interests or the promotion of their social, economic, political, national, cultural, and other convictions and objectives. For this purpose, everyone may freely form trade unions and other associations. All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen years have universal and equal suffrage exercised through direct elections by secret ballot. Military service is the duty of every capable citizen, although conscientious objection is permitted for religious or moral reasons. Such persons are obliged to perform other duties specified by law. Primary education is compulsory and free. Secondary and higher education are equally accessible to everyone according to abilities.

A unicameral Croatian parliament, the Sabor, represents the legislative branch of government. Constitutionally it must have no fewer than 100 and no more than 160 members, elected on the basis of direct universal and equal suffrage by secret ballot. Members are elected for a term of four years. The Croatian parliament normally meets in two regular annual sessions: 15 January–15 July and 15 September–15 December.

The specific duties of the parliament are defined in Article 80 of the constitution. These include but are not limited to: enacting and amending the constitution; passing laws; adopting an annual state budget; adopting a strategy of national security; maintaining civil control over the armed forces and security services; calling referenda; carrying out elections and making administrative appointments; supervising the work of the government; granting amnesty for criminal offenses; and conducting other affairs as specified by the constitution.

The parliament may call a referendum on a proposal for an amendment of the constitution, on a bill, or for any other issue within its competence. The Sabor is obliged to call a referendum on a specific range of issues if at least 10 percent of all registered voters in the Republic of Croatia sign a petition to that effect. At such a referendum, the majority of the voters make a decision, provided that the majority of the total number of electors has taken part in the referendum. Decisions made at referenda are binding. Constitutional amendments may be proposed by at least one-fifth of the members of the Sabor, the president, or the government. The parliament decides by a majority vote of all representatives whether to start proceedings for the amendment of the constitution. The decision to amend must be made by a two-thirds majority vote of all the members of the Sabor.

The president of the Republic of Croatia represents the republic at home and abroad. According to Article 93 of the constitution, the president "shall take care of regular and harmonized functioning and stability of the state government" and is "responsible for the defense, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia." The president is elected in direct, secret balloting, on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, for a term of five years. The president is elected by a majority vote. If none of the candidates obtains an absolute majority, new elections are held after fourteen days. The two candidates who obtained the largest number of votes in the first round have the right to run in the second and final round. No one may be elected to the post of president for more than two consecutive terms. Since declaring independence in June 1991, Croatia has had two presidents: Franjo Tudjman (1991–1999) and Stjepan Mesić (since 2000).

The duties of the president, as defined by Article 97, include but are not limited to the following: calling elections for the parliament and convening its first session; calling referenda; confiding the mandate to form a government to the person winning parliamentary elections; granting pardons; and conferring decorations and other awards specified by law. The constitution mandates that the president and the prime minister (i.e., the government) cooperate in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. The president may, with the prior countersignature of the prime minister, establish embassies and consular offices and appoint diplomatic representatives. The president is also the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia. He may appoint and dismiss military commanders. On the basis of the decision of the Croatian Parliament, the president may declare war and conclude peace. In case of an immediate threat to the independence and existence of the state, the president may, with the countersignature of the prime minister, order the activation of the armed forces even if a state of war has not been declared. During a state of war, the president may issue decrees with the force of law "on the grounds and within the authority obtained from the Croatian Parliament." In case of an immediate threat to the independence, unity, and existence of the state, or if governmental bodies are prevented from performing their constitutional duties, the president may, with the countersignature of the prime minister, issue decrees with the force of law. However, these must be submitted for approval to the Sabor as soon as the parliament is in a position to convene or they cease to be in force.

The president and the government jointly direct the operations of the security services. The appointment of the heads of the security services is first approved by the authorized committee of the Croatian parliament and is then countersigned by the president and the prime minister. According to Article 104, the president is impeachable for any willful violation of the constitution. Parliament may institute proceedings by a two-thirds majority vote of all representatives. The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia then decides on the impeachment of the president by a two-thirds majority vote of all the judges.

The government of the Republic of Croatia, the specific role of which is defined in Articles 107 through 116 of the constitution, exercises executive powers. The government consists of a prime minister, one or more deputy prime ministers and ministers. The prime minister nominates members of his cabinet. When the government is formed, the prime minister presents his government and its program to the parliament and asks for a vote of confidence, following which the government assumes its duties. The Croatian government has a total of nineteen ministries: Defense; Internal Affairs; Foreign Affairs; Finance; Public Works, Reconstruction and Construction; Agriculture and Forestry; Culture; Economy; Education and Sports; Health; Homeland War Veterans; Justice, Administration, and Local Self-Government; Labor and Social Welfare; Maritime Affairs, Transportation, and Communications; Science and Technology; Tourism; Environmental Protection and Physical Planning; European Integration; and Crafts, Small and Medium Enterprises. In addition to these ministries, the government operates a number of offices (e.g., Office for Human Rights, Office for National Minorities, General Administration Office, etc.), Agencies (e.g., Croatian Securities Exchange Commission, etc.), directorates, and commissions.

The government proposes legislation and other acts to the Croatian parliament, drafts an annual state budget, implements laws and other decisions of the parliament, articulates both foreign and internal policies, directs the operation of the state administration, and implements an economic policy. The government is responsible to the Croatian parliament. According to Article 115 of the constitution, at the proposal of at least one-fifth of the members of the Sabor, a vote of confidence in the prime minster, in individual members of the government, or in the government as a whole, may be put in motion. The prime minister may also request a vote of confidence in the government. A no confidence decision must be accepted if the majority of all members of the Croatian parliament have voted for it. If a no-confidence vote is passed, the prime minister and government must submit their resignation.

Judicial power is exercised by courts and is autonomous and independent. The Supreme Court of the Republic of Croatia, as the highest court, ensures the uniform application of laws and equal justice to all. The president of the Supreme Court is appointed by the Croatian Parliament on the proposal of the president, following a prior opinion of the general session of the Supreme Court and of the authorized committee of the Sabor. The president of the Supreme Court is appointed for a four-year term of office. Court hearings are open to the public and judgments are pronounced publicly in the name of the Republic of Croatia.

Judges enjoy immunity and cannot be called to account for an opinion or a vote given in the process of judicial decisionmaking. A judge may not be detained in criminal proceedings initiated for a criminal offence committed in performance of his or her judicial duty without prior consent of the National Judicial Council, which decides on all matters concerning discipline. Judges are normally appointed for a five-year term. After the renewal of the appointment, the judge assumes his or her duty as permanent. Whether appointing or dismissing a judge, the National Judicial Council, which consists of eleven judges chosen by the parliament, must obtain the opinion of the relevant committee of the Sabor. Members of the National Judicial Council are elected for a four-year term and no one may be a member for more than two consecutive terms. The president of the National Judicial Council is elected by secret ballot by a majority of the members of the National Judicial Council for a two-year term of office.

The Office of Public Prosecutions is an autonomous and independent judicial body empowered to prosecute those individuals and institutions that commit criminal offenses. The Croatian parliament, on the recommendation of the government, appoints for a four-year term a chief public prosecutor. Deputy public prosecutors are appointed for five-year terms. After the renewal of the appointment they may assume their duty as permanent. Deputy public prosecutors are appointed by the National Council of Public Prosecutions, which is elected by the Sabor. The majority of members of the National Council of Public Prosecutions are drawn from the ranks of deputy public prosecutors.

The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia consists of thirteen judges elected by the Croatian parliament for a term of eight years. The Constitutional Court elects its own president for a term of four years. Judges of the Constitutional Court enjoy the same immunity as members of the Croatian parliament. The Constitutional Court issues decisions on the conformity of laws and other regulations with the constitution, and on constitutional complaints against individual decisions of governmental bodies, when these decisions violate human rights and fundamental freedoms as guaranteed by the constitution. It also decides on jurisdictional disputes between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, on the impeachment of the president, on the constitutionality of the programs and activities of political parties, and on the constitutionality and legality of elections and national referenda.

The constitution defines local and regional self-government as rights of all citizens. This right is realized through local and regional representative bodies, composed of members elected on the basis of free elections by secret ballot on the grounds of direct and equal suffrage. The two basic units of local self-government are municipalities *(općine),* of which there are over four hundred, and towns *(gradovi).* The basic unit of regional self-government is the county *(županija),* of which there are twenty-one in addition to the capital city of Zagreb. Municipalities and cities are permitted to carry out the affairs of local jurisdiction, in particular those related to housing, urban planning, public utilities, child care, social welfare, primary health services, education and elementary schools, culture, physical education and sports, customer protection, protection and improvement of the environment, fire protection, and civil defense. Counties are mandated to perform all affairs of regional significance, and in particular the affairs related to education, health service, economic development, traffic infrastructure, and the development of networks of educational, health, social, and cultural institutions. Units of local and regional self-government have a constitutional right to their own revenues.

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE (1989–2002)

The collapse of communism in 1989 brought a proliferation in the number of political parties in Croatia. The following is a brief description of the major political parties that have been active in Croatia since 1989.

The Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP, Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske) is the successor to Croatia's former Communist Party, known until 1989 as the League of Communists of Croatia. The SDP leader is Ivica Račan. Support for the SDP has grown steadily throughout the 1990s; in 1995 it became the strongest opposition party in Croatia. Since January 2000, the SDP has been the largest government party and Račan has served as prime minister. As a left-of-center party, the SDP advocates the development of a modern social welfare state based on a democratic political system with rights and freedoms for all. The SDP advocates a policy of reconciliation with Croatia's neighbors and noninterference in the internal affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The SDP strives for integration in the European Union and NATO membership.

The Croat Democratic Union (HDZ, Hrvatska demokratska zajednica), as of late 2002, was the largest party in the Croatian Parliament. It was founded in 1989 by Franjo Tudjman as a Croat national party seeking to assert Croatian sovereignty within Yugoslavia. In April-May 1990 Tudjman led the HDZ to electoral victory; from that point to 1999, he and the HDZ governed Croatia. The HDZ won the 1992 general elections and was able to consolidate its dominant position in parliament again in 1995 and 1997. The HDZ was composed of diverse elements, including but not limited to former Communist officials, nationalist dissi-

President of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and new Prime Minister Ivo Sanader speaks to the press under the historic Croatian coat of arms, after receiving a mandate for the new government from Croatian President Stjepan Mesić, 9 December 2003, in Zagreb. Sanader, a Croatian nationalist leader, was formally named prime minister following his party's victory in November's legislative elections. (AFP/Getty Images)

dents, and at least initially, some liberals. When Tudjman died on 10 December 1999, the latent fissures within the HDZ surfaced, and the party was left in a shambles. Power struggles erupted between moderate reformers and nationalists. Ivo Sanader currently leads the HDZ.

The Croat Social Liberal Party (HSLS, Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka) is a moderate center-right party, advocating social and liberal economic policies, individual rights, and a limited state role in society. The HSLS was founded in 1989 and is headed by Dražen Budiša. From the start, the HSLS mixed liberal, democratic, and nationalistic elements in its program. Between 1992 and 1995, the HSLS was the strongest opposition party in Croatia but lost this position to the SDP in 1995. Like most other Croatian political parties, the HSLS has suffered several internal party disputes. As a result, the HSLS received only 12 percent of the vote in 1995, and in 1997 the Liberal Party (LS, Liberalna stranka) of Vlado Gotovac split from the HSLS. Internal consolidation on the one hand and cooperation with the SDP on the other hand led to a renewed popularity from 1998 onward. From January 2000 to the summer of 2002, it was a member of the coalition presently governing Croatia.

The Croat Peasant Party (HSS, Hrvatska seljačka stranka) is the successor to Croatia's largest interwar political party. It is a moderate conservative party that advocates farmers' social rights and economic protection, in addition to traditional family and nationalist values. It is currently led by Zlatko Tomčić.

The Croat Party of Right (HSP, Hrvatska stranka prava), founded in 1990, is a nationalist party with a history of internal dissension. Its paramilitary wing, the Croat Defense Forces (HOS), was founded in the early days of the war in Croatia but was eventually suppressed by the Croatian authorities. Its first party leader was Dobroslav Paraga. The current party leader is Ante Djapić.

The Croat Party of Right 1861 (HSP-1861, Hrvatska stranka prava 1861) as of 2002 had no seats in the Croatian Parliament. The party was founded in 1995 as a splinter group of the larger HSP. Much like the original HSP, it is a nationalist party and regards itself as politically conservative. It is headed by Dobroslav Paraga.

The Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS, Istarski demokratski sabor) is a regionally organized party and defender of Istrian interests. Istria has always been one of the richer regions of Croatia. The IDS advocates a decentralization of power and is in some respects a reaction to the decade of Tudjman rule, when administrative centralization was the norm. It is a liberal and centrist party with a majority of seats in Istria's regional parliament. The IDS is led by Ivan Jakovčić.

The Liberal Party (LS, Liberalna stranka) split from the larger HSLS in 1997. It plays a marginal role in Croatian politics. Originally led by Vlado Gotovac, who died in 2000, the party is currently headed by Ivo Banac.

The Croat People's Party (HNS, Hrvatska narodna stranka) is a centrist party, similar in some respects to the HSLS. It is generally of marginal political significance and repeatedly operated in election coalitions, being too small to gain any seats on its own. The prominence of the HNS grew in 2000, however, when its candidate, Stjepan Mesić, was elected president of Croatia. The HNS leader is Vesna Pusić.

The Serb People's Party (SNS, Srpska narodna stranka), founded in May 1991, is the party of the majority of Serbs who remained in Croatia during its war of independence (1991–1995). The SNS is committed to securing cultural and political rights for the Serb minority. It is led by Milan Djukić.

The Croat Christian Democratic Union (HKDU, Hrvatska kršćansko-demokratska unija) is a conservative, Christian Democratic party with only a marginal presence in Croatian politics. Its leader, Marko Veselica, was a dissident in the communist period. It is primarily due to his charisma and history as a dissident that the party is able to maintain any presence in the Croatian political arena.

Independent Croat Democrats (HND, Hrvatski nezavisni demokrati) is a centrist party founded in April 1994 when, following a split in the ruling HDZ, Josip Manolić and Stipe Mesić left the HDZ largely because of their opposition to Croatian policy toward Bosnia-Hercegovina. The HND is an insignificant factor in Croatian politics. It is led by Manolić.

Social Democratic Action (ASH, Akcija socijaldemokrata Hrvatske) was founded in October 1994 and is led by Silvije Degen. It is a left-of-center party and only a marginal factor in Croatian politics. The party consists of former members, mainly intellectuals, of the Socialist Party of Croatia, the Social Democratic Party, and the Social Democratic Union.

From April to May 1990, when the first democratic elections since World War II were held in Croatia, to the January 2000 elections, the dominant political party in Croatia was the Croat Democratic Union (or HDZ) of Franjo Tudjman. The HDZ, which was formed by Tudjman in the spring of 1989, saw itself as the defender of Croat national rights and of Croatia's territorial integrity and sovereignty, which they held to have been long suppressed within Yugoslavia. In the 1990 elections the HDZ won 42 percent of the vote and 60 percent of the seats in the Croatian Parliament. Its hold over Croatian politics was broken only with Tudjman's death in December 1999.

Tudjman was a Croat nationalist. As a former high-ranking Communist official and retired general of the JNA, Tudjman possessed an authoritarian demeanor. Hence the transition from Communist to HDZ rule in 1989–1990 did not dramatically or immediately improve democratic institutions in Croatia. The manipulation of laws and legal harassment of the independent media were means to control political life and public political discourse. Moreover, the constitution provided Tudjman with great powers; he attempted to govern Croatia as a presidential state. The electronic media was almost completely muzzled. Press freedom was restricted. The government used the courts and the administrative bodies to restrain newspapers, radio, and independent television that were critical of the government or not under government control. Journalism fell victim to censorship and government intimidation resulted in self-censorship by journalists. Tudjman was assisted in this respect by the opposition, which was unable, at least until 1999, to overcome its own divisions and make common cause against the HDZ. Freedom of assembly was restricted under Tudjman. Freedom of association was circumscribed by a law that prohibited groups from forming or meeting unless expressly authorized to do so by means of a lengthy registration process.

Parliament was from 1991 to 2000 a bicameral institution consisting of a lower house known as the House of Representatives (Zastupnički dom) and an upper house known as the House of Counties (Županijski dom). The HDZ never managed to achieve a two-thirds majority in the Croatian parliament, which would have enabled it to ride roughshod over the opposition. Nonetheless, it was able to influence the upper house more readily than the lower house. The House of Counties had 68 deputies, 63 of whom were elected locally on the basis of proportional representation for a four-year term; each county (including the city of Zagreb) sent three deputies to the House of Counties. Tudjman appointed an additional five deputies, thus enabling him to exert influence over the upper house. The number of deputies in the House of Representatives may vary from term to term, from 100 to 160. At least 80 deputies were supposed to be elected under a system of proportional representation and 28 in one-member constituencies according to a simple majority system. Twelve parliamentary seats were originally reserved for representatives of the Croatian Diaspora, which largely voted throughout the 1990s for Tudjman's HDZ, and 8 for the national minorities.

The first parliamentary elections to be held in independent Croatia occurred in August 1992. They were for the House of Representatives. The HDZ won 44 percent of the vote and gained 85 of 138 seats. Presidential elections were held simultaneously, which were won by Tudjman. The first elections to the House of Counties were held in February 1993, and the last in April 1997. In the 1993 elections the HDZ gained 45.5 percent of the vote and 37 of 68 seats. In the next parliamentary elections, held in October 1995, the HDZ consolidated its position; it won 75 of 127 seats in the House of Representatives. The regional and municipal elections of April 1997 were also won by the HDZ, which gained a majority in 40 percent of the counties. That same year, in June 1997, Tudjman was reelected in presidential elections with 61.4 percent of the popular vote. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) candidate, Zdravko Tomac, gained 21 percent of the vote, while the Croat Social Liberal Party (HSLS) candidate, Vlado Gotovac, gained 17.6 percent. However, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) declared the elections undemocratic, since it believed that the opposition parties had lacked access to the media.

Since Tudjman's death, the Croatian political landscape has changed dramatically. Encouraged by the divisive leadership struggle within the HDZ that accompanied Tudjman's last days, the opposition forged a coalition consisting of Ivica Račan's SDP and Dražen Budiša's HSLS. It was supported by a smaller four-party coalition consisting of the Croat People's Party (HNS), Croat Peasant Party (HSS), the Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS), and the Liberal Party (LS); this coalition won 47 percent of the vote in the January 2000 elections to the House of Representatives. Although the HDZ remained the single largest party in the Croatian Parliament, with 46 deputies, the six-party coalition had over 90 deputies and thus formed the new government. In the concurrent two-stage presidential campaign, held January–February 2000, Stjepan Mesić of the Croat People's Party (HNS) emerged victorious; in the first round, Mesić and HSLS-SDP candidate Dražen Budiša defeated Mate Granić, Tudjman's former foreign minister who had left the HDZ in early 1999, and in the second round, held on 7 February 2000, Mesić defeated Budiša with 56 percent of the vote. Mesić was inaugurated as president on 18 February 2000.

Since then, Prime Minister Račan and President Mesić have pursued economic and political reform programs, including a restructuring of the Croatian military and state bureaucracy, and they have worked toward the creation of an independent public broadcasting service and liberalization of the media. They have also worked to develop a new approach to Croatia's ethnic minorities, particularly the Serbs. And in order to avoid a repeat of the abuses of the Tudjman era, the new SDP-HSLS government has limited the powers of the presidency. Although the president is hardly a ceremonial figure, which is what the SDP-HSLS government hoped to make him, the scope and range of his powers have definitely decreased; the president remains the head of the armed forces and the intelligence agency. Moreover, a constitutional amendment of 28 March 2001 transformed the parliament into a unicameral body, and the House of Counties was dissolved.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE HOMELAND WAR

Almost all major political developments in Croatia since the collapse of communism have been affected in one way or another by the country's war of independence (1991–1995), known in Croatia as the Homeland War *(Domovinski rat).* Following the April-May 1990 multiparty elections in Croatia, then still part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the League of Communists of Croatia relinquished power to the HDZ. The HDZ quickly moved forward with its goal of greater political rights for Croatia within a reformed Yugoslavia. In 1990 the term "socialist" was dropped from Croatia's official nomenclature, a new constitution was promulgated, and a revival of nationalist sentiment was experienced. Following the failure of a series of talks with the leaders of the five other Yugoslav republics, which had been designed to reformulate the Yugoslav federation, on 25 June 1991 Croatia, together with Slovenia, declared its independence.

Even before the Croatian declaration of independence was made, fighting had erupted between the Croatian authorities and Croatian Serbs who, having rebelled against Zagreb, were aided by the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milošević and armed by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). In 1990, as Croatia moved ever closer to independence, the Croatian Serb intellectual Jovan Rašković formed the Serb Democratic Party (SDS). In August 1990 the SDS organized a referendum on Serb autonomy within Croatia. Shortly thereafter armed Serb-Croat confrontation flared up. The referendum resulted in the Knin-based SDS declaring autonomy in October 1990 for the so-called Serb Autonomous Region of Krajina. In May 1991 this autonomous Krajina region announced its independence from Croatia. Violent clashes between Zagreb and the Croatian Serbs continued throughout this period.

When Croatia declared its independence, the fighting only intensified and became more brutal. The Serbian authorities and the JNA responded by helping the Croatian Serb leadership carve out a Serb territory in Croatia. Following intense fighting between June and December 1991, during which time the Croatian town of Vukovar was destroyed and Dubrovnik was shelled indiscriminately by the JNA, in December 1991 Croatia's Serb autonomous regions united to form the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK). On 2 January 1992, the American mediator Cyrus Vance brokered a cease-fire whereby a United Nations mandated force, called U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), was to be sent to Croatia. In February 1992 the U.N. Security Council approved a 14,000-member peacekeeping force to monitor the cease-fire. Meanwhile, on 15 January 1992, most European and some non-European states recognized Croatia as an independent state, and in May 1992 Croatia became a member of the United Nations. The six-month Croatian war had claimed over 10,000 lives and wrought mass destruction. By early 1992, overt hostilities between Croatia and Yugoslavia ceased.

However, the problem of the Croatian Serb entity, the RSK, which Croatia considered an illegal Serb occupation of its sovereign territory, remained unresolved. The RSK was from its inception a satellite and dependency of Slobodan Milošević's Serbian regime. A protégé of Milošević, Milan Martić, was elected its president in 1993. The UNPROFOR mission in Croatia merely froze the territorial status quo that had been established in January 1992; Croatia's Serbs, who hoped to remain part of a Yugoslav or Great Serbian state, held nearly one-third of Croatia. In 1993 the Serb authorities in the RSK staged a referendum resoundingly in favor of integration with the Serbs of Bosnia and Serbia.

However, in two separate lightning offensives in 1995 the Croatian army recaptured all the territory controlled by the RSK. In the first in May 1995 (called "Flash") and in the second in August 1995 (called "Storm"), all of the RSK was retaken except for eastern Slavonia. On 12 November 1995, during the Dayton peace negotiations that brought an end to the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Croatian government and Serbian negotiators agreed to the peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia into Croatia. The basic agreement allowed for a transitional period of demilitarization and government by an international administration backed by an implementation force. In January 1996 Security Council Resolution 1037 established the UNTAES (U.N. Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia). Control of the region was handed back to Zagreb on 15 January 1998, and with the government's agreement, an OSCE mission took over some of the UNTAES tasks, including police monitoring. As of 2002, only a small U.N. contingent of fewer than thirty observers remained in Croatia's Prevlaka Peninsula, which had been occupied by the JNA in 1991.

From its outbreak in 1992, Croatia was involved in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. At that time, Croats composed approximately 17 percent of the population of Bosnia-Hercegovina. When the war began, the Bosnian Croats were united with the Bosnian Muslims (44 percent of the population) in their determination for independence, while the Bosnian Serbs (31 percent), who were backed by the Serbian leadership in Belgrade, opposed independence. Although allied to the Bosnian Muslim government, the HDZ headed the Croat political leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The first HDZ leader in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Mate Boban, proclaimed a Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, which was supposed to serve as a Croat parastate in parts of Bosnia that were predominantly inhabited by Croats. It had its own military, known as the Croat Council of Defense (HVO). However, in 1993 conflict erupted between the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims for control of central Bosnia. Croatia became indirectly involved in this conflict as a financier and supplier of the HVO and Bosnian Croat leadership. Only after the American administration applied strong pressure on Zagreb did the Croatian government agree to the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the formation of a loose confederation with its Bosnian neighbor. In April 1994 the Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegović, and Tudjman agreed to the so-called Washington Agreement, forming a Bosniak-Croat Federation within Bosnia-Hercegovina and a loose economic confederation between Zagreb and Sarajevo.

The presidents of Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia signed the Dayton Accords, which ended the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in December 1995. In practice, however, throughout the Tudjman era, the Croat-populated parts of Bosnia were treated as an extension of Croatian territory, just as Serb-populated areas were treated as an extension of Serbia. For that reason, the international community expressed concern over Croatia's slow implementation of the Bosnian peace treaty and continued support of the nationalist Bosnian Croat leadership. Moreover, opposition to the return of Serb refugees to Croatia, alleged human rights abuses, and Tudjman's autocratic rule led eventually, by the late 1990s, to Croatia's international political isolation.

Only after the January 2000 elections did a major change occur in Croatia's relations with the international community and its neighbors, particularly Bosnia-Hercegovina. The new Croatian foreign minister, Tonino Picula, immediately pledged that the new government would respect its obligations toward Bosnia-Hercegovina under the Dayton Accords and that it considered Bosnia-Hercegovina's borders inviolable. The new government also ended Zagreb's extensive financial subsidies to the Croats of Bosnia-Hercegovina, where the dominant Croat party was still the HDZ. Cooperation has also been established with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague. In February 2000 Croatia was invited to join the NATO-sponsored Partnership for Peace program. Croatia has also been admitted to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Council of Europe. Today, more than at any other point in the past half-century, the prospects for liberal democracy in Croatia appear genuinely strong.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Although Croatia has a rich cultural history and an equally rich contemporary cultural scene, any discussion of culture must begin with the importance of language and the evolution of a literary language. In short, the literary and spoken language is perhaps the most important element of culture and the cultural heritage of a people. Language is particularly important in the context of Central and Southeastern Europe, as it has served in the era of nationalism as the main criterion in defining nationality.

The Croatian language is a Slavic language that is almost identical to Serbian and Bosnian and closely related to Slovenian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian. It may be divided into three dialects, each named for the word it uses for "what": Kajkavian *(kaj),* Čakavian *(ča),* and Štokavian *(što).* Čakavian and Kajkavian now have a relatively limited territorial base in Croatia. The Kajkavian dialect is spoken in Zagreb, its wider environs, and the region of Hrvatsko Zagorje to the north of Zagreb. Čakavian is spoken in Istria, part of the Croatian Littoral, and some of the northern Adriatic islands. Štokavian is the most widely spoken dialect in Croatia. The Štokavian dialect may be further grouped into three subdialects, according to the treatment of vowels in certain words. On this basis, Štokavian may be classified into ekavian, ikavian, and ijekavian variants. The modern Croatian literary language is based on the ijekavian variant, while the ekavian variant, which is spoken in Serbia proper, forms the basis of modern literary Serbian.

The Croatian language and literature have a rich history dating back to the medieval period. The earliest written records in Croatian date from the ninth to the eleventh centuries and are in Old Church Slavonic, a liturgical language developed by the Greek missionaries Cyril and Methodius. Croatian medieval texts were written largely in the Glagolitic script and Old Slavonic language. Almost all the texts from this period are either legal or religious documents, such as the Baška Tablet (ca. 1100) and Vinodol Law (1288). Perhaps the most important medieval text is the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea* (Ljetopis popa Dukljanina), dating from the late twelfth century.

The term "Croatian Latinists" refers to writers whose works were written in Latin and who belong to the humanist and early Renaissance traditions. Most of these writers were from Dalmatia, the heart of the Renaissance in Croatia; the cities of Dubrovnik, Split, and Hvar were important cultural centers. Unlike Croatia proper, which was being laid waste from the late fifteenth century onward by Ottoman incursions, Dalmatia experienced relative peace and prosperity. Among the leading figures of the period was Marko Marulić (1450–1524), probably the greatest humanist figure in Croatia. The development of a specifically Croatian literature in Dalmatia is attributed to him; his major work was the epic poem *Judita* (Judith), written in 1501 and published in Venice in 1521. Although Marulić was the most significant Renaissance figure in Croatian literature, Marin Držić (ca. 1508–1567) of Dubrovnik and the poet Petar Hektorović (1487–1572) of Hvar were also important. Držić was a priest, literary figure, and playwright. His studies in Sienna exposed him to a rich cultural life, especially in the realm of theater and contemporary drama. He achieved his fame based on a number of farces or short comedies, the best known of which is *Novela od stanca* (A Novella in Stanzas), which was first shown in 1550. With these works he became a central figure in Dubrovnik's theater life. The philosopher and theologian Matija Vlačić Ilirik (Matthias Flacius Illyricus) (1520–1575) was another prominent Latinist. A follower of Martin Luther and the Reformation, his most significant work was *Catalogus testium veritatis* (A Catalog of Witnesses of the Truth). Ivan

The Internet and Eastern Europe

Just as Central and Southeastern Europe entered a new world with the collapse of communism in the late 1980s and early 1990s, so too has the region become more accessible for those seeking to learn more about the region, thanks to the Web. Croatia provides a model example of what will be increasingly available to those seeking to learn more about the region in the twenty-first century.

The most useful gateway to Internet resources about Croatia is the Croatian homepage, located at www.hr. In addition to a section containing basic facts about Croatia, it categorizes Web pages into more than a dozen different categories, from "Arts and Culture" to "Tourism."

Croatia

Croatia in English (http://www.croatia-in-english.com) This site is for English-speaking people who have an interest in Croatia and especially for persons of Croat descent who were born outside Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and other places where the Croat population is indigeneous. The focus is primarily genealogical, with some information on customs and travel.

Inside Croatia (http://www.insidecroatia.com). This site contains a good deal of basic information about the Republic of Croatia.

Handbook for Foreign Visitors to Croatia (http://centar-cons.tripod.com). The handbook offers an overview of the Republic of Croatia. It is useful for both tourists and those merely looking for information. It offers a broad range of historical, economic, political, and tourist data.

HIDRA: Croatian Information Documentation Referral Agency (http://www.hidra.hr). HIDRA is the official service of the government of Croatia for the dissemination of information, documentation, and referral.

Additional information may be found at the Web sites of various academic institutes and centers specializing in the region (e.g., the Balkans, Eastern Europe). Among the more useful sites are the following: (1) the Russian and East European Network Information Center (or REENIC) of the University of Texas at Austin, http://reenic.utexas.edu/reenic/index.html; (2) the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of Texas, http://reenic.utexas.edu/creees/index.html; (3) the Balkan Studies Center and Program at Columbia University in New York, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/HI/balk.html; (4) the Russian and East European Studies Virtual Library of the University of Pittsburgh, http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/reesweb; (5) the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University, http://www.stanford.edu/dept/CREES; (6) the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Michigan, http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/crees. All of these Web sites have useful links.

Arts and Culture

An Overview of Croatian History, Culture, and Science (http://www.hr/hrvatska/Croatia-HCS.html). This text was written by Darko Žubrinić and provides an overview of Croatian culture and history.

Croatian Portal for Art, Architecture, and Design (http://www.punkt.hr). This site was conceived as a starting page for all information relating to Croatian culture, the visual arts, architecture, and design. Daily news, list of exhibitions, galleries and contests, as well as personal homepages of artists, architects, and designers can be found here.

Croatian Cultural Association (http://www.hrsk.hr). This is the official Web site of the Croatian Cultural Association, with a good deal of information about orchestras, folk and dance ensembles, and writers.

Business and Economy

Useful Internet sites dealing with the Croatian economy are (1) the Ministry of the Economy (http://www.mingo.hr); (2) the Croatian Chamber of Economy (http://www.hgk.hr), a great source for basic indicators on the Croatian economy; (3) Croatian Bureau of Statistics (http://www.dzs.hr); (4) the Croatian National Bank (http://www.hnb.hr); (5) the Ministry of Finance (http://www.mfin.hr); (6) the Business Forum (www.poslovniforum.hr), for information technology and business services; and (7) the Croatian Business Information Centre (http://www.cbic.efzg.hr), which provides the most important resources of business studies in Croatia.

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Education

Ministry of Education and Sport (http://www.mips.hr). The Ministry of Education and Sports in the Republic of Croatia is responsible for preschool, primary, and secondary education. Its duties encompass teacher training, development, textbooks, verifications of school certificates and international cooperation, inspection, and financing of schools. It carries out projects related to civic education; human rights, rights of the child, and minority rights; heritage education; and special education needs children.

For other Web sites devoted to education in general and specifically to academic institutions in Croatia, follow the links under "Education" at http://www.hr/index.en.shtml, and visit the Web sites of the Universities of Zagreb (http://www.unizg.hr), Split (www.unist.hr), Rijeka (http://www.uniri.hr), and Osijek (http://www.unios.hr). See also the Ministry of Science and Technology (www.mzt.hr).

History

On Croatian history, see the relevant links at http://www.hr/index.en.shtml. A great deal of information (e.g., book reviews, discussion logs, etc.) can be found through the Habsburg Discussion Network, http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~habsweb, and at the links found on that page. Also useful are the Web sites of the various university institutes in the United States listed under "About Croatia."

Current Events and Media (Journalism, Press, and Television)

Croatian Radio and Television (http://www.hrt.hr). The Web site of Croatian Radio and Television, known by its Croatian acronym HRT (with three stations), also contains useful links to Croatian regional radio.

Croatian Information and News Agency (http://www.hina.hr/nws-bin/ehot.cgi). Known by its Croatian acronym HINA, Croatia's official news service is a good starting point for Croatian news.

Croatian Information Center (http://www.hic.hr). A useful link providing the latest news from the Croatian press. It also contains links to audio news from HRT.

Croatian Journalists' Association (http://www.hnd.hr). Contains information about the activities of the Croatian Journalists' Association and links to various newspapers. Most of Croatia's print press, like *Vjesnik, Večernji list, Obzor, Globus, Nacional, Slobodna Dalmacija,* and *Hrvatsko slovo,* have their own Web sites, but these are still usually only in Croatian.

For Western-based and English-language sources dealing with current events, consult the Web sites of the following organizations: (1) Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (http://www.rferl.org), for news and an overview of political developments; (2) Institute for War and Peace Reporting (http://www.iwpr.net), which produces "Balkan Crisis Reports," as well as "Tribunal Updates," summarizing the week's developments at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY); (3) the U.S. Department of State (http://www.state.gov/p/eur/ci/); and (4) the CIA's *World Factbook* (http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html).

Museums

Those interested in Croatian museums may consult the relevant Web sites listed below, all of which have English-language pages with detailed descriptions of the histories and holdings of the museums. Among the more important museums are (1) Trakošćan Castle (http://www.mdc.hr/trakoscan), (2) the Archeological Museum of Istria (http://www.mdc.hr/pula), (3) the Archeological Museum of Split (http://www.mdc.hr/split-arheoloski), (4) the Dubrovnik Museums (http://www.mdc.hr/dubrovnik), (5) The Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments (http://www.mhas-split.hr), (6) The Museum of Modern Art Rijeka (http://www.mgr.hr), (7) the Ethnographic Museum of Istria (http://www.emi.hr), (8) the Peasants Revolt Museum (http://www.mdc.hr/msb), (9) the Gallery of Fine Arts (Osijek) (http://www.mdc.hr/glu_osijek/), (10) Klovićevi dvori Gallery (http://www.galerijaklovic.hr), (11) the Zagreb Municipal Museum (http://www.mdc.hr/mgz), (12) the Croatian Museum of Naive Art (http://www.hmnu.org), (13) the Archeological Museum (Zagreb) (http://www.amz.hr), (14) the Ethnographic Museum (Zagreb) (http://www.mdc.hr/etno), (15) the Museum of Contemporary Art (Zagreb) (http://www.mdc.hr/msu), (16) the Museum of Arts and Crafts (Zagreb) (http://www.muo.hr), and (17) the Croatian Natural History Museum (http://www.hpm.hr).

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Politics, Law, and Administration

The official Web site of the government of Croatia (http://www.vlada.hr) offers a detailed description of Croatian political institutions and civil service, accompanied by biographical profiles of each member of government. A range of general information documents can also be accessed from the site, in particular the text of the Croatian Constitution and the government's political program. The site also features a database containing press releases, accounts of cabinet meetings, and a weekly news bulletin. A monthly newsletter is also published on the site.

The different ministries have their own Web sites, all of which have English pages. Each site offers a detailed description of the role of the ministry and features short biographical accounts of the Minister and other members of the ministry. An organizational chart detailing the structure of the Ministry is usually also contained on the site. The following is a list of Croatian government ministry Web sites: Ministry of Foreign Affairs (http://www.mvp.hr), Ministry of Finance (http://www.mfin.hr), Ministry of Defense (http://www.morh.hr), Ministry of Internal Affairs (http://www.mup.hr), Ministry of the Economy (http://www.mingo.hr), Ministry of Family, Veterans and Intergenerational Solidarity (http://www.mhbdr.hr), Ministry of Culture (http://www.min-kulture.hr), Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (http://www.mps.hr), Ministry of the Sea, Tourism, Communications, and Development (http://www.mmtpr.hr), Ministry of Justice, Administration, and Local Autonomy (http://www.pravosudje.hr), Ministry for the Protection of the Environment (http://www.mzopu.hr), Ministry of Education and Sport (http://www.mips.hr), Ministry of Labor and Social Assistance (http://www.mrss.hr), Ministry of Tourism (http://www.mint.hr), Ministry of Health (http://www.miz.hr), Ministry of Science and Technology (http://www.mzt.hr), Ministry for European Integration (http://www.mei.hr), and the Ministry of Manual Trade, Small, and Medium Enterprise (http://www.momsp.hr).

The Croatian president maintains his own site at http://www.predsjednik.hr. The Supreme Court has a site at http://www.vsrh.hr. The Croatian parliament (the Sabor) also has its own Web site (http://www.sabor.hr). Most Croatian political parties maintain their own Web sites. The Social Democratic Party's (SDP) site is at http://www.sdp.hr, the Croatian Social Liberal Party's (HSLS) site is at http://www.hsls.hr, the Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) site is at http://www.hdz.hr, the Croat Peasant Party (HSS) site is at http://www.hss.hr, the Croat Party of Right is at http://www.hsp.hr, the Croat People's Party site is at http://www.hns.hr, and the Liberal Party is at http://www.liberali.hr.

On Croatia's twenty-one counties, see the respective county Web sites: Istria (http://www.istra-istria.hr), Littoral-Gorski kotar (Rijeka) (http://www.pgz.hr), Karlovac (http://www.karlovacka-zupanija.hr), Lika-Senj (http://www.lickosenjska.com), Zadar (not available), Šibenik-Knin (http://www.sibenik-knin.com), Split-Dalmatia (not available), Dubrovnik-Neretva (not available), Zagreb (http://www.members.tripod.com/~zagzup), city of Zagreb (not available), Sisak-Moslavina (not available), Krapina-Zagorje (http://www.kr-zag-zupanija.hr), Varaždin (http://www.varazdinska-zupanija.hr), Medjimurje (http://www.zupanija-medjimurska.hr), Koprivnica-Križevci (http://www.tz-koprivnicko-krizevacka.hr), Virovitica-Podravina (http://www.viroviticko-podravska-zupanija.hr), Bjelovar-Bilogora (not available), Požega-Slavonia (not available), Slavonski Brod-Posavina (http://www.tel.hr/zupbrps), Vukovar-Srijem (not available), Osijek-Baranja (http://www.osjecko-baranjska-zupanija.hr).

Religion

Freedom of Religion in Croatia (www.vjerska-sloboda.com). This is the Web site of the Association for Religion Freedom in the Republic of Croatia, a nongovernmental and nonprofit organization that brings together believers from twenty-four churches and religious communities in Croatia.

Bahá'í Religious Community of Croatia (Bahai) (http://www.bahai.hr). Website of the Bahá'í community of Croatia, with an introduction to the Bahá'í faith, Bahá'í writings, activities of the Bahá'í community in Croatia, and links to the worldwide Bahá'í Web pages.

Jehovah's Witnesses (http://www.watchtower.org/languages/c/library/rq/index.htm). The Jehovah's Witnesses are a Christian religious organization that actively witnesses about Jehovah God and his purpose for mankind.

Evangelical Methodist Church (http://www.metodisti.hr). Site of Evangelical Methodist Church in Split, Croatia.

Serbian Orthodox Church Borovo Naselje (http://www.spco-borovonaselje.org). This site is dedicated to the work and life of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Borovo Naselje, Vukovar.

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Croatian Catholic Press Agency (http://www.ika.hr). This is the official Croatian Catholic Press Agency, based at Zagreb, which provides daily news about the Catholic Church in Croatia.

Catholic Bishops Conference (http://www.hbk.hr). This is the official site of Croatia's Catholic bishops, and hence of the Catholic Church in Croatia.

Sport

For information on Croatian soccer, see the links at http://www.hr/index.en.shtml and the Croatian Football Association at http://www.hns-cff.hr. Most Croatian soccer clubs have their own Web sites. Tennis fans can visit the Web site of the Croatian Open, which is held every year in Umag (Istria), at http://www2.croatiaopen.hr, and the Web site of the Zagreb Open at www.zagrebopen.hr.

Tourism

A legion of Web sites is devoted to the Croatian tourist industry and its various branches. A useful starting point is the Croatian homepage under "Tourism and Traveling" at the Croatian Homepage (http://www.hr/index.en.shtml). For detailed information on Croatia's eight national (nature) parks and protected nature areas, see Kornati (http://www.archaeology.net/kornati), Plitvice Lakes (http://www.archaeology.net/plitvice), Krka (http://www.npkrka.hr), Paklenica (http://www.tel.hr/paklenica), Mljet (http://www.mljet.hr), Risnjak (http://www.archaeology.net/risnjak), Brijuni (http://www.np-brijuni.hr), and Velebit (http://http://www.pp-velebit.hr). For travel, see the Web site of Zagreb Airport at http://www.tel.hr/zagreb-airport and that of Split Airport at http://www.split-airport.tel.hr/split-airport. The Web site of Croatia Airlines is http://www.croatiaairlines.hr. The Web sites of Croatian Railways (http://www.hznet.hr), Croatia Line (http://www.croatialine.com), and Jadrolinija (http://www.jadrolinija.tel.hr/jadrolinija) are all useful for travel purposes.

War Crimes

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) (http://www.un.org/icty). This is the official Web site of the UN tribunal based in The Hague. The site contains a number of public documents, official transcipts, and indictments.

Institute for War and Peace Reporting (http://www.iwpr.net). This IWPR produces a weekly report called *Tribunal Update,* summarizing developments at the ICTY.

Women's Issues

Ona (http://www.ona-hr.com). An up-to-date Web site dealing with a range of issues for women.

The International Women's Club Zagreb (http://www.iwcz.org). Founded in 1994 to bring together women of all nationalities living in Zagreb, the International Women's Club (IWC) offers friendship and support to members, with monthly get-togethers and a varied program of visits, activities, and fundraising events.

B.a.B.e.—Be active, Be emancipated (http://www.babe.hr/eng). B.a.B.e. is a strategic lobbying and advocacy group located in Zagreb, Croatia, working for the affirmation and implementation of women's human rights. The organization lobbies for the recognition and improved status of women's human rights, such as the right to be free of violence, both at home and in the public sphere; the right to reproductive choice and reproductive health, including the right to decide when to create and how to raise children; and the right to equal and full participation in all aspects of society, especially in leadership roles and important decisionmaking. It also supports the civil scene in Croatia and cooperates with peace, human rights, and ecological groups in Croatia.

Women's Infoteka (http://www.zinfo.hr). The Web site of a women's information and documentation center founded in Zagreb in December 1992 as the first of the sort in Croatia and Eastern Europe. The basic activities are collecting and disseminating data and information, a lending service library, publishing (books and the magazine *Kruh i ruže* [Bread and Roses]), organizing training seminars and international conferences, conducting research projects, and providing help in research projects.

Center for Women's Studies, Zagreb (http://www.zenstud.hr). The Center for Women's Studies in Zagreb, founded in 1995 by feminist scholars, activists, and artists, is the first and only independent educational center in Croatia

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and acknowledged center for civil education in Southeastern Europe offering a place for academic discussion on women's and feminist issues. The main activities of the center are women's studies, public education (for women leaders, politicians, and activists), research, cultural activities, and publishing. The center provides its students with basic insights, theoretical knowledge, and critical reflection into a wide range of women's studies topics, including feminist epistemology, women in cultural theories, theories of identity, and women's awareness of the self, by providing new models of education that fulfill and complement the formal education obtained within the university sphere.

Center for Education and Counseling of Women (http://www.zamir.net/~cesi). CESI is a women's nonprofit, nongovernmental organization established on International Women's Day, 8 March 1997, in response to problems of the violation of human rights, in particular women's and minority rights, nationalism, militarization, and the deterioration of economic standards in the postwar period. It was founded by members of several women's and peace initiatives, all of whom have many years of professional experience working with women war survivors. The main goal is to empower women to gain control over their lives, to improve their psychological, economic, and physical well-being, and to promote values of gender equality.

Česmički (Janus Pannonius) (1434–1472) composed satirical epigrams, panegyrics, and elegies.

The leading figure of the baroque in Croatia was Ivan Gundulić (1589–1638), a patrician from Dubrovnik who penned dramas and epic poems. He authored numerous works, the most famous of which is *Osman.* This epic poem, although running 11,000 lines, remained unfinished at the time of his death. It was inspired by a 1621 Polish victory against the Ottoman Turks and glorified the great courage of the Slavs. Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713) is the best-known Croat writer of the late seventeenth century and in some respects is the father of Croat historicism. He authored numerous historical, literary, and lexicographical works in Latin and Croatian. Also of significance in this period were Andrija Kačić Miošić (1704–1760), Adam Baltazar Krčelić (1715–1778), and the philosopher Rudjer Bošković (1711–1787). Bošković is one of the most important Croat cultural and scientific figures of the eighteenth century. An astronomer, mathematician, and physician, he is best known for his philosophical and poetic works, of which he authored over a dozen in Latin.

Although the center of gravity of Croatian culture and literature lay in Dalmatia up to the seventeenth century, after that point it shifted north to Zagreb. In the nineteenth century national awakeners in Croatia had a critical role in the further evolution of Croatian literature and language. Indeed, modern Croatian literature began with the Illyrianist movement (1836–1848) of Ljudevit Gaj and the literary-cultural circle that the movement spawned. Illyrianism was suffused with romanticism and nationalism; the latter theme expressed itself throughout the nineteenth century partly in terms of antagonism to Habsburg and Hungarian rule. In the 1830s Zagreb became both the political and the cultural center of the Croat lands. However, the Illyrianist awakeners in Croatia first had to contend with the name of the spoken language. They initially referred to it as "Illyrian" and later "Croatian" or "Serbian." After the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918, the term "Serbo-Croatian" became official. At the time it was hoped by Yugoslavist unitarists that just as the Croat, Serb, and Slovene "tribes" would be melded into a hybrid Yugoslav nationality, so too would "Croatian" and "Serbian" merge into a single literary language. This proved highly problematical on many levels, however. As Yugoslavia's political experience soured and resistance to state centralism stiffened among the non-Serbs, resistance to linguistic unity stiffened also.

The Illyrianist movement counted among its followers Ivan Mažuranić (1814–1890), who penned the epic *Smrt Smail-Age Čengića* (The Death of Smail-Aga Čengić; 1846), which tells of Christian-Muslim conflict in Turkish-ruled Hercegovina. Stanko Vraz (1810–1851) and Petar Preradović (1818–1872) were also important in the movement. The main figure in late nineteenth-century Croatian literature was August Šenoa (1838–1881), who dealt mainly with historical themes. His two main works were *Seljačka buna* (Peasant Uprising; 1877) and *Diogeneš* (Diogenes).

The rise of literary realism in the second half of the nineteenth century furthered the development of the novel. Literary realism included among its followers Silvije Strahimir Kranjčević (1865–1908), Eugen Kumičić (1850–1904), Ante Kovačić (1854–1889), Ksaver Šandor Gjalski (1854–1935), and Milan Begović (1876–1948). Particularly important in this respect were Kumičić and Šenoa. Many novelists of the period also wrote poetry and drama. The late nineteenth century also saw a growing interest in the psychology of motives and morals, a trend influenced by the writings of Russian novelists. Historical themes, which had predominated in Šenoa's work, gave way to psychology, which gradually displaced the cult of history. The best known of the psychological novelists in Croatia was Gjalski, who in a series of some twenty novels depicted the whole range of contemporary Croatian life.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, modernists sought to assimilate literary trends imported from France and Germany. Croatian literary modernism was represented by Milivoj Dežman Ivanov (1873–1940), Milan

Marko Marulić (1450–1524)

Marko Marulić was a Croat poet, writer, and scholar from Split, which after 1420 was part of the Venetian Republic. Marulić wrote the first secular work of Croatian literature, the *Istoria svete udovice Judit* (The History of the Holy Widow Judith). This Croatian epic tells the biblical story of Judith, who killed the Assyrian general Holofernes; it is an allegory of Croatia's struggle against the Ottoman Turks. It was published in five editions in Venice between 1521 and 1627. The poem proved to be very popular with a large section of educated Dalmatian society. In the preface to the book, Marulić wrote: "In reading this history I was minded to translate it into our [Croatian] tongue, so that it might be understood by those who are not learned in Latin or clerical writing" (Croatian Information Centre). The ethical message of Judith appears to be a call to Christian faith, devotion, and unity in the struggle against the Ottoman Turkish infidel. Marulić sounded an urgent call to his people to hold firm to Christianity, which alone would give them the moral force to withstand the Turk.

Marulić also wrote in Latin a series of works of religious morality, some of which were highly regarded by contemporaries: *Evangelistarium* (Book of Gospels; 1487); *De Institutione bene vivendi per exempla Sanctorum* (Instructions for a Good Life Based on the Examples of the Saints; 1498); and *Dialogus de laudibus Herculis* (A Dialogue on the Great Deeds of Hercules; 1524). He authored other noteworthy works in the areas of poetry, history, and archaeology, most of which were published in several editions, as well as being translated into German, Italian, French, Czech, and Portuguese. Related works in Croatian concerned with the Ottoman threat include his *Molitva suprotiva Turkom* (Prayer against the Turk), and *Tuzenie grada Hjerozolima* (The Plaint of the City of Jerusalem). *Prayer against the Turk* denounces the destruction, pillage, and massacres perpetrated by Ottoman Turkish soldiers in the Croatian hinterland. Although a layman, Marulić devoted his life to religious contemplation and to the improvement of his fellow man. His religious writings were known throughout Europe.

Although his classical education and his interest in Roman monuments stamp him as a humanist, Marulić was deeply rooted in medieval Catholic theology. His books were moralistic and didactic and attracted many readers and admirers throughout Europe. His *De Institutione bene vivendi per exempla Sanctorum* was not only reprinted but translated into many languages. The main reason for its popularity was that during the whole of the Counter-Reformation it was considered an effective book for Catholics to use in the defense of their faith. Marulić shared the common belief of the Renaissance era that the Croats had been in Dalmatia from time immemorial. He translated from Croatian into Latin an old chronicle (*Ljetopis popa Dukljanina;* Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea) under the title *Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta* (Deeds of the Kings of Dalmatia and Croatia). Concerned with the rapid advance of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans and the disunity prevailing in Christendom, Marulić wrote the moving *Epistle to Pope Hadrian VI* (Rome, 1522), begging him humbly to intervene in favor of the poor persecuted Christians. Marulić wrote that many of his countrymen had been killed, others enslaved, their properties destroyed, villages burned, and fields either wasted or left without their cultivators. Marulić's impressive opus has earned him the reputation of being the father of Croatian literature.

Marjanović (1879–1955), Vladimir Nazor (1876–1949), and Antun Gustav Matoš (1873–1914), among others. Nazor's prose dealt with the epic world of legend and mythology. His novel *Pastir Loda* (Pastor Loda) is a panoramic description of his native island Brač; his *Zagrebačke novele* (Zagreb Novellas) provides a reconstruction of Zagreb in his last years.

The cause of Croatian literature has been greatly assisted by the Society of Croat Writers (DHK, Društvo hrvatskih književnika), which was formed in 1900. From its inception, the DHK has been a remarkably active cultural institution. It has published several periodicals, such as *Ljetopis* (Annals; 1903) and *Savremenik* (The Contemporary; 1906). In 1909 it also began publishing a major series of literary works under the rubric, Contemporary Croat Writers; between 1909 and 1938, it published sixty-four volumes. The series was resumed in 1957. In 1954 the DHK began publishing its Little Library, intended as a venue for young writers. In 1966 it began publishing *Most/The Bridge,* with translations of Croatian poetry and literary works into foreign languages. It is published to this day by the DHK.

Undoubtedly the greatest Croat writer, poet, essayist, and playwright of the twentieth century was Miroslav Krleža (1893–1981). He left behind a rich opus consisting of novels, dramas, poetry, and political essays. Born in Zagreb, which was then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he received his primary schooling there but in 1908 entered a preparatory military school in Peczuj and then attended the Lucoviceum Military Academy in Budapest. In 1912, during the first Balkan War, he volunteered for service in the

Serbian army. Suspected of being an Austrian spy by the Serbs, he was forced to return to Austria-Hungary, where the authorities arrested him. He was deprived of his officer's rank; during World War I, he served on the Galician front as a common soldier.

In his early literary career, Krleža was an idealist and romanticist. But World War I shattered many of his illusions; his embittered prose reflected his strong antiwar feelings. After 1918, Krleža opposed the Great Serbian monarchist regime of Yugoslavia and in 1919 founded *Plamen* (The Flame), a left-wing review, and then in 1923 *Književna republika* (Literary Republic), among others. Deeply impressed by the Soviet revolution, he became a Marxist and was a member of the Communist Party from 1919 until 1939, when he was expelled.

Krleža's early dramas, *Legenda* (The Legend; 1914), *Kraljevo* (1918), and *Adam i Eva* (Adam and Eve; 1922) reveal his transformation from an idealist into a socially conscious and antiwar writer. Krleža's plays are characterized by straightforward dialogue and merciless revelation of social injustice. *Hrvatski bog Mars* (The Croatian God Mars; 1922) was a short story collection depicting the miserable condition of the Croat soldier in the Austro-Hungarian army and the exploitation of the peasant; it is a powerful antiwar statement. The dramatic trilogy *Gospoda Glembajevi* (The Glembays; 1928), *U agoniji* (Death Throes; 1928), and *Leda* (1932) depicts the disintegration of the Glembay family and the downfall of bourgeois society.

Krleža's significance as the leader of socially oriented writers grew steadily in the interwar era, when he produced most of his best work. Perhaps his best-known work outside Croatia is *Povratak Filipa Latinovicza* (The Return of Philip Latinovicz; 1932), which is a dissection of Croatia's aimless bourgeoisie in the aftermath of the Great War. His novel *Na rubu pameti* (On the Edge of Reason; 1938) is set in the same period and portrays bourgeois society as a form of self-deluding madness. Krleža excelled as a political commentator. In the interwar period he was Croatia's (and Yugoslavia's) leading Marxist intellectual. His best-known work of political commentary is *Deset krvavih godina* (Ten Bloody Years), which is a collection of essays from the 1920s. In the poetry collections *Knjiga lirike* (Book of Songs; 1932) and *Pjesme u tmini* (Poems in the Dark; 1937), Krleža predicted the victory of socialism. But in *Dijalektički antibarbarus* (Dialectical Antibarbarus; 1939) he mocked Stalinism, for which he was expelled from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The satirical novel *Banket u Blitvi* (Banquet in Blitvia; 1938–1939) dealt with the political situation in Europe in the interwar period in the imaginary country Blitvia. *Balade Petrice Kerempuha* (The Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh; 1936), a collection of poems, was written in Croatia's regional Kajkavian dialect and was a synthesis of the author's entire poetic oeuvre.

After World War II, Krleža was rehabilitated. In 1947 he was chosen vice president of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, and in 1951 he became director of the Croatian Institute of Lexicography, which today bears his name. He was also the editor in chief of the *Encyclopedia Yugoslavia*. From 1958 to 1961 Krleža was president of the Writers' Union. His most ambitious work is the six-volume novel *Zastave* (Banners; 1967), which paints a panoramic overview of European life in the decade after 1912. Throughout his life Krleža stood in the forefront of the struggle against reactionary social and political attitudes. He wrote with enormous creative energy and defended his views fiercely. Although a Marxist to the end, he expressed his disdain for Stalinism and totalitarian systems generally.

Dubravka Ugrešić and Slavenka Drakulić are perhaps the two most outstanding writers of Croatian posmodern literature. Both writers emigrated in the 1990s, largely because of their disillusionment with Croatia's drift to the nationalist political right. Ugrešić has written *Culture of Lies, Have a Nice Day* (the English translation of *Američki fikcionar*) and many other works. Drakulić is a noted feminist writer who began her career as a journalist and political commentator, writing for a number of Zagreb periodicals. Her better-known works include three books of journalism, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed, Rain Express,* and *Café Europa,* as well as the four novels *Holograms of Fear, Marble Skin, The Taste of a Man,* and *As If I Am Not Here.* Her books have been translated into more than a dozen languages. She also contributes political columns to a number of European newspapers.

MUSIC AND DANCE

The oldest preserved relics of Croatia's musical culture are of religious provenance and are related to medieval Latin liturgical manuscripts with Gregorian chants. The earliest known Croatian manuscript is the Osor Evangelistary (ca. 1080), a neumatic manuscript from the convent of St. Nikola in Osor on the Island of Cres. It is written in Beneventan, a medieval script employed chiefly in southern Italy, and contains a prayer for the pope, the Byzantine emperor, and the Croatian king Zvonimir; it is held in the Vatican Archives. Also of historic significance is the Dubrovnik Missal (twelfth century), now kept in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. Written in Latin, in the Beneventan script, it contains prayers and chants. Glagolitic church singing holds a special place in the history of Croatian music. The earliest mention of Glagolitic singing in Croatia dates to 1177, when Pope Alexander III visited the town of Zadar in Dalmatia. In the Missal of Duke Novak (1368), which is kept at the National Library in Vienna, there are symbols above the Glagolitic text that appear to denote singing. The same holds for the Hrvoje Missal (1404) held in the Library of Turkish Sultans at Istanbul.

In Dalmatia the extant sources belong to the Beneventan script, demonstrating the close cultural connection between Dalmatia and Italy. The music of medieval northern Croatia, on the other hand, is intimately associated with the formation of the Zagreb bishopric (1094). Because the Zagreb bishopric was under the jurisdiction of Hungarian ecclesiasts until 1180, its musical codex was based on those in Hungary. The oldest liturgical and musical relic written in Zagreb is the Zagreb Missal (1230), which is kept in the Franciscan monastery at Güssing, Austria.

Croatia can boast a number of important Renaissance and baroque composers. The first is Julije Skjavetić, who from 1557 to 1573 lived in Šibenik, where he conducted the choir of Šibenik Cathedral. The Franciscan monk Ivan Lukačić (1584–1648), a Renaissance composer who was also from Šibenik, was conductor and organist in Split Cathedral. In 1620 he published a collection, *Sacrae cantiones,* containing twenty-seven motets accompanied by organ. The only extant copy is held in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, Poland. Another important representative of Croatian church music was Vinko Jelić (1596–1636), an early baroque composer who is noted for introducing new techniques like chromatics and sequences into his music. In 1622 he published a collection consisting of twenty-four motets, *Parnassia militia,* in Strasbourg. Canon Kristofor Ivanović of Budva published his *Memorie teatrali* (Venice, 1681), which was the first history of Venetian opera, covering the period from 1637 to 1681.

The first national operas in Croatia were composed in the middle of the nineteenth century. Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–1854) composed the Croatian opera, *Ljubav i zloba* (Love and Malice; 1846). Ivan Zajc (1832–1914) was perhaps the most productive Croat composer, however. His most important operas are *Mislav, Ban Legat,* and *Nikola Šubić Zrinski,* among others.

Folk musician in traditional clothing, Vrbovec. (Corel Corporation)

In the modern period, Croatian folk music has been the exemplar of popular musical culture. It is diverse and reflects the varied cultural influences of the Mediterranean, Central Europe, and the Balkans on Croatian culture. Traditional folk music still forms an important part of everyday life in many of Croatia's towns and villages, where local folklore societies have tried to preserve knowledge of native song and dance. The folk music of eastern Croatia is characterized by the *tambura* (or *tamburica,* its diminutive form), a lutelike instrument that is plucked to produce a sound that is similar to the mandolin. The instrument was probably brought to the Balkans by the Turks and was gradually adopted by the Slavic-speaking peoples. By the nineteenth century, the tamburica was the most common musical instrument in much of Croatia. During the nineteenth century national revival, the instrument was seen as an authentic symbol of indigenous Croat (and Slavic) popular culture. Tamburica troupes were formed in villages and regions, which played popular folk tunes. In the twentieth century this particular sound, which was especially popular in eastern Croatia (especially Slavonia), came to symbolize Croatia as a whole and has remained popular to this day. That is not to say, however, that other musical variants are not popular. For example, in the Zagorje region north of Zagreb, music and dance center on the polka and waltz, which are common to Central Europe. In southwestern Croatia (e.g., Lika) and in the Croat-populated areas of Hercegovina, *gange* are popular; this is a dissonant form of singing that is commonly heard at village festivities of one kind or another. In Istria and Dalmatia, other forms predominate.

One can hear folk music in Croatia today by attending the performances of one of any number of folklore societies. For example, Lado, the state professional ensemble, performs dances all over Croatia. There are also numerous folklore festivals in Croatia, which provide a window on Croatian popular culture. Croatia's annual International Folklore Festival, held in Zagreb, brings together an array of performers from all over the country and the world. Much of the traditional Croatian folk music has made its way into the Croatian commercial mainstream. Groups like Zlatnik dukati (Golden Ducats) and Gazde (The Bosses) have melded folk music themes with modern pop sound and have gained broad appeal in Croatia.

Like folk music and many other aspects of traditional culture, the traditional folk dance repertory in Croatia is conditioned by the specific cultural heritages of the country's diverse regions. The richness and wide variety of dance styles, including the accompanying songs, music, and instruments, resulted from the convergence of various cultures. Central European cultural influences were of crucial importance for lowland and central Croatia. The mountainous region of Croatia fell under Southeast European influences. On the other hand, Mediterranean qualities are characteristic for the Adriatic islands, its coast and hinterland.

In the 1930s folk dances began to be performed on stage with a view to preserving them as part of the nation's cultural heritage, and also in order to present regional identities at national and international festivals. The work of

Sport

Sport occupies an important position in Croatian society, not least because this country of 5 million has produced and continues to produce a large number of talented and successful athletes and teams. Croatia's success in sport has enhanced national pride, particularly in the difficult period of the War of Independence (1991–1995) and since then.

Soccer is without a doubt Croatia's national sport and by far the most popular national pastime. The Croatian football federation is one of the oldest in the country, having been formed in 1912. Two Croatian clubs have stood out, Hajduk Split and Dinamo Zagreb. They were often the best in Croatia and among the best in former Yugoslavia. In addition to many domestic titles, Dinamo Zagreb won the UEFA Cup (then known as the Fairs Cup) in 1967. At the 1998 World Cup in France, which was Croatia's first appearance at a World Cup, the Croatian National Team finished third behind France and Brazil.

Next to soccer, basketball is the most popular sport in Croatia. Croatian clubs were among the best in former Yugoslavia, in particular Cibona of Zagreb. In 1985 and 1986, Cibona won the European championship. From 1989 to 1991, this title was won by Split. The Croat contribution to the Yugoslav national team was also important and certainly helped the squad win the gold medal at the Moscow Olympic Games (1980) and at the World Championships (1970, 1978, 1990). Yugoslavia also won gold at the European Championships in 1973, 1975, 1977, 1989, and 1991. Among the best-known Croat basketball players are Dražen Petrović, Toni Kukoč, and Dino Radja. The Croatian national team was formed in 1992 and quickly distinguished itself by reaching the finals of the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, where the U.S. "Dream Team" defeated them. The following year the Croatian national team won third place in the European Championship at Munich and repeated that finish at the World Championships of 1994 in Toronto and the European Championships of 1995 in Athens.

Croatia has long produced many talented tennis players. Although the names Željko Franulović and Nikola Pilić are unfamiliar to most Westerners, Goran Ivanišević is certainly not. He is undoubtedly the best Croatian player of all time. He has reached the Wimbledon finals four times, winning at his fourth appearance in 2001. Known for his remarkably powerful serve, he was also very popular with tennis fans because of his aggressive style. On the women's side, Iva Majoli has established herself as a solid performer on the women's circuit and spent some time as a member of the Top 10.

Croat players have excelled at many other sports, among them handball. Croatian clubs were among the leading teams in former Yugoslavia, and Croat players contributed to the successes of the Yugoslav national team—the gold medal at the Munich (1972) and Los Angeles (1984) Olympic Games. In independent Croatia, the national squad has won bronze at the European Championships in 1993, silver at the World Championship in 1995, and gold at the 1996 Atlantic Summer Games. The Zagreb men's club Badel 1862 was European champion for two consecutive years (1992, 1993) and lost on three other occasions in the finals. The women's club Podravka, from Koprivnica, won the 1996 European championship.

Seljačka sloga (Peasant Concord), a cultural and charitable organization founded in 1926 by the Croat Peasant Party, was particularly important in this respect. After World War II, a number of urban amateur cultural troupes and societies continued to promote this form of national culture. The most important of these, Lado, was established in 1948. Lado performs folk dances, and the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb deals in the research, documentation, and popularization of folk dancing.

ART

Croatia is especially renowned for its naive artists—generally self-taught artists who lacked or rejected formal training and who used vibrant colors, definite shapes, extreme detail, and nonscientific perspective to characterize their style. Naive art in Croatia was born in the interwar era and owes a great deal to the academically trained painter, Professor Krsto Hegedušić (1901–1975). While studying in France he became an admirer of naive artists like Henri "Le Douanier" Rousseau. When he returned to Croatia, he discovered the work of young Croat naive artists. In September 1931, Hegedušić organized an exhibition of the works of the Zemlja (Earth) group of academic painters, sculptors, and architects, which opened at Zagreb's Art Pavilion. This was the Croatian public's first opportunity to see the works of peasant-painters Ivan Generalić (1914–1992) and Franjo Mraz (1910–1981), both of whom were from the village of Hlebine in Croatia's Podravina region. The basic orientation of the Zemlja group was toward socially committed art; that

Naive Art

Naive artists are self-taught artists or artists who imitate the self-taught. Naive art may thus be defined as the work of artists in advanced or sophisticated societies who lack or reject formal training. Vibrant colors, definite shapes, and nonscientific perspective characterize their style. Naive artists should not, however, be confused with hobbyists; they create with the same passion as trained artists but without formal knowledge of methods. Naive works are often extremely detailed, with a tendency toward the use of brilliant, saturated colors and a characteristic absence of perspective, which creates the illusion of figures floating in space.

Naive art in Croatia was born in September 1931, when the third exhibition of the Zemlja (Earth) group of academic painters, sculptors, and architects opened at the Art Pavilion in central Zagreb. It was organized thanks largely to the academically trained artist, Professor Krsto Hegedušić, who acquired an interest in naive art while studying in France. In the 1930s Croatian naive art was closely associated with the works of peasant-painters Ivan Generalić and Franjo Mraz, both of whom were from the village of Hlebine, in Croatia's Podravina region. The basic orientation of the Zemlja group was toward socially committed art; that is, art that served the needs of the people, was understood by them, and that contributed to the improvement of their cultural standards. The most important artists of the group, in addition to Generalić and Mraz, were the peasant sculptor Petar Smajić and Mirko Virius. Generalić, Mraz, and Virius constituted the so-called Hlebine Group, named after their village. In 1936 the Hlebine Group held its first exhibition in Zagreb's Ulrich Gallery; organized by the painters themselves, it was one of the first exhibits of naive art anywhere. Without any financial backing or official sponsorship, the group fought for the recognition of naive art as a legitimate form of contemporary art. After World War II, naive art gradually established itself as a modern trend and gained international recognition. After 1945 a number of Croat naive artists came to prominence, among them Franjo Filipović, Dragan Gaži, Ivan Večenaj, Mijo Kovačić, and Ivan Lacković Croata. Many of the most important works of Croat naive artists are housed in the Croatian Museum of Naive Art, which has about 1,500 items in its holdings (paintings, sculptures, drawings, and prints). The focus is on artists belonging to the well-known Hlebine School of naive art and several highly regarded independent naive artists. Alongside these artists, the exhibit also includes some works by major international naive artists of other nationalities.

is, art that served the needs of the people, contributed to the betterment of their cultural standards, and was understood by them. Such an orientation supplied the setting for Croatian naive art.

Other important artists of the group were the peasant sculptor Petar Smajić (1910–1985) and Mirko Virius (1889–1943). Generalić is regarded as the first Croat naive painter to develop a personal style and to reach a high level of artistic mastery. Social themes predominated in his earliest works, from the 1930s, which gave way in the postwar period to more complex compositions. Like Generalić, Mraz and Virius presented the life of their village and the beauty of the countryside. In 1936 their so-called Hlebine Group (named after their village) held its first exhibition in Zagreb, one of the first exhibits of naive art anywhere. After World War II, naive art gradually established itself as a modern trend and gained international recognition. After 1945 a number of Croat naive artists came to prominence, among them Dragan Gaži (1930–1983), Ivan Večenaj (b. 1920), Mijo Kovačić (b. 1935), and Ivan Lacković Croata (b. 1931). In 1952 the Croatian Museum of Naive Art was established in Zagreb. It treated naive art as a legitimate orientation in its own right within contemporary art. From the outset, the museum's objective was to promote and foster Croatian naive art domestically and internationally. To that end, an exhibition of Ivan Generalić's works was held in Paris (1953), while the Hlebine School was represented at the Sao Paolo Biennale (1956). Croat naive artists were represented at other international exhibitions of naive art: Basel and Baden-Baden (1961), Rotterdam and Paris (1964), Bratislava (1966, 1969, 1972), Zagreb (1970, 1973), and Munich and Zurich (1974, 1975).

Two of Croatia's internationally renowned sculptors are Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962) and Antun Augustinčić (1900–1979). Meštrović was a famous Croat sculptor who designed several imposing buildings throughout Croatia and the former Yugoslavia, including the Croatian History Museum (Zagreb) and the Njegoš Mausoleum (Mt. Lovčen, Montenegro). From 1900 to 1905, he studied at Vienna's Academy of Art and then moved to Paris where, from 1908 to 1911, he executed more than fifty sculptures. In 1911 he moved briefly to Belgrade and then to Rome. The turning point in his career was the 1911 international exhibit at Rome, where he won first prize for sculpture. Oral epics, folk songs, and historical ballads common among the peasantry of his native Dalmatia powerfully influenced his early works. Epic heroes inspired him to carve in wood and stone. His works glorified in bronze and stone the heroes who had fought the Turks in the famous Battle of Kosovo (1389). He presented them to the European public as symbols of the patriotic aspirations of the South Slavs for political freedom and independence.

Politics and art were intimately interwoven throughout his life. During World War I he became actively involved with a group of Croat and other South Slav émigrés who formed in 1915 the Yugoslav Committee, to work for a postwar Yugoslav state that would include Croatia and his native Dalmatia. These exiles, based in London and Paris, had learned that the Allies were secretly negotiating with Italy to enter the war on their side. As its price, Italy demanded Croatian and Slovenian territory. At that point two Croat politicians, Ante Trumbić and Frano Supilo, formed the Yugoslav Committee. During the war Meštrović became well known to the British public. His works were displayed at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; his exhibition drew the British public's attention to the cultural achievements of Croats in particular and South Slavs generally and underscored the solidarity of Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs of Austria-Hungary. During the 1919 Peace Conference, he had a series of exhibits at the Petit Palais in Paris.

Returning in 1919 to his homeland, which was now part of the new Yugoslav state, Meštrović turned his attention to numerous projects, including monuments and statues, many of which embellish public squares and museums throughout Croatia. He would become far better known in the interwar era. He received commissions in Europe and the Americas; he executed numerous monuments and held exhibits in Europe and the Americas. His first American exhibition came in 1924, when he exhibited 132 pieces at the Brooklyn Museum in New York. He became a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Belgrade and Zagreb, Grand Officer of the Legion d'Honneur in France, and bearer of the Cross of St. George in England. He also became an honorary member of many art academies and universities in Europe and America.

In 1946 Meštrović was offered a professorship at Syracuse University. He arrived in New York in January 1947. Later that spring he was invited by the Academy of Arts and Letters to mount an exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum, where he displayed marble, bronze, and wood sculptures that he had crafted during the war. His sculptures now expressed the cruelty and tragedy, injustice and endurance of the human condition. His best known pieces from the period include *Job, St. Francis, Pieta,* and *Woman under the Cross,* all of which speak to supreme sacrifice and the promise of salvation. In 1954 he became an American citizen at a special ceremony conducted by President Eisenhower at the White House. Before his death, Meštrović donated fifty-nine sculptures to his homeland, which are now displayed in various museums.

Augustinčić was also an important artist, who in fact studied under Meštrović in the early 1920s. Educated in Zagreb and Paris, he became a renowned sculptor and representative of contemporary Croatian art. He is known to the wider public primarily for his outstanding public monuments, such as *Peace,* which stands in front of the United Nations Building in New York, and the *Monument to the Peasants' Rebellion and Matija Gubec* in Gornja Stubica, Croatia. He began studying sculpture in 1918 at the College

The Necktie

The necktie began as a simple garment; over the centuries it has assumed more importance, finally becoming a distinct symbol of elegance and refinement. The necktie originated as a simple handkerchief (or neckerchief), but it has achieved a remarkable position in men's fashion in light of its humble origins.

The world first discovered the tie in the seventeenth century. At the time, and probably in earlier times also, Croat soldiers and mercenaries wore the tie around their necks, probably for hygienic reasons. According to François Chaille, author of *La Grande Histoire de la Cravate* (The Book of Ties), during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which was fought almost entirely in the German lands, and in which thousands of Croat troops saw action on behalf of the Habsburg dynasty of Austria, the Croat soldiers impressed the French with their costume. The traditional outfit of these Croats aroused interest because of the picturesque scarves distinctively tied about their necks. The scarves were made of various cloths, ranging from coarse material for common soldiers to fine cotton and silk for officers. This elegant Croatian style immediately enchanted the French, who adopted the tie soon thereafter. In fact, the French word for "tie," *cravate,* is derived from the Croatian word *Hrvat,* meaning "Croat." For the French officers, the advantage of the Croatian neckerchief was its enviable practicality. In contrast to the lace collar, which was then the norm and had to be kept white and carefully starched, the neckerchief was simple and loosely tied around the neck. In addition to being less awkward, it was also elegant and easier to wear, and it remained visible beneath the soldiers' long hair.

Shortly thereafter, in 1661, the French King Louis XIV instituted the position of "tie maker" for the monarch, a gentleman who was assigned to help the king arrange and knot his necktie. Nine years later, the duchess of Lavallière, one of the king's favorites, was the first woman to wear a tie. The Croatian scarf was thus accepted in France, above all at the court, where military ornaments were much admired. In the nineteenth century the duchess of Lavallière's name was given to the most graceful of masculine ties. Thus the tie (or at least something resembling the modern tie) first appeared among Croat soldiers and mercenaries in the seventeenth century.

of Arts and Crafts (Zagreb), where he briefly studied under Meštrović (1922–1924). In 1924 he received a scholarship from the French government and studied at Paris's L'Ecole des Arts décoratifs and L'Académie des Beaux-Arts. In 1925 he held an exhibition at the French Artists Showroom. He returned to Zagreb in 1926, where he staged his first exhibition. During the 1930s he focused more on public monuments and soon gained a reputation as a master of monuments, particularly equestrian monuments. In 1940 he became a corresponding member of JAZU (Yugoslav Academy) and in 1946 a professor at the Visual Arts Academy (Zagreb). Augustinčić's bronze sculpture *Peace* was struck between 1952 and 1954, commissioned by the then Yugoslav government as a gift to the United Nations. When it was completed, the 10-meter-high stand and 5.5-meter-high equestrian sculpture were shipped to New York and placed in the vicinity of the United Nations Building. In 1970 he donated all his works to his native Klanjec, where the Antun Augustinčić Gallery opened in 1976.

CULTURAL AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

There are four universities in Croatia: Osijek, Rijeka, Split, and Zagreb. The University of Zagreb is the oldest and largest. In September 1669 the Habsburg ruler Leopold I granted the Jesuit academy in Zagreb the status of a university. The Jesuit academy never became a university in the proper sense of the word, however. Only in 1861 did the Croatian diet adopt a University bill, which the Habsburg monarch Franz Joseph signed in 1869. The University of Zagreb was officially founded in October 1874. Today it has twenty-eight faculties, three art academies, and two higher institutes. In the 1991–1992 academic year the university had 47,913 undergraduate and 2,407 graduate students. The university also operates a campus at Dubrovnik. The University of Rijeka was founded in May 1973. It has ten faculties in Rijeka, Pula, and Opatija, two institutes, two libraries, and a student center. In the 1991–1992 academic year it had 10,544 students. The University of Split was founded in June 1974. It has nine faculties, two scientific institutes, two libraries, and two student centers. In addition to the main campus in Split, there are campuses in Zadar and Dubrovnik. In 1992–1993 it had 10,000 students. Finally, the Josip Juraj Strossmayer University is located at Osijek in eastern Croatia. It was founded in 1975. It has seventeen faculties, institutes, and libraries. During the 1992–1993 academic year, the university had 6,500 students. In the academic year 1998–1999, the four Croatian universities had approximately 80,000 students.

The National and University Library is the largest and by far the most significant research library in Croatia. It is also an important cultural repository. Its origins date to the seventeenth century when the Jesuits founded their own gymnasium, residence, and library in Zagreb. In 1776 the Jesuit library was transferred to the newly founded Academy of Science. In 1913 the library moved to a new building on Marulić Square in central Zagreb, where it remained until 1994. In 1914 the library's collection was enriched when it received the library of the archbishop of Zagreb. The library has in its possession books, manuscripts, and incunabula; it currently has over 2 million volumes.

The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjestnosti) is one of the leading scientific, cultural, and intellectual institutions in Croatia. Located on Strossmayer's Square in central Zagreb, HAZU was founded in 1866 by Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the bishop of Djakovo, and was originally known as the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU). It is responsible for nurturing artistic, scientific, and humanistic research in Croatia. According to its own statutes, the three main tasks of the Croatian Academy are (1) to promote and organize scientific research and encourage the application of the findings of this research, and to develop artistic and cultural activities, and concern with Croatian cultural heritage and its affirmation throughout the world; (2) to publish the results of scientific research and artistic creation; and (3) to promote arts and sciences in fields that are of special importance to the Republic of Croatia. HAZU has nine departments to carry out its scientific and artistic activities. Additionally, it has numerous scientific councils and committees, as well as scientific and research institutes. HAZU works closely with other academies of sciences and arts, universities, scientific institutions, and cultural and other institutions, as well as with individual scholars and artists from Croatia and abroad.

Among the most important HAZU publications are *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* (Documents for the History of Croatian Literature, 34 vols.); *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije* (The Diplomatic Codex of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, 19 vols.); *Noviji pisci hrvatski* (Modern Croatian Writers, 12 vols.); *Hrvatski latinisti* (Croatian Latinists, 11 vols.); *Gradja za gospodarsku povijest Hrvatske* (Documents for the Economic History of Croatia, 21 vols.); *Djela* (Works, 80 vols.), a series of monographs on Croatia as a country and its history and language; *Prirodoslovna istraživanja* (Natural History Studies, 107 vols.); *Pomorsko pravo* (Maritime Law, 6 vols.); and *Gradja za pomorsku povijest Dubrovnika* (Documents for the Naval History of Dubrovnik, 6 vols.). HAZU has published the following dictionaries: Ivan Mažuranić's *Prinosi za hrvatski pravno-povijesni rječnik* (Contributions for a Croatian Historical Dictionary, 11 vols.), Julije Benešić's *Rječnik hrvatskog književnog jezika od preporoda do I. G. Kovačića* (Dictionary of the Croatian Literary Language from the National Revival to I. G. Kovačić, 12 vols.); and *Rječnik hrvatskoga kajkavskog književnog jezika* (A Dictionary of Croatian Literary Kajkavian, 8 vols.). Work on the monumental *Rječnik hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika* (Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language, 97 vols.) went on for almost one hundred years.

The Croatian Academy had its origins in the Croat national awakening of the early nineteenth century. At that time, Croat patriots realized that such an institution was needed to help the nation resist the threat posed by cultural Magyarization. The leader of the Illyrianist movement, Ljudevit Gaj, proposed the creation of an academy in 1836 in his weekly newspaper, *Danica* (The Dawn). His proposal was supported that same year by the Croatian diet but was not approved by the Habsburg emperor. Its creation was again raised during the revolutions of 1848–1849, but the failure of the revolutions and the introduction of an absolutist regime delayed its creation yet again.

The bishop of Djakovo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815–1905), took up the cause of the Croatian Academy in 1860. His role in the development of Croatian culture in the nineteenth century was unprecedented. Originating from a Croatized German family of Osijek, he became a major philanthropist and an important political figure. Strossmayer studied theology at the Catholic seminary at Djakovo before moving to the High Seminary in Budapest, where he obtained a doctorate in philosophy. Ordained in 1838, from 1840 to 1842 he studied in Vienna, where he obtained a doctorate in theology and served briefly as a professor of canon law at the University of Vienna. In 1847 he was ordained court chaplain and director of the Augustineum in Vienna. He was named bishop of Djakovo in November 1849.

From 1860 to 1873, Strossmayer acted as the leader of the National Party. The Croatian diet adopted his proposal for an academy in April 1861, but the Habsburg emperor Franz Joseph sanctioned the academy's charter only on 4 March 1866. That date is taken to be the formal creation of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU), the first of its kind in Southeastern Europe. That same year, the Croatian diet appointed JAZU's first sixteen members. Bishop Strossmayer was named its patron and the historian Canon Franjo Rački its first president. Under the leadership of Strossmayer and Rački, the academy gradually developed into an important scientific institution and one of the leading centers of learning in Southeastern Europe. It had been given the name "Yugoslav" because Strossmayer hoped the academy would help in the scientific and cultural enlightenment of other South Slav peoples and nurture their cultural cooperation. Throughout its existence, however, the academy remained a Croatian institution.

In 1867 the academy began publishing its official organ, *Rad* (Work). In 1887 the first volume of *Ljetopis* (Annals), which became a regular annual publication of the Academy and its administrative herald, was published. Because the study of Croatian history was one of its central tasks, the Academy began in 1868 to publish the *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* (Annals for the Study of the History of the South Slavs), in which were published lengthy archival documents. To date, over 52 volumes have been published. In 1869 the academy began publishing *Starine* (Antiquities), as well as to circulate shorter archival fragments from Croatian history and literature. There followed a series of related tomes, such as *Monumenta Ragusina* (Dubrovnik Annals), *Spomenici Hrvatske krajine* (Annals of the Croatian Frontier), and works of older Croatian historians under the title of *Scriptores* (Historical Writers). In the series entitled *Monumenta historico-iuridica* (Historical-Juridical Annals), the academy began publishing statutes of the Dalmatian towns and medieval laws originally issued in the Croatian language (13 vols.). In 1896 the Academy began publishing the *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* (Anthology of National Life and Customs of the South Slavs); over fifty volumes have been published. In 1877 Bishop Strossmayer initiated the project of building a palace for the academy in central Zagreb, which would house his gallery of art works; it was completed in 1880. In 1884 the Academy received a gift of 256 art pieces from Strossmayer. During World War II, the Academy was known as the HAZU, but from 1947 to 1991 it was again known as JAZU. Following Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia in June 1991, the academy changed its name to HAZU.

Another important cultural institution is Matica Hrvatska (Croat Literary-Cultural Foundation). Founded in February 1842 as Matica Ilirska (Illyrian Literary-Cultural Foundation), during the period of the Croat national awakening, it was renamed Matica Hrvatska in 1874. At the time it served primarily as a publishing house to enable publication of books and related periodicals in Croatian. These works were deemed important for the nation's cultural revival and the promotion of its cultural heritage. Its creation was prompted by the threat posed at the time by cultural Magyarization and was modelled on existing Maticas among the Czechs and Serbs. The first president of Matica Ilirska, Count Janko Drašković, remarked in his inaugural speech that the main task "of our society is to promote science and language of our own national language and to educate our youth on a national basis" (Matica Hrvatska). In 1869 the Matica began publishing the first fiction newspaper of Croatian literature, entitled *Vijenac* (Wreath), which it publishes to this day.

Following the creation of JAZU (i.e., HAZU) in 1866, the Matica worked closely with the Academy to publish literary and scientific books. Matica soon became the largest publishing house in Croatia, with the purpose of promoting books that were deemed to have cultural merit and that promoted scientific advancement. The main literary editions in Croatia were regular editions published by Matica and its magazine *Vijenac.* The Croat writer and essayist Antun Barac, who also served as Matica's president in the late 1920s, once noted that "Matica published almost everything that was of value in Croatia or, that is to say, the history of Matica is in some way the history of Croatian culture" (Matica Hrvatska). In fact, almost every Croat writer and poet of note in the nineteenth century published his works through Matica.

After World War I, in the newly founded Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia), Matica's role as cultural institution and publishing house underwent important changes. It became even more politicized. Although the intellectuals who ran the organization originally welcomed the new state, the experience of political centralism bred resistance and opposition in the cultural sphere. Despite its financial problems in the 1920s, after 1928 Matica began publishing a number of new periodicals, the most important of which was *Hrvatska revija* (Croatian Review). After World War II, Matica suffered because of the political restrictions imposed by the new communist authorities. But the greatest single publishing accomplishment of Matica was launched in 1962; it was known as *Five Centuries of Croatian Literature,* and it presented the historical and artistic development of Croatian literature from the Middle Ages to the present.

However, only after the cautious political liberalization of the late 1960s was Matica again able to publish under more favorable circumstances. In fact, during the late 1960s Matica became the focal point for the reformist and nationalist movement in Croatia, which is known as the Croatian Spring (1966–1971). In 1967 Matica presented a declaration on the name and status of the Croatian literary language. The signatories to the declaration argued for the equality of all four literary languages existing in Yugoslavia at the time: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, and Macedonian. What they opposed in particular was the designation "Serbo-Croatian," which they claimed enabled the Serbian literary language to be imposed on Croats and Bosnian Muslims. The declaration was an attack against linguistic and literary unitarism. Most of the signatories were purged from Matica following the collapse of the Croatian Spring. In 1972 Matica was temporarily suppressed by the Communist authorities, and many of its most prominent members, like Šime Djodan, Vlado Gotovac, Franjo Tudjman, Marko Veselica, to name only a few, were imprisoned because of their political and nationalist views. Following the democratic transition in Croatia in 1989–1990, the Matica and its branch offices were fully restored. Today, Matica Hrvatska has more than 120 branches in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and other countries.

MUSEUMS

The visitor to Croatia has the option of visiting any number of excellent museums. The Trakošćan Castle was built in the thirteenth century in what was then part of Croatia's system of defensive fortifications against the Ottoman Turks. It was a rather small observation fortress for monitoring the road from Ptuj to Bednja Valley.

The Archeological Museum of Istria is located in Pula and was founded in 1902 as the Pula Municipal Museum. The discovery of local stone, ceramic, and metal objects led to its creation. In 1925 the Municipal Museum was merged with two other regional museums to form the current institution. It is a rich repository of classical monuments and other objects. The museum was first opened to visitors in 1930, when Pula (as well as Istria) was part of Italy. The museum reopened in 1949 as the Archaeological Museum of Istria, which was now part of Croatia (Yugoslavia), with some slight changes introduced in some of the collections. Systematic work was done to restore part of the archaeological material that was returned from Italy in 1961. In 1968 a collection of stone monuments was set up in the refurbished rooms and halls on the ground floor of the museum and in 1973 followed the opening of the prehistoric collection exhibition halls on the first floor and the classical Roman and medieval collections on the second floor of the museum. The exhibition halls are constantly enriched with new finds from archaeological sites throughout Istria, including prehistoric caves, hill-forts, and necropolises, Roman commercial complexes, buildings, and cemeteries, and sacral objects dating from the early Christian and Byzantine periods.

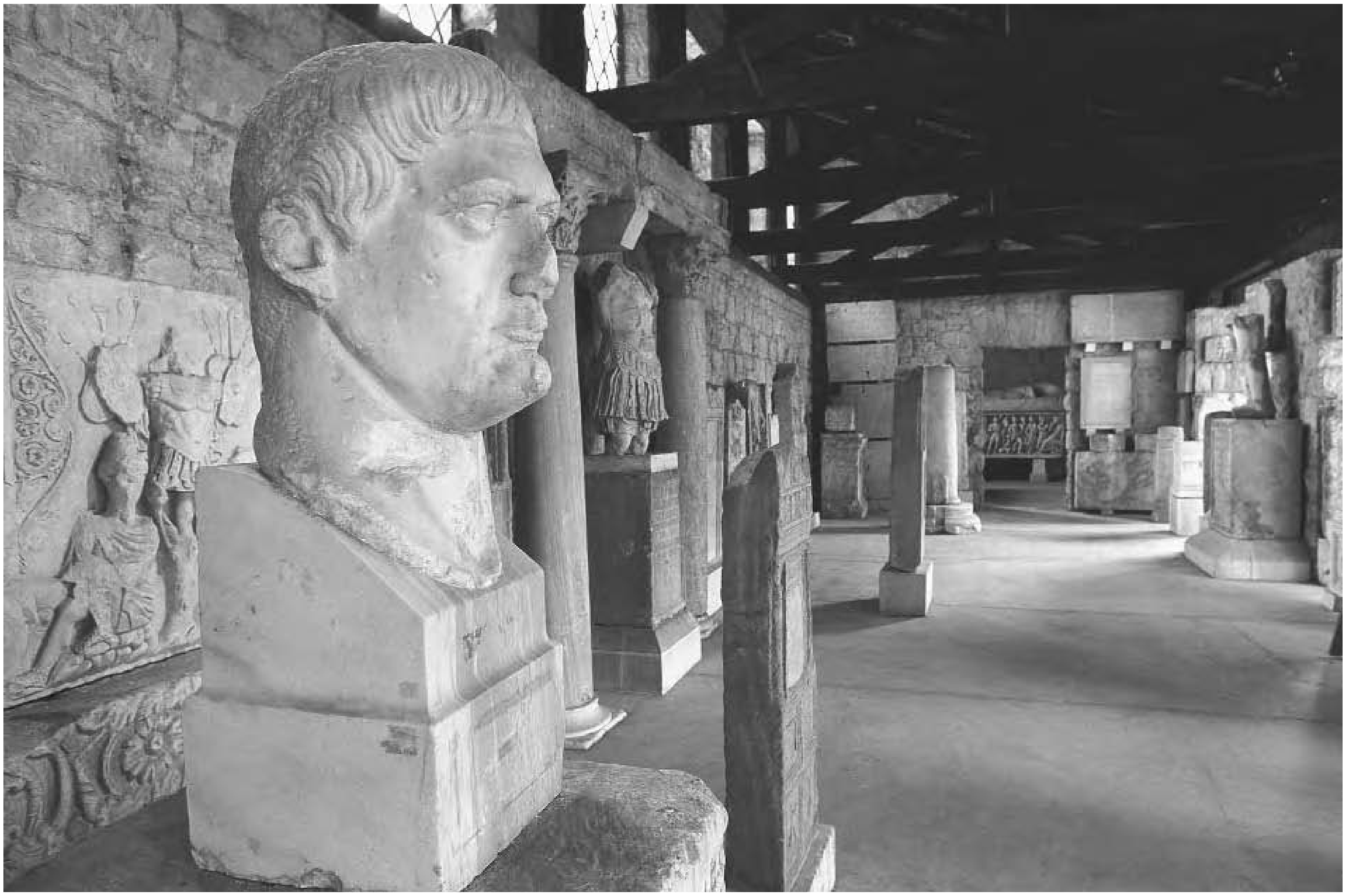
The oldest museum in Croatia, the Split Archaeological Museum was founded in 1820 by the municipal authorities of Zadar, then the capital of Dalmatia. The original museum building was erected in 1821 next to the eastern walls of Diocletian's Palace, but soon became too small to house the growing number of monuments. The present-day home of the Archaeological Museum was built in 1914 and opened to the public only in 1922. It holds some 150,000 artifacts dating from prehistoric times to the early medieval period. Of special interest is the collection of over 6,000 stone inscriptions from Salona and the collection of Hellenic ceramic objects, Roman glass, ancient clay lamps (around 1,600), and bone and metal articles, as well as the collection of gems. In addition, the museum houses an extensive collection of ancient and medieval coins (over 70,000) and a rich library with an archive. The new permanent display opened in 1999.

The Dubrovnik Museums were formed in February 1872 with the foundation of the Dubrovnik Regional Museum on the initiative of the chamber of commerce. A valuable natural history collection represented the nucleus of the museum to which a cultural, a historical, and an archaeological collection were added. In 1932 the museum collections were moved to St. John's Castle, and in 1940 the collection of stone monuments and the ethnological collection were relocated to what was formerly Rupe Granary. The cultural history collection was moved to the Rector's Palace in 1948. The Dubrovnik Museums constitute today a regional institution made up of six distinct institutions: the Archaeological Museum, the Ethnographic Museum, the Cultural-Historical Museum, the Maritime Museum, the Modern History Museum, and the Marin Držić Home. All six museums are under the unified management of the Dubrovnik Museums. The rich museum holdings are displayed in four locations: the Rector's Palace, the Rupe Granary, St. John's Castle, and the Marin Držić Home. However, neither the Archaeological nor the Modern History Museum has a permanent location where it can display its holdings.

The Museum of Modern Art was founded in Rijeka in 1948. Although it houses the works of a number of twentieth-century Croatian and foreign artists, most of its collection is composed of the works of artists who lived in Rijeka from the late nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. Because of the lack of space there is no permanent exhibition; the museum's five collections are exhibited occasionally.

The Gallery of Fine Arts in Osijek holds some twelve to fourteen exhibitions annually. These exhibitions are diverse and thematically range from the historical to the contemporary. The curators organize some of these exhibitions while others are on loan from Croatian museums. At least once a year the museum organizes an exhibition of a modern artist from Osijek, as well as an exhibition of an artist who worked in Osijek and contributed to the promotion of art in the city.

The Mimara Museum in Zagreb is named after Ante Topić Mimara (1898–1987), who donated his art collection of over 3,700 pieces to the museum. Based in large



Archaeology Museum in Split. (Hans Georg Roth/Corbis)

part on his donation, the museum has become one of the richest and most versatile art collections in Croatia. The museum's collections span three millennia with works of art from virtually every style, epoch, and civilization. The archaeological section consists of nearly two hundred pieces dating from prehistoric times (Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Greece, pre-Columbian America, Rome, and early medieval Europe). The Far East collection consists of over 350 exhibits from China, Japan, Cambodia, Indonesia, and India. Another important collection consists of over 550 glass pieces, representing the development of glass production from ancient Egypt to the late nineteenth century. There is also a textile collection consisting of eighty carpets manufactured between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries in Persia, Morocco, and Turkey. There is also a collection of household utensils and vessels consisting of more than a thousand pieces and made from various materials and dating from the early medieval period to the nineteenth century. There are more than two hundred sculptures from ancient Rome and Greece, over two dozen Russian, Armenian, and Greek Orthodox religious icons, eighty Italian Renaissance paintings, sixty paintings by the Dutch masters, fifty by the Flemish masters, and more than thirty by the Spanish masters, among others. Also represented are works by Belgian, Swiss, German, Austrian, Czech, Hungarian, and Russian painters.

The Klovićevi Dvori Gallery in Zagreb holds roughly fifty art collections of the broadest cultural and national importance. The gallery is among the most important Croatian institutions of its kind. The gallery is housed in the former Jesuit Collegium, which was transformed in 1982 into a gallery space. Although it holds a large variety of exhibitions, including those of contemporary art, most of its exhibitions deal with Croatian national treasures. Among the more popular exhibitions it has organized are *Treasures of the Zagreb Cathedral* (1983), *The Written Word in Croatia* (1985), *The Golden Age of Dubrovnik* (1987), and *A Thousand Years of Croatian Sculpture* (1991), among others.

The Zagreb Municipal Museum was founded in 1907 by the Družba Braće hrvatskog zmaja (The Brethren of the Croatian Dragon Society). Until World War II, it was located in the Art Pavilion, but in 1945 the museum moved into a larger building in Zagreb's Upper Town. The permanent display presents in chronological order the development of Zagreb to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Croatian Museum of Naive Art opened in 1952 but was known at the time as the Peasant Art Gallery. In 1956 it became the Gallery of Primitive Art and in 1994 it adopted its current name. It purports to be the first museum of naive art in the world. Today it has approximately 1,500 items in its holdings (paintings, sculptures, drawings, and prints), mostly by Croat naive artists. The focus is on artists belonging to the Hlebine School of naive art. Some works of major international naive artists are also held by the museum.

The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb has a number of permanent collections and exhibitions, among which are included stone monuments from the Greek and Roman periods. The museum also contains an Egyptian collection and a numismatic collection, one of the largest in Europe.

Zagreb's Ethnographic Museum was established in 1919 and is located in a remarkable Secession building, built around 1903, that once used to seat the Crafts Hall. It was established in 1919 upon the initiative of Salamon Berger, textile merchant and industrialist, originally from the Slovak Republic. He donated to the Museum one that is among the first and largest folk costumes and textile collections. The Berger Collection, the Croatian National Museum Collections, and the Museum of Arts and Crafts ethnographic collections constituted the museum's initial holdings, today including around 80,000 items.

The holdings include predominantly Croatian ethnographic heritage, classified in two principal groups: Croatian Folk Costumes and Selected Items of Popular Art and Handicraft.

The items associated with Croatia have been divided into three cultural zones (Pannonian, Dinaric, and Adriatic). The non-European cultures department includes traditional culture items of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, Australia, and Oceania. The materials are associated mostly with explorations conducted toward the turn of the century by Dragutin Lerman and Mirko and Stjepan Seljan.It is constantly being enriched through donations by artists, explorers, and missionaries.

Ever since its establishment, the museum employed or was managed by renowned Croatian ethnologists and museologists, such as Vladimir Tkalčić, Milovan Gavazzi, and Jelka Radauš-Ribarić. The museum's collection on permanent display dates back to 1972, including 2,750 exhibits.

The Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb was established in 1954 with the aim of promoting and documenting contemporary art events, styles, and phenomena. The largest part of the museum's collection consists of the works of Croat artists after 1950, although there is a smaller part dating back to the first half of the twentieth century.

The origins of the Croatian Natural History Museum in Zagreb date to 1829, when Ljudevit Gaj, the founder of the Illyrianist movement, first raised the idea of such a museum. In 1836 the Croatian diet proposed the formation of a "Friends of the National Illyrian Learned Society" and a museum within its framework. But the museum was not founded until 1846, when the Zagreb municipal authorities purchased a palace in the Upper Town, which became a National Home. It immediately housed museum objects. In 1867 the museum was formally proclaimed a national institution, on the initiative of Bishop Strossmayer of Djakovo, and placed under the care of the Yugoslav Academy. The museum contains a wealth of information on the natural history of Croatia (zoology, botany, geology, paleontology, and mineralogy) and contains many important scientific collections and exhibitions.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For the better part of the modern era, Croatia has been an agrarian society in which a majority of the population derived its livelihood from farming and related sectors. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, most Croats were peasants and only a small number lived in towns and could be classified as professionals, artisans, merchants, or nobles. Given the agrarian nature of the Croatian economy, the dominant social institution in Croatia-Slavonia was the *zadruga,* or extended family household. Composed of two or three generations of a single family, the extended household was both a social and economic unit. It provided for joint ownership of land and the tools used to work it and a joint division of goods. This institution predominated in a society where market forces were not yet pronounced and the system of land tenure could be compared to feudalism. Generally speaking, in Croatia-Slavonia peasants were still bound to the soil and met their obligations to their lords through the *zadruga.* Serfdom was abolished only in 1848, although in the military frontier it had not formally existed at all. In Dalmatia the small middle class of the towns was culturally Italian. Since the land in Dalmatia was not as fertile as in Croatia-Slavonia, much of the population was active in fishing and the merchant marine. However, most peasants continued to farm the land under sharecropping arrangements and feudal regulations, cultivating mainly olives and grapevines.

The modernization process, measured in terms of industrialization and urbanization, was initiated in the nineteenth century but would remain sluggish and uneven to World War II. With the abolition of serfdom, the introduction of private property, and a money economy, market forces began to play a leading role in socioeconomic change. The agrarian sector of the economy began to change and a nascent industrial sector was born in the second half of the nineteenth century. The main industries were food and agricultural raw materials processing. Lumber played a particularly prominent role in this regard. However, of all the lands of the Habsburg monarchy, Croatia-Slavonia still had in 1890 the second highest (after Dalmatia) proportion of population (84.6 percent) deriving its livelihood from agriculture. The bourgeoisie and industrial proletariat were numerically and socially weak as well as politically insignificant. Urbanization had hardly advanced since the mid-nineteenth century; in 1910 only 8.5 percent of the population of Croatia-Slavonia lived in urban settlements. At the time, Zagreb was still a small provincial town with a population of roughly 75,000 inhabitants. The slow rate of economic modernization in Croatia-Slavonia in the quarter century before World War I, when combined with rural overpopulation, created a situation where emigration became endemic. In 1850 Croatia-Slavonia had a population of roughly 1.6 million; by 1914, that figure had risen to nearly 2.7 million. In roughly the same period (1840–1910), Dalmatia's population grew from 399,000 to 646,000. Between 1899 and 1913, nearly a quarter of a million persons emigrated from Croatia-Slavonia, accounting for over 6 percent of the total population. According to one estimate, between 1880 and 1914, roughly 400,000 persons emigrated from Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Istria.

In 1918 Croatia became part of Yugoslavia. In the interwar era, Yugoslavia was one of Europe's least developed countries. This period brought little improvement in the way of either urbanization or industrialization, although the process of modernization undoubtedly intensified. A large segment of the Croatian population still lived at subsistence levels, dependent on small, inefficient peasant farms. A land reform was introduced in 1919, but it was directed mainly against the German and Hungarian landowners in eastern Croatia, Slovenia, and Vojvodina. Croatia remained a land of peasant smallholders; the country still suffered from rural overpopulation, which the land reform failed to address. Economic growth was modest. Industry advanced only slowly, given the weak internal market, few resources, and unskilled labor force. In 1938 per capita income in Yugoslavia was 30 percent below the world average.

The partition of Yugoslavia during World War II destroyed all semblance of normal economic life. In all Yugoslavia, it is estimated that over 50 percent of livestock and 80 percent of equipment were destroyed or confiscated during the occupation. The communications network was virtually destroyed; over half the railroads and rolling stock was demolished. Inflation was rampant, and barter became the prime means for transacting business. The most devastating blow to Yugoslavia fell on its peoples: approximately 1.1 million people of all nationalities were killed, 10.8 percent of the population; nearly a third of all deaths occurred in Croatia. The occupation and war had devastated both the agricultural and small industrial sectors. By the end of 1946, Yugoslav national income was restored to its 1938 level.

Only after World War II did Croatia experience a rapid industrialization and urbanization. The country's socioeconomic structure changed profoundly as a result. This change mirrored the wider social and economic changes in Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe, brought on as a result of the establishment of Communist rule. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ, Komunistička partija Jugoslavije) was strictly Marxist-Leninist in economic outlook, fiercely loyal to Stalin, and painfully aware of its country's relative socioeconomic backwardness. To remedy this situation, that is, in order to expand the small industrial base, which was located mainly in Slovenia and Croatia, and transform the agrarian economy, the KPJ resorted to a command economy on the Soviet model for rapid industrial development. Following the example of the Soviet Constitution of 1936, the Yugoslav Constitution of 1946 initiated the process of bringing all sectors of the economy under state control. At the core of this program, encapsulated in the first Five-Year Plan (1947–1951), were the nationalization of industry, redistribution of private land, and collectivization of agriculture. All mineral wealth, power resources, means of communication, and foreign trade were nationalized. By 1948, all domestic and foreign-owned capital, excluding some retail trade and small craft industries and most of agriculture, had been nationalized and brought into the social sector. The industrialization plan relied on high taxation, fixed prices, reparations, Soviet credits, and export of foodstuffs and raw materials to generate additional capital.

The Communist authorities also instituted a land reform. In August 1945, under the new land reform law, over one million hectares of land were confiscated from private owners and institutions; most of this property formerly belonged to banks, churches, monasteries, absentee landlords, private companies, and the expelled German minority. A state-controlled land fund was established to hold and redistribute the land to peasants and state-operated farms. Local authorities set the exact amount of land peasants could retain, within the state parameters of twenty to thirty-five hectares. Forced collectivization of agriculture was instituted only in January 1949, bringing the last privately owned portion of the economy under state control. At the program's inception, 94 percent of Yugoslav agricultural land was privately owned; by the height of the collectivization drive in 1950, nearly 96 percent was under the control of the social sector. Yugoslav planners expected that rapid collectivization and mechanization of agriculture would increase food production, improve the people's standard of living, and release peasants to work in industry. The result, however, was a poorly conceived program that was abandoned three years later. Between 1949 and 1951, the Yugoslav authorities induced nearly two million peasants to join roughly 6,900 collective or state-run farms. The campaign caused a decrease in agricultural output and the use of coercion eroded peasant support for the authorities. Since Croatia, together with Slovenia and the province of Vojvodina, had the most developed agrarian sector, collectivization proved more painful than elsewhere. Peasant resistance and a 1950 drought stalled and then killed the collectivization drive, the cancellation of which was announced in 1951.

By the time the first Five-Year Plan was officially completed, Yugoslavia was burdened with an oversized balance of payments deficit, significant foreign debt, low labor productivity, and inefficient use of capital. In the short term, however, the centrally directed planning approach managed to mobilize national resources to achieve rapid postwar development. As inefficient as the system may have been, the relatively high rate of investment in the first Five-Year Plan ensured increased output during the second Five-Year Plan (1957–1960). Throughout the 1950s, industrial output rose faster in Yugoslavia, in both per capita and total output, than in almost any other European country. Because of Communist modernization, urbanization and industrialization intensified rapidly. For example, the population of the Croatian capital, Zagreb, grew from roughly 180,000 in 1931 to roughly 280,000 around 1950 to nearly 800,000 in 1991.

A movement toward greater market freedom spurred economic reforms in the 1960s. During that decade, Yugoslav Communist authorities instituted economic policies unknown in the Soviet Bloc, which contributed greatly to the economic development of Croatia and Yugoslavia. Economic reformers were able to make a case for decentralized control over investment policies and a greater role for market forces as the solution to Yugoslavia's long-term economic development problems. The 1963 constitution introduced a system of "market socialism." Decisionmaking was decentralized, the federal government further loosened its control over investment, prices, and incomes, and market forces were allowed greater play. The so-called workers' self-management system thereby received more power and responsibility in the economic development of the country. The authorities now emphasized policies that increased personal consumption, production growth, and labor productivity by loosening government controls on wages and increasing investment in the production of energy, steel, chemicals, and capital equipment. Particular attention went to investment in the less developed republics and to mechanization of agriculture. A more liberal trade policy devalued the currency (the Yugoslav dinar) and reduced tariffs and import restrictions. The authorities permitted workers to emigrate to Western Europe, especially West Germany, as guest laborers; this policy brought substantial hard currency reinvestments to Yugoslavia and relieved labor surpluses at home. By loosening border restrictions, the Yugoslav authorities opened the country's scenic beaches to Western tourists, who increasingly provided a reliable source of hard currency from the 1960s on. It was in this period that Croatia's Dalmatian coast became a popular tourist destination for many Europeans. Hard currency remittances from tourism and guest workers became important sources of relief for Yugoslavia's weak balance of payments, especially when other parts of the economy declined in the 1970s and 1980s.

The new system of market socialism was enshrined in roughly thirty laws issued in July 1965. One of the primary objectives of the new legislation was to allow economic enterprises to keep a greater share of their earned income, much of which had previously gone to the state. To achieve this goal, the government lowered taxes, limited state control of investments, removed price controls on some goods, devalued the dinar, and reduced customs duties and export subsidies. Whatever the failings of the system, growth was experienced. Between 1954 and 1965, gross industrial output increased at an annual rate of 12.2 percent; industrial employment, 6.6 percent; social sector employment, 5.9 percent; exports 11.7 percent; and fixed investments 9.2 percent. After 1965 (and well into the 1970s and 1980s), these rates steadily declined because of growing inflation, balance of payments deficits, and high unemployment.

Nonetheless, on the eve of Yugoslavia's dissolution, Croatia was, next to Slovenia, the most industrialized, urbanized, and prosperous of the Yugoslav republics. Its economy and social structure had undergone a tremendous transformation since 1945. Moreover, given the greater economic liberalism of Yugoslav communism, Croatia (like Yugoslavia) was ahead of the East Bloc countries in terms of wealth and per capita income. However, following the collapse of communism, Croatia's economic development was retarded by two closely related factors: the war in former Yugoslavia of 1991–1995 with its attendant damage to infrastructure (bridges, factories, commercial buildings, and houses), costs related to refugees and displaced persons, and disruption of old economic ties; and the troubled transition from a communist (planned) economy to a market-oriented one, affected by the still evident legacy of communist mismanagement of the economy.

In 1991 over 80 percent of Croatian economic production was in state hands while only 18 percent was generated by the nascent private sector. At that time the most significant sectors of the Croatian economy were industry (composing 32.8 percent of domestic product), trade (22.5 percent), communication (11.4 percent), and agriculture and fishing (11.4 percent). In industry, the most important areas were food processing (17 percent), textiles (8.1 percent), and machine production (8.0 percent). By 2001, Croatia's gross domestic product (GDP) was US$20.7 billion. Its per capita GDP was US$4,726.

CURRENCY AND BANKING

The legal currency of Croatia is the kuna; its domestic symbol is *Kn* but its international abbreviation is *HRK*. The kuna consists of 100 smaller units called lipa *(lp)*. The name kuna, meaning "marten," has its origin in the medieval era, when the marten's fur was used as a unit of trade. The first known use of the kuna dates from 1256. The word "lipa" means linden (tree). The kuna has been the new form of currency since 1994, when it replaced the Croatian dinar. Historical Croatian personalities are featured on one side of the kuna note, with famous Croatian landmarks on the reverse. The 5 kuna note features ban Petar Zrinski and Duke Fran Krsto Frankopan, two seventeenth-century Croat nobles, with the Varaždin Fortress on the reverse. The 10 kuna note features Juraj Dobrila, a noted Croatian bishop who promoted Croatian cultural rights and advanced the Croatian language. On the reverse is found the Roman Amphitheater at Pula. The 20 kuna note features ban Josip Jelačić, the military hero of the 1848 revolution in Croatia, and the Eltz Castle in Vukovar with the Vučedol Dove. The 50 kuna note features Ivan Gundulić, perhaps the greatest Croat poet of the seventeenth century, and the city of Dubrovnik as its landmark. The 100 kuna note features Ivan Mažuranić, the first nonnoble person to hold the title of ban, and the Church of St. Vitus in Rijeka. The 200 kuna note features Stjepan Radić, the founder of the Croat Peasant Party. On the reverse is found the Town Command in Osijek. The 500 kuna note bears the image of Marko Marulić, the greatest Croat poet of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Diocletian's Palace in Split. Finally, the 1,000 kuna note features Ante Starčević, the leader of the Party of (Croatian State) Right, with a monument to King Tomislav and the Zagreb Cathedral.

As of 2000, Croatia had forty-four banks and a National Bank, which serves as the country's central bank. In 2001 the National Bank's foreign reserve was US$4.61 billion. According to the most recent Law on Banks (1998), there are few restrictions for foreign investors who wish to form a bank or invest in the banking sector. The minimum stock capital needed to establish a bank is between 20 and 60 million HRK, depending on the nature of its operations. Furthermore, newly formed banks have a time limit imposed on them for performing certain business operations. They must operate for at least three years before being allowed to collect deposits and savings from citizens in both domestic and foreign currency. After a bank has been issued a license by the Croatian National Bank and registered with the Commercial Court, it becomes a legal business entity. A single shareholder may control more than 10 percent of the shares with voting rights only with the prior approval of the Croatian National Bank. Foreign banks are permitted to establish subsidiaries in Croatia.

Of the forty-four banks in Croatia in 2000, twenty-one were owned completely or largely by domestic shareholders, while twenty were owned completely or largely by foreign entities. A total of three banks were owned completely or largely by the state. Although most of the banks were Croatian-owned, foreign-owned banks controlled 83.7 percent of all banking assets, while the figures for Croatian and state-owned banks were 10.2 and 6.1 percent, respectively. By far the two largest and most important Croatian banks are the Zagrebačka banka (Zagreb Bank) and Privredna banka (Economic Bank) with total stock capital of 3.46 billion HRK and 2.39 billion HRK, respectively. Their total stock capital exceeds the combined total capital of the next eight largest Croatian banks. In 2000 these two banks had total assets exceeding 10 billion HRK each. The Croatian Bank for Reconstruction and Development (HBOR) is the first investment bank established by the state, which in turn guarantees its obligations. This bank provides credit financing for the reconstruction and development of the Croatian economy; rebuilding of apartments, houses, and infrastructure; exports; and insurance of exports against noncommercial risks.

The use of debit cards and automatic teller machines (ATMs) is now common, as Croatian banks have modernized many of their technologies and operations. Over 2.4 million debit and credit cards were in use in 2001. There were in the same year 848 ATMs operating in the country. The first ATM was installed in January 1996. The Croatian ATM network, linking all Croatian banks using debit and credit cards, is known as MBNET.

There are two securities markets in Croatia: the Zagreb Stock Exchange and the Varaždin Over the Counter Market. More than fifty brokerage houses perform transactions on these two markets, which are supervised and regulated by the Securities Commission of the Republic of Croatia. Total foreign investments in Croatia from 1993 until September 2001 amounted to US$5.92 billion. The three largest sources of direct foreign investment in this period were Austria with US$1.74 billion, Germany with US$1.19 billion, and the United States with US$1.18 billion. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has invested only US$101.8 million.

AGRICULTURE, FISHING, FOOD, AND TOBACCO INDUSTRIES

In 2000 Croatia had 842 companies registered in the food, beverage, and tobacoo industry; these sectors employed roughly 45,000 workers, or 17 percent, of the workforce in the manufacturing sector. A few large companies play a dominant role in the Croatian market, such as Podravka in Koprivnica and Franck and Kraš, both located in Zagreb. Despite the importance of this sector to the Croatian economy, in the 1990s production declined in most sectors (especially wheat flour, bread, canned fish, condiments, sugar, and spirits) or remained stagnant (such as pasta, canned vegetables, concentrated soups, and biscuits). Only in a few sectors (fruit juices, cheese, and cigarettes) has there been a substantial increase. Agricultural and food products compose approximately 18 percent of the total export and import market. However, the export value of this industry has declined steadily. In the period between 1997 and 2001, exports of food and tobacco products declined from US$460 million to US$366 million. In the same period, imports declined from US$636 million to US$581 million.

Croatia has a total of 3.15 million hectares of agricultural land, 63.5 percent of which is cultivated and the rest pastoral. The vast majority (81.5 percent) of the cultivated land is privately owned. Cattle raising has always played an important role in Slavonia. Over 80 percent of livestock is privately owned. Agriculture and fishing generate 8.1 percent of Croatian GDP. The production of food, beverages, and tobacco generates 20.6 percent of Croatian GDP (gross domestic product).

The Croatian food industry includes some of the most successful companies in Croatia: twelve out of the fifty Croatian companies with the highest revenues in 2000 were producers of food, beverages, and tobacco. The major export products of these companies are Vegeta (food seasoning), biscuits and wafers, chocolate, canned fish, soups, olive oil, cigarettes, beer, and alcoholic beverages. The wine-making industry is also an important sector. The total area used for vineyards amounts to 59,000 hectares. Thirty larger wine-making companies, thirty-five production cooperatives, and about 250 family businesses represent wine production. Wines made of indigenous grape varieties are becoming increasingly popular on the European and world markets.

Production of Selected Products, 1996–2000

Type	*Amount*	*1996*	*1998*	*2000*
Cereals	’000s tons	2,760	3,207	2,768
Wheat	’000s tons	741	1,020	1,032
Corn	’000s tons	1,886	1,982	1,526
Grapes	’000s tons	373	421	354
Cattle	’000s heads	461	443	427
Pigs	’000s heads	1,197	1,166	1,233
Poultry	’000s heads	10,993	9,959	11,256
Milk	Millions of liters	593	663	607
Eggs	Millions	848	818	774

During the first half of the 1990s, agricultural production witnessed a substantial decline associated with the war in Croatia (1991–1995) and the transition to a market economy. The Croatian government has throughout this period provided subsidies to most sectors of agriculture in an effort to revive production and increase incomes. Although Croatia has now achieved self-sufficiency in the production of wheat, corn, poultry, eggs, and wine, some sectors of agriculture remain well below their prewar levels.

Fishing, fish farming, and processing have traditionally been an important source of income, in particular for the population of Dalmatia and the islands. In 2000 there were fourteen factories for fish processing in Croatia, which produced 15,000 tons of various fish products; three quarters of this total is canned sardines. The 2000 output of freshwater fish amounted to about 4,800 tons, and saltwater fish and other seafood to about 24,000 tons. Large quantities of fish are exported.

Aquaculture (fish and shellfish breeding) is another important sector of the fishing industry. The breeding of freshwater fish is centered in continental Croatia, where roughly 12,000 hectares of carp ponds are allocated for such production. An additional 30,000 square meters is allocated to trout ponds.

Sea-fish, Fresh-fish, and Shellfish Breeding

Type (in tons)	*1997*	*1998*	*1999*	*2000*
Carp	2,607	2,299	1,993	2,013
Trout	453	296	471	680
Sea Bass and Gilthead	1,500	1,747	1,750	2,100
Tuna	507	906	970	1,200
Mussels	790	900	1,100	1,111
Oysters	30	53	52	37

Since the dissolution of Yugoslavia, this sector of the Croatian economy has been reoriented toward the foreign market. Tuna fish alone account for 64 percent of all fishing-related exports. The most important markets are Austria, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Serbia-Montenegro.

Export of Fish and Fish Products

Type (in tons)	*1996*	*1997*	*1998*	*1999*	*2000*
Live fish	1,137	700	790	623	456
Fresh and refrigerated fish	4,642	8,615	6,134	6,260	6,076
Frozen fish	73	282	57	354	611
Fish fillets	29	37	13	6	6
Dried, salted, smoked fish	19	49	20	385	1,401
Crustaceans, mollusks	1,441	2,126	977	1,208	1,126
Canned fish	9,796	12,952	11,122	8,859	8,565

Import of Fish and Fish Products

Type (in tons)	*1996*	*1997*	*1998*	*1999*	*2000*
Live fish	16	31	151	38	341
Fresh and refrigerated fish	16	474	116	93	35
Frozen fish	3,493	4,162	4,090	5,800	14,879
Fish fillets	2,020	2,958	2,388	1,862	1,504
Dried, salted, smoked fish	312	292	247	236	179
Crustaceans, mollusks	4,507	4,233	3,795	3,727	4,474
Canned fish	2,756	1,301	2,067	2,632	3,936

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

The Croatian industrial sector has been in a state of flux since the dissolution of former Yugoslavia. Although the industrial sector has undergone some privatization and a reorientation of export markets toward the countries of the EU, as a whole it has not advanced rapidly. The industrial sector currently represents about 20 percent of Croatia's GDP. In 1999 the value of industry's production level was estimated to be around 93 billion HRK (or approximately US$13.0 billion) with 293,000 employees, representing 27 percent of Croatia's workforce. Industrial goods account for 97 percent of Croatia's total exports.

TOURISM

Croatia has long been one of the most important tourist destinations on the Mediterranean and boasts a long tradition in tourism. The advantages of Croatian tourism are primarily a well-preserved natural environment (a beautiful coast, more than 1,000 islands, eight national parks, and ten nature parks), cultural and historic heritage (including numerous cultural monuments protected by UNESCO, such as Diocletian's Palace in Split, the towns of Trogir and Dubrovnik, and Euphrasian's Basilica in Poreč), a mild Mediterranean climate, and its vicinity to European markets. A variety of forms of tourism are offered in Croatia, from summer and nautical tourism (44 marinas and roughly 15,000 berths) to health tourism and hunting and fishing. The most important tourist regions are Istria, Dalmatia, and the cities of Dubrovnik and Zagreb. In 2001 Croatia had 160,000 hotel beds and beds in tourist facilities, 306,000 beds in private accommodations, and 180,000 places in campsites. That same year, Croatia had 6,544,217 foreign tourists who made 38.3 million overnight stays. The majority of these tourists were from Germany (1,299,729) and Italy (1,059,810), with Slovenia, the Czech Republic, and Austria occupying the next three spots. The average tourist stay lasted five days; foreign tourists averaged six and domestic tourists four days. The largest number of tourists and overnight stays in 2001 were recorded in Istria (37 percent), Kvarner (23 percent), Dalmatia (27 percent), Dubrovnik (7 percent), and Zagreb (2 percent). The revenue generated by international tourism is of great importance to the Croatian

The Palace of Diocletian faces the harbor in Split. (Jonathan Blair/Corbis)

economy. According to the Croatian National Bank, international tourism revenue amounted to US$3.3 billion in 2001, or 16.3 percent of GDP.

Revenue (USD mil) from International Tourism and Percentage Share of GDP, 1995–2001

	1995	*1997*	*1999*	*2001*
Revenue	1,345.9	2,529.8	2,493.4	3,335.0
Share	7.2	12.6	12.4	16.3

In 2001 there were 559 registered travel agencies and tour operators in Croatia. The travel industry employed approximately 3,300 people that year. In 2001 Zagreb hosted 148 conferences with more than 25,000 participants.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION

The building and construction sector remains a significant industry in Croatia. In 2001 the sector employed 62,773 persons in 11,762 registered companies, up from 819 companies in 1990. The total value of construction contracts carried out abroad amounted to US$142.7 million. In 2000 around 12,000 apartments with a total area of approximately 1 million square meters were built. Despite the overall importance of the construction industry, whether measured as a share in the total value of GDP or the total number of persons employed, it has been steadily declining since 1990. In 1990 a total of 118,700 workers, or 7.6 percent of all employees in Croatia, were employed in construction. By 1999, the number of persons employed in construction had fallen to 71,302, or 6.7 percent of all employees in Croatia. In 1999 the value of completed construction works amounted to 10.557 million HRK. Work on road infrastructure composed 41.2 percent of the total value of the construction industry in 1999, followed by nonresidential buildings at 26.4 percent, residential buildings at 16.3 percent, pipelines and communications at 13 percent, industrial sites at 1.5 percent, and 1.6 percent on other sectors.

SHIPBUILDING

Croatia has a long history of shipbuilding and seafaring. In 2001 Croatia produced fifty-six ships, making it sixth in the world in production. According to the Global Orders Ledger, in that same year Croatia was ranked, in terms of deadweight (in tdw), fifth in the world at 2,784,930 tdw of ships contracted, behind South Korea, Japan, China, and

Poland. In 2000, the last year for which figures are available, Croatia generated 5.899 billion HRK in total income from the shipbuilding sector, which employed 13,952 persons. The shipbuilding industry has about a 10 percent share in export and about a 2 percent share in import in the commodity exchange with foreign countries. The shipbuilding industry composes a number of shipyards of varying size. The primary and largest shipyards are Uljanik (at Pula); 3. Maj, Viktor Lenac, and Kraljevica (all at Rijeka); Brodotrogir at Trogir; and Brodosplit at Split. There are eight secondary or midsized shipyards located at Pula (Tehnomont and Heli), Mali Lošinj (Lošinjska plovidba Brodogradilište), Krk (Punat), Ugljan (Wolf Lamjana), Murter (Brodogradilište Betina), Šibenik (Remontno brodogradilište Šibenik), and Vela Luka (Greben). There are also a number of tertiary shipyards and repair centers.

FOREIGN TRADE

Croatia's foreign trade is geared toward the European Union (EU). In 2001 Croatia's total exports amounted to US$4,659,286,000. Of this total, US$2,547,109,000 (or 54.7 percent) went to the countries of the EU. Another 12.1 percent (or US$565,682,000) of exports went to the seven countries of the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), which includes Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania, and Bulgaria. The remaining 33.2 percent of exports (US$1,546,494,000) went to other countries.

Croatia's total imports amounted to US$9,043,699,000. In all, 56.0 percent of all imports, with a value of US$5,060,711,000, originated from the EU zone. CEFTA countries accounted for 15.7 percent of all imports or US$1,420,220,000. All other countries accounted for the remaining 28.3 percent of imports (US$2,562,768,000). Croatia's ten most important trading partners in 2001 (in thousands of U.S. dollars), according to the Croatian Chamber of Commerce, were:

Country	*Exports*	*Percentage*	*Imports*	*Percentage*
Italy	1,104,447	23.7	1,524,139	16.9
Germany	688,877	14.8	1,546,726	17.1
Bosnia-Hercegovina	559,575	12.0	–	–
Slovenia	426,135	9.1	711,558	7.9
Austria	267,787	5.7	630,939	7.0
France	163,106	3.5	398,293	4.4
Yugoslavia	146,813	3.2	–	–
Liberia	115,075	2.5	–	–
United States	107,392	2.3	296,925	3.3
Russia	83,360	1.8	653,594	7.2

(continues)

Tugboats and wharves in the harbor city of Rijeka in Croatia. (Nik Wheeler/Corbis)

Country	*Exports*	*Percentage*	*Imports*	*Percentage*
Hungary	–	–	238,039	2.6
UK	–	–	225,115	2.5
Czech Republic	–	–	209,267	2.3
Total of Above	3,662,567	78.6	6,434,595	71.2
Total Exports/Imports	4,659,286	100	9,043,699	100

Exports by Main Branches of Industry (2001)

Branch of Industry (Manufacture/production of)	*Value (USD '000)*	*Percentage*
Transport equipment (shipbuilding)	730,381	15.7
Chemicals and chemical products	452,531	9.7
Wearing apparel	440,092	9.4
Petroleum derivatives	431,517	9.3
Food products and beverages	248,892	5.3
Electrical machinery	207,202	4.4
Nonmetallic products	193,922	5.3
Leather, footwear	172,848	3.7
Communication equipment	150,600	3.2
Fabricated metal goods	116,005	2.5
Total from above	3,143,990	67.5
Total exports	4,659,286	100

Imports by Main Branches of Industry (2001)

Branch of Industry	*Value*	*Percentage*
Petroleum derivatives	991,781	10.9
Transport equipment (shipbuilding)	458,160	5.1
Food products and beverages	413,052	4.6
Chemicals and chemical products	351,663	3.9
Wearing apparel	342,177	3.8
Electrical machinery and apparatus	257,402	2.8
Leather (tanning/dressing), footwear	144,130	1.6
Rubber and plastic products	129,301	1.4
Communication equipment	127,070	1.4
Metals	123,232	1.4
Total from above	3,337,968	36.9
Total imports	9,043,699	100

TRANSPORTATION

The transportation sector encompasses all areas of economic activity involving the transport of people and goods, whether by road, rail, water, air, or pipeline; auxiliary activities relating to this transport; postal services and telecommunications; and renting of vehicles and equipment. The share of the transportation sector in GDP is 8 percent and in overall number of employees, 7 percent. Given Croatia's important geographic position between Central and Southeastern Europe, the transportation sector is an important one to the country's economy. Currently this sector suffers from a number of shortcomings, however. Harbors and railways are in need of modernization. Road and railway infrastructures are not equally well developed in all parts of the country. Existing and new infrastructure are in need of investments.

Croatia has a total of 27,840 kilometers of roads. Road transportation remains the most important branch of the transportation sector since the road network covers all parts of the country, and for many areas this network remains the only available connection to the rest of the country and the outside world. However, the volume of traffic has outpaced the ability of both government and the private sector to expand the capacity of this network. In 1999, the last year for which reliable information is available, 109,387 freight trucks and 9,317 combined vehicles (i.e., for passenger and freight transport) were registered in Croatia. In April 2001 two companies were established to manage, construct, and maintain the road network: Hrvatske autoceste d.o.o. (Croatian Motorways, PLC) and Hrvatske ceste d.o.o. (Croatian Roads, PLC). They are authorized to collect tolls and road taxes and finance the construction of motorways and roads; they will manage the 200 kilometers of new roads that are expected to be built in Croatia by 2011.

Croatia has 2,726 kilometers of railway lines. The railway system connects all major Croatian cities except Dubrovnik. Croatia has direct railway links with its neighbors (Slovenia, Hungary, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Yugoslavia) and through them indirect links to the European railway network. Railway transport has suffered immensely because of the war in Croatia from 1991 to 1995. Since the Croatian Serb Krajina severed the rail link between Croatia proper and Dalmatia during those years, a number of railway lines had to be terminated; the volume of traffic decreased and the number of employees working for Croatian Railways (HŽ, Hrvatske željeznice) was halved. Half of HŽ's total income continues to come from the government's budget. In 2000, 45 percent of all transport on Croatian railways involved transit of passengers and goods, 24 percent involved internal transport of passengers, 16 percent export goods, and 15 percent import goods.

As in the case of railways, the marine sector has not experienced any major modernization in the 1990s. In the decade since 1991 there has been a reduction in the size of the Croatian merchant marine, in harbor transport, and in the transport of passengers. The main Croatian seaports are Rijeka, Split, Zadar, Šibenik, Pula, and Dubrovnik. None of these harbors has seen an improvement in infrastructure since 1991. The total length of inland waterways for ships under 150 tons is 922 kilometers in the Danube, Sava, Drava, and Kupa Rivers. The river transport sector has not been modernized since 1991. River harbors and piers are in need of reconstruction and the fleet used for river transport is outdated.

On the eve of the war in Croatia and the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Croatia's airports averaged 4–5 million passengers per year. In 1991 the number of passengers was 1.16 million, but in 1992 this number fell to 0.45 million. Passenger volume has been growing steadily since the end of the war in 1995 and is expected to reach 7.5 million passengers by 2010. The two primary Croatian airports are Zagreb and Split. There are five secondary airports (Dubrovnik, Pula, Zadar, Rijeka [Krk], and Osijek) that can accommodate aircraft of all sizes, with tertiary airports at Brač, Lošinj, Vrsar, and Osijek-Čepin. But apart from the Zagreb airport, there has been relatively little investment in airports. The Croatian national air carrier is Croatian Airlines, which flies between Zagreb and most major European cities and between Zagreb and a few select domestic destinations (such as Dubrovnik and Split). As of 1999, it had four Boeing 737–200s, 3 ATR 42-300s, one Airbus A320, and two Airbus A319s.

Croatia has 601 kilometers of oil pipeline and 1,769 kilometers of gas pipeline. Pipeline transport remains the cheapest way to transport energy products to market. However, like railway transport, the pipeline network was adversely affected by the war in Croatia. It has not been fully restored to prewar levels and is in dire need of modernization.

The transport sector remains in need of rapid modernization and investment. In 1999 road transport accounted for 73.26 percent of total passenger transport, with railways transport accounting for 19.29 percent, marine and coastal transport 7.42 percent, and air transport 1.03 percent. In the case of the transport of goods, marine and coastal transport accounted for 56.9 percent of total transport, railway transport accounted for 19.4 percent, pipeline transport 13.2 percent, road transport 9.0 percent, inland waterway transport 1.4 percent, and air transport 0.1 percent.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

Contemporary Croatia is confronted by a range of problems and challenges, which may be grouped for simplicity's sake into the following five broad categories: relations with neighbors; relations with the international community; cooperation with the ICTY (the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia) and prosecution of war crimes and crimes against humanity; treatment of minorities; and postcommunist transition, which encompasses a range of issues.

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

Since Croatia was born in war and in the context of the dissolution of the Yugoslav state, its relations with its immediate neighbors were bound to remain strained. Since 1991, this meant above all the rump Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro. But with the outbreak of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Zagreb's overt support of the Bosnian Croat leadership, relations with the Bosnian Muslim–led government also deteriorated. Relations with Slovenia remained tense, in large part because of unsettled territorial disputes.

The death of Franjo Tudjman in December 1999 and the defeat of his Croat Democratic Union in the 2000 elections brought about a dramatic improvement in relations between Zagreb and most of Croatia's neighbors. The impact of Premier Ivica Račan's and President Stjepan Mesić's policies has been greatest in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Under President Tudjman, Croatia recognized the Bosnian government in Sarajevo in 1992, but in 1993–1994, it supported the Bosnian Croats in their struggle against that same government. Although Zagreb altered course in 1994, and supported the formation of a Bosnian Muslim–Bosnian Croat alliance under pressure from Washington, the Croatian authorities failed fully to implement the spirit of the Dayton Peace Agreement, which brought an end to the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1995.

After gaining office, Račan and Mesić promised an end to these policies and have moved rapidly to place Croatian support for the Bosnian Croat armed forces on a transparent footing. Indeed, President Mesić's first foreign visit was to Sarajevo, where he managed to mend fences with the Bosnian government and was welcomed as a friend of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Relations also have improved with Serbia-Montenegro, especially following the demise of the Slobodan Milošević government in late 2000. Diplomatic relations have largely been normalized with Belgrade and recipocral diplomatic visits at the highest levels have taken place. Many Croats still vividly recall the activities of the Serbian authorities during the war in Croatia; complete reconciliation may not be possible until all those accused of war crimes have been brought to trial.

Despite the improving climate, there are a number of unresolved territorial disputes between Croatia and its neighbors. Discussions continue with Bosnia-Hercegovina on sections of the Una River and villages at the base of Mount Plješevica. Relations with Slovenia are still strained because of land and maritime boundary disputes in Istria; according to the terms of a recent but unratified agreement between Zagreb and Ljubljana, Croatia would have ceded most of Pirin Bay and maritime access to Slovenia, which in turn would have ceded several villages to Croatia. In late 2002 Croatia and Serbia-Montenegro adopted an interim agreement to settle territorial claims in the disputed Prevlaka Peninsula, allowing the withdrawal of the UN monitoring mission (UNMOP). Discussions continue to be complicated by internal problems in Serbia-Montenegro, however. Croatia and Italy continue to debate bilateral property and ethnic minority rights issues stemming from border changes following World War II. Despite these lingering problems, relations between Croatia and its neighbors have improved steadily since 2000.

RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Croatia's primary foreign policy priority since 2000 has been improving its relationship with both the European Union and the United States. That relationship had been tested severely during the Tudjman years, especially his last years. For the most part, the center-left government elected in 2000 has made significant progress on both fronts. Croatia has since joined the Partnership for Peace (May 2000) and the World Trade Organization (June 2000). On 12 May 2001, Croatia signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement, the first step toward a closer relationship with the EU. The United States has stepped up its political, legal, and military assistance to Croatia ever since. But integration with the European Union and improved relations with

Washington continue to be plagued by issues related to the prosecution of war criminals.

ICTY AND WAR CRIMES COOPERATION

Most problematic is Croatia's relationship with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Nationalist elements in Croatia continue to denounce the ICTY as a politically motivated and anti-Croat court. The Croat nationalist right views the criminal indictments against Croats, issued by The Hague tribunal, as an attempt by the international community to criminalize Croatia's Homeland War of 1991–1995, which is seen as a just, legitimate, and defensive war. Conservative elements in Croatia's Catholic hierarchy have shown dissatisfaction with the policies of the Račan-led center-left coalition government. In January 2001 conservative Dalmatian Catholic bishops boycotted President Stjepan Mesić's annual reception for religious communities, apparently to register their dissatisfaction with the government's policies. In February 2001 several Dalmatian clergy publicly supported right-wing demonstrations in support of General Mirko Norac, who was indicted for war crimes by the ICTY.

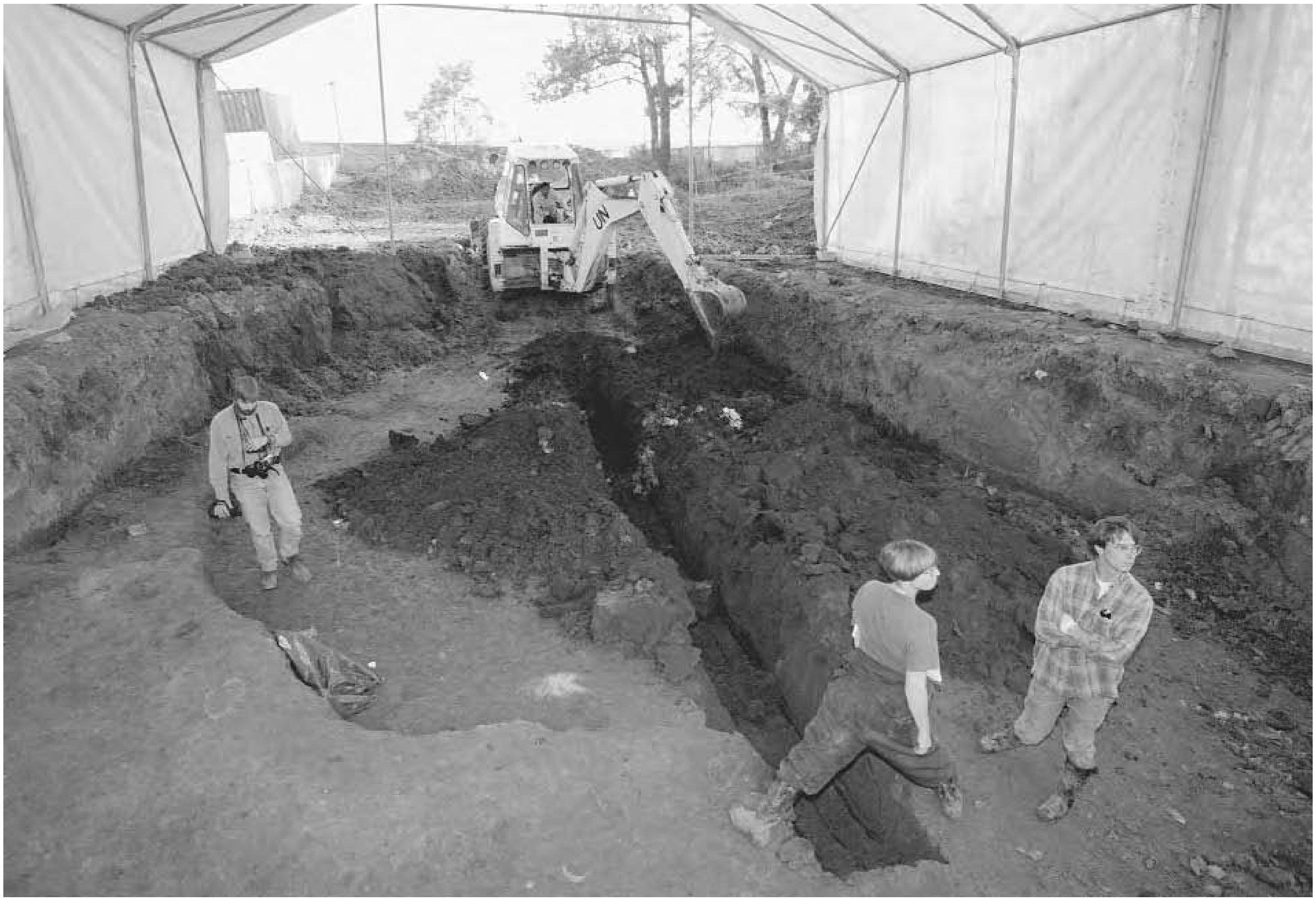
As of 2003, relations with the ICTY were strained for two reasons: General Janko Bobetko and General Ante Gotovina. General Bobetko had been indicted by the ICTY for his role, as commander in chief of the Croatian Armed Forces, in the September 1993 "Medak Pocket" incident, during which the Croatian army allegedly killed dozens of Serb citizens. The Račan government failed to turn him over to the ICTY, because such a bold step would have undoubtedly spelled the demise of the governing coalition. Although Bobetko passed away in the spring of 2003, harm had been done to Zagreb's relations with The Hague. Furthermore, the indicted General Gotovina remains at large. Most observers believe he is hiding in Croatia. Whether or not the authorities know of his whereabouts, they have not moved energetically on this front for the same reason they failed to comply with the ICTY's demands on Bobetko. They continue to pledge their commitment in principle to the ICTY's overall mission, however. The ICTY indictment of Gotovina alleges that as overall operational commander for part of "Operation Storm," the Croatian army's August 1995 campaign to capture the Croatian Serb statelet known as Krajina, he was either implicated in a range of crimes including killing and expelling local Serb civilians, or was aware of the acts committed by his men and did nothing to prevent or punish them. In June 2003 Gotovina gave an interview to the Croatian weekly *Nacional,* in which he again denied the allegation. He agreed to surrender to the ICTY if it agreed to revoke its indictment. A large segment of Croatian public opinion continues to see Gotovina as a hero, just as it saw Bobetko as a hero.

Partly in order to get around this problem, in early May 2003 the Croatian government indicated its willingness to consider the formation of a special domestic court or tribunal to try war crimes and crimes against humanity. In June 2003 Croatia's minister of justice, Ingrid Antičević-Marinović, again indicated that her cabinet was considering its own war crimes legislation. The move, if accomplished, would make Croatia the third former Yugoslav republic, along with Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia-Montenegro, to announce plans to establish its own war crimes court. Zagreb's announcement was welcomed by the ICTY. That is apparently because, in an effort to finish its own proceedings by 2008, the ICTY has been trying to focus only on high-level war crimes suspects. It may eventually try to turn over cases of intermediate and lower level perpetrators to national courts in Croatia and the other Yugoslav successor states.

Thus, ICTY officials have indicated that they would consider passing some of the less significant cases to the relevant national authorities. The case most likely to be handed over to Croatia is that of General Rahim Ademi, an ethnic Albanian who served in the Croatian army. Ademi was indicted along with General Bobetko for the murder of Serb civilians in the Medak Pocket in September 1993. However, few domestic war crimes trials have been conducted to date in Croatia (or elsewhere). Those that have gone forward have received generally poor reviews.

The establishment of a war crimes court is not just a reflection of Croatia's new willingness to confront atrocities committed in its name. It is also a politically expedient move by Račan. His Social Democrats have been fiercely criticized by the increasingly popular nationalist political right for being too cooperative with The Hague. Creating a local war crimes court would help his party placate nationalist opinion by obviating the need to extradite suspects to The Hague. Thus far Croatia had conducted only two significant trials arising from the war of Yugoslav dissolution. The first was the trial of the Bosnian Muslim rebel leader and Croatian citizen Fikret Abdić. However, he was prosecuted for war crimes and crimes against humanity perpetrated against other Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina from 1993 to 1995; a court in Karlovac sentenced him to twenty years in prison, the highest penalty under Croatian law. And in 2003, a court in Rijeka tried the Croatian General Mirko Norac for war crimes committed against Serb civilians in Gospić in 1991. Although Norac was found guilty and sentenced to twelve years in prison, Račan was able to neutralize nationalist criticism by pointing out that he had ensured that the trial was held in Croatia and not The Hague. Thus when ICTY officials indicated that they might be willing to hand some cases over to local courts, Račan's government announced its intention to form a tribunal of its own.

Since the death of Bobetko, only Ademi and one other war crimes suspect, General Gotovina, remain in Croatia. Račan's government offered a 50,000 euro reward for information leading to his arrest. However, if Račan is unable to find the fugitive general and can ensure that Ademi is tried in Croatia, he will be able to tell his critics that he has not sent anyone to The Hague. The existence of a war crimes court is also expected to aid Croatia in its bid for European Union membership, which it hopes to achieve by 2007. Croatia's ability to try war criminals is of crucial importance for achieving EU integration.



The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia called on the UN operation in Eastern Slavonia for assistance in exhuming a mass grave at Ovčara. Workers inspect the site where two hundred civilians were massacred in 1994. (United Nations/DPI)

TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

Croatia has long been a multiethnic society. During the recent war of independence, that multiethnic structure was demolished. The last Croatian census was conducted on 31 March 2001. It revealed that Croatia's total population was 4,437,460, with Croats composing the vast majority (3,977,171 persons or 89.63 percent). Of the country's minorities, the most numerous are the Serbs, who number 201,631 or 4.54 percent of the population. Nearly a dozen other nationalities compose the remaining 258,658 inhabitants (5.83 percent). The 2001 census confirmed what observers had suspected for years, namely, that important demographic and ethnic changes had taken place since the last prewar census, which was conducted in March 1991. These changes can be attributed almost entirely to the breakup of Yugoslavia and the war in Croatia (1991–1995). According to the 1991 census, Croatia had 4,760,344 inhabitants, that is, 322,884 more people than in 2001. In 1991 Croats composed 77.9 percent of the population (as compared to 89.6 percent in 2001) while the Serb component of the population has declined over the same period from 12.2 to 4.5 percent. Historically, Serbs have been the largest non-Croat nationality in Croatia and were settled primarily in those regions that had formerly been part of the "military frontier" in the Habsburg era. In 1995, during the Croatian army's Operation Storm, which recaptured the Croatian Serb Krajina, tens of thousands of Serbs either fled or were chased out.

Hence, facilitating the return of refugees, especially those of Serb nationality, is one of the many challenges confronting the Croatian authorities. To be sure, since 2000 they have made important advances in a number of areas relating to returns. But many ethnic Serbs who wish to return to Croatia, including Serbian Orthodox clergy, have continued to encounter difficulties recovering their prewar property and reconstructing damaged or destroyed houses. There were no reports of specific discrimination against Serbian Orthodox clergy beyond that faced by other ethnic Serb citizen refugees. Notions of religion and ethnicity are linked closely in society, but the majority of incidents of discrimination are motivated by ethnicity rather than religion.

There have been no property restitution agreements between the government and other religious groups. The Serbian Orthodox community has filed several requests for the return of seized properties, and some cases have been resolved successfully. However, several buildings in downtown Zagreb have not been returned, nor have properties that belonged to monasteries, such as arable land and forest. This uneven progress may be the result of a slow judicial system rather than a systematic effort to deny restitution of Serbian Orthodox properties. Several Jewish properties, including some Zagreb buildings, have not been returned. No properties have been returned to the Jewish community since March 2000. The Croatian government failed to amend discriminatory clauses of the Law on Compensation for Property Taken during Yugoslav Communist Rule that were struck down by the Constitutional Court in 1999. It failed to meet a court-mandated 31 March 2001 deadline to enact the amendments. The new amendments are expected to extend compensation to Jews whose property was confiscated between 1941 and 1945, as well as to foreigners. The previous HDZ government implemented property restitution in a discriminatory manner. In 1998 the government signed a concordat with the Vatican that provided for the return of all Catholic Church property confiscated by the communist regime after 1945. This agreement stipulated that the government would return seized properties or compensate the Catholic Church where return was deemed impossible. Some progress has been made, but there has been no compensation to date for nonreturnable properties.

POSTCOMMUNIST TRANSITION: CIVIL SOCIETY AND MARKET REFORM

For the better part of the 1990s, Croatia's politics and economy faltered under the weight of war and a failed postcommunist transition. However, the parliamentary elections of 2000, which brought Ivica Račan's reformist center-left government to power, triggered signs of recovery both in the depressed economy and in political life. The Croatian economy may be poised to take off, but it has a long way to go. Since the death of Franjo Tudjman in December 1999 and the 2000 elections, the prevailing international attitude toward Croatia has changed tremendously and for the better. Foreign investors have reentered the Croatian market, although not as quickly as Zagreb would have liked.

According to a September 2003 World Bank study, Croatia's economy has undergone a profound transformation since independence and especially since the last elections. Market laws and institutions have been introduced and the enormous real output decline of the first war-torn years of independence have been virtually recuperated. These achievements have been made despite a highly unstable geopolitical environment. The current government has accelerated this transformation by opening Croatia to global markets by joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA), cooperation with neighbors in Southeastern Europe, the signing of the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with the EU, and accelerating the implementation of key economic reforms.

Foreign investment alone will not solve all of Croatia's economic problems, however. The privatization of state industries is of central importance. As of 2000, roughly 70 percent of Croatia's major companies were still state-owned. That includes water, electricity, oil, transportation, telecommunications, and tourism. Government expenditures account for almost 60 percent of Croatia's gross domestic product (GDP). Other signs of a struggling economy include high unemployment, which is still over 20 percent, and relatively low salaries even by regional standards. Croatia also has a significant foreign debt of approximately US$9.5 billion. Privatization and deep cuts in government spending are central to market reform and economic recovery. Despite the problems, Croatia embarked in 2000 on its real transition to a market economy. To be sure, the transition started earlier but at a very slow pace. The privatization of large government-owned companies was practically halted during the war and in the years immediately following the conclusion of peace.

Another area of concern is the development of a civil society; in the most basic terms, civil society may be taken to mean those individuals and organizations in a society that are independent of the government and which are able to exercise rights of free speech and association. Where there is an active civil society citizens can freely organize and advocate for their beliefs and causes. Yet another area, related to the development of civil society, is the rule of law. The relatively inefficient Croatian justice system is one of the most significant impediments to investment, fundamental protection of human rights, and democratic development. It is under enormous pressure for systemic reform and improved performance. With the advent of the reformist government in 2000, however, a number of foreign sponsors, both American and European, helped launch legal and judicial reforms. They have also assisted the Ministry of Justice in developing an efficient and effective court case management system.

The media have also been an area of concern for reformers. In the 1990s, under the government of Franjo Tudjman's HDZ, the independent commercial media was controlled through legislation that prevented access to a national audience and placed it under central government control. Since 2000, media freedoms have improved measurably. Through foreign assistance, Croatia has developed its first independent television and radio network. As a result, as of 2003 there were 24 media outlets (13 radio, 4 print, and 7 television stations) now generating self-sustaining revenue. Croatia's only independent television network is now financially independent. The Croatian government has also adopted legal reforms that support independent media.

Thus Croatia has managed to make important advances in introducing market mechanisms and institutions, as well as in strengthening civil society. Since 2000, the Croatian government has received the active support and assistance of EU agencies and the U.S. government, a marked difference when compared to the 1990s. Many challenges still need to be overcome, however. There is still a need to deepen and accelerate those reforms that have been launched, in order to enhance Croatia's competitiveness and raise living standards. The country's laws, institutions, and policies still need to be aligned with those of the EU, if the process of integration is to succeed. The challenge for Croatia remains to create conditions that will attract investment, produce growth, enshrine the rule of law, and strengthen civil society.

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CHRONOLOGY

Seventh century	Croat settlement in western Balkans.
818–823	Ljudevit, apparently the ruler of a rudimentary principality in Pannonia, leads a failed revolt against the Franks.
845–864	First notable Croat ruler in Dalmatia, a tribal chief named Trpimir who gave his name to the dynasty (i.e., Trpimirovićes, r. 845–1089) that governed Croatia. Referred to as prince of Croatia *(Dux Croatorum).*
879–892	Branimir establishes links with the papacy; in 879, the year of his accession, he obtains the pope's recognition of Croatia as an independent principality.
Ninth to eleventh centuries	Earliest written records in the Croatian language.
910–928	Croatia becomes a kingdom under her first king, Tomislav.
1058–1074	Greatest territorial extent under Petar Krešimir IV (r. 1058–1074), known as King of Dalmatia and Croatia.
1075–1089	Reign of the last Croatian king, Dmitar Zvonimir.
1094	King of Hungary, László (Ladislas) I, establishes the Zagreb bishopric.
1102	Personal union between Hungary and Croatia based on an agreement *(pacta conventa)* of equals (the Croatian nobility and the Hungarian king).
1242	Tatars invade.
1115–1420	Much of Dalmatia is progressively lost to Venice.
1493	Croatian army is defeated by Ottomans at Krbava.
1521	*Judita,* by Marko Marulić (1450–1524), is published.
1526	After the Battle of Móhacs, much of Croatia is incorporated into the Ottoman Empire.
1527	Croatian Landed Estates elect Ferdinand I of Habsburg, King of Croatia.
1538	Beginnings of the military frontier take shape.
1595	Publication of the first Croatian dictionary by Faust Vrančić (1551–1617).
1699	Treaty of Karlowitz (Srijemski Karlovci) restores Slavonia.
1797	Dalmatia is incorporated into the Austrian Empire.
1836–1849	Illyrianist movement of Ljudevit Gaj.
1836	The first Croatian weekly newspaper, *Danica* (The Dawn), is published.
1842	Matica Ilirska (or Matica Hrvatska) is founded.
1846	Ivan Mažuranić's (1814–1890) epic *Smrt smail-age Čengića* (The death of Smail-Aga Čengić) is published.
1846	First Croatian opera, *Ljubav i zloba* (Love and Malice), is composed by Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–1854).
1866	The Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU) (now the Croatian Academy, HAZU) is founded.
1867	The *Ausgleich* (Compromise) is negotiated between Emperor Franz Joseph and the Magyar ruling oligarchy, transforming Austria into the Dual Monarchy, or Austria-Hungary. Croatia-Slavonia and the military frontier remain in the Hungarian half of the empire. However, Istria and Dalmatia remain in the Austrian half.
1868	The Croato-Hungarian *Nagodba* (Agreement) is signed, whereby the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia is recognized by the Magyar ruling oligarchy as a "political nation," with a right to autonomy within the Kingdom of Hungary.
1861	Formation of the Party of (Croatian State) Right of Ante Starčević.
1881	The military frontier is incorporated into Croatia-Slavonia.
1905	The Croato-Serb coalition, the dominant political force in Croatia to 1918, is founded.
1914–1918	World War I.
1915	Yugoslav Committee is formed in London to promote the cause of a South Slav state encompassing the South Slav lands of the Habsburg monarchy and Serbia-Montenegro.
1917	Corfu Declaration signed by Yugoslav Committee and Serbian government, calling for a common state of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in one state with a single democratic, constitutional, parliamentary system, under the Karadjordjević dynasty, after the war.
29 October 1918	Croatian parliament declares Croatia's independence.
1 December 1918	The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is formed.
1920	Elections to the Constituent Assembly, in which the Croat Peasant Party (HSS, Hrvatska seljačka stranka) emerges as the leading Croat party in the country.
28 June 1921	Promulgation of centralist Vidovdan Constitution, imposing a centralist state system in Yugoslavia.
1922–1932	Publication of Miroslav Krleža's *Hrvatski bog Mars* (The Croatian God Mars, 1922) and *Povratak Filipa Latinovicza* (The Return of Philip Latinovicz, 1932).
1925	HSS dissolved by the authorities; its leader, Stjepna Radić, is jailed.

1928	Radić and four other HSS deputies are shot during a session of parliament; Radić dies two months later.
6 January 1929	King Alexander Karadjordjević abrogates the constitution, dissolves the Skupština (parliament), bans political parties, and declares a royal dictatorship.
1934	Alexander is assassinated on a state visit to France by an agent of the Croat fascist Ustaša (Insurgent) movement.
26 August 1939	An agreement (the so-called *Sporazum)* is negotiated between Belgrade and the HSS, creating an autonomous Croatian province *(banovina)* in Yugoslavia.
6 April 1941	Yugoslavia is invaded by the Axis; an "independent" Croatian state is proclaimed on 10 April under Axis auspices.
1941–1945	Partisans and Četniks fight German occupiers and each other.
1945	End of World War II; Yugoslav Communists assume power in Croatia and Yugoslavia; Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia founded.
August 1945	Communist-dominated Provisional Assembly is convened, which organizes elections for a Constituent Assembly (November).
1945–1948	Show trial of wartime collaborators and "traitors," many real and some imagined.
1946	Trial of Croatia's archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac.
1948	Tito-Stalin split; purge of leading Communists, including the Croat Communist Andrija Hebrang.
1962–1971	Political liberalization in Yugoslavia.
1966–1971	Croatian Spring.
1974	New Yugoslav constitution establishes many of the decentralizing tendencies of the late 1960s.
May 1980	Tito dies.
1986	Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science composed, alleging discrimination against Serbs in Communist Yugoslavia.
1990	League of Communists of Yugoslavia hold their last congress, dividing along republican and nationality lines.
April and May 1990	Elections in Croatia; the Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) of Franjo Tudjman wins handily.
December 1990	Croatia adopts a new constitution.
1991	Ninety percent of the population vote for Croatian independence; Croatian Serbs boycott the election.
25 June 1991	Croatia and Slovenia secede from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Open war begins between Croatia and the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).
December 1991	Croatian Serbs declare the existence of their own statelet in Croatia, known as the Republic of Serb Krajina.
15 January 1992	The EU and most other countries recognize Croatia.
May 1992	Croatia joins the UN.
August 1995	Operation Storm, leading to Croatia's recapture of the Krajina; exodus of as many as 200,000 Serbs.
1997	Franjo Tudjman wins presidential elections (61.4 percent).
1999	Tudjman dies.
January 2000	The ruling Croat Democratic Union, which had governed Croatia since 1990, is defeated by a six-party coalition that wins 47 percent of the vote to the House of Representatives.
January–February 2000	Stjepan Mesić of the Croat People's Party (HNS) wins presidential vote with 56 percent of the vote.

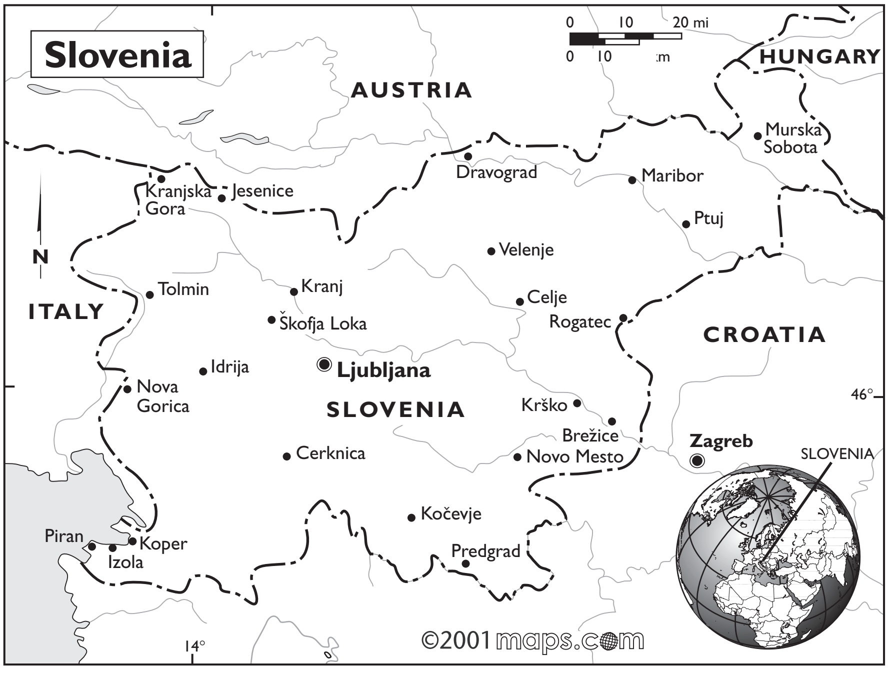
SLOVENIA

BRIGIT FARLEY

LAND AND PEOPLE

"Draw a straight line across Europe from Gibraltar to Moscow and another one from Scotland to Crete," Slovene writer Alenka Puhar told a British visitor to Ljubljana in 1991. "Voilà! At the intersection of the two diagonals lies Slovenia." Independent Slovenia indeed sits at the very center of Europe; legions of visitors and writers have described it as Europe in miniature. They are undoubtedly referring to Europe's moderate, Continental climate, its great geographic diversity, and the attractions that this diversity makes possible: spotless medieval towns in gently rolling hills, breathtaking Alpine peaks summoning skiers in winter and hikers in summer, pristine lakes and rivers, mineral springs, plunging valleys, a lovely coastline. But Europe's geography has not been an unmitigated blessing: it has left the continent vulnerable to armed conquests from the east and south, numerous internecine conflicts and two world wars. The Slovenian experience is no exception. Since 1991, the state has played host to an annual invasion of skiers and vacationers, helping to fill the state's coffers with tourist dollars. In prior years, it experienced incursions and disruptions of a less sanguine character, as the geopolitical landscape constantly attests.

Slovenia has three regions typical of the continent: its central and eastern plains, its alpine area, and its Adriatic coast. Its capital city, Ljubljana, is the center of the country at the heart of Europe, standing at the crossroads of three major regions of the country: the eastern Alps, the Pannonian plain, and the Adriatic Sea. All roads lead here. Like Slovenia itself, Ljubljana has occupied a place of importance from Roman times. Fond of strategic crossroads, the Roman legions established a regional outpost at the site and named it Emona. Ljubljana's fate after the Romans remains a subject of contention, but the Habsburg monarchy recognized the value of its location, making it a center for crafts and trade with Hungary, Croatia, and Italy. As the occupant of the highest place in the surrounding area, the Ljubljana castle had great value as a lookout tower during the many Turkish incursions into the Habsburg monarchy.



Known as Laibach under the Habsburgs, Ljubljana's fortunes began to rise after it attracted the attention of Napoleon in 1809. Napoleon made the city the capital of his Illyrian Provinces, because it offered the best chance of blocking Habsburg access to the Adriatic. Although the Illyrian Provinces went the way of Napoleon after 1815, the city maintained a higher profile in the Habsburg lands than previously. It played host to the heads of Europe's conservative courts at the 1821 Congress of Laibach, where the parties pledged to uphold the post-Napoleon status quo in Europe. When that arrangement crumbled in the revolutionary years of 1848–1849, Ljubljana became the headquarters of the Slovenian national movement. The first Slovene cultural institutions were founded here in the 1880s and 1890s,

Ljubljana City. (Janez Skok/Corbis

including the Slovenian national theater and museum; it has continued to serve as the country's cultural headquarters into the twenty-first century. In the first as well as the second Yugoslavia, Ljubljana was the natural choice to become the first city of the Slovene republic. In July 1991 it became the official capital of independent Slovenia.

Although Alpine peaks dominate Ljubljana's skyline, it is surrounded by what the authors of the *Atlas of Slovenia* term "the rolling hills and dreamy streams" of the region known as Dolenjska. Dolenjska forms part of the vast plain known as Upper Pannonia and has always enjoyed cultural as well as physical proximity with Ljubljana. Dolenjska is the Slovenian approximation of France's Loire Valley, heavily populated with castles and monasteries located along meandering rivers. Among the most famous monasteries is the Abbey at Stična, the oldest in all of Slovenia. Founded in 1136, this institution produced the Stična manuscript, one of the earliest surviving Slovene manuscripts. Nearby Bogenšperk Castle housed the library of Slovenia's legendary renaissance man, Janez Valvasor. A scientist, geographer, soldier, and writer, Valvasor enjoyed an eventful career in the Slovene lands. He authored one of the first physical descriptions of the Carniolian region, *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola,* a sourcebook that continues to yield valuable information today. He was the first to write down the story of the Slovenian Robin Hood, Erazem Lueger, and catalog other folk tales and legends from the region. Another Valvasor discovery came in the identification of the *Proteus anguinus,* a remarkable fish that inhabits the dark, moist limestone caves of the Soča valley, where it is capable of walking as well as swimming. In his time away from scientific investigations, Valvasor traveled widely and wrote with Jeffersonian range on subjects from numismatics to beekeeping. He also managed to find time to team with the Hungarian nobleman, Miklós Zrinyi, to fight the Ottoman Turks. The Valvasor library now resides in the national museum at Ljubljana, but his legend lives on in Dolenjska.

The Dolenjska countryside is dotted with vineyards, underscoring yet another of its distinctive features. As part of the Sava/Bela Krajina area, it joins the eastern Posavje and western Primorska regions as a major producer of fine wines. Among its signature offerings are so-called blended wines, such as the appropriately named Dolenjsko belo (Dolenjska white), the product of some five different wine varieties.

The unhappier aspects of Slovenia's geopolitical past, never far from even the casual visitor, are also on display in Dolenjska, at Kočevski Rog. Here Josip Broz Tito's Partisans took shelter in the darkest days of World War II, in some of the karst caves that can be found in almost every region of Slovenia. These caves were a place of pilgrimage for true-believing Yugoslavs in the Tito years; Slovenes have modified the commemoration, but have managed to avoid controversy by dedicating them to the victims of World War II. The neighboring Posavje region also has a dark past. German forces ethnically cleansed this area, taking some Slovenes against their will to Germany and deporting others south, to occupied Croatia and Serbia.

Traveling south from Ljubljana, the British journalist Zoë Brân was struck by the dark woods around the approaches to Notranjska province. "I wonder what lies beyond those trees," she wrote. "This is a region rife with legend and folk fears. The Church pursued witches here later than anywhere else in Slovenia, and as the passenger fades into the forest, Notranjska appears much like a combined film set of *Seventh Seal* and *Deliverance.*" Notranjska might aptly be described as Slovenia's Transylvania, shrouded in thick forest and mystery and peopled by folk heroes. One of its best-known landmarks is a local variant of Castle Dracula, a structure built straight into the side of a mountain. Although Predjama Castle dates to the thirteenth century, it is most often associated with Erazem Lueger, a beloved fifteenth-century outlaw who stole from the rich and gave to the poor. Five centuries later, the castle remains a perfect redoubt, rising 37.5 meters up on a vertical cliff and boasting such classic features as a moat, drawbridge, and numerous hidden entrances and exits. It even has its own underground cave. Lueger eventually attracted the ire of the Habsburg authorities, who obliterated him with a well-timed cannonball as he sat in the castle lavatory. But his favored Predjama Castle continues to loom large in Slovene lore and legend.

Slovenia is famous for its karst, the product of the dissolution of large concentrations of limestone by water. Over half of the country has significant amounts of it, and Notranjska offers one of the best examples of karst formations in the Postojna jama (cave). Carved out some 2 million years ago by the Pivka River, Postojna Cave was discovered in the seventeenth century and has been an object of continuing fascination. The British sculptor Henry Moore deemed it "the best exhibit of nature's sculpture I have seen." The cave is indeed imposing—it measures over 20 kilometers in length and is spacious enough to be a conference hall; Slovenes and Germans flocked there for holiday dances in the nineteenth century, and it still serves as a concert hall, hosting a parade of visiting orchestras, chamber groups, and singers, and an audience of up to 10,000 people each year. Thanks to the plethora of unique flora, fauna, and animal life thriving within, Postojna became the birthplace of a special science—speleobiology—whose adherents are devoted to the study of caves and their inhabitants. The world's first speleobiological station is headquartered near the cave there.

ALPINE SLOVENIA

The Slovenia of picture postcard fame, the land of awe-inspiring mountains and deep blue lakes, begins northwest of Ljubljana, in Gorenjska province. The jewel in the crown, Bled, is located in the northeast corner of the province. A creation of the famous Bohinj glacier, Bled is known worldwide for its emerald-colored lake and small island where there has been a church continuously since the ninth century. The baroque Church of the Assumption now dominates the island. Lake Bled attracts thousands of vacationers each year with its stunning setting and thermal waters; the Karadjordjevićs, rulers of the first Yugoslavia, favored it as a summer residence. A few miles south of Bled sits a second stunning glacial lake, Bohinj. Bohinj is a pilgrimage spot for cultural tourists, because the beloved Slovene poet France Prešeren set his epic *Baptism on the Savica* at the nearby Savica waterfall, the source of the Sava River. The Sava and the nearby Soča rivers carry water from over half of Slovenia's territory to the coast.

Bled and Bohinj form the backdrop for the entire Slovene Julian Alps, dominated by the imposing Mount Triglav (Three-Heads). Like the lakes, Triglav is at once a geographical and cultural institution. It is the tallest mountain in the country, the anchor of the Slovene Alps. As such, it is perhaps the most popular peak, and the most storied. According to legend, the mountain was home to a three-headed deity—"triglav" means "three headed"—who ruled all the realms of the mortal world: the earth, the sky, and the netherworld. In more recent times, it mystified would-be explorers until one of Slovenia's leading families, the Zois clan, financed an expedition that reached the summit in 1778. Other intrepid Slovene adventurers followed, in time giving way to large numbers of German alpine enthusiasts. By the nineteenth century, Triglav became a battleground in the Slovene-German language and culture wars. In response to what they perceived as German domination of the mountain, as in so many other aspects of life in Slovene-German areas, Slovene enthusiasts organized their own Slovene Mountain Society in 1893. Initially a tourist organization, it evolved into a cultural and political association that eventually played an important role in the Slovene national movement. Members of the society publicized their expeditions to Triglav and invested the mountain with great significance, so that a pilgrimage to the mountain became a demonstration of pride in one's nationality. To this day, it is widely believed that every Slovene should climb Triglav at least once in his or her life.

THE ADRIATIC LITTORAL AND ENVIRONS

The region that links the Slovenian inland with the country's narrow coastline is called Primorska (near the sea). It comes into view on the descent from the Julian Alps, through the scenic Vrštič Pass, where visitors encounter, in the unlikeliest of sites, a Russian Orthodox chapel. Dedicated to St. Nicholas, the church commemorates the 1916 death of some four hundred Russian prisoners of war in an avalanche, as they worked on a road in the vicinity. The chapel is emblematic of both the beauty and the treachery of the descent from the Alps into the Soča Valley, which leads directly to the Slovene coast.

The Soča Valley has witnessed some of the most significant episodes in Slovene geopolitical history. Napoleon began his invasion of Austria in 1809 from the town of Bovec, an operation that culminated in the establishment of

Mount Triglav, Slovenia. (Corel Corporation)

the Illyrian Provinces, a key moment in Slovene cultural history. In World War I, Kobarid (then Caporetto) witnessed one of the few decisive battles of that four-year conflict, when Austrian and German forces punched through the Italian lines and broke the back of the Italian army. The Central Powers won that battle but went on to lose the war, paving the way for the assignment of Adriatic territory to the first Yugoslav state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This did not sit well with the postwar Italian state, which ignored the verdict of the Paris peacemakers and took the region by force in the chaos attending the end of the war. Thousands of Slovenes thus became residents of Italy and endured a campaign of Italianization at the hands of Benito Mussolini's government. The second Yugoslavia regained part of the Soča valley at the conclusion of World War II, and the government of independent Slovenia took it in turn on Slovenia's exit from Yugoslavia in 1991.

The city of Nova Gorica bears especially vivid witness to the years of Italian-Slovene conflict. By the terms of the postwar Paris accord, the Italian-Slovene border split the Italian city of Gorizia in half. The new Yugoslav government responded by building up its part of Gorizia into an entity it subsequently christened Nova (New) Gorica. For more than a decade after the settlement, the border crossings were closed, but by the 1970s, the two governments had taken steps to facilitate the development of normal relations between the twin towns. In February 2004 a metal fence that had physically divided the two towns came down, thanks to the efforts of the towns' mayors. Three months later, on 1 May, residents marked the formal dissolution of barriers in Slovenia's official entry into the European Union with a public celebration and concert.

Toward the south along the brief coastline, one encounters the Karst region, which links north with south Primorska and the coast with the Vipava Valley to the east. This region got its name, not coincidentally spelled with a capital *K,* from its heavy concentration of karst—it is the primary karstic region of Slovenia. As one would expect, Karst has a surfeit of caves, nearly 6,000. The most celebrated are the Škocjan caves, which speleologists describe as the largest and most extensive system of caves on the continent. Like their Postojna counterpart, the Škocjan caves have been a mecca for biologists, mountaineers, tourists, and spelunkers since the early nineteenth century. They resemble large aboveground buildings, with anterooms, concert halls, and similar features. They are also the habitat for over 250 unique examples of both Alpine and Mediterranean flora and fauna and at least five different species of bats. In acknowledgment of their size and biodiversity, the United Nations designated the Škocjan caves a World Heritage site in 1986.

The Karst region's moderate climate ensured that caves would not remain its only attraction. In the sixteenth century, Slovenia's Habsburg rulers determined that it would be the best place for the stud farm they hoped would guarantee a steady supply of the best riding horses. In 1580 they established the farm at Lipizza and began the breeding program that produced the legendary Lipizzaner stallions of the Spanish Riding School in Vienna. The product of crossing Andalusian horses with a local breed, the Lipizzaners belonged to the Habsburgs until the collapse of the monarchy in 1918, their residence in Lipizza interrupted only by an evacuation to Hungary during the Napoleonic invasion. After World War I, their ownership was contested among Italy, Yugoslavia, and the new independent states of Hungary and Austria. The chaos surrounding the end of World War II drove the horses to Czechoslovakia, from which American soldiers herded them away from the advancing Soviet forces, to Bavaria. The postwar peace treaty assigned Lipizza to the new Yugoslavia, which promptly renamed it Lipica. At that time, fewer than twenty stallions remained and prospects looked dim for the reconstitution of the operation, since the new socialist government tended to view horsebreeding as a bourgeois pursuit. Slovenia's independence in 1991 meant a renaissance for the stud operation, even as it complicated the issue of ownership. The Slovene government now owns the territory of the farm and the horses, while the Austrian government insists that it owns the name "Lipizzaner." Lipizza, now Lipica, has become yet another symbol of Slovenia's turbulent geopolitical history during the last century.

The Slovenian coast begins just south of Karst, at the village of Ankoran. The coastline is notably short—from Ankaran to Portorož, just 40 kilometers in length—but proves long on controversy as well as historical interest. The city of Koper has always been an important part of the Adriatic economy. Known during its tenure in the Venetian republic as Capodistria, it became a major port and administrative center. Under the Habsburgs, it lost some of its importance after its northern neighbor, Trieste, became a major railway link with the mainland. In recent years, however, Capodistria/Koper has regained its former position of prominence. As Slovenia's only port, it services much of Slovenia's import-export trade and has attracted high-profile European clients such as Volkswagen, which has used Koper to get its vehicles to eastern Mediterranean countries such as Greece and Turkey. Koper is also the closest available outlet to the sea for landlocked neighbors Austria, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. In a recent year Austria accounted for nearly 30 percent of the total volume of cargo.

An Italian city until the mid-twentieth century, Koper has lost little of its past. In the 1954 settlement of the Adriatic territories, the city of Trieste and its Italian population went to Italy, but Yugoslavia retained Koper and a significant Italian minority. Now those Italian residents are citizens of Slovenia, and Koper remains a center of Italian language and culture in Adriatic Europe. A Koper municipal administrator summed up the eventful past of this key metropolis for a *Financial Times* reporter in the early 1990s. "My grandfather was born an Austrian," the official said. " My father was born Italian. I was born in Zone B (part of the disputed Trieste region administered by the allies of the Yugoslavs after the second world war). My daughter was born in Yugoslavia, and when she has children, they will be born in Slovenia. And my family has never left Koper."

Koper's neighbor to the south, Piran, has a well-deserved reputation as the region's loveliest seacoast area. A city with Roman origins that flourished under Venetian rule, Piran has retained its medieval and Italian character through the centuries, in part because of its high, thick walls erected in the 1600s to guard against Turkish invaders. Like Koper, it became part of the former Yugoslavia in 1954, after the London agreement, and so retains a large Italian population. Having had a long relationship with the Venetian republic, both Piran and Koper have played prominent roles in the drama of Yugoslav/Slovene/Italian relations in the twentieth century and house substantial Italian minority populations.

Slovenian relations with Italy appeared normalized by the 1990s, but the breakup of Yugoslavia brought fresh conflict, this time with neighboring Croatia. In the post-Yugoslav era, the Adriatic coast and waters appeared destined to be shared by the newly independent entities of Slovenia and Croatia. As it happened, the conventional method of fixing sea borders requires drawing a line equidistant from the shore of each country, which effectively denied Slovenia access to international waters. The two states attempted to remedy this obvious inequity by agreeing that Slovenia would have the lion's share of the bay of Piran, while Croatia compensated itself with Slovenian mainland territory. To date, this agreement has not proved satisfactory to either nation and has resulted in some memorable anomalies. To cite one example, patrons of one of the region's most popular restaurants, Kalin, wash their hands in Slovenian territory, order and eat their meals in Croatia, then return to Slovenia to pay their bill. Despite the obvious absurdity of this dispute, it is no laughing matter and its outcome remains in doubt.

One constant in the turbulent annals of the coastal region is its temperate climate, which has made it one of the three major wine-producing areas in the country. Primorska is a leading, even dominant, producer of red wines, of which those made from Karst Refošk grapes seem to enjoy the greatest renown among connoisseurs.

THE EASTERN PLAINS: CARINTHIA, STYRIA, PREKMURJE

In geopolitical terms, the east-central and eastern regions of Slovenia have much in common with the coast: they have been a bone of contention among Yugoslavia, Slovenia, and their often covetous neighbors. Carinthia (Koroška) has special significance for Slovenes, since the cradle of Slovene civilization, the Duchy of Karantania, was headquartered here. However, Karantania eventually fell to the first Habsburgs in the thirteenth century, and the region was intermittently attacked by Turks and Hungarians in the two centuries that followed. Carinthia remained Austrian until the fall of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918, after which it was plunged into postwar turmoil as a region disputed between the Austrian successor state and the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In the plebiscite

What's in a Name?

Visitors to Slovenia have much to look forward to: postcard-perfect European towns and villages, stunning mountains and lakes, pristine Adriatic beaches, fine wines. Those with an incomplete knowledge of recent political geography might get even more than they bargained for, thanks to Slovenia's shifting frontiers in the past century.

Europe-bound history enthusiasts will certainly want to visit Caporetto, site of the famous two-year Italian-Austrian stalemate that ended in the stirring Austrian victory of October 1917. Caporetto represented one of the few decisive victories of World War I. It was a fateful and fatal moment for the Italian army, which never recovered from it, and marked the beginning of Erwin Rommel's distinguished service in the German army. A young American volunteer ambulance driver named Hemingway later immortalized his experiences on the Caporetto battlefield in his novel *A Farewell to Arms.*

The Caporetto engagement took place on the Isonzo front, which belonged to Italy in 1917. History texts still refer to the area as Italian, but history itself has moved on: the area was transferred to the second Yugoslav state after World War II and passed into the hands of the new, independent Slovene state in 1991. After decades of conflict with Italy, Slovene citizens understandably wished to rename their new acquisitions. Caporetto is now Kobarid, and the valley in which it is found has become the Soča Valley. Notwithstanding the confusion over the new names, Caporetto/Kobarid will not disappoint those diligent enough to find it. In 1990 the Slovene government established the Kobarid Museum, an institution dedicated to the Caporetto battle and the ordeal of World War I. It is already famous, having received the 1993 Council of Europe award as the best museum on the Continent. Visitors can supplement their museum review with an historic walking tour, of which a notable highlight is the elaborate memorial to the Italian dead in the war. Slovene-Italian relations have been far from cordial in this century, yet Slovene citizens have always tended the memorial with attention, a rare acknowledgment of common humanity.

Another perennially popular attraction for visitors to Central Europe is Lipizza, home of the stallions favored by the famous Spanish riding school of the Habsburg monarchs in Vienna. Like Caporetto, Lipizza tends to retain its previous affiliation in print and on film, but let the visitor beware. Upon the 1918 demise of Austria's longtime rulers, the Habsburgs, Lipizza was transferred to Italy. The new regime in Italy, headed by Benito Mussolini, took possession of most of Lipizza's prized equines. World War II transformed the region's borders once again, as Tito's Yugoslavia claimed Lipizza, rechristening it "Lipica." In 1991, after Slovenia's recognition as an independent state, Lipica became a Slovene town. Since then, the stud farm has enjoyed a renaissance.

The Slovenes' repossession of Lipica did not end the controversy that has followed it and its equine residents through the twentieth century. On joining the European Union (EU), the Austrian government successfully asserted its claim to the Lipizzaner stud book, on the grounds that Austria was the historic home of the Lipizzaners. Since it now had possession of the farm, the Slovene government objected—to no avail since it was not yet a member of the EU. Undaunted, Slovene authorities turned to the World Trade Organization in 1999 in order to register the Lipizzaner name there, since EU intellectual property protections did not extend to animals. Ultimately, both the European Union and World Trade Organization demanded that the two sides settle the matter between themselves. Discussions are proceeding.

Meanwhile, visitors to Slovenia—indeed, anywhere in that neighborhood—are advised to consult the latest maps of Europe before plotting their journey. The volatile geopolitics of Central Europe can confound the savviest of travelers.

arranged to settle the dispute, the Slovene citizens of Yugoslavia lost some 90,000 of their countrymen to Austria, though they retained access to economically crucial mining areas nearby, in the Karavanke region. Relations between the Austrian state and its Slovene minority have often proved tense, occasionally erupting into open conflict even into the 1970s. In recent years Austria has mostly respected the rights of its Slovene citizens, guaranteeing them access to bilingual schools and making possible important cultural initiatives such as the publication of Slovene-language journals. However, on the eve of Slovenia's accession into the European Union, Austrian state broadcasting indicated plans to end a Slovene-language radio broadcast, which prompted staffers to make plans for a hunger strike in protest. It remains to be seen how Austrian-Slovene minority rights disputes will be arbitrated, now that the border between the two countries has disappeared with Slovenia's entry into the European Union.

A quick glance at the map reveals much about the Prekmurje region. Prekmurje's residents lived in the Hungarian half of the Habsburg monarchy from 1867 until the Habsburgs' demise in October 1918, after which its Slovene and Hungarian residents became citizens of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes by terms of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon. As an ally of the Axis powers on the outbreak of World War II, the Hungarian state took back Prekmurje and pursued an aggressive policy of Magyarization there. At the conclusion of the war, the region returned to Yugoslav control. In the communist years the situation in Prekmurje was often tense because of Yugoslavia's volatile relations with Hungary and the rest of the Soviet Bloc. With the end of communism in both states, Hungarian-Slovene relations have improved on every level. In the constitution of independent Slovenia, the Hungarian population of Prekmurje is guaranteed special rights, including the use of the Hungarian language, bilingual classes in schools, and the use of Hungarian national symbols.

South of Prekmurje, Styria (Štajerska) has faced many of the same challenges as its neighbors. One of its regional cities, Celje, constituted one of the last bastions of independence in the Slovene lands. Having built a magnificent medieval town, Celje's celebrated dukes surrendered only to the overwhelming force and resources of the Habsburg Empire. Ptuj remains the oldest town in Slovenia, dating to the first century before Christ. It has experienced the tenure of Roman, Hungarian, Austrian, and Yugoslav rulers through the centuries. The country's second largest city, Maribor, became a regional headquarters for Nazi invaders in World War II and suffered bomb damage severe enough to require a significant reconstruction.

For all their travails through the centuries, the Slovene east and southeast enjoy geographical advantages that residents can exploit fully with the promise of long-term political stability. Prekmurje attracts thousands of European vacationers each year with its mineral and thermal waters and sulfurous mud deposits, which have transformed once sleepy border towns into popular spa resorts. Like their nineteenth-century predecessors, contemporary Europeans are fond of "taking the waters" at Moravske Toplice and Radenci. Prekmurje also boasts a share of the burgeoning Slovenian wine sector, growing a grape essential to sweet wines called Šipon.

Styria has always been home to legions of small farmers growing everything from hops to barley, but it is now best known as ground zero for Slovenian viticulture. This is headquarters of the Podravje, or Drava-region wine region, which is divided into several small subdistricts. The Ljutomer-Ormož area is widely regarded as the richest producer in the country, thanks to its exceptional location. It sits between the Mura and Drava Rivers and receives shelter from the Pannonian heat from the hills to its northwest, making its climate ideal for the cultivation of the famous whites Beli Pinot and Šipon. The Haloze district enjoys similar renown, beginning to the south of the Drava river plain and extending to the lower Pohorje hills. It produces rieslings that have recently received high marks from international wine connoisseurs, particularly Renski Rizling and Šipon. These areas have earned Slovenia a place on the international wine map and made it an attractive destination for wine and gourmet tourists.

"We have only traveled some 200 kilometres as the crow flies from the Mediterranean," writes a Slovene journalist, "and have experienced the most varied type of landscape, from the stone severity of the classical Karst and the limestone Alps to the flower of the Pannonian plain." It seems reasonable to conclude that Slovenes through the centuries have found the remarkable diversity of their landscape both a blessing and a curse. With Slovenia's accession to the European Union, it is to be hoped that blessings will predominate in the future.

HISTORY

It was once taken for granted that people living in small nations, such as the Slovene people, could not live on their own in Central Europe. They had all the liabilities associated with perennial subject peoples: they were too few in number, too lacking in natural frontiers, too dispersed geographically and politically to aspire to an independent existence. In postcommunist Europe, these assumptions have changed dramatically. Since the beginning of the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s, the Slovenes have lived in their own state in an area once dominated by empires or successor states. Their journey is compelling and perhaps instructive for other peoples emerging from turmoil, since Slovenes themselves admit they remain a work in progress more than a decade following their unlikely independence.

A South Slavic people related to the Croats, Serbs, and Bulgarians, the Slovenes arrived in South Central Europe in the middle of the sixth century. Details of their early years are sketchy. It is generally agreed that for some decades they were part of a loose organization of Slavs under the jurisdiction of the prince Samo, whose origins remain obscure. In the century following their arrival the Slovenes and their Czech, Moravian, and Slovak neighbors repulsed attacks from invading rivals, such as the Avars and Franks. Following the death of Samo in 658, the Slovenes began to live under their own local ruler in an independent duchy called Karantania, headquartered near the modern Austrian city of Klagenfurt (in Slovene, Celovec). In the eighth century the Slovenes came under the domination of the Bavarians, from whom they received the Roman Catholic Church and a cultural orientation toward the west. Both Bavarians and Slovenes eventually submitted to the rule of the Franks, who in turn fell to the perennial rulers of Central Europe, the Habsburgs. There was also a short-lived Slovene kingdom located at Lake Balaton in modern Hungary; it too eventually became part of the Habsburg lands. Having become Habsburg subjects in the year 1278, Slovenes were to be associated with them until the collapse of their empire in 1918.

Gradually, a small contingent of educated individuals emerged to explore ways in which Slovenes differed from those around them—beginning with their native tongue. Slovenes have always stood apart from their neighbors by virtue of their distinctive language, which shares a foundation with other South Slavic languages yet cannot be

The Slovene Language

The pride of the Slovene people, Slovene is the official language of independent Slovenia. It is the native language of most of the state's nearly 2 million people. An estimated 500,000 individuals of Slovene origin, mostly living in the United States, Canada, South America, and Australia, also count Slovene as their first language.

Reflecting the location of its first speakers, the Slovene language belongs to the South Slavic division of the Indo-European language family. The Slavic group includes the East Slavic languages, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian. Polish, Slovak, and Czech are considered West Slavic languages, while Slovene joins Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian in the South Slavic classification. Among the latter languages, Slovene and Croatian use the Roman alphabet. Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbian, like Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian, are written in the Cyrillic alphabet, named for the Greek monk who created an alphabet for the Slavs in the ninth century.

These languages share a basic grammatical structure that differs significantly from that of English. All of them have grammatical gender, which means that each noun is classified as feminine, masculine, or neuter and requires appropriate adjectival forms and verb endings. Where English has multiple verb tenses (i.e., I am reading, I read, I was reading, I have read, I will read, I will have read), Slovene and the other Slavic languages feature only three: past, present, and future. Slavic languages express relationships between words through changes in form (pronouns) and endings (nouns and adjectives). There are six sets of forms and endings, or cases: nominative, dative, locative, accusative, genitive, and instrumental. For example, where English speakers say, "I write with a pencil," Slavic languages simply add an instrumental case ending to the word "pencil," rather than using the preposition "with." All related adjectives and pronouns either change forms altogether or use endings reflective of that "instrumental" meaning. The English language retains some evidence of cases—for example, English speakers say, "I see him," not "I see he"—but for the most part, cases have disappeared. Another characteristic of Slavic languages that often surprises nonspeakers is the absence of definite and indefinite articles. Native speakers of Slovene or related languages often give themselves away by using articles incorrectly in English or failing to use them, as in "I have house outside city."

Each Slavic language has distinctive features, and Slovene is no exception. Only Slovene retains the dual, a special set of endings used to denote two of something. One table is *miza*. The plural marker *e* denotes more than one table, *mize.* If you refer specifically to two tables, you must add the special dual marker *i,* hence *mizi,* two tables. In addition, dialects are a bigger issue in Slovene than in other Slavic languages because so many Slovenes have lived in areas where their language was heavily influenced by German, Italian, or Hungarian. Specialists have identified seven major linguistic districts in the Slovene lands—Pannonia (Hungarian border area), Primorska (Adriatic), Dolenjska (Carniola), Gorenjska (Upper Carniola), the Rovte, Styria (Štajerska), and eastern Styria (Vzhodna Štajerska)—in which forty or more dialects can be found. It is widely believed that the best Slovene is spoken in Dolenjska and Gorenjska (Carniola) provinces. Fittingly, Gorenjska province is the birthplace of France Prešeren, the father of modern Slovene.

With respect to the spoken language, Slovene consonants are pronounced basically as in English, with a few exceptions. Vowels can be tricky because their pronunciation changes depending on whether they are stressed or unstressed, and stress is not intuitive or predictable in Slovene. Vowels sometimes disappear altogether, as in words like *trg,* square, although there is a hint of a short *e* sound between the *t* and *r.*

mistaken for them. Ironically, the first man to recognize the distinctive features of the Slovene language had to abandon another pillar of Slovene culture—the Roman Catholic Church—in order to make available his native tongue in written form. During the Reformation, when the use of the vernacular was promoted over the universal Latin, the Slovene priest Primož Trubar came into contact with Protestant reformers determined to spread the gospel in local languages. He did his part to further their efforts, leaving the Catholic faith in the process, and produced the first catechism, New Testament translation, and primer in the Slovene language. Jurij Dalmatin, a native of Carniola and a disciple of Trubar's, devoted ten years of his life to translating the entire Bible into Slovene. Slovene scholars note with wonder that Dalmatin's translation served Slovene worshippers from its publication at Wittenberg in 1584 until the end of the nineteenth century. The sixteenth century also produced the Counter-Reformation, which guaranteed that Protestantism would remain a minority faith in the Slovene lands. But Slovenes could now learn about God in their own language, a key advantage for the future.

The eighteenth century was crucial for the evolving Slovene national consciousness. In the 1760s the Habsburg rulers Maria Theresa and Joseph II attempted to streamline the monarchy with a series of reforms designed to modernize state administration. Maria Theresa decreed that all Habsburg subjects should receive primary education wherever they lived. Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance permitted the reorganization of Catholic dioceses to correspond with administrative boundaries, so that Slovene Catholics were bound together for purposes of worship. This was an important step for a people whose national consciousness was almost nonexistent. But another part of Joseph's reform program seemed certain to impede the further development of that consciousness. In line with his quest for an efficient administration in his multilingual empire, the emperor subsequently decided to make German the official imperial language.

This appeared to be a rational and necessary step, but the law of unintended consequences soon took effect. The decision outraged some key groups within the empire, notably the Hungarians. Protestant Eastern Hungarians excepted, they had used mostly Latin among themselves. Surely, if anything replaced Latin as the language of administration in Hungary, it should be Hungarian. Before long, the imposition of German inspired other subject peoples to explore and promote the virtues of their own languages.

Slovene writers and linguists embraced this trend. In the late eighteenth century the monk Marco Pohlin wrote a grammar of the Slovene language, entitled *Krajnska grammatika* (Carniolan Grammar), which emphasized that Carniola was home to a large number of Slovenes as well as Germans. The linguist Jernej Kopitar, who was to become one of the most prominent men of letters in Slovene history, broadened Pohlin's focus in composing his *Gramatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* (Grammar of Spoken Slavic in Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria). Anton Linhart published the first attempt to tell the story of the Slavic peoples in the Habsburg Empire, *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und der übrigen südlichen Slawen Osterreiches* (History of Carniola and Other Austrian South Slavic Peoples). For the first time, readers learned that the Slovenes had not just a distinctive language but also a record of achievements that set them apart from the Germans with whom they had long lived.

In the first years of the nineteenth century, the French Revolution helped to shape Slovenia's cultural development. Having taken Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, and parts of Croatia from Austria in the 1809 Treaty of Schönbrunn, Napoleon Bonaparte organized these areas into an administrative unit that became known as the Illyrian Provinces. This arrangement was strictly pragmatic, the main motives being the weakening of Austria and establishment of French power on the Adriatic. However, this interlude saw developments in the Slovene lands whose effects would survive the end of Napoleon. The city of Ljubljana (in German, Laibach) became the capital of the Illyrian Provinces, signaling the beginning of its rise as an important regional and national center. Even as French replaced German as the language of administration, Slovene was introduced in Slovene primary schools, to the delight of their appointed administrator, the celebrated poet Valentin Vodnik. Vodnik enthusiastically set about writing a Slovene primer and produced a brief Slovene-French-German dictionary. It should be remembered also that the French administrators grouped together South Slavic peoples into one administrative unit for the first time, a point of emphasis for proponents of a South Slavic state later in the century.

In the post-Napoleonic era, Ljubljana achieved brief notoriety when it played host to a meeting of representatives of the conservative European courts associated with the Holy Alliance: Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Known in its Habsburg incarnation as the Congress of Laibach, this meeting produced pledges to crush any challenges to the post-Napoleon status quo. Under these circumstances, political activity was out of the question; Austrian chancellor Clemens von Metternich was determined to maintain the post-Napoleon status quo on the continent. Yet Slovene writers and thinkers quietly pursued aspects of the Illyrian legacy, emphasizing as always the advancement of their language. The former inspector of schools, Vodnik, continued his work on behalf of Slovene culture, writing and publishing a newspaper in Slovene, *Lublanske novice* (Ljubljana News). As the rector of the Ljubljana gymnasium, he also continued to promote the study of Slovene and authored a longer French-Slovene dictionary as well as a text on Slovene history. Vodnik's contemporary, Fr. Anton Martin Slomšek, worked tirelessly to bring the Slovene language to as many Slovenes as possible, whether or not schooling in the language was readily available. His primer on Slovene language and culture, *Blaže and Nežica in Sunday School,* became the first Slovene encyclopedia, providing practice in Slovene language and readable lectures on a wide range of subjects for parents and children alike. The man considered the father of modern Slovenian literature, France Prešeren, worked throughout the 1830s and 1840s, producing his magnum opus, "Zdravljica" (The Toast), in 1844. He could not have known that this poem would eventually become the national anthem of the independent Slovene state in the late twentieth century.

Perhaps the most important development in this period was the outcome of a dispute between Prešeren and his fellow writer Stanko Vraz. In the 1830s the Croatian scholar Ljudevit Gaj and other linguists were searching for common features among the three South Slavic languages of the Habsburg monarchy: Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene. Greater linguistic unity, it was reasoned, would pave the way for a South Slavic political union, perhaps the best defense against assimilationist tendencies in the Habsburg monarchy. Vraz shared Gaj's vision and advocated the adoption of the *štokavian* dialect that would bring the Slovene language closer to its linguistic neighbors, Croatian and Serbian. Prešeren strongly disagreed, maintaining that abandoning the traditional *kajkavian* could endanger the existence of Slovene. "It seems as if Dr. Gaj and other Slavonic men of letters were seriously in favor of uniting Slovene and Illyrian languages in a new language or even of abolishing the

Slovene dialect as a standard language," he wrote. Language was always of critical importance for Slovenes. Unlike Croats or Serbs, who tended to live in majority Croatian and Serbian regions, only about half of Slovenes resided in areas where Slovene was a majority language. Forty percent lived in Carinthia or Styria, where the population was predominantly Italian or German and unfriendly to attempts to introduce Slovene. Prešeren believed that the cause of Slovenes' cultural unity would be best served by preserving their distinct language and insisting that it be taught anywhere they resided.

The national awakening of the Slovenes and other Habsburg subjects began with the exploration of language and literature. The next phase, more pragmatic and political, was born in the revolutions of 1848–1849. The momentous events of February 1848 in Paris caused disturbances in Vienna sufficient to drive the Habsburg court into hiding. In regional capitals such as Prague, they produced agitation about reforming the empire; in Hungary, the March Laws laid the foundation for autonomy, even independence. In Ljubljana, enthusiastic crowds gathered in the main square to celebrate the shakeup in the Austrian capital. But Slovene goals for the revolutionary year were notably modest. Acknowledging the primacy of language, the authors of the Slovene action program called for the use of the Slovene language in schools in Slovene regions. In case more ambitious schemes became possible, they also stipulated the union of all Slovene-inhabited territories within the Habsburg monarchy. Slovenes living in Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, and along the Adriatic should be grouped and administered as one territorial unit. Eventually, if the empire underwent substantial change, the Slovene lands could be joined to those of other Slavic peoples within the empire. Slovenes would pledge allegiance to Vienna in matters of national import while retaining substantial control over their own local affairs.

Habsburg military victories over breakaway Italian provinces and independence-minded Hungarians finally ended the 1848 "springtime of nations." The new emperor, eighteen-year-old Franz Joseph, began his reign with a regime of centralization and strict control from Vienna. However, this interval of calm would prove short-lived. In 1854 the Austrian government entered the Crimean War, in order to prevent Russia from toppling the Ottoman Empire and taking a commanding position near the empire's South Slavic possessions. In so doing, it damaged its relationship with the Russians, who believed that Austria was indebted to them since Tsar Nicholas I had sent the Russian army to help crush the 1849 Hungarian uprising. Emboldened by Austria's apparent isolation and inspired by the flamboyant leader Count Camillo de Cavour, the Habsburg Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia broke away in the wars of Italian unification in 1859–1860. In 1866 Prussian troops defeated the Austrian army at Sadowa, effectively excluding Austria from Otto von Bismarck's unified Germany. Thus ended a string of reversals that was to force fundamental changes in the monarchy after 1867.

In all of these unsuccessful campaigns, Franz Joseph had to reckon with the possibility of agitation in Hungary. The empire could not continue as a great power if it could not assume the loyalty of its second-largest national group. Accordingly, Franz Joseph agreed with Hungarian leaders on a reorganization of the monarchy. The ensuing *Ausgleich* (Compromise) of 1867 divided the monarchy into two halves, Austria and Hungary. Hungarians gained substantial control over their own domestic affairs while retaining ties with the monarchy in the person of the emperor and a common parliament and foreign policy. In acknowledgment of the changes, the Habsburg monarchy thereafter became known as Austria-Hungary.

The reorganization had a seismic effect on the non-Hungarian groups in Austria-Hungary. The other groups now began agitating for a similar arrangement. The Croats renegotiated their special relationship with the Hungarians, signing a Hungarian-Croat Ausgleich, the *Nagodba,* which ensured Croats' rights to make their own decisions on local matters. For their part, Romanians in the Hungarian lands contemplated various schemes for a formal liaison with neighboring independent Romania. The 1860s and 1870s also saw the reemergence of pro-Yugoslav polemicists such as Bishop Juraj Strossmayer, who emphasized the possibilities of South Slavic unity in attempts to combat culturally objectionable initiatives from Vienna and Budapest. Their efforts in turn galvanized nationalists, who began to form their own movements celebrating the virtues of separatism.

In the Austrian half of the monarchy, the Czechs allied with Prime Minister Eduard Taafe, who formed an "Iron Ring" with them and other Slavs in Austria as a counterbalance to his pro-German opponents in the Austrian Parliament. Working with Taafe, Czech politicians achieved noteworthy gains. Beginning in the early 1880s, the language of administration in the Czech lands became the language of the petitioner, so that if a Czech spoke to an official in Czech, the official in question would be obliged to respond in Czech rather than German. This constituted a huge advantage, since Czechs knew both Czech and German, while the Germans generally did not know Czech. Taafe also helped the Czechs obtain a Czech division in Prague University, previously an all-German institution. If the Czechs could not aspire to an arrangement like the Ausgleich, they certainly had improved their position by the turn of the century.

Slovene leaders had looked on with dismay as some 40,000 of their conationals came under Hungarian rule as part of the Ausgleich. However, they swallowed their disappointment and hastened to do what they could in Austrian politics by joining the Iron Ring. Like the Czechs, they had no hope of a special relationship with Vienna, but they could win key concessions. The Slovene language, once dismissed as "baby talk" by an Austrian government official, made headway during the Taafe years. It became the language of instruction in elementary schools in the Slovenes' unofficial capital, Ljubljana. In 1872 the Styrian regional capital, Klagenfurt, was decreed a "mixed city," mandating the use of both Slovene and German in official situations. There occurred a flowering of Slovene culture in Ljubljana. Between 1870 and 1914, the city witnessed the construction of a Slovene national museum and the establishment of a national theater and opera. In 1888 a Slovene candidate triumphed in the elections for Ljubljana mayor.

Slovene politicians took pride in these achievements. However, they knew that their gains came at the expense of Germans in the monarchy, and those Germans were certain to reassert themselves. Slovene representatives accordingly raised their profile in the Austrian Parliament, putting forth numerous plans to defend Slovenes' progress and ensure their future. The Slovene Clerical Party and its leaders, Ivan Šušteršič and Anton Korošec, strongly supported certain strategic reforms within the monarchy. In 1912 they became cosponsors of the Vienna Resolution, which urged the Austrian government to create a Slovene and Croat administrative unit in the Austrian half of the monarchy. Others argued that Slovene interests might be best served in an Austro-Slav-Hungarian federation, a three-cornered arrangement in which all three groups would function as one unit on national issues but administer their own local affairs. The National Progressive Party, home to professionals and businesspeople, advocated federalizing the Austrian half of the monarchy, while leaving the Hungarian side unchanged. They believed that this scheme would most effectively safeguard Slovenes' language and culture. A Slovene Socialist Party also came into existence at this time. In the Tivoli document of 1909, members identified as their goal the complete national unification of all Yugoslavs, irrespective of name, religion, alphabet, and dialect or language.

All these proposals for change notwithstanding, it should be stressed that no mainstream Slovene politician envisioned a future outside the Habsburg monarchy. The Slovenes were always among the strongest supporters of the Habsburgs in the nineteenth century, and life without the monarchy was unthinkable. The Habsburgs were justly regarded as the best guarantor of their smaller peoples' future.

WORLD WAR I AND THE BEGINNINGS OF A SOUTH SLAV STATE (1914–1918)

The world the Slovenes had known changed forever in the summer of 1914. In late June the heir to the Habsburg throne, Franz Ferdinand, announced that he would visit the monarchy's newest acquisition, Bosnia-Hercegovina. On 28 June, the royal party was to tour the Bosnian capital city, Sarajevo. As the archduke and his wife, Sophie, greeted cheering crowds from an open car, a young Serb affiliated with the nationalist underground shot and killed them both. The murder inspired no outpouring of grief, because the heir was widely disliked. Nonetheless, because some Serbian citizens had waged a cold war against the Habsburg monarchy since its annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In 1908 Serbia was deemed complicit in the murder. In early July Franz Joseph issued an ultimatum to the Serbian leadership, a list of demands no sovereign government could accept. The German government, which counted Austria-Hungary as its only ally in Europe, assured Franz Joseph of its unconditional backing. The stage appeared set for a limited, punitive war between Austria and Serbia, until Tsar Nicholas II of Russia declared partial mobilization. In so doing, he set in motion a series of events that transformed a local conflict into a world war.

In the first months of the war, Slovenes joined other Habsburg subjects in rallying around the monarchy. Slovene troops fought loyally alongside their Slavic, Romanian, and German compatriots in the Habsburg army, especially in the long Austrian-Italian stalemate on the Isonzo front that culminated in the victory at Caporetto in October 1917. On the home front, Šušteršič and Korošec maintained an active Slovene presence in the Austrian Parliament. Inevitably, however, political consensus began to break down under the pressure of a savage continental struggle. In hopes of gaining any advantage, the leaders of both the Central Powers and the Entente tried to bring neutral Italy into the war on their side. Each side put forth territorial inducements to the imperial-minded Italian government, the Habsburg foreign ministry proffering parts of the south Tyrol and Adriatic territories—which were largely populated by Croats and Slovenes. The rumor that their government might bargain away ethnic and historic South Slavic areas outraged two Croat politicians, who decided that the South Slavs' future lay in the creation of an independent South Slav state, possibly to include Serbia. The Dalmatian-born lawyer Ante Trumbić and Franjo Supilo left Austria-Hungary in early 1915 to form the Yugoslav Committee, a two-man lobby on behalf of a "Yugo-slavia," a land by and for South Slavs from Serbia and the Habsburg monarchy.

In 1915 these plans seemed fanciful. The monarchy showed no signs of collapse, a certain prerequisite for a South Slav breakaway. The vast majority of South Slavic leaders continued to support the empire. They responded to the rumors surrounding territorial concessions to Italy in a joint declaration issued in May 1917. Read in the Austrian parliament by Korošec, the May Declaration called for a postwar arrangement that included a third administrative unit for the South Slavic peoples. The monarchy would become a "trialist" entity, consisting of an Austrian, Hungarian, and Slavic division, each enjoying local autonomy. It was felt that this arrangement would prevent future trespasses on the interests of the monarchy's Slovene, Croat, and Serb subjects. Some of the signatories believed that a unified South Slavic bloc could also join with Serbia if the future of the monarchy were to be called into question. After all, one empire—Russia—had already cracked and broken under the strain only two months earlier, in March 1917.

One month after the May declaration, the Yugoslav Committee advanced in its campaign for an independent South Slav state. The Committee's president, Trumbić, met with Serbian prime minister Nikola Pašić on the island of Corfu in June 1917 for talks regarding a possible union of Habsburg South Slavs and Serbia after the war. The Serbian government had shown little previous interest in this, because its major objective had always been the return of historic Serbian territories, especially Bosnia-Hercegovina. By 1917, with their Russian ally in the throes of revolution, Serbian leaders saw a South Slav union as an option and agreed to meet with Trumbić. Trumbić and Pašić emerged from their talks with a blueprint for a future South Slavic state. The Corfu Declaration said nothing about boundaries

King Alexander of Yugoslavia with his eldest son and heir Prince Peter, during the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the King's accession. Prince Peter, the official head of the Yugoslav Sokols, wears the Sokol uniform. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

or the organization of the future state. It did, however, stipulate the equality of the three major groups, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, of the Catholic and Orthodox faiths, of the Cyrillic and Roman alphabets, and of the Croat, Slovene, and Serbian flags. It put both Habsburg South Slavs and Serbian government officials on record as favoring the creation of a South Slavic entity, or "Yugo-slavia."

There followed months of stalemate on the battlefield, growing war weariness, and major changes in the balance of forces. The Russian provisional government fell in November 1917 to the revolutionary Bolsheviks, who promptly withdrew from the war. With the U.S. entry into the war, President Woodrow Wilson took an active role in bringing the conflict to a conclusion, issuing his Fourteen Points for the postwar peace in January 1918. This document appeared to dash hopes for an independent South Slav state, since it anticipated the survival of the Habsburg monarchy. No one wanted to contemplate multiple national groups cut adrift from an imperial structure in the aftermath of a world war. But the Habsburg Empire was reeling from the 1916 death of Franz Joseph, as well as battlefield losses and their economic and political consequences. The new emperor, Karl, floated several proposals for reorganizing the empire, as many of the subject groups had wished, but his efforts proved unavailing. The Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and South Slavs now contemplated citizenship in newly independent and/or resurrected states. Acting in concert as a National Council under Korošec's direction, Habsburg Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs voted in late October to join Serbia in the creation of a new multinational entity. On 1 December 1918, the future king, Alexander, made it official in his proclamation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

SLOVENES IN THE FIRST YUGOSLAVIA

High hopes attended the creation of the first independent South Slav state, despite the upheaval attending the end of the war and the difficult amalgamation of several disparate groups. The Serbs claimed the leading role by virtue of their existing state apparatus, the new capital in Belgrade, and the Serbian monarch, King Peter Karadjordjević, who would preside over the state. While the Corfu Declaration had said nothing about the organization of the future South Slav entity, Serbian politicians assumed that they would administer domestic as well as national affairs from Belgrade. In their view this arrangement only made sense. Serbia had a long history as an independent state, it had contributed significantly to the Entente victory, and its officials were experienced administrators in a dangerous neighborhood. They had recently fought three wars with neighbors large and small and prevailed in all of them.

The new citizens from the Habsburg lands could not agree to this arrangement. Prior to the collapse of the monarchy, most Croat and Slovene leaders had backed the idea of a federal state, an arrangement that would let them administer their own local affairs rather than take orders from Budapest or Vienna. Now it appeared that they would be taking orders from Belgrade. The Croats, led by Croat Peasant Party leader Stjepan Radić, were immediately and vehemently unhappy. Regardless of the political arrangements in which they lived, they had always managed to maintain their local autonomy and parliament (Sabor). For centuries prior to 1918, Croats had dealt with Croatian-speaking officials, sent their children to schools staffed by Croatian teachers, even answered to Croatian police officers. After the dreadful ordeal of the war, they hoped at least to regain what they had enjoyed previously. Life under Serbian domination certainly did not meet that standard.

Slovene leaders took a more nuanced view. True, they had failed to achieve their longstanding political goal, the union of all Slovene territories. Parts of Carinthia had elected via plebiscite to become citizens of the postwar Austrian state rather than join the new South Slavic entity. Thousands of Slovenes in the former Austrian port of Trieste (in Slovene, Trst) suddenly found themselves living in Italy, a fate forced on them by advancing Italian forces unwilling to accept the verdict of the Paris peacemakers on the status of Adriatic territories. Yet those in the kingdom saw clear advantages in the union with Serbia. They had official acknowledgment in the name of the new state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, a definite improvement on centuries of anonymity. Their language and flag enjoyed automatic equality with those of the Serbs and Croats. They advanced their cultural agenda in the construction of Slovene schools throughout Slovenia and the founding of the University of Ljubljana in 1919. In contrast to Croatia, where Serbs predominated at every level of government, Slovenes staffed Slovenian schools and other local administrative institutions. All of these gains came with the active support of the Belgrade government. The Slovene leader-to-be in the new state, Korošec, summed up the attitude of many when he told his disgruntled colleague, Croat Peasant Party stalwart Vladko Maček, that unlike the Croats, the Slovenes had gained in the new entity, from schools and language to administration.

Throughout the short life of the first Yugoslavia, Korošec led Slovenes in such a way as to remain on the sidelines, hoping to extract timely advantages, as the Serb-Croat dispute monopolized politics. In the voting on the state's Vidovdan Constitution, which legalized the centralist system of administration, the Slovene representatives opposed or abstained. True to his Habsburg background, Korošec wanted to see the new state divided into six provinces, each of which would have its own parliament and substantial powers to run its own local affairs. When the Serbs prevailed in the final vote, Korošec and his colleagues briefly joined the Croats in active opposition. Eventually, however, they concluded that they had little to gain by supporting the Croats in their feud with Belgrade. It helped that Slovenes received continual reminders of their relative good fortune from their compatriots in the Italian city of Trieste, where Benito Mussolini's regime had embarked on an Italianization campaign in Slovene areas.

In fact, Korošec was summoned as a mediator when the Serb-Croat conflict turned violent. In June 1928 a Montenegrin deputy to the Yugoslav Parliament became enraged at Radić, whom he viewed as an obstructionist. In full view of those attending the session, the deputy shot the Croat leader, who died of his wounds two months later. At that point, all Croatian deputies vowed unyielding opposition to the government. Hoping to defuse the crisis, King Alexander named Korošec to serve as interim prime minister and charged him with finding a way out of the impasse. The Slovene leader responded by reiterating his belief in a decentralized state. Yugoslavia, he maintained, should be reorganized into three units: Serbia, including Vojvodina and Bosnia, Croatia, and Slovenia. In this way, everybody won: Serbs would maintain control over much of their historic territory, while Croatia and Slovenia gained control over their own domestic affairs.

This solution proved unacceptable to the king, who shelved all suggestions for reform in favor of a royal dictatorship in January 1929. Alexander suspended the parliament, forbade the display of national paraphernalia, and redrew the state's administrative boundaries, hoping to obliterate, or at least blunt nationalist sentiment. The new regions, or *banovine,* were named for nearby rivers, Slovenia becoming known as Dravska Banovina. Like other residents of Yugoslavia, Slovenes also acquired new citizenship. Henceforth, Alexander declared, there were to be no national differences in his realm. His subjects would be known as Yugoslavs in a country called Yugoslavia.

Slovenes and Croats felt the impact of these changes acutely. Unlike the Serbs, who retained a tangible symbol of their nationality in King Alexander, they had lost their flags, their national regalia, and their ability to effect change in a legislature. They soon made known their discontent. The Croat cofounder of the Yugoslav state, Ante Trumbić, rallied opponents with his *Punctacije* (Declaration), in which he reiterated that a federal arrangement would be the only acceptable means of administering Yugoslavia. Korošec prepared his own version, the so-called Korošec Points, which stipulated wide autonomy for Slovenes and other Yugoslavs, a resumption of parliamentary politics, and the return of national symbols. "To achieve this," the Points read, "it is necessary for Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs to create by free agreement and on a democratic basis a state of self-ruling units, of which one would be Slovenia."

King Alexander responded to these nonviolent measures by ordering the arrest of many protesters. This was too much for some Croats, who went underground and founded the Ustaša (Uprising) movement, dedicated to the violent overthrow of the Yugoslav leadership and the creation of a Croatian state. Between 1930 and 1934, the country was periodically rocked by Ustaša bomb attacks and assassination attempts, in which there was evidence of foreign complicity. Eventually, the king's enemies found their mark. On 29 October 1934, King Alexander was murdered in Marseilles, at the beginning of an official visit to France.

The king's murder shook the country. Acting as regent for the ten-year-old king, Peter, Alexander's cousin Paul soon lifted the dictatorship, returning to Slovenia and the other republics a voice in the administration of the state. Meanwhile, the rise of revisionist powers Germany and Italy signaled danger for Yugoslavia and other small states that owed their existence to the Paris treaties. Under these circumstances, Slovene leaders allied themselves closely with the Belgrade government; the best guarantee of Slovenia's existence was in a Yugoslavia that kept covetous neighbors at bay. Nonetheless, Slovene Communists, particularly the young theoretician Edward Kardelj, joined mainstream Croat leaders in demanding a state system that guaranteed equality to all the state's nationalities. In 1939 it appeared that the looming threat of war might actually produce substantive change. After months of negotiations, the Croat Peasant Party leader, Maček, and Yugoslav Prime Minister Dragiša Cvetković announced the conclusion of a *Sporazum* (Agreement), which granted the Croats their longtime demand: formal autonomy within Yugoslavia. Since the agreement made no special provision for the 700,000 Serbs living in Croatia, or any of the other nationalities in Yugoslavia, it was bound to cause controversy. However, foreign events soon overshadowed domestic affairs. On 1 September 1939, Hitler's attack on Poland began the second major European war in two decades.

SLOVENES, PARTISANS, AND THE WAR FOR A NEW YUGOSLAVIA

A determined diplomacy of neutrality delayed the day of reckoning for Yugoslavia until the spring of 1941. On 27 March, a group of Serbian officers, disturbed by the country's apparent capitulations before the Croats at home and the Axis powers abroad, overthrew the government of Prince Paul and installed their own representatives. This act of defiance brought on an invasion by the German and Italian armies in early April and the dismemberment of the state. German forces took control of Serbia, installing the former Yugoslav general Milan Nedić as their representative. Croatia was handed over to the leaders of the Croatian revolutionary Ustaše, with Ante Pavelić installed as *poglavnik,* or leader, of the new "independent" state. Other lands were parceled out among the invaders or allied neighboring states. Hungary reclaimed parts of the Vojvodina, which it had lost in 1918; Bulgaria claimed Macedonia; and Italy much of the Dalmatian coast, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Montenegro. The Italians and Germans divided the Slovene lands between them, Germany taking the northern two-thirds of its territory and the Italians the southern third. Hungary claimed Prekmurje, a tiny slice of eastern Slovenia it had ruled prior to 1914.

From the beginning of the occupation, the invaders took harsh measures against the local population. The Slovene lands witnessed a campaign of denationalization. On 26 April 1941, Hitler came to Maribor and exhorted those attending a rally in the main square, "Make this area German again." Nazi authorities began obliging him on 7 June 1941, deporting some 60,000 Slovene citizens and making plans to resettle the vacated areas with German citizens. Some "expellees" ended up in Germany; others made their way south to Serbia and Bosnia, while others were taken to a west Hungarian concentration camp. In the Hungarian-majority Vojvodina, Hungarians and Germans were encouraged to murder Serbs, as were Albanians in the Kosovo region. The Croatian Ustaše initiated a campaign of pogroms against Serbs and Jews as well as forced conversion to Catholicism.

These outrages led to the formation of opposition groups, long a tradition in Balkan history. In the Serbian lands, Draža Mihailović formed a group called the Četniks, after the Cheta, Serbian anti-Turkish bands of the nineteenth century. In June 1941 the Partisans, an organization founded by Yugoslav communists, raised their standard. Consistent with the international Communist Party position, this group and its leader, Josip Broz Tito, called on all Yugoslavs regardless of nationality to join the fight to expel the invaders. These two groups both opposed the invaders but soon parted ways over tactics. The Četniks had an overtly Serbian and anticommunist character, while the Communist-led Partisans appealed to all nationalities. Tito urged all-out war at all times on the invaders, while Mihailović feared the impact of massive reprisals on the Serb population, which had suffered heavy losses in three previous wars. Although no one said so explicitly, the two groups were also competing for the leadership of a postwar Yugoslavia. The Četniks represented the prewar centralist Yugoslavia, ruled primarily by Serbs; at a key organizational meeting in November 1941, Tito outlined the possibility of a new country in the Partisan motto, "brotherhood and unity."

In the Slovene lands, Kardelj and his revolutionary colleague Boris Kidrić emerged as the leaders of a broad coalition of forces known as the OF, Osvobodilna Fronta (Liberation Front). Even though some might have distrusted the overtly communist orientation of their leaders, all OF members seemed to feel that long-standing Slovene demands—territorial integrity, Slovene language in Slovene schools, autonomy—might best be realized in Tito's promises of "brotherhood and unity" for postwar Yugoslavia. They were opposed by the Domobranci (Home Defenders), an anticommunist group that formed in Italian-occupied areas and collaborated with the Germans after Mussolini's fall (in hopes of preventing a Partisan victory). They could not compete with the OF, which had apparently won the hearts and minds of most Slovenes. In November 1943, at a key Partisan organizational meeting in Jajce, the OF became formally affiliated with the Partisans, who were winning the war on the ground and in the conference rooms of the Allied Powers. By May 1945, the Partisan army had entered Ljubljana, the Slovene capital, and was poised to become the nucleus for a postwar Yugoslav government. The Partisan leadership promised the new state would be infused with the spirit of brotherhood and unity, but the remnants of the Domobranci got neither. Sent back to Yugoslavia after fleeing to Austria, some 10,000 faced summary execution by the new government.

SLOVENIA IN COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA (1945–1980)

The first postwar years were relatively good ones for Tito and the citizens of the new Yugoslavia, notwithstanding the devastation visited on the country by four years of total war. Unlike their neighbors, whose Communist rulers gained their positions through their connections with and wartime residence in the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav leaders had solid popular support based on their personal participation and sacrifice in the war. The major difficulty in prewar Yugoslavia, Serbian centralist rule, was resolved, at least in theory. The 1946 constitution, drafted by Kardelj, organized the country along federal lines, with each of the six constituent republics guaranteed local autonomy and the right to secede. The makeup of the country's leadership seemed to confirm that all nationalities would share in the running of the new state: Tito was part Slovene, part Croat, and Slovenia was well-represented in Kardelj and Kidrić, the principal architects of Yugoslavia's foreign and domestic policies. There was some disappointment in Slovenia over Tito's failure to secure the city of Trieste and its Slovene residents in the peace settlement. Just as in the first Yugoslavia, however, it was felt that Slovenia had improved its fortunes.

As postwar reconstruction proceeded, the country was confronted with an unanticipated crisis in foreign affairs. As a communist state, Yugoslavia naturally enjoyed close ties with the Soviet Union. Most of the leadership had spent at least some time there—though not as much as their comrades in neighboring countries—and viewed it as the model to which all states should aspire. Yugoslavia's early economic and agricultural policies mirrored those of the USSR: extensive construction of heavy industry and the elimination of private farming in favor of collectivized enterprises. But the Soviet-Yugoslav relationship had developed strains dating to the end of the war, when Soviet troops passed through Yugoslavia and indulged in a decidedly nonfraternal spree of looting and rape.

In the immediate postwar period, Yugoslav leaders came to believe that the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, saw his East European allies not as equal partners but as subordinates expected to take orders, cogs in a giant wheel. It was clear that Yugoslavia would be expected to serve as a supplier of raw materials for the industrial machine of the socialist countries, foregoing the necessary measures to develop a diversified economy. While the equality of socialist countries everywhere was loudly proclaimed, the Soviet leaders continually implied that their country was superior to all others. They expressed these sentiments most obviously in cultural exchange, flooding Yugoslavia with Soviet books, art, and music, while accepting virtually nothing from Yugoslavia. Perhaps most disturbing was the active and constant Soviet surveillance of Yugoslav leaders, in Belgrade and Moscow, to enforce ideological conformity and compliance with all directives. The USSR's imperiousness produced disbelief in the Yugoslav leadership. Its members did not believe that they had achieved their heroic victory to become the obedient servant of a great power.

The crisis reached a climax in early 1948. Tito had begun negotiations with the Bulgarian leader, Georgi Dimitrov, on a customs union between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The USSR promptly demanded that the proposal be abandoned and reserved for itself the right to rule on any future Yugoslav foreign policy initiatives. Kardelj and Djilas went to Moscow to remonstrate with Stalin, pointing out that customs unions made good sense and enumerating the numerous previous issues on which the Yugoslavs had consulted with Moscow first. Their efforts only made Stalin angrier. Tito responded by summoning Yugoslav Party leaders in March to an emergency meeting, where they announced a reevaluation of their relationship with the USSR. This decision proved fateful, as it resulted in Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Soviet orbit. Stalin attempted to frighten the Yugoslavs into submission, flooding the communist media with violent rhetoric and calling on Yugoslavia's neighbors to overthrow "Judas Tito." But the Soviet leadership stopped short of using military force, mindful of Partisan success against the German army. It was clear that the Yugoslavs would not abandon their position, so they faced the task of forging a future without the familiar economic and political structures of the Soviet Union.

Life in geopolitical limbo promised to be precarious and difficult. Yet the Yugoslav leadership, in which Slovene representatives Kidrić and Kardelj continued to play key roles, met the challenge. They combined some creative retooling of fundamental principles with timely help from former adversaries. The latter came within months after the break, in the form of diplomatic recognition and a generous financial package from the United States, whose leaders were eager to exploit this tear in the iron curtain. Henceforth, it would be a priority to "keep Tito afloat." New policies, many of which were created by Kardelj, emerged in due time. The general approach was to do the opposite of what the Soviet leaders did; if the latter existed only to issue orders to subordinates at home and abroad, the Yugoslav leaders would dramatize their willingness to share power with, and be responsive to, the citizenry. In the words of the Slovene economist Janez Stanovnik, it was not sufficient for a socialist system to "declare that it stands *for* the working people. It has to bring into being a system of management both *of* and *for* the working people." In industrial enterprises, the concept of workers' self-management, in which factory collectives were personally involved in the running of their workplaces, made its debut. On 27 June 1950, the Law on Management of State Economic Associations by Work Collectives was formally adopted, after which the Soviet-style Central Planning Commission was abolished. The unpopular policy of collectivization was eventually abandoned after the break with the USSR in favor of private agriculture, though farmers faced limits on land holdings. In relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the concept of "separate roads" emerged. The Yugoslav leaders asserted their right to follow a course appropriate to their own circumstances rather than march in lockstep with the Soviet Union.

During the late 1950s and 1960s, it seemed that Tito, Kardelj, and their comrades had made all the right calls. After the death of Stalin, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev admitted that the USSR had wronged the Yugoslavs and acknowledged that there could indeed be roads to socialism that departed from the Soviet model. While this gesture did not end the Soviet-Yugoslav conflict, it signaled the end of active hostility. Afterwards, Yugoslavia enjoyed the best of all possible worlds: mostly friendly relations with both camps and formal alliance with neither. As before, Kardelj provided the theoretical basis for this policy, which eventually became known as nonalignment. Other states, notably India, Burma, Egypt, and Indonesia, adopted a similar stand refusing to ally with East or West. In March 1961 Belgrade hosted the first meeting of the non-aligned states. Yugoslavia was to be a mainstay of this movement until the end of the Cold War in 1989.

The general decentralizing trend in both domestic and foreign affairs meant that Yugoslavs enjoyed all the advantages of Soviet-style socialism—low rents, guaranteed employment, free health care, paid vacations—while retaining advantages denied their Hungarian, Romanian, and Bulgarian neighbors. Yugoslav citizens traveled abroad freely, and foreigners could visit Yugoslavia without visas, ensuring a steady stream of European tourists in search of affordable holidays. There was considerably more cultural freedom in Yugoslavia than in its neighbors, which made the country's public face an object of wonder for Western observers familiar with the dreary conformity of other socialist capitals. "Identify the country or countries which recently a) sentenced a poet to two weeks in prison for penning 'a mockery of the Holy Family and Jesus Christ;' b) promoted

Pepsi-Cola in full-page newspaper ads; c) gave away choice seashore plots of land to Sophia Loren, Gene Kelly, Kirk Douglas, Doris Day, and Frank Sinatra," *Time* magazine challenged its readers in 1971. Of course, the correct answer was "Yugoslavia." The only serious restriction, it seemed, involved discussion of incendiary, nationalist-oriented issues and pointed criticism of the leadership. Everyone remembered the example made of Milovan Djilas, a longtime Tito insider who condemned in his book *The New Class* his comrades' appetite for luxury living. Djilas was expelled from the inner circle and sentenced to prison.

For all the acclaim these innovations generated, they ultimately set in motion the law of unintended consequences. Yugoslavia had refused to become a colony of the Soviet Union, yet the decentralizing/diversification trend caused contradictions that awakened old antagonisms and violated some cherished socialist principles. It became obvious over time, for example, that Croatia and Slovenia were the most consistently prosperous republics in the country. Each had advanced industrial capabilities, historically industrious populations, and the advantages of desirable vacation spots such as the Lake Bled area and the Dalmatian coast. It came as no surprise that they contributed significantly more to the national economy than other republics, and that their citizens had a higher standard of living. Slovenia's per capita income was three times higher than that of the Kosovo region in 1960, and five times higher a decade later. At the same time, the Serbian republic always seemed to consume far more than it contributed, a perception exacerbated by the fact that Belgrade was the capital of the federal bureaucracy and home to the federal economic council and Investment Bank. Complaints began to circulate that Serbs were monopolizing economic resources and wielding administrative power disproportionate to their contributions. It was difficult to argue with statistics, which indicated that Slovenia alone accounted for some 25 percent of the country's export revenue year after year.

At the same time, the related issue of "political" factories came under scrutiny. Because the prosperity of Slovenia and Croatia was certain to cause resentment in the poorer southern parts of the country, Tito had to provide for economic initiatives that would lead to a measure of equality among the republics. In line with this goal, the federal government had financed large industrial enterprises and showcase projects such as soccer stadiums in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Kosovo. Considerable sums of money from Slovenia and Croatia flowed into these projects, which often appeared at the behest of local officials regardless of need or profitability. Making use of the freedom of expression they enjoyed, Slovenian and Croat journalists questioned the viability of these enterprises. They charged that Croatia and Slovenia had become cash cows for the less industrious regions, which were only too happy to milk them. These complaints caused headaches in Belgrade. Yugoslavia's leaders had committed the country to a decentralized system of administration, yet found themselves bound to maintain the socialist ethos of brotherhood and unity, which frayed in the face of increasing inequalities of development. This problem would defy all attempts at solution, since it was the practical equivalent of squaring a circle.

In response, the authorities reflexively tried to emphasize their commitment to devolving power to the republics. In 1966 Serbian Communist leader Aleksandar Ranković, a consistent critic of decentralizing tendencies in the state, was dismissed from his post. Known as a Serbian nationalist and a consistent advocate of greater central control in Yugoslavia, Ranković was alleged to have been spying on Tito and those in the leadership who disagreed with his ideas. His dismissal was interpreted as an admission that other republics had suffered abuse at the hands of the federal government. This did not squelch the discontent, however; Croat leaders decided to take advantage of the circumstances to press for more favorable concessions. Beginning in 1967, they responded by voicing a host of complaints about what they saw as Serbia's disproportionate influence in the country. Some were cultural in nature, such as the purported Serbian dominance of a Serbo-Croatian dictionary, wherein the Serbian variant of idiomatic expressions allegedly appeared more often than the Croatian. Others pointedly addressed the difficulties of reconciling decentralized economics with "brotherhood and unity."

Croats protested against the concentration in Belgrade of key financial and administrative institutions, a sore point dating to the first Yugoslavia, when Belgrade bureaucrats made all the decisions about economic policy. Now, they claimed, bureaucrats and institutions in Belgrade took valuable Croatian-earned resources and distributed them to less industrious and less deserving individuals, including, of course, Serbs. A season of discontent became a national crisis when some began advocating measures that came close to secession.

Here was a clear illustration that the conflicting demands of regional economic autonomy and maintaining "brotherhood and unity" had no apparent solution. Thus it was incumbent on Tito to play his trump card. In the manner of a strict father, he summoned querulous Croats and reminded them where ethnic conflict could lead. "In some villages, because of nervousness, Serbs are drilling and arming themselves . . . do you want to have 1941 again?" he asked rhetorically. Then he used his authority as the leader of the Yugoslav Communists and founder of the state to purge the state apparatus of the offending individuals. It was understood that Tito had the last word in any contentious dispute.

Slovenes kept their usual low profile during these charged Serb-Croat episodes. The Slovenian republic's president in the late 1960s, Stane Kavčič, understood Croat complaints and even allowed discussion of similar issues in the journal *Perspektive.* Mostly, however, he concentrated on improving the republic's fortunes in a nonconfrontational manner, perhaps recalling Korešec's observation that "Croats debate, Slovenes work." He consistently supported the continued decentralization of the country's economic life. He explored the possibility of Slovenia's negotiating aid and development agreements individually with the less developed republics rather than leaving all such decisions to the Investment Bank and its bureaucrats in Belgrade. He was particularly interested in economic initiatives that played to Slovenia's unique strengths while appearing to benefit the rest of the country as well. To that end, Slovene representatives worked hard to promote projects involving close cooperation with neighboring European states. In 1969 they applied for, and secured, World Bank funding for extensive road improvements in the republic. Routes into and out of Slovenia were heavily used by truck traffic from Europe and free-spending vacationers in Slovenia and Croatia, so it made good sense to keep them in the best shape possible.

Unfortunately, this understated approach met the same end as the Croats' dramatic protest. As was customary, the funding for the road improvements went to the capital, Belgrade, for dispersal. When it arrived, however, Slovenia saw only a tiny fraction, as the Belgrade authorities used their prerogatives and designated most of the money for improvements in other republics. Kavčič protested vigorously, to no avail. In fact, his term as the chief executive of the Slovene republic was cut short by his refusal to endorse the leadership's decision on the funds. Slovenes in turn received an unsubtle reminder that even though they were free to work as hard at their many enterprises as they could, Tito and the federal government would decide who benefited from their hard work.

STRAINS WITHIN YUGOSLAVIA AND RISING RESENTMENT IN SLOVENIA

The difficulties of the late 1960s caused no major upheavals in Yugoslavia. All Yugoslavs received a vivid reminder of their good fortune when they witnessed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Their quality of life remained high by comparison to that of their neighbors. However, as one Slovene writer later noted, Yugoslavia looked good only when things were going significantly worse elsewhere. In the late 1970s and early 1980s things began to look worse in Yugoslavia, as the economy fell victim to a series of crises, causing a decline in the country's standard of living. Because the republics had the right to determine their own economic priorities, local bosses often opted for big steel and chemical plants, without regard to whether these duplicated similar enterprises next door. The workers' self-management experiment, once hailed as an attractive alternative to central planning, broke down under the strain of bad management and unrealistic expectations. Government spending began to exceed the rate of economic growth, and the country was wracked by serious inflation that cut purchasing power in half. "We used to buy clothes in Italy or travel to Vienna for a weekend at the opera," a Slovenian businessman complained to a Western reporter. "Now we can't even afford to go skiing here at home." As before, regional economic imbalances, exacerbated by unilateral federal decision making, continued to cause resentment in Slovenia and Croatia.

Tito and other members of the leadership sought to solve, or at least mitigate, these problems by drafting a new constitution in 1974. No matter what they did, however, they encountered the same difficulties, born of numerous attempts to reconcile socialist theory with the realities of Yugoslavia. In socialist countries, national distinctions were to disappear with the realization that citizens were all members of one large working class. Kardelj and others realized that this was unlikely to happen spontaneously in fractious Yugoslavia, so their solution was to allow each republic wide latitude to make its own political and economic decisions. At the same time, Tito and the leadership were obliged repeatedly to attempt to maintain some semblance of economic equality among the republics—because socialist theory permitted no inequalities in the working class, and because resentment was typically expressed in nationalist rhetoric and demonstrations. Furthermore, the Communist Party had the leading role, in fact the only role, in all key decisions in a socialist state. Thus they felt confident in retaining for themselves the right to decide how revenues would be distributed in the state. It might have behooved them to consider the introduction of market forces in certain sectors, or to negotiate more acceptable economic arrangements with Slovenia and Croatia. Instead, they decided on more of the same in the 1974 Yugoslav constitution. They offered a bit more devolution of power, in carving two autonomous republics out of the Serbian republic, while declining to make changes in federal economic policy. As always, Tito retained the right to the last word on any question.

The Western press marveled at Yugoslavia's ability to weather these storms and maintain its peculiar "socialism, of a sort." Longtime observers knew there was no secret to its longevity: the key was Tito and Kardelj, two old warriors who had founded the state and made it work despite steep odds. Tito in particular had become an iconic figure. He was the general who had led the nation to an improbable victory in 1945, the Yugoslav David who defied the Soviet Goliath, the final arbiter of and respected last word on the country's most contentious disputes. Only time would tell if Titoism, that improbable balancing act, would survive without Tito and a steadily rising standard of living.

THE SLOVENES AND YUGOSLAVIA AFTER TITO (1980–1987)

The deaths of Kardelj in 1979 and Tito in 1980 meant that Yugoslavia at last faced a real test of its long-term viability. In order to avoid the impression that some republics had more power than others, Tito's replacement would be a rotating presidency. Each republic would take turns contributing a leader, chosen by his parliament. In this way, it was hoped, the spirit of brotherhood and unity would survive the loss of its inspiration. However, early indications did not look promising. The country's deepening economic woes, which were now manifested in a ballooning federal debt, exacerbated the growing differences among the republics. In 1983 federal authorities finally recognized the emergency and took steps to try to address it, including an edict that all republics should share equally in the repayment of the debt, regardless of the percentage for which they might be responsible. This meant that Slovenia and Croatia, whose leaders already believed that their contributions kept the state viable, would have to bail out their less prosperous countrymen in the south. The citizens of both republics were already weary of this state of affairs and did not wish to see it continue.

Slovenes were at a crossroads after Tito. In the first Yugoslavia and the early decades of the second they had shown considerable satisfaction with their lot because they believed that their lives had significantly improved. In the years after Tito, though, they no longer seemed so certain. In the mid-1980s Slovenia experienced a remarkable period of cultural and political ferment that presaged a reevaluation of its status within Yugoslavia. Younger Slovenes led the way in creating this "Slovenian spring." They embraced trends seen elsewhere among European youth, advocating conscientious objection as an alternative to military service, campaigning for gay rights, and raising awareness of ecological issues. In 1986 they spearheaded a campaign to defeat a proposed increase in an environmental protection tax in Slovenia and won a promise from Slovene leaders to reevaluate ecological policy in the republic instead. But they broke some new ground as well, founding a new school of artistic expression called Neue Slowenische Kunst (New Slovenian Art). Adherents attracted much attention through their embrace of Nazi apparel and subject matter. The rock group Laibach, which eventually gained a following beyond Slovenia, devoted many of its songs to explorations of Hitler and other totalitarian leaders and concepts. It was widely supposed that these artists sought to use shock value in order to solidify support among their young followers, but many observers perceived that there was something more at work in their performances. They consistently mocked the traditions and ethos of Tito's Yugoslavia.

As a rule, officialdom in Europe viewed youth movements with skepticism. By contrast, the adults joined in the searching and probing in Slovenia. As Laibach broadcast its convictions about Slovenia's recent past, the respected cultural journal *Nova revija* urged a similar evaluation on its more mature readers. Its now famous issue 57 (1987), "Contributions to a Slovene National Program," was devoted entirely to the question of Slovenia's place in Yugoslavia. Contributors pulled no punches. As the most productive and industrious of all the republics, they argued, Slovenia should at least enjoy proportional political influence. They questioned the legal basis of Communist rule in Yugoslavia and outlined strategies that would distance Slovenia from the federal government. Far from attempting to choke off these sentiments, Slovene Communists in the post-Kardelj period often echoed them. Accordingly, younger leaders such as Milan Kučan contemplated a variety of solutions to the country's mounting economic ills, including such uncommunist measures as applying the laws of supply and demand and creating more open markets. At this point, no one was thinking about independence; the emphasis was on creating a more advantageous position for Slovenia within Yugoslavia.

Events in Serbia soon altered these assumptions. Like their fellow citizens in the other republics, Serbs were discussing changes they wished to see in post-Tito Yugoslavia. Their proposals differed in that they invoked the past rather than the future. Where Slovenia and Croatia were talking about greater pluralism and alternative solutions to pressing difficulties, Serbs seemed to be moving back toward the familiar confines of centralism and Serb dominance. In the mid-1980s some writers were proposing that Serbo-Croatian become the official language of Yugoslavia, a measure that would disenfranchise citizens who spoke Slovenian, Macedonian, and Albanian. There was more to come. In 1986 the Serbian Academy of Sciences issued a memorandum in which members outlined the numerous ways in which the Serbian republic had suffered unjust treatment in Tito's Yugoslavia. Serbs, the authors alleged, had seen the power of their republic deliberately diminished in the creation of autonomous Vojvodina and Kosovo. They had watched helplessly as Serbia became a mere supplier of raw materials to other republics, impoverishing itself in the process. They had endured the one-sided, public persecution of major representatives in the national leadership (Ranković) and the harassment and injury of their conationals at the hands of Albanians in Kosovo, once the cradle of Serbian statehood. It was strongly implied that these injustices should be remedied through an improved status for Serbs within Yugoslavia.

Portrait of Milan Kučan, president of Slovenia (1990–). (Government of Slovenia)

THE ROAD TO SLOVENE INDEPENDENCE (1987–1991)

The election of Slobodan Milošević to the presidency of the Serbian republic made the perception of a Serbian resurgence a reality. Milošević's first move as president was a personal visit to Priština, the capital of the Kosovo autonomous region. This area, site of Serbia's landmark defeat at the hands of the Turks in 1389, had a mixed Serb-Albanian population that often found itself embroiled in ethnic conflict. Once part of the Serbian republic, Kosovo had received autonomous status in Tito's 1974 revision of the Yugoslav constitution, a development that rankled in Belgrade since it meant that Albanian Yugoslavs would rule their fellow Serbs. In early 1987 Kosovo had witnessed periodic Serb-Albanian rioting, prompting Milošević to schedule a fact-finding trip for April. After one contentious meeting with local citizens on 24 April 1987, he abandoned all pretense at investigation and became a partisan. He appeared in the midst of a Serb-Albanian street fight in Priština to declare his determination that Serbs "will never be beaten again." This event, broadcast nationwide on the evening news, caused many outside Serbia to wonder whether Milošević intended to champion a Serbian ascendancy in Yugoslavia.

The Serbian president did nothing to discourage this impression. Soon after Kosovo, he began a purge of the Serbian Communist Party in order to rid himself of opposition. At the same time, he sent large crowds, later described as a Milošević "rent-a-crowd," of thugs and enforcers, to demand the reincorporation of the autonomous republics of Kosovo and Hungarian-majority Vojvodina back into Serbia. Frightened by the menacing demeanor of these crowds, the leaders of both republics had little choice but to yield to their demands. Leaders in other republics reacted strongly. Slovenia's representative to the federal presidency, the respected economist and diplomat Janez Stanovik, declared that Milošević's behavior smacked of Stalinism. His colleague Milan Kučan was more concerned with the immediate political impact. "By abolishing the autonomy of both provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo," Kučan said later, "Serbia would directly control three of eight votes, in comparison with the other republics that had one vote each." Since Montenegro always voted with Serbia, Milošević would actually have four votes in the federal council—a commanding advantage. This could make possible the transformation of post-Tito Yugoslavia into "Serboslavia," an updated version of the type of Serbian centralist rule that had helped destroy the first Yugoslavia.

The events of the next year proved to be a chilling demonstration for Slovenes of Milošević's values. After Tito's death, the Slovene youth magazine *Mladina* had become a cutting-edge publication, enjoying ever increasing popularity among all age groups for probing the limits of self-expression in Yugoslavia. Like Slovenian rockers and artists, its journalists delighted in baiting the nation's leaders. They published caricatures of Slobodan Milošević in medieval armor in Kosovo, the Serbian avenger on a demented crusade. They helped to arrange the scheduling of a conference of homosexuals in Ljubljana on 25 May 1987, Tito's birthday, causing panicked federal authorities to ban this obvious show of disrespect on the pretext of fighting AIDS. But *Mladina* had serious investigative ambitions, too. In a particularly explosive series, their journalists were the first to expose and detail in print the execution of thousands of anticommunist Slovenes, the Domobranci, by Tito's regime in the aftermath of World War II.

Milošević and the federal authorities in Belgrade did not take such impertinence lightly. In late 1987 they began plotting a response they believed would put a stop to it altogether. In February 1988 Slovenian police arrested a young army recruit, Ivan Borstner, and three *Mladina* staffers, Janez Janša, David Tasić, and Franci Zavrl. They were imprisoned and charged with possession and copying of a classified document outlining contingency plans for the imposition of martial law in Slovenia.

It was widely believed that the Yugoslav army, whose Serb-dominated officer corps took great exception to *Mladina,* had ordered the arrest. No one believed the charges, as became abundantly clear in the spontaneous gathering of 20,000 Slovenes in Ljubljana's town square, the largest since World War II. They demanded the immediate release of the "Ljubljana Four" and condemned the army's attempts to suppress a bold, hard-hitting periodical. The Slovene Communist leaders went farther, accusing the Yugoslav military of attempting to interfere with the right of Slovenes to administer their own affairs. All Slovenes were shocked when the trial was conducted behind closed doors in Serbo-Croatian rather than Slovene, a direct assault on Slovene national identity. They were positively outraged by the convictions and prison terms that the trial produced in July 1988. If Slovenia could expect Serbian bureaucrats to continue running roughshod over Slovene sensibilities in the future, perhaps it was time to consider other options.

The *Mladina* affair convinced many Slovenes that Milošević wanted not just to promote Serbia at Slovenia's expense, but also to compel Slovenia to remain in Yugoslavia by force. Subsequent events only strengthened these convictions. On 28 June 1989, Milošević made a well-publicized return visit to Kosovo. The date he chose was no coincidence; it marked the historic six-hundredth anniversary of the battle of Kosovo, which Prince Lazar and his Serbian army lost to the Ottoman Turks. In a dramatic appearance near the site of the battle, Milošević unsheathed his rhetorical sword, proclaiming his intent to "avenge Kosovo." By this he meant that Serbs would not be defeated again. They would repel all assaults on their nation and culture and take their deserved leading role in post-Tito Yugoslavia. The Kosovo speech, and the Serb-Albanian clashes it fueled, produced great consternation in Slovenia. Both *Mladina* and *Nova revija* had devoted extensive coverage to human rights abuses around the world. A prominent Slovene politician had already resigned from the League of Communists executive council over this issue, condemning Serbian mindlessness in Kosovo. Kučan called it "the worst human rights problem in all of Europe" and condemned its corrosive impact on Yugoslavia's political life as well as its image abroad.

After Slovenia declares independence from Yugoslavia on June 25, the Slovenian territorial army takes up a defensive position in the capital, 2 July 1991. (Jacques Langevin/Corbis Sygma)

In February 1989 Slovene leaders held a public meeting to denounce Serbian ham-handedness in dealing with an Albanian miners' strike in Kosovo. As the meeting was broadcast nationwide, Serbs had the opportunity to witness this barrage of criticism. Although Slovene leaders had broken no laws, Milošević could not abide their show of disrespect and decided to send his Serb "supporters" to demonstrate in Ljubljana. The group was to set the Slovene public straight about Kosovo and rumored Slovene plans to redefine their republic's relationship with Yugoslavia. It was understood that the Milošević crowd would repeat the drill its members had perfected elsewhere: menacing the Slovene leadership to the point where they would flee for their lives. Slovenia's president, Janez Stanovnik, opted to ban the demonstration and turn back the crowd; they had nixed a chance for a town meeting, he said, and some of the prospective "truth tellers" had less than peaceful intentions since they were armed. Having failed to intimidate the Slovenian leadership, Milošević slapped economic sanctions on the rebellious republic. This was an absurd situation, comparable in American terms to Massachusetts boycotting Maine, but Milošević was adamant that the Slovenes learn they could not defy him.

In any case, it was not clear that the Slovenes cared what Milošević thought any more. Their leaders had already concluded that Slovenia could share the fate of the Kosovars and were preparing exit strategies. They began by amending the republic's constitution to alter Slovenia's relationship with the other republics of Yugoslavia. Specifically, they claimed authority to impose martial law in the republic, command Yugoslav army units in the country, regulate expenditures of Slovene revenues, and permit the formation of opposition political parties. Opposition parties in particular violated a key tenet of communist ideology, which reserved for the Communist Party a monopoly on political power. More important still, the Slovene leadership allowed for the official appearance of opposition in full awareness that many would-be candidates actively supported Slovenian sovereignty, or even outright independence.

In April 1990 the Communist leadership of Slovenia and Croatia formally separated from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and held the first multiparty elections in Yugoslav history. The winners in both cases were mostly avowed anti-Communists. Slovenes gave the DEMOS a substantial victory, but voted in their longtime Communist Party leader, Milan Kučan, for president. As many observers noted, Kučan may have been the first Communist presidential candidate ever to prevail in a free election. Though they still talked of a future within Yugoslavia, Kučan and other Slovene leaders insisted on the reorganization of the country into a confederation of sovereign states bound together for purposes of deciding strictly national issues such as foreign and defense policy. Subsequent events showed they had the support of their constituents. In September 1990 a referendum on the country's future was announced. In December Slovene voters went to the polls to make their wishes known. An astonishing 80 percent expressed support for sovereignty. The leadership then reiterated its demands for a confederated Yugoslavia and declared Slovenia would secede in the absence of such an arrangement.

By early 1991, it was clear that Yugoslavia was headed for a breakup. In January it was disclosed that the Serbian Parliament had made an illegal midnight raid on the federal bank, withdrawing several billion dinars, with which they intended to pay wages and pensions in Serbia exclusively. Outraged by this "Great Serbian Bank Robbery," both Slovenia and Croatia promptly announced that they would no longer be bound by any federal economic laws. Milošević countered by ordering the immediate disarmament of territorial militias in Slovenia and Croatia, a process he had initiated secretly the previous fall. This move was particularly shocking, since Tito had created the militias in all six republics following the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He wanted to see "every man a soldier" so as to be able to wage Partisan-style guerrilla warfare against large invading forces, such as the Red Army. It was absolutely clear now that Milošević would hear nothing of confederation. He was preparing to send the Yugoslav army to prevent the exit of the rebellious republics and clearly hoped to decapitate any opposition in advance. Leaders of both nations drew the appropriate conclusion and indicated that they would declare formal independence in June.

As expected, Milošević and the Yugoslav army brass prepared countermeasures. In Croatia, the bid for independence ran into opposition from the republic's 700,000-strong Serbian majority, which was receiving covert armed assistance from Belgrade. Thus a small-scale civil conflict was under way in eastern Croatia by February. The Slovenes' situation was not as serious, because there were virtually no Serbs living in Slovenia, but officials knew they would face armed attempts to prevent their exit from Yugoslavia. Indeed, the federal authorities sent troops north in late June in order to bring Slovenia to heel. Those in charge of the operation did not believe that Slovenes would fight, especially since they had not yet received any formal support from abroad. No western government had recognized Slovenia, fearing that to do so would precipitate the disintegration of Yugoslavia and encourage separatist-minded groups elsewhere in Europe. A small show of force, it was reasoned, would suffice to convince Slovenia that resistance was folly.

But the Yugoslav army leadership had not reckoned with the determination of the new Slovene defense minister, an old antagonist. Newly installed in his post, former *Mladina* staffer Janez Janša organized a spirited defense based on the classic skills of the weak: speed and cunning. President Kučan did his part by proclaiming Slovene independence one day earlier than planned, 24 June, so that Slovene border guards could replace their federal counterparts and offer resistance at the frontier. Elsewhere, militia and ordinary citizens worked hard to slow and frustrate the invaders.

Ljubljana overnight became a city barricaded for its defense, with roads and railways blocked and soldiers and heavily armed forces seemingly everywhere. Electricity in the Yugoslav army barracks mysteriously shut off, and cars jammed the highways from all directions, trapping the oncoming tank convoys. It helped that federal troops did not know the terrain well and had made no provision for resupply; some units went through all their food and water in a day. The Slovenes' fortitude impressed the Yugoslav commanders, who were trained to fight back but proved mindful of their young recruits and their parents, many of whom did not want their sons involved in what they viewed as a discretionary war. "We will not yield," Janša had warned as he contemplated facing his former accusers. The Yugoslav army found the Slovene people fully deserving of his confidence.

On 2 July, a cease-fire was brokered; on 7 July, after hours and hours of negotiation, the Yugoslav federal government reached tentative consensus with Slovenian and Croatian leaders in the Brioni agreement. The declarations of independence both nations had issued were temporarily suspended in exchange for the withdrawal of Yugoslav army troops. However, to all intents and purposes Slovenia was now on its own. Milošević had decided to concentrate his fire on Croatia and Bosnia, where the presence of sizable Serb minorities guaranteed him a chance to reconquer ethnic and historic Serbian territory. At the country's first celebration of independence, President Kučan stressed that Slovenia's new status represented a major break with the past. "Probably in different conditions, we could mature further and link our destiny with that of others," he said, "but even so, we have managed by ourselves. We are a mature nation that knows what it wants. Indeed a new chapter is beginning in our life." Fourteen centuries of communal living behind them, Slovenes now contemplated an independent existence for the first time.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Most of the former socialist states in Europe have experienced a combination of continuity and change in their political life since their independence over a decade ago. In Slovenia, the dynamic is slightly different: a high degree of continuity, and consensus, in a time of significant change. The politicians who plotted the Slovene republic's successful exit from Yugoslavia—mainly Milan Kučan, Janez Drnovšek, Janez Janša, Dmitrij Rupel—have stayed on as the leaders of the first independent Slovenia. During the state's first decade, they achieved substantial agreement in securing recognition of Slovene independence, creating essential institutions, solving problems associated with the Yugoslav wars, and determining the direction of the state in the twenty-first century.

CLEARING THE WAY FOR INDEPENDENCE

By the late 1980s, the team that would preside over the first independent Slovene state was assembling. Many of its members were avowed anticommunists, intent on bringing

Special Ks

Aficionados of historical trivia are fond of pointing out that political leaders of various nations have shared some outstanding commonality in modern history. In the United States, for example, a disproportionate number of presidents hail from the states of Virginia or Massachusetts. In Slovenia, it is all in a name, or more accurately a letter: its most celebrated politicians all seem to have family names beginning in the letter *K.*

Anton Korošec shaped Slovene politics from the turn of the century until his death on the eve of World War II in 1939. Born in the Maribor region in 1872, Korošec began his professional life as a Roman Catholic priest. During his service as a parish priest in villages in Styria, he observed the difficulties his parishioners encountered with their German neighbors, who tried to deny them the use of their native language. He wanted to become a better advocate for them and won election to the Austrian Parliament on his second try. As a leader of the Slovene Clerical Party, Korošec was a strong supporter of the Habsburg monarchy. Like virtually all of his South Slavic colleagues, he pressed for strategic changes in its administrative structure but felt that it was the best arrangement for small nations like his own.

After World War I cast a shadow over all empires, he began to prepare for other possible outcomes. He was a founding member of the Yugoslav Club, a group of South Slav representatives in the parliament. In 1917 he delivered the May Declaration, which called for a reorganization of the Habsburg monarchy, to answer rising national aspirations among its South Slavic peoples. When all looked hopeless in 1918, Korošec faced the inevitable without flinching. According to legend, it was he who broke the news to Franz Joseph's successor, Karl, that there was no hope of salvaging the centuries-old monarchy.

Upon the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in October 1918, Korošec presided over the National Council, the institution that represented the monarchy's South Slavic peoples in the immediate postwar period. In this capacity, he helped negotiate Slovenia's entry into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later known as Yugoslavia. Because he knew that life in Yugoslavia represented a great improvement for Slovenes, who now had language guarantees, schools, and institutions of their own, he mostly supported the Serb-dominated leadership even as the Croats vehemently opposed it. At the time of his death, which nearly coincided with that of the first Yugoslavia, Korošec could justly claim to be a politician in the truest sense of the word. He had mastered the art of the possible for his people.

Edward Kardelj succeeded Korošec as unofficial leader of the Slovenes, though he would have disputed that title since his communist orientation held that national distinctions belonged to the dustbin of history. As a young revolutionary in the first Yugoslavia, which banned the Communist Party early in its existence, Kardelj spent much of his time in clandestine agitation. Like many of his comrades elsewhere, he eventually ended up in prison, where he wrote his first book, appropriately titled *Struggle.*

Kardelj and the Yugoslav Communists suddenly became relevant when the German army invaded Yugoslavia in April and then the Soviet Union two months later. Following Moscow's exhortations to wage all-out war on fascism, Kardelj rallied representatives of prewar Slovenian political parties to fight the invaders. His fortunes rose dramatically following his affiliation with Tito and the Partisan movement, the nationwide resistance, which eventually won the war with Germany and the right to form a communist Yugoslavia in May 1945. Kardelj emerged from the war as Tito's top thinker and policymaker in the second Yugoslavia, only to have his theoretical foundation rocked in the 1948 break with the Soviet Union. Like Tito, he met the challenge of reinventing the state. Since the Soviet model was no longer tenable, Kardelj created a new theoretical framework that emphasized local control of economic and social policy, declared the national question dead, and advocated a cultivated neutrality in foreign affairs:

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democracy and independence to Slovenia in an era when communism appeared headed for the dustbin of history. Others, notably Milan Kučan and Janez Drnovšek, were high-ranking Communists unhappy with the perceived economic exploitation of Slovenia and alarmed at the resurgence of nationalist/hegemonist sentiment in the Serbian republic. Following the 1988 trial of three *Mladina* journalists who exposed a Yugoslav army plot to "destabilize" Slovenia, both Communists and anti-Communists had seen enough of Slobodan Milošević's Yugoslavia to conclude that they should join forces to try to escape. Together, they prepared the citizenry for this throughout 1990 and 1991. They

(continued)

nonalignment with either the eastern or the western camps in the Cold War. In his lifetime, he was hailed for his unconventional thinking. However, following his death in 1979, it became clear that in creating a decentralized communist state, he had unwittingly made possible the resurgence of national feeling he fervently hoped would wither away. A committed socialist to the end of his life, Kardelj would undoubtedly be shocked and dismayed to discover that part of his legacy is an independent, capitalist Slovenia.

Stane Kavčič, the Communist Party leader of Slovenia in the 1970s, had a comparatively brief tenure by comparison with his compatriots. However, he had an influence well beyond his tenure in office; in a real sense, he is the author of Slovenia's successful transition from socialism to economic democracy and free markets. He consistently advocated the expansion of Slovene economic activity beyond Yugoslavia into Europe and urged Slovenian businesspeople to concentrate on areas likely to be both important and profitable in the future, such as electronics and home appliances. Firms specializing in those areas have made the most successful transitions in the period since independence and are fueling Slovenian prosperity today.

The fourth K, Milan Kučan, became the most prominent Slovene in the wake of Kardelj's departure. A native of Prekmurje, the Slovenian region closest to Hungary, he rose quickly through the Yugoslav Communist youth organization and entered the top ranks of the Slovene leadership in the 1970s. Kučan's star rose sharply in the difficult and confusing years following the deaths of Yugoslavia's founding fathers, Tito and Kardelj. Sensing that Slovenes were contemplating a different relationship with Yugoslavia, Kučan helped them decide how they wished to proceed. In the 1980s he winced at the youth culture that mocked Tito, yet read between the provocative lines and urged people to pay closer attention. When Slobodan Milošević came to power in Serbia on a platform of aggressive nationalism, Kučan saw danger ahead for Slovenes. He took the lead in distancing Slovenia from Yugoslavia, perhaps before its citizens were ready to take such a step. He was the first Communist leader to commit the heresy of allowing multiparty elections, breaking the monopoly of Communist rule in Slovenia. In 1990, when Slovene voters rewarded his leadership and elected him president, Kučan made history as perhaps the first Communist ever to triumph in a free election. Assisted ably by his deputies Dmitrij Rupel and Janez Janša, Kučan helped pave the way for Slovenia's exit from Yugoslavia. He helped deflect criticism away from Slovenia for precipitating a crisis in Yugoslavia by repeatedly stressing his willingness to remain in a confederated arrangement. When that proved to be a nonstarter, Kučan helped plan Slovenia's defense during the ten-day war with the Yugoslav army and lobbied hard for international recognition of Slovene independence, which came late in 1991.

After independence, Kučan had perhaps the most difficult task in postcommunist Europe: leading a people who had never lived independently in the creation of its own nation state. The challenges were legion: securing international recognition, creating financial, legislative, and judicial institutions from scratch, determining the size and character of national defense, and negotiating Slovenia's formal entry into organizations that would guarantee a secure future for Slovenes. Despite many difficulties, especially the unexpected rejection of Slovenia's application to enter NATO in 1997, Slovenes gave him over 55 percent of the vote in each of his two campaigns. Kučan left office in 2002, having seen the nation through the challenging first years and helping it celebrate ten years of independence and rising prosperity. Among his last achievements was Slovenia's successful application for NATO membership on its second try in November 2002.

For his leadership during the transition to independent statehood alone, Kučan may prove to be the most popular and successful Slovene statesman ever.

wrote and agitated in *Mladina* and *Nova revija,* held the country's first free elections, and carried through the referendum on sovereignty in December 1990. As conflict with Milošević sharpened, Kučan made a show of presenting various reorganization plans for Yugoslavia that would afford protection against further economic exploitation and attempts at political domination by Serbia. He doubtless knew that they would be rejected, but he hoped to inoculate Slovenia against charges that it initiated the breakup of Yugoslavia.

With their formal declaration of independence in June 1991, Kučan and his DEMOS—Demokratična Opozicija Slovenije, Democratic Opposition of Slovenia—colleagues braced for Milošević's attempt to prevent Slovenia from leaving and joined their fellow citizens in defeating a Yugoslav army force after ten days of fighting. In July 1991 they found themselves the leaders of a Slovenia in transition, an entity no longer a republic of Yugoslavia but not yet an independent state. Their first task was therefore to clear away the detritus of war and persuade the European Community and other key institutions to recognize the new state.

The process of securing recognition did not go smoothly. As then Foreign Minister Dmitrij Rupel remembers, there were no objections in principle to the idea of an independent Slovenia, but this necessarily brought with it the possibility that the Yugoslav state would collapse. The European Community (EC), which had the authority to extend recognition, was wary about the consequences of that eventuality—correctly, as subsequent events in Croatia and Bosnia demonstrated. All parties in the Brioni Agreement of 7 July agreed to delay action for three months, which would allow more time to assess the changing situation in Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, Kučan, Rupel, and others worked to secure the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army from Slovene territory. At first, they encountered resistance, even threats of renewed action from the Yugoslav government, but the problem largely solved itself with a mass exodus of Slovene soldiers from the ranks. There seemed little reason for the rest of the army to remain under those circumstances. That fall, there was lingering skepticism among EC nations as well as the United States about the wisdom of recognizing Slovenian (and Croatian) independence. By December, however, European Community representatives had decided to ratify the fait accompli and extend recognition to the two states. Recognition from the United States, which finally acknowledged the inevitable, came in April 1992.

THE FIRST CONSTITUTION

With recognition forthcoming, the architects who had made the new Slovenia could proceed with building an infrastructure for their state. As always, the first task was to draft a constitution. Ljubljana University law professor Miro Cerar chaired a commission of some one hundred experts, government officials, and interested citizens charged with studying constitutions of other European states and making appropriate recommendations to the Slovene leadership. Members of the commission looked at the Austrian, Italian, and German constitutions in order to acquire basic familiarity with a democratic document. They reviewed the constitution of Hungary, since that country had emerged from circumstances similar to Slovenia's. The Spanish and Greek constitutions also came under review, since those countries had once been dictatorships. Finally, the commission pondered the advantages and disadvantages of two prevailing models for the conduct of state business: the presidential system, anchored by a strong executive, and the parliamentary model, in which the national legislature had more power.

The inaugural Slovene constitution, ratified in December 1991, reflected the Cerar commission's findings, the experience of the recent past, and Slovenes' hopes for the future. The document had sixty-five articles, showcasing a strong belief in the rule of law, individual rights, and separation of powers, all characteristics of democratic constitutions. In a nod to European constitutional tradition, Slovene citizens were guaranteed a social safety net, to include pension benefits and health care. Slovenes' prized possession, the Slovene language, was enshrined as the country's official language. Slovenia's Italian and Hungarian minorities received the right to use their native language for official purposes in their local areas. In addition, they were each guaranteed one deputy to the Slovene legislature and the right of veto over any legislation directly affecting them. Memories of life under Tito and Milošević ruled out a strong executive, so the constitution provided for a powerful legislative branch. The president, who may serve two consecutive five-year terms, can appoint the prime minister; otherwise, his duties are largely ceremonial. Provisions for the rights of trade unions, workers' right to strike, and worker-management consultation demonstrated that the framers of the constitution did not regard their Yugoslav experience as entirely unworthy of emulation.

As political scientists have emphasized, there were only two points of serious disagreement in the writing of the constitution. One concerned the question of abortion, a contentious issue in all Catholic countries. Those on the right in the country's evolving political dynamic wanted it banned, while those leaning left campaigned for guarantees of abortion rights. Abortion rights proponents carried the day on that issue. Additionally, there was conflict regarding the nature of the National Assembly, whether it should have two houses or one. Opponents reached a compromise here. Slovenia would have a unicameral legislature, featuring a *državni zbor,* a national assembly composed of ninety representatives elected for four-year terms from throughout the country. This body was given primary responsibility for writing legislation. A *državni svet,* state council, to include regional interests and workers, managers, and cultural affairs representatives, would play an advisory role, though its forty members would have the right to introduce legislation. Taken together with the responsibilities accorded the president and the judiciary, this arrangement guaranteed a separation of powers and enfranchised citizens representing a variety of backgrounds, an important concession for a democracy in its infancy.

THE FIRST GOVERNMENT: TURMOIL AND TRANSITION

The constitution having been written and ratified, it was time to govern. The first nationwide elections, held in December 1992, saw the reelection of Milan Kučan as president. A coalition of like-minded parties, led by the perennially successful Liberal Democrats, won a majority of seats in the National Assembly and tapped Kučan's former Slovene Communist Party colleague, Janez Drnovšek, to serve as prime minister. This was an experienced team, and its members would need every ounce of that experience to meet the immediate challenges they faced. Some of these were fundamental, such as appointing members of the judiciary, assembling a Slovene foreign service, and dealing with

Janez Drnovšek. (Courtesy of the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia)

hangover issues from Yugoslavia, such as restitution of land and property taken by the Communists from blacklisted institutions like the Catholic Church. Discussion about the structure and composition of the Slovenian army also commenced at this time.

The most pressing issue was extraordinary and dangerous. The Yugoslav-Croatian conflict had escalated into a full-scale war over Bosnia-Hercegovina. Some 30 percent of the population there were Serbs, another 30 percent were Croats, and both governments claimed these populations. But there were many Bosnian Muslims living in Serb and Croat areas. Neither Milošević nor Croatian President Franjo Tudjman wanted to see a "West Bank situation," with Muslims protesting their treatment before crowds of international journalists. Thus Serb and Croat forces began a campaign of intimidation and ethnic cleansing intended to rid the desired areas of non-Serb and non-Croat citizens.

The Bosnian war had immediate and serious consequences in Slovenia. Slovene manufacturers and businessmen had counted on continued trade with the Yugoslav republics that remained, because they had always constituted a major market for Slovene products. But war-related United Nations sanctions made this impossible, and the losses hit hard in Slovenia, with businesses struggling to retain their employees and remain viable. In the midst of this economic turmoil, thousands of desperate Bosnian Muslims, driven from their homes by ethnic cleansing, sought refuge in Slovenia.

The Drnovšek government fashioned pragmatic solutions to these twin emergencies. It attempted to mitigate the economic crisis by encouraging beleaguered businesses to take maximum advantage of established contacts abroad and initiating debate on the process of privatizing state enterprises. The National Assembly addressed the refugees' plight by allocating some $250 million to provide emergency food and shelter. Lawmakers were able to enlist the help of volunteer groups, who provided essential services and lobbied for donations from sympathetic foreign governments. In the United States, the Maryland state government paid for heating and medical care in some refugee centers.

Unfortunately, the war showed no signs of abating as 1992 wore on. Meanwhile the country's unemployment rate climbed into double digits, and Slovene citizens became anxious and fearful about the newcomers, who kept coming. Opinion polls showed rising anti-immigrant sentiment; over 90 percent of respondents in one poll favored restrictions on citizenship and organized political action among immigrants. Obliged now to take public opinion into account, the Slovene leadership toughened its stance. In January 1993 it closed the country's borders to refugees and tried to discourage those who remained from making Slovenia their permanent home. It housed them in camps away from major population centers, in dingy, makeshift buildings that reminded *Boston Globe* reporter James Carroll of a concentration camp. Residents faced restrictions on their movements, educational opportunities, and access to employment. In spite of criticism from the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, which felt that Slovenia should be more receptive to the refugees' plight, the leadership declined to open the state's borders immediately. Like other nascent democrats in Central Europe, Kučan, Drnovšek, and their allies found it necessary to take care of their own first, even if the decision did not play well abroad.

By 1995, the government's efforts had brought an improvement in the overall condition of the country. The most ambitious and successful businesses, such as Belinka chemical products, had retooled and reoriented themselves toward Western European markets after the loss of clients in Yugoslavia. After two years of contentious debate, in which individuals mistrustful of private enterprise sparred with those who saw privatization as the sine qua non of a prosperous Slovenia, a law on privatization had gained approval in the legislature in 1994. The foundation for an independent judiciary had been established, and discussions about the transformation of the Slovene military continued. The war in Bosnia was not over, but peace proposals were being floated, and the refugee tide had ebbed. The Kučan-Drnovšek government thus was able to shift out of crisis management into long-term planning.

Kučan and Drnovšek saw membership in the European Union as the major long-term goal for Slovenia. This was just the latest step in a steady progression. Far-sighted Slovene politicians had established close relationships with

EU member nations in the 1960s and 1970s, and a desire for unfettered contacts with Europe had played its role in the decision to seek separation from Yugoslavia. Now, four years after Slovene independence, the state met the basic criteria for membership. It had established a stable democracy and provided guarantees for its national minorities. It had a good, if not perfect, human rights record. Additionally, it had the beginnings of a functioning market economy and the potential to fulfill and implement the numerous European Union laws governing transport, social policy, and property rights. In 1993 the Slovene government became a member of the Council of Europe, an important first step toward EU membership.

The first government also asserted that membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) would bring advantages for Slovenia. Since Slovenes had unpleasant memories of the Yugoslav army from their brief war for independence and saw few threats abroad, there was some reluctance to discuss military or defense matters. However, this changed in view of recurring friction between Slovenia and Croatia over access to the Adriatic and the volatile situation next door in the former Yugoslavia. The criteria for NATO membership were the same as for the European Union—stable democracy, human rights guarantees, and a functioning market economy. It was believed that Slovenia had an additional advantage in its position as a bridge between Italy and Hungary, another prospective NATO member, and as a buffer between the European democracies and the Balkans. Accordingly, in early 1994 the National Assembly took the first step toward membership by joining the NATO preparatory program, the Partnership for Peace. In 1995 Slovene soldiers participated in a joint exercise with the United States. Observers noted that NATO membership was not universally popular among lawmakers. Some worried about the loss of control that membership in a large military alliance would require. However, President Kučan, the leading parties in the National Assembly, and the business community actively supported NATO membership, terming it an "insurance policy for foreign investment and tourism." NATO membership represented the best guarantees of the security of small nations for the foreseeable future.

In 1996 Kučan and Drnovšek faced the voters in the second national election. They made their case for another term by citing their role in righting the state in the tumultuous first years and their promotion of Slovenia's membership in NATO and the European Union. Some of their colleagues in the National Assembly criticized what they perceived as the slow pace of economic reform and privatization, but the voters felt otherwise. They strongly endorsed the country's direction, returning Drnovšek and the Liberal Party to an advantageous position in the legislature and Kučan to the presidency with a healthy majority the following year. Consensus and continuity prevailed in a time of change.

THE SECOND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT: FOCUS ON THE FUTURE

All during the election year of 1996, the Slovene government kept its focus on the future. The country's EU application had run into unanticipated trouble in 1994–1995, when the Italian government raised the issue of compensation for property confiscated by the Tito government after World War II. The 1975 Treaty of Osimo was supposed to have made restitution a dead issue, but Italian representatives insisted that the breakup of Yugoslavia made possible a revision of that agreement. Hoping to avoid reopening a contentious issue, the Slovene side insisted that the treaty was still in force. After a few months of wrangling, in which the Slovene government demanded a review of the Slovene minority's status in Italy, the two sides agreed that Slovenia would amend its constitution to allow Italians or any other foreigners to buy property in the country. This move was, in any case, required to come into compliance with European Union property law, so it was not regarded as a surrender to Italian demands.

The resolution of this issue paved the way for Prime Minister Drnovšek to sign an Associate Membership agreement with the European Union on 10 June 1996. This implied acceptance into the EU after the completion of all the preliminary steps, including complying with the body of existing laws and regulations—the *acquis communautaire*—already in effect in EU member countries. Slovenia was considered to be on the fast track because its GDP already exceeded that of Greece and Portugal, which had already gained full membership.

NATO membership appeared to be a certainty as well by 1997. Visiting Ljubljana in the late summer of 1996, U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry sang Slovenia's praises, declaring that in areas important to NATO, "Slovenia is as advanced as any of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe." However, when the formal announcement of new NATO members came in the summer of 1997, Slovenia was not included. There were various reasons given for the exclusion, including Slovenia's alleged slow progress in adapting its military to NATO standards, disagreement among members about which new members would most benefit from membership, and reluctance to include a former Yugoslav republic while the situation in the former Yugoslavia remained unsettled. In any case, the Slovene leadership made clear its intention to press for acceptance in the next round of NATO expansion. It endeavored to make itself useful to the alliance, allowing the use of its airspace during NATO operations in Kosovo in 1999 and touting the special expertise it could offer the alliance. Foreign Minister Dmitrij Rupel frequently reminded audiences in important member nations about Slovenia's expert knowledge of the Balkans, its geographic advantage, and its ability to field units of Alpine troops.

As the national election of 2000 neared, the Kučan-Drnovšek administration appeared to be making steady progress in moving the state closer to EU membership. Formal negotiations on accession began in March 1998. Although Slovenia received some criticism regarding the pace of economic reform and adaptation of EU law, it was clear that membership would come sooner rather than later. Meanwhile, the benefits of EU membership began to come into focus with the influx of preaccession funds. Under the auspices of ISPA, the EU's Instrument for Structural Policies

Slovenia's Undead

By any standard, Slovenia is a bright star in the constellation of ex-Communist states, blessed with favorable climate, an industrious, sober citizenry, and enlightened political leadership. Like many of its former Communist neighbors, however, it has a dark past, as becomes clear with the reemergence of the *Domobranci*. They are the Slovene "undead," ghosts of World War II who haunt the country's political life even today.

The Domobranci (Home Defenders) were born in the blood-soaked crucible of the Yugoslav war-within-a war, the conflict that paralleled the wider war against the Nazis and the Italians between 1941 and 1945. Beleaguered Yugoslavs were fighting not just against the invaders, but also against each other for the future. A group with close ties to the Nazi regime, the Domobranci envisioned a Catholic, nationalist, and exclusivist future for Slovenia. Their countrymen in the rival group, the OF (Osvobodilna Fronta), considered themselves a popular front organization, hoping to join with other progressive forces on behalf of a broad-based and just postwar order. They found common cause with Tito's Partisans, whose postwar objective was a new Yugoslavia based on Communist principles and the Partisan ethos, "brotherhood and unity." The Partisans went on to expel the invaders and win the war, establishing a Communist Yugoslavia in May 1945.

Slovenes who ended the war on the Partisan side got the full benefits of victory: their own republic, language and culture guarantees, even the right to secede. They were brothers in unity with the Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Albanians, and other constituent groups. However, brotherhood and unity were not extended to the Domobranci, who had fought against the Partisans. About 8,000 escaped to Austria, fearing the consequences of capture by the Partisans, only to be forcibly repatriated by British forces. In October 1945 they were shot without trial by Partisan forces in Slovenian territory at Kočevski Rog, their bodies buried in a mass grave.

But the Domobranci did not remain dead and buried. They have been continually disinterred and used to advantage through the years. Tito invoked them to discredit his Partisan comrade Edvard Kocbek, who offended the Partisan leadership by questioning their summary executions. How could any decent Partisan take up for Nazi collaborators and fascists? In the 1980s Slovene anti-Communists, including journalists Janez Janša and Dmitrij Rupel, exhumed them as part of a campaign to shake the foundations of Communist Yugoslavia. They used the bones in investigative exposés to beat the drums of agitation, demanding to know why Slovenes should remain in a state founded on bloody murder and lawlessness. The revelations proved explosive and effective.

After the birth of independent Slovenia, the Domobranci seemed destined to be reburied. In July 1990 Slovene politicians officially acknowledged them in a public ceremony of reconciliation. But the reburial was brief. Ambitious Slovene politicians such as Andrej Bajuk have disinterred them in attempts to break the hold of Milan Kučan and the Liberal Democrats on the country's leadership. An investment banker raised in Argentina, Bajuk promoted his family ties with the Domobranci as a leading member of the new center-right party, Nova Slovenska Zaveza (New Slovene Union). Using this forum, he has called attention to Kučan and Drnovšek's Communist Party backgrounds, implying that the heirs of those who murdered the Domobranci are still running the country, holding back the pace of economic reform, and controlling elections. Meanwhile, unofficial commemorations of the Domobranci keep the issue alive, outraging those who still consider them the embodiment of fascist evil. The Domobranci continue to cast a long shadow on the country's political life.

Kučan and Drnovšek have always maintained that the Domobranci are a dead issue, a diversion from the essential tasks of the future. Still, the leadership has recognized the emotional resonance of the issue and attempted to find some common ground between those who defend and those who condemn the Domobranci. In the summer of 2003 the National Assembly passed legislation allowing for the acknowledgment of Domobranci monuments and graves in neutral language: "Victims of war and postwar killings, Republic of Slovenia." This gesture only inflamed both sides. Defenders decried a perceived refusal to admit mass murder and detractors vehemently protested a "revaluation" of people they believe to be quislings and fascists. Realistically, therefore, the Domobranci are likely to remain Slovenia's undead, unable to rest in peace until all Communist-era politicians pass from the scene.

for Preaccession, Slovenia received some $20 million for environmental improvements and transport projects. SAPARD, the Special Accession Program for Agricultural and Rural Development, also began to function in the country at this time. Prospects for NATO membership in the next expansion looked increasingly favorable as well, after a well-publicized visit to Slovenia by U.S. President Bill Clinton in 1999.

Consensus and continuity prevailed once again in the 2000 elections, as the Liberal Democrats and their allies saw their efforts rewarded with another majority in the National Assembly. In 2002 their dream of Slovenian EU and NATO membership was finally realized in the country's formal acceptance into both organizations on 1 May 2004. The third consecutive victory for the makers of independent Slovenia did not, of course, imply an absence of conflict in Slovene political life. Indeed, there were and are vocal elements in the country demanding a greater role for religion and morality in public life, including a ban on abortion and religious instruction in public schools. Others, mostly in the center-right parties, assert that the Kučan-Drnovšek leadership has too many ties to the communist past and should yield to a new generation. It is significant, though, that none of these individuals or groups opposed the basic direction of the country. There was, and continues to be, solid support for European Union and NATO membership among all responsible political parties and individuals.

SLOVENIA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In 2001 the Slovene state celebrated its first ten years. Milan Kučan and like-minded colleagues who had shepherded the independent state through its first decade had compiled an enviable record of achievement. They had negotiated the tricky passage out of a rapidly disintegrating Yugoslavia and secured recognition of Slovene independence. They had helped produce a constitution worthy of the oldest European states, laying the time-tested foundations of successful democracies: the rule of law, the separation of powers, and guarantees of minority rights. They had made adjustments and taken tough decisions in the face of economic and human fallout from the Bosnian war. Finally, they had continued to look far into the future for the best guarantees of Slovenia's security and prosperity in the new Europe, preparing the country to join the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Briefly put, Slovenia's first generation of leaders continually demonstrated that there is great advantage in continuity and that politics can indeed be the art of the possible.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Slovene culture, like the Slovenian state, has an image problem: it has existed independently for only twelve years. No one seems to know what or where it is, and if someone takes a guess, he is more than likely to confuse it with something that sounds like Slovakia. Now that Slovenia has finally made its formal debut as a member of the European Union (EU), the world may come to appreciate both the country's distinct identity and its remarkably rich and diversified cultural life.

The fundamental concern of the Slovenes, a small people in the center of Europe whose lands have been administered by at least five different states over the centuries, has been their language. As that is the one element that has united them across physical borders and political divisions, the influence of the written word takes first place in any review of Slovene culture. Prior to the twentieth century, the Slovene language was spoken only in the countryside. It had no official recognition, and Slovenes with aspirations to education or work beyond the farm had to learn and function in German. Nonetheless, some Slovenes recognized the value of their native language. In the sixteenth century a Slovene priest, Primož Trubar, came to agree with Protestant reformers, who believed that the gospel should be made available in local languages. Trubar joined their campaign and acted on his convictions. He wrote a catechism and translated the New Testament into Slovene, a milestone in Slovene culture, and wrote an accompanying catechism. Jurij Dalmatin furthered his friend's cause and produced the entire Bible in Slovene translation. Trubar and Dalmatin's efforts guaranteed that Slovenes could learn about God in their own language. They also raised the profile of the Slovene language, sending a signal that it was a worthwhile pursuit.

The seventeenth century saw the debut of Slovenia's most famous intellectual, Janez Vajkard Valvasor. Born into a wealthy Ljubljana family in 1641, Valvasor had many opportunities to see the world but chose to devote his life to the study of the Slovene lands, especially Carniola. A tireless and wide-ranging researcher, Valvasor drew some of the first detailed maps of the region, based on his extensive travels there. He was intrigued by the proliferation of karst and the many natural curiosities it produced, such as disappearing rivers and lakes. Valvasor delighted in the many stories and legends of the Slovene peasantry, notably those associated with the local Robin Hood, Erazem Lueger. These invariably found their way into his notebooks, as did detailed descriptions of beekeeping, one of the Slovenes' most important agricultural endeavors. He laid out his life's work in a hymn of praise to Slovenia entitled *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*. While this book was published in German, it was clear that Valvasor's knowledge of the Slovene language made it possible. Its publication also demonstrated that the Slovene lands and its people had unique attractions and therefore deserved further study.

In the next century, more Slovenes picked up the Valvasor standard and promoted the study of Slovenia and the Slovene language. Following in the footsteps of Trubar, the monk Marco Pohlin wrote a grammar of the Slovene language, entitled *Krajnska grammatika* (Carniolan Grammar), which had the additional benefit of emphasizing that Carniola was home not just to Germans, but to a large concentration of Slovenes as well. The linguist Jernej Kopitar, who was to become one of the most prominent men of letters in Slovene history, followed up with his *Gramatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* (Grammar of Spoken Slavic in Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria). At the same time, Anton Linhart published the first attempt to tell the story of the Slavic peoples in the Habsburg Empire, *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und der übrigen südlichen Slawen Osterreiche* (History of Carniola and Other Austrian South Slavic Peoples). Trubar, Dalmatin, Pohlin, and Kopitar had established that the Slovenes had an interesting and distinctive language. Echoing Valvasor, Linhart emphasized that they had a record of achievements that distinguished them from the Germans, in whose shadow they had long lived.

The Napoleonic invasion of Central Europe further advanced the cause of Slovenia and the Slovene language. Having vanquished Austria, Napoleon took parts of the Slovene and Croatian lands and grouped them for administrative purposes in an arrangement known as the Illyrian Provinces. He naturally took these measures in his own interest, hoping to block Austrian access to the Adriatic Sea. Even so, the Illyrian interlude, which began in 1809 and ended in 1813, brought meaningful long-term benefits for Slovenes. The city of Ljubljana (in German, Laibach) became the capital of the Illyrian Provinces and thereafter an unofficial Slovene capital. Slovene language instruction was introduced in Slovene primary schools, whose administrator was the celebrated poet Valentin Vodnik. Vodnik sought to assist his students by writing a Slovene language primer and a brief Slovene-French-German dictionary, the first such reference work in Slovene history.

The French interlude ended with the defeat of Napoleon, but some of the innovations and the possibilities it showcased lived on. Even in the barren period of absolutism and censorship that followed the Napoleonic era in the Habsburg empire, Slovene writers and thinkers pursued aspects of the Illyrian legacy, again with emphasis on the Slovene language. Vodnik dabbled in publishing, launching a Slovene-language newspaper, *Lublanske novice* (Ljubljana News). As the rector of the Ljubljana gymnasium, he also continued to promote the study of Slovene and authored a longer French-Slovene dictionary, as well as a text on Slovene history. Vodnik had a dedicated collaborator in Fr. Anton Martin Slomšek, who mostly worked in the countryside as a parish priest and bishop. His primer on Slovene language and culture, *Blaže and Nežica in Sunday School,* became the first all-purpose Slovene reader, providing practice in Slovene language and readable lectures on a wide range of subjects for parents and children alike. He went on to found the Society of St. Hermagor, the Slovene lands' first publishing house. Dr. Janez Bleiweis, a veternarian from Carniola, had a similar role in the evolution of Slovene culture. He published a journal entitled *News of Manufacturing and the Countryside,* in which he and a variety of specialists published a wide range of useful and interesting materials, from agricultural news to articles on linguistics and poetry.

Monument to poet France Prešeren and the Franciscan Church in Ljubljana. The poet France Prešeren (1800–1849) was known for his lyric poems, which incorporated Slovenian folk rhythms. (Bojan Brecelj/Corbis)

He continually emphasized the vitality and relevance of Slovene endeavors, asserting that "everyone should do his part to help our people emerge from the darkness of ignorance to the light of culture."

The post-Napoleonic period is perhaps best known for the debut of the man who would eventually be considered the father of Slovene literature. France Prešeren was born to a farming family in the town of Vrba in 1800. A gifted student, Prešeren demonstrated an interest in poetry early in his life, devouring everything from Homer through the early poets. As a young man, he gravitated toward Vienna and the study of law, because poetry did not hold out the promise of a viable profession. But poetry was his true passion—poetry in the Slovene language. He did not live long, and his life was not happy personally or professionally. His contributions to the Slovene language and culture are, however, legion. He was the first to write poetry in the Slovene language, poetry that soon earned him comparisons with the great romantic poets of his generation, like Alexander Pushkin and Adam Mickiewicz. Prešeren played Pygmalion to the Slovene language, winning it an entrée into the most respected circles in Europe.

He had the gift of all great national poets: he could address issues at once common to all humans and peculiar to his own people. His longest and best-known work, the epic *Krst pri Savica* (Baptism on the Savica), is set near the fabled Savica waterfall near Bohinj in Dolenjska province. It concerns the fate of Črtomir, the pagan leader of an early Slavic warrior force. Črtomir loses in battle to an invading Christian force and in the process loses his beloved Bogomila, who has meanwhile converted to Christianity in exchange for guarantees that Črtomir's life will be spared. The vagaries of fate, regrets from the past, and hope for the future despite defeat, all universal sentiments, figure prominently in this saga. Likewise, Prešeren's brief yet eloquent wish for better times, "Zdravljica" (The Toast), expresses a universal yearning for peace and freedom from a people who had known only turmoil and subjugation at the hands of their neighbors:

> God's blessing on all nations
> Who long and work for that bright day,
> When o'er earth's habitation
> No war, no strife shall hold its sway;
> Who long to see
> That all men free
> No more shall foes, but neighbours be.

These verses became the basis for the national anthem of the independent Slovene state after 1991.

In addition to producing the first widely acclaimed poetry in Slovene, Prešeren and his close friend Matija Čop founded the first Slovene literary magazine, the *Krajnska čbelica* (Carniola Bee). This periodical provided a showcase for Prešeren's work and brought poetry and prose written in Slovene to a wider audience in the Habsburg monarchy for the first time. The *Bee* began publication in 1830, whereas the bulk of Prešeren's work did not appear until 1847 in the anthology *Poezije.*

Prešeren's most important contribution may not be his poems, as legendary as they have become since his death. He foresaw as few people did the necessity of preserving the distinctiveness of the Slovene language. In the 1830s and 1840s South Slavic linguists and historians understandably sought commonality among the three South Slavic languages of the Habsburg monarchy: Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene. It was believed that linguistic unity would become the intellectual foundation for political union, in a period when the Habsburg imperial authorities were deliberately promoting centralization and Germanization. Some felt that the Slovene language should adopt the štokavian dialect shared by Serbian and Croatian, making them virtually interchangeable, at least in spoken form (Serbian is written in the Cyrillic alphabet, the consequence of having adopted Eastern rather than Western Christianity). Prešeren strongly disagreed. He argued that while Croats and Serbs tended to live in homogeneous areas, almost half of Slovenes lived in Carinthia or Styria, where the population was predominantly Italian or German and unfriendly to attempts to introduce Slovene. If they were to have any hope of maintaining their Slovene identity and culture, Prešeren believed, they needed to keep their language as distinct as possible. That meant rejecting the concept of linguistic unity, however attractive that seemed at first glance, and keeping Slovene close to the less popular kajkavian.

In honor of Prešeren's singular contributions, the Slovene state celebrates the anniversary of his death, 8 February, as a national holiday. The day is intended to demonstrate Slovenia's gratitude to Prešeren, their greatest poet, and also Slovenes' commitment to the arts and humanities. Offices and businesses are closed nationwide, would-be poets stage impromptu recitals of Prešeren's poems near his statue at the center of the city, and there are numerous readings and events in Ljubljana bookstores. The Slovene government honors its most talented men and women of culture as part of the festivities in the annual Prešeren award and Prešeren fund awards. In 2000 Prešeren Day marked the beginning of the bicentennial of the poet's birth, a yearlong series of celebrations.

Prešeren's death at the age of forty-nine immediately followed the revolutions of 1848, in which some of his compatriots proclaimed a plan for Slovene cultural and political union in Zedinjena Slovenija (United Slovenia). Prešeren, Čop, Kopitar, and others had helped lay the intellectual foundations. The revolutions did not have any immediate effects, but they did mark a point of no return: from that time, it was clear that Slovene intellectual and political leaders would work to advance the cause of Slovene language and culture in the Habsburg monarchy. The campaign was conducted in local, then national politics, concentrating on contesting German officials over the use of the Slovene language in local administrative matters and schools. Political efforts had a cultural corollary in associations like Matica Slovenska, a literary society dedicated to the dissemination of fiction and relevant nonfiction materials in the Slovene lands, and Južni Sokol, a club for Slovene sports lovers. These organizations furthered the work done in the previous era by Prešeren and

Slomšek, making available material to help Slovenes become acquainted with their language and heritage.

Prešeren had settled the dialect debate and achieved for Slovene language and literature a place in the intellectual life of the country. It fell to the next generation of writers to augment their influence and assist Slovene politicians in their struggles against Germans and Germanization.

Ivan Cankar began his career as a poet, exploring the decadent side of the Austrian fin de siècle in a collection of poems titled *Erotika.* For this he incurred the ire of the Catholic church leadership, achieving the rare distinction of seeing his work condemned. From poetry, Cankar moved on to drama, writing several plays about life in middle-class Slovenia circa 1900 that remain an important part of the Slovene theater repertoire today. But Cankar did not concentrate exclusively on art for art's sake. He contributed to the campaign for Slovenia's political and cultural future with his novel, *Bailiff Jernej.* Jernej is a kind of Slovene everyman, who serves his employer, Sitar, with devotion for many years. When Sitar dies, change comes to the house, and Jernej is marginalized, then dismissed. Convinced that his shabby treatment must somehow be illegal, Jernej travels to Ljubljana, then all the way to Vienna in search of justice. He finds instead scorn, contempt, and even arrest in the capital, at the hands of men who address him in German, a language he does not know.

Jernej is often read as a meditation on the status of Slovenes within the Habsburg monarchy at the end of the nineteenth century: willing servants for many years who find only opposition and disrespect when they finally assert themselves. In a recent essay on Slovene culture in the volume *Independent Slovenia,* Cathie Carmichael and James Gow argued that the novel anticipated some of the key issues Slovenes would face in the future, that is "the responsibilities to be faced once rights have been attained through independence, both regarding others in the self-standing house and on questions of a further condominium that might be considered." Cankar subsequently proved to be vitally interested in these questions. He gave a lecture in 1912 in which he cautioned Slovene advocates of a Yugoslav arrangement that they should be mindful of important cultural differences between Slovenes and their fellow Slavs. In fact those differences were acknowledged in the foundation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, leaving the Slovene contingent perhaps the only satisfied group in that ill-fated institution.

Like Prešeren, Cankar occupies a prominent place in Slovenia's pantheon of heroes. He does not have a national holiday, but the country's largest cultural center bears his name. The Cankarjev dom (Cankar Center) is an imposing, multiuse venue housing several art galleries, stages, and auditoriums, as well as an elaborate conference center. The Center pays fitting tribute to Cankar's range of literary activities and also recalls his focus on the future. It enlists both the public and private sector in its financing, receiving about 50 percent of its support from the Slovene government and requiring directors and patrons to raise the rest of the funds needed for operations.

After World War I, the Slovenes joined the Serbs, Croats, and other South Slavs in forming a new South Slavic state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later renamed Yugoslavia). This was a great triumph for the Slovene people, their language, and culture. For the first time, Slovenes had their own administrative unit, their own regional officials, their own flag. More importantly, they were able to send their children to Slovene-language elementary and high schools without a fight, the Belgrade-based federal government having made this a priority. Even higher education for Slovenes in Slovenia became possible in the foundation of the University of Ljubljana in 1919, a development that seemed inconceivable before World War I.

Now that the Slovene language and culture were the equal of others in the state, it seemed that there were no major cultural or political battles to be fought in Slovenia. That was exclusively the province of Croats, who had seen no improvement and actually experienced a decline in their political standing in the first Yugoslavia. In fact, Serb-Croat conflict plagued the new state until 1939, when the Serb-dominated Belgrade government finally granted the Croatian areas administrative autonomy. Under these circumstances, it was difficult for Slovene writers to make themselves heard above the charges, countercharges, and recriminations.

In Tito's Yugoslavia, issues of greatest importance to Slovene culture again appeared settled. Slovenes could use their own language in local administration, educate their children in Slovene-language schools, and even attend their own Slovene university. In the state's constitution, Slovenes even had the theoretical right to secede if things went badly for them. It seemed that Slovene writers, who had often used their writing as a sword with which to defend Slovene culture, would find little to defend against and much to be thankful for. This was especially true after 1948. Although the Yugoslav leadership under Tito called itself "Communist," its break with the Soviet Union moved it to reject the rigid doctrine of socialist realism that artists and writers in the other communist states had to embrace. This meant that while comrades in other states had to write about issues their governments deemed important and structure their works to showcase communist values and heroes, Slovene and other Yugoslav writers enjoyed a relatively long leash. They had only to avoid explicitly nationalist subjects or direct criticism of Tito and the regime.

Despite these advantages, Slovenia's leading writer of the communist period, Edvard Kocbek, was anything but complacent. Kocbek was a poet who had made his mark shortly before the end of the first Yugoslav state by attempting to forge a third way between what he perceived as extreme nationalism in the Yugoslav government and extreme anticommunism in the Slovene Catholic Church leadership. According to John Cox, who has written extensively about Kocbek, he was vitally interested in questions of social justice and economic democracy and advocated for both in a journal he founded, *Dejanje* (Action).

Kocbek called himself a Christian Socialist, so he gravitated toward Tito and the Partisans in the crucible of World War II because they represented the best hope for a more just postwar world. In fact, he was close enough to the inner circle to become minister for Slovenia in Tito's interim postwar government. Yet he soon alienated his wartime comrades. He wrote eloquently of his wartime experiences in his first postwar poetry collection, *Strah in pogum* (Fear and Courage), but his depictions of Partisan opponents proved too dispassionate. Neutrality was never an option in discussing World War II, since the struggle and victory represented the source of the leadership's power and credibility. For this trespass on Partisan sensibilities, Kocbek was sentenced to obscurity, forbidden to publish for more than a decade.

Even after his intellectual exile ended, Kocbek was always living on the fringes of respectability. He had a persistent contrarian streak that did not play well with a leadership that preferred applause to admonition. In *On Freedom of Mind,* for example, he celebrated his free spirit, his refusal to fall into line with the rest of society:

> Even when I am tired
> I can still say the word: no,
> and when everyone is saying: yes,
> I guffaw that little word: no.
> With this word I control the situation,
> it's my form of affirmation, it makes me clear-headed and
> cruel.

Kocbek kept his distance from political action, refusing to be a cheerleader. He preferred to explore universal values such as love and free will, commenting that he valued poetry for its ability to reveal "the means by which man becomes reconciled to the world, secures himself against it, and mystically rises above it." At the same time, he felt compelled to probe the dark side of the regime he had helped to establish. In 1974 he gave a controversial interview to a Trieste newspaper condemning the draconian treatment meted out to the Slovene Domobranci, the anticommunist resistance group that contested the Partisans for the allegiance of Slovenes during World War II. These transgressions guaranteed that the full body of Kocbek's work would never appear in Tito's Yugoslavia.

Twenty years after his death, Kocbek's writing and fate are instructive. Perhaps it was no longer sufficient for Slovenes to be able to speak, educate their children, and write in the Slovene language. Kocbek hinted that Slovenes should aim higher, for the right to say and write whatever they wished without censure.

In the 1980s Kocbek's successors did aim higher, using Slovene language and literature to agitate for change in Slovenia's relationship with the Yugoslav state. The Slovenes had many complaints about their life in Yugoslavia by the 1980s, mostly concerning the federal government's misappropriation of their hard-earned revenues. But some observers were surprised to see the language issue surface again. Many Slovenes apparently felt that their language was endangered, that Serbo-Croatian was destined to become the official language of the state. They saw confirmation of this fear in the resurgence of Serbian nationalism after the Serbian Academy of Science's Memorandum of 1986 and the rise to power of Slobodan Milošević. Then came the 1988 arrest of the *Mladina* journalists over their controversial discoveries about the Yugoslav army. Citizens of Slovenia were shocked when Yugoslav army officials insisted on conducting the proceedings in Serbo-Croatian rather than Slovene. Perhaps the demise of the Slovene language might actually come to pass in Slobodan Milošević's Yugoslavia.

Concern for the future of the language was acute in Slovenia by the mid-1980s. Slovene writers now put that language to work in presenting other issues relevant to Slovenia's future. Two journals, *Mladina* and *Nova revija,* did their part in this process. Both produced controversial and hard-hitting material beginning in the mid-1980s, slaughtering sacred cows from the past and exposing corruption and deviousness in the present. *Nova revija* answered the Serbian Academy's Memorandum with a draft of a national program, which left open the possibility of sovereignty or even an independent Slovenia. *Mladina* produced the material that might have done the most to turn Slovene opinion against remaining in Yugoslavia, exposing plans by the Yugoslav army to "destabilize" Slovenia and justify an occupation by the Yugoslav army in order to silence criticism of Milošević. If the facts of that article did not convince everyone that the federal government bore active ill will toward Slovenia, the subsequent trial of the staffers and editor left no doubt. Once again, Slovene language and writing, and those who use it to maximum advantage, played a crucial role in shaping Slovenia's destiny.

VISUALS: ARCHITECTURE, PAINTING, FOLK ART

Slovene literature and language are decidedly parochial, developed and defended in reaction to outside influences. By contrast, the country's architecture is chronologically and nationally diversified—perfectly reflective of those outside influences. Venetian Gothic is on display in formerly Italian areas of the Adriatic. Austrian baroque is a fixture of such well-known attractions as the Church of the Assumption at Lake Bled. Neoclassicism, art nouveau, and socialist realism can all be found in Ljubljana, a reliable guide to the values and sensibilities of the regimes that built the structures through the centuries.

Despite the parade of foreign architects that built its cities, Slovenia eventually made its own unique contribution to the architectural world. Born in Ljubljana in 1872, Jože Plečnik was expected to follow his father into carpentry, but the younger man had other ideas. He studied briefly at the College of Handicrafts in Graz, where he first showed aptitude for design in helping a professor there with plans to redesign the Graz Ringstrasse. Following the death of his father, Plečnik went to Vienna, where he eventually gained admission to Otto Wagner's courses at the Vienna Academy of Arts. During his tenure there, the aspiring architect assisted with the design of several suburban railway stations and rubbed shoulders with some of the leading architects and designers of his day. At the end of his studies, Plečnik received the prestigious Prix de Rome and set off for a year of work and observation in France and Italy.

Venetian House, Piran, Slovenia. (Massimo Mastrorillo/Corbis)

Following his postgraduate year, Plečnik returned to Vienna and launched his career with a commission to build a new headquarters for the Zacherl Company. The finished product won him both fame and notoriety for its spare and austere appearance in Vienna's baroque center. While the Zacherl building was under construction, Plečnik made architectural history in designing the Church of the Holy Ghost, the first church in Central Europe to be constructed entirely in reinforced concrete. Prior to the outbreak of World War I, Plečnik's increasing interest in the expression of Slavic culture and traditions in architecture led him to accept the invitation of a Czech colleague to lecture at the Prague Academy of Fine Arts.

Shortly after the end of World War I, Plečnik's colleague, Professor Thomas Masaryk—by now the president of the new state of Czechoslovakia—offered him his most important assignment to date: the restoration of the fabled Hradčany Castle, headquarters of the new Czechoslovak government. Masaryk wanted the castle to reflect the character of the new state, which combined the novelty of democracy with Czech traditions. Plečnik did his best to fulfill the new president's charge. He constructed new passages within the castle that rendered it more accessible to the world outside and overhauled the network of garden paths to highlight the oldest trees on the grounds. In a nod to the new president's disdain for ostentation and formality, Plečnik worked to make points of transition from the palace grounds into public space as smooth as possible. At all times, the architect preserved as much as he could of the old building, as a mark of respect to its Czech builders.

The Hradčany restoration took almost fifteen years, because Plečnik did much of his work in Prague on weekends and vacations. By 1921, he had gone home to begin work at Slovenia's first institution of higher education, the University of Ljubljana. From there, he trained several generations of architects in his thirty-seven-year career and managed to change the face of the capital. Plečnik did numerous individual building projects, including the University and National Library, the distinctive, arched Central Market complex, St. Michael's Church, and the elaborate network of mortuary chapels at the city's Zale cemetery. While all of these have become treasured features of the city's landscape, the Zale chapels receive particular attention from art historians because they are regarded as a synthesis of the myriad influences that inform Plečnik's work: classical, Mediterranean, Egyptian, Byzantine. It might be most accurate to term Plečnik an enthusiast of the eclectic in his work there.

Beyond buildings and complexes, Plečnik overhauled the Ljubljana city plan and gave the city its contemporary look.

In this endeavor, he favored an intriguing mix of the classical, the populist, and the pragmatic. Classical touches—pyramids, obelisks, and pillars—are numerous on Ljubljana streets. Wide stairways and broad public thoroughfares dominate major attractions. The city's major playground, the Tivoli Park, features a signature Plečnik creation, the Jakopič Promenade, where Ljubljana residents like to stroll. Plečnik pragmatism is especially evident in the Tromostoje (Three Bridges), where a pedestrian thoroughfare appears alongside two bridges serving traffic, thereby making Ljubljana a friendly city for walkers. At one end of the Tromostoje stands Prešeren trg (square), with its monument to the immortal poet. This juxtaposition forges a link across the centuries between Slovenia's principal architect and the father of Slovene culture. A visiting journalist perceptively noted that "most vistas lead back to Prešeren trg" in the Slovenian capital.

Plečnik completed his body of work with structures and complexes in several other localities in Slovenia. Guidebooks most often direct attention to the chapel he designed for the Church of St. James in the town of Kamnik and embellishments to the Sava River embankment in Kranj, both in Gorenjska province. The architect did not succeed in his most controversial undertaking, an outsize parliament building that was to crown Castle Hill in Ljubljana. Tito supposedly vetoed it on the grounds that it focused excessive attention on Slovenia in an era in which "brotherhood and unity" was paramount. However, that unrealized vision took nothing away from Plečnik, who can justly be regarded as the Christopher Wren of Slovenia, especially its capital. If one wishes to see his monument in Ljuibljana, one only has to look around.

Generally speaking, Slovene painting tended to adhere to developments elsewhere in Europe, artists becoming identified with prevailing schools and movements in the world of art, depending on the era in which they worked. Some of the most celebrated are on permanent exhibition all day, every day thanks to the efforts of the Slovene National Gallery, which has built a magnificent virtual exhibit space for Internet visitors worldwide. There those unable to visit in person can avail themselves of a guided tour through Slovene art through the centuries, from the baroque era through contemporary artists. The talent level is invariably high there, but Ivan Grohar has a place of special honor. An exhibit of his work inaugurated the Tito era in the National Gallery in 1951, after which Grohar became the anchor of the Slovene collection there. Described as a modernist, Grohar painted classic scenes of life in the Slovene countryside, such as *Snow in Škofja Loka,* a picturesque town in Gorenjska province. He is also credited with raising the profile of the *kozolec,* the elaborate double-roofed hayracks that dot the landscape in the oldest Slovene regions, having incorporated them into several paintings. Few people recognized their quintessentially Slovene character, their value as examples of unique folk art, before they became a fixture of Grohar's work.

Although she is not yet a member of the online gallery, the realist painter Ivana Kobilica is a name that everyone should know. If Grohar is the best known and loved painter in Slovenia proper, Kobilica has achieved the highest degree of international recognition among Slovene painters. During her lifetime, she worked in Florence, Berlin, and Paris, where her talents won her membership in the prestigious Société Nationale des Beaux Arts. Her works, of which *Grandmother's Chest* and *Children in the Grass* enjoy the greatest renown, mark her as Slovenia's most accomplished exponent of realism. The first independent Slovene government paid tribute to Kobilica's achievements when it put her image on the national currency, the tolar.

Every nation seems to produce an aspect of culture it can call its own. In Slovenia, that honor goes to an art form associated with a once crucial element of farm life: beekeeping. The occupation of beekeeping has been known in Slovenia at least since the sixteenth century, when buckwheat was first planted in Carniola province. Buckwheat attracts bees, on whose presence Slovene farmers quickly capitalized. Wax was an essential element in the making of candles, and honey was the only sweetener for cooks until the refinement of sugar became possible in the eighteenth century. Keeping bees thus became a necessity, as the man who became the founder of scientific beekeeping knew well. Once headed for a career as an artist, Anton Janša acquired a reputation around Vienna for his knowledge of bees, which he had tended as a child on a farm near Bled in the 1740s and 1750s. The Austrian empress, Maria Theresa, tapped him to head the Imperial Beekeeping School, where he analyzed and chronicled the relationships in the beehive. He also wrote extensively about the medicinal uses of bee-related substances such as propolis, a staple of contemporary alternative medicine. These achievements made him the father of scientific beekeeping.

While Janša conducted advanced research in Vienna, the countryside had a more practical concern: how best to confine its bees. It seemed natural to use hollowed-out logs, but removing the honeycomb from them often proved difficult. By the middle of the eighteenth century, enterprising farmers had found a better way, producing the first so-called *kranjnič* hives. These structures resembled small houses with individual "rooms," removable boxes containing individual hives. Bees were accessible from the front or the back, and keepers could remove honeycombs intact. These hives represented an invaluable innovation, a great step forward in the keeping of bees. In 1758 they acquired another dimension when someone painted a Madonna and Child on the front of a hive in Carniola Province.

That Madonna and Child represented the beginning of a folk art phenomenon known in Slovene as *panjske končnice*—the painting of beehive fronts. After 1758, beehive painting became commonplace, a typical feature of the Slovenian countryside, particularly in the regions of Carniola, Dolenjska, and Styria. There is no one explanation for its appearance. Since the first painting depicted the Virgin Mary and infant Jesus, experts believe that keepers may have sought divine protection for their bees. Janša and his successors repeatedly emphasized that bees could recognize colors, so that some farmers probably hoped to orient their bees with colorful panels. As time went on, the expanding range of subjects on the panels suggested other motives. In

An elaborate beehive in a valley in Slovenia. (Hans Georg Roth/Corbis)

an interview with *Slovenia News* in July 2003, Professor Janez Bogataj emphasized their use as a means of visual communication among people who often could not read; the panels acquainted people with folk tales and legends, told of successes and failures, and sometimes conveyed simple humor. One well-known motif has the hunted turning the tables on a hunter, animals packing away their traditional antagonist and licking their chops in anticipation of a tasty meal. By the nineteenth century, the most elaborately decorated fronts, which in one case included an intricate carving of a Turkish soldier and Napoleon, seemed intended to make a statement. The owner hoped to demonstrate to the neighbors that he had attained sufficient prosperity to indulge in something beyond life's essentials, perhaps even the luxury of hiring an artist to produce something extraordinary for his home.

By the twentieth century, further advances in beekeeping technology had consigned beehive covers to the realm of folk art. Ironically, these structures are probably more important to today's Slovenes than to their predecessors because they constitute an art form found only in Slovenia, something of transcendent value for a small people whose culture has always been influenced by its overlords. Experts have catalogued some 50,000 examples, identifying approximately 600 motifs in which festivals, religious beliefs, holidays, and human vices and virtues figure most prominently. The largest collection resides at the Beekeeping Museum in the town of Radovljica (in Gorenjska province), an institution dedicated exclusively to the history of beekeeping in Slovenia. There they represent an obligatory stop for thousands of traveling Slovene beekeeping enthusiasts, whose influence beyond Slovenia was sufficient to land the 2003 World Beekeeping Congress for the Cankarjev Center in Ljubljana.

Kozolci (singular, *kozolec*), "hayracks," represent a second uniquely Slovene contribution to world culture. Like beehive fronts, hayracks were originally a practical aid in the countryside. Slovene farmers needed a means to dry freshly cut hay, so they built simple, fencelike structures, vertical poles intersected by horizontal bars. In places where corn and wheat were cultivated, cover was essential, so roofed kozolci became a fixture there. These could be modest structures, resembling a small farmhouse. More prosperous farmers favored larger, double-roofed, intricately decorated models. According to Ljubljana University professor Dr. Borut Juvanec, who has traced the evolution of these structures, the kozolec front identifies the structure with a particular region. Those found above the Sava River are slender, while kozolci to the south of the Sava invariably are more robust. In areas such as Lake Bohinj, where many visitors have made note of these structures, the roofs have overhangs and slant patterns in order to protect more effectively against the heavy annual rainfall. In addition to communicating information about financial status and location, kozolci also speak to the passage of time. They became larger as farm implements became more numerous and complex; these required protection against the elements. As families acquired more conveniences, moreover, the kozolci saw additional duty as storage sheds. Today, the requirements of modern farming have rendered kozolci technologically obsolete, so they have joined beehive fronts in the country's ethnographic museums and gift shops.

MUSIC AND FILM

To date, music might be among the best-kept secrets of Slovene culture. Classical music has a long history in the Slovene lands, beginning in the sixteenth century with the composer Jakob Gallus. Gallus began as a tenor in the Imperial Chapel at Vienna, later becoming choirmaster to the Bishop of Olomouc in the modern-day Czech Republic. In the last years of his life, he composed a significant body of liturgical works as well, sixteen Masses, two Passions, and a cycle of music for the entire church year, some of which remains an active part of the repertory in Catholic churches in Europe and America. Of course, Gallus was considered Austrian, because there was no Slovenian political entity in the sixteenth century, but he acknowledged his Slovene roots by calling himself Jacobus Gallus Carniolus. Gallus Hall in Ljubljana's Cankarjev Center recently became the home of the Slovene Philharmonic, which debuted in 1701 as the Academica Philharmonicorum in Ljubljana. In its Austrian incarnation, it was one of the premier musical groups in the Habsburg Empire, well known for its talent and repertory, which included Schubert, Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart. Gustav Mahler spent a memorable year as guest conductor in 1881–1882. Since its reconstitution in 1947 as the Slovene Philharmonic, the orchestra has maintained a busy recording schedule and showcased the talents of foreign and native artists, notably Slovenia's own piano virtuoso, Dubravka Tomšič and the classically trained avant-garde trombonist, Vinko Globokar. Globokar may be the only performer in Slovenia—or anywhere else—ever to incorporate into one of his compositions the playing of a trombone underwater.

In recent years, the end of the Philharmonic year has marked the beginning of two summer classics, the Summer Festival in Ljubljana and the Early Music Festival in Radovljica, whose reputation and participation grow yearly. An endangered species in some countries, classical music has retained an enthusiastic following in Slovenia.

Like their counterparts elsewhere in the former Yugoslav states, Slovene filmmakers have played mostly to home crowds since they made their debut after 1945. In the early years they focused on issues of strictly domestic interest, such as the Yugoslav experience in World War II. However, Slovenia's most prolific director, France Stiglic, has managed to do what Prešeren did for language and literature, appealing to audiences beyond Slovenia. His 1956 *Dolina miru* (The Valley of Peace), which played at the 1957 Cannes film festival, has become a minor world classic. In the film, two children, one German, one Slovene, escape from an orphanage in 1944 and encounter an African American pilot shot down in the area. Together, they search for the boy's uncle, who lives near what the children hope will be a "valley of peace," a refuge from unrelenting war. That the ending is unhappy is irrelevant; the bonds forged across racial and national divides between the children and the pilot reaffirm their common humanity in terrible circumstances. This film has found a following in America under the title, *Sergeant Jim,* spotlighting the African American airman.

In independent Slovenia, filmmaking has experienced many of the difficulties common to other ex-socialist states, namely a decline in state funding and temporary loss of audiences due to an influx of cheap offerings from Hollywood. These problems have not deterred the most talented and determined practitioners of the art, who have helped make possible new projects in the creation of the Slovene Film Fund, a joint government and private financing mechanism. In addition, Slovenia has become a member of Euroimages, a coproduction company for the continent, through which filmmakers will ideally be able to access more funding and theaters. This development coincided with Slovene collaboration on the 2001 hit film, *No Man's Land,* which augurs well for the future of the Slovene cinema.

FUSION: ART, MUSIC, ARCHITECTURE, POLITICS

In nearly all the socialist states, young journalists and artists took advantage of changing political winds in the 1980s to advance the cause of reform. In the Soviet Union, for example, Artyom Borovik went to Afghanistan in 1987 to report firsthand on Red Army troops fighting there. His searing portrait of a war gone disastrously bad, serialized in the weekly magazine *Ogonek,* created a sensation at home and helped convince Mikhail Gorbachev to declare victory and bring the troops home. In the Slovene republic, the forces driving change came not just from journalism, where *Mladina* and *Nova revija* hammered away at Milošević's Yugoslavia, but from art, rock music, drama, architecture, and art. The group known as Neue Slowenische Kunst (New Slovene Art) debuted four years after Tito's death, in 1984. Its members hoped to force their fellow citizens to think differently about the future, using outrageous images and devices. For example, its artists submitted a design of a poster commemorating Tito's birthday in the mid-1980s. Officials initially liked the design, only to recoil in horror when they discovered that the artists had deliberately copied a Nazi-era poster and put Tito in Hitler's place. The artists just laughed, because they saw communism and Nazism as sharing a common totalitarian origin.

The musical component—the rock group Laibach, the German name for the Slovene capital, Ljubljana—wore clothing reminiscent of Nazi uniforms in their concert appearances and used imagery from Nazi cinema in album covers and stage sets. Meanwhile, NSK member architects and city planners resurrected Plečnik's 1950s-era proposal for a grand Slovene parliament, rejected because it drew inordinate attention to Slovenia at the expense of other republics. The so-called Graditelji strongly implied that Slovenia deserved that building as a symbol of its contributions to Yugoslavia, which far exceeded its size and population. All NSK activities, of which the latter constitute only a small part, posed a simple question. If Slovenes constituted the most important and prosperous part of an entity that shared ideological origins with Nazism, should they not contemplate making other arrangements in an era replete with new possibilities? Politicians would be charged with determining and acting on the answer, but as usual, the question had its origins in Slovene culture.

PROSPECTS

A high-ranking Catholic Church leader once wondered aloud whether Slovene culture remained largely unknown because the Slovene people were a small group only recently constituted as a political entity, or whether the quality of cultural offerings was simply insufficient to win the attention of the wider world. As Slovenia prepares to become an official member of postmillennium Europe, that issue is about to get a hearing. Given the combination of distinctiveness and diversity so evident in Slovenia's cultural life, the verdict is likely to cheer and inspire from Ljubljana to Lipica.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

"As goes Slovenia, so goes the economy." This is perhaps the best description of the development of Slovene economic life over the past century. Slovenia's economy was born in Slovenia's tenure in the Habsburg Empire, occupying a place of disproportionate importance in the first and second Yugoslavia, and achieved independence in Slovenia's breakaway from the second Yugoslavia in 1991. It has faced daunting challenges resulting from its removal from the well-integrated Yugoslav market. Its success in overcoming these difficulties and obstacles has impressed outside observers, who describe it as one of the most dynamic economies in the new Europe. It eventually becomes apparent that the development of the Slovene economy parallels that of the Slovene state itself.

For most of its existence prior to the nineteenth century, the Slovene economy was based on agriculture. The coming of the industrial age in the Habsburg monarchy inevitably brought changes. The various Slovene regions experienced considerable diversification of economic activity during this period: Carinthia became known for mining and flax, Styria for livestock production and processing, areas near the Adriatic for silk and wine production. The contours of an Austrian general market, and Slovenia's role in it, were also becoming clear. For example, Slovene regions depended on wheat grown in the Croatian lands, Backa, and Banat. Carinthian raw materials were routinely shipped off to Croatia, Banat, and other regions.

By the dawn of the twentieth century, the expansion of railway links among Vienna, Ljubljana, and Trieste and an influx of German and French capital resulted in the development of manufacturing industries. Mining and metallurgical enterprises appeared, followed by chemical, food, and paper-processing plants and shipbuilding in the Trieste area. Imperial authorities built a large railway enterprise in Maribor that employed some twelve hundred people in its heyday. The foundations for the textile industry were established as well, a development that was to prove crucial in coming decades, Growth rates were impressive, averaging 40 percent over the period from 1890 to 1914.

Concentrated mainly in Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, agriculture continued to employ the majority of Slovenes to 1914. The mainstays of the agricultural economy, then as now, were maize, hops, poultry, pig and dairy farming, beekeeping, and viticulture. A favorable combination of temperate climate and varied terrain—lots of heat in summer and moisture in winter, shielded from the worst excesses by its mountain ranges—has made wine a staple of the Slovene economy for many centuries. The Roman historian Tacitus spoke highly of the vintage he encountered near the modern-day city of Ptujin the first century. Viticulture was well established in Styria and Prekmurje regions in the ninth century, according to recent archeological discoveries. By the twelfth century, forests had been cleared to make way for vineyards, and would-be producers were even attempting to cultivate grapes in relatively inhospitable locales such as Ljubljana. From that time, the wine industry in the Slovenian lands underwent more or less continuous growth. By the mid-nineteenth century, some 125,000 acres were under cultivation.

The last decades of the nineteenth century were not kind to Slovenian winemakers. An invasion of the phylloxera aphid in the 1880s nearly destroyed vineyards throughout the region. Elsewhere, the countryside experienced some predictable hardships owing to industrialization. In fact, between 1850 and 1914, the Slovene lands produced an unexpected export: Slovenes themselves. About 300,000 left to seek work or a new life outside the Habsburg monarchy, many to America, where Cleveland became a permanent outpost of Slovenia abroad.

RAPID STRIDES AND FOUNDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE (1918–1941)

The Slovene economy underwent a major transformation the moment it became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later renamed Yugoslavia) in 1918. Where it had once been one of the least developed in the Habsburg monarchy, it was now by far the most diversified and industrialized in the new kingdom. This meant that while the Slovene economy faced the challenge of reorienting itself from the previous capital, Vienna, to the new one at Belgrade, it began its new life with significant advantages. For example, only Slovenia was equipped to produce the range and quantity of consumer goods that citizens of the kingdom would demand. Accordingly, great progress came quickly in key consumer industries such as construction materials, furniture manufacturing, and textiles. A milestone in the development of the latter came in the 1925 founding of two sewing shops in Murska Sobota, in southeast Slovenia. These eventually merged to become Slovenia's largest clothing maker, Mura.

Agriculture presented a more mixed picture. Producers suffered all the familiar consequences associated with the breakup of the Habsburg Empire, such as the closing of traditional markets followed by prohibitive trade barriers established in the new neighboring successor states. Their lot worsened with the economic downturn of the 1930s, as those countries, which had promoted themselves as dependable markets for export, turned inward and refused to buy surplus from the kingdom. Ironically, the only European power in a position to import foodstuffs after 1933 was Nazi Germany. Accordingly, it exercised increasing economic as well as political leverage over Yugoslavia and other Southeast European states in the late 1930s, a development that ultimately played a crucial role in the destruction of the postwar order in Europe.

Perhaps the most significant development for the future was the new accessibility of education in Slovenia. In the Habsburg monarchy, there were few schools and almost no instruction in the Slovene language. The Belgrade-based administration of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes took care to provide for education at all levels in Slovenia. The first Slovene university opened in Ljubljana in 1919; its first offerings were courses in economics. A technical high school soon began accepting students, and a system of primary schools was under way early in the 1920s. In addition, there were courses for farmers in winter, focusing on basic education as well as new techniques and machinery. The Slovene economy of the 1990s was the ultimate beneficiary of these institutions, since the citizens who made it successful had acquired their expertise in these institutions.

Despite the great hardships that the world financial crisis inflicted on Slovenia, indeed all of Yugoslavia's regions, Slovenia's economic contributions far exceeded its population and size vis-à-vis the other republics. It accounted for just 8–10 percent of the population of the state, yet it was responsible for 25 percent of the national product, a trend that would only become more pronounced in the future.

THE PRIMACY OF POLITICS: THE SLOVENIAN ECONOMY IN COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA

The foundation of the second Yugoslav state after 1945 initially presaged big changes in the economies of all the constituent republics. Communist theory, which Josip Broz Tito and the other founding fathers embraced with fervor, dictated that socialism be built on the foundations of heavy industry and collectivized agriculture. As it happened, the country's chief ideologue and economist—Edward Kardelj and Boris Kidrić, respectively—both hailed from Slovenia, so the campaign for industrialization seemed destined to have a major impact on the Slovenian economy.

Priorities changed abruptly after Tito's famous confrontation and break with Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union in 1948. It had gradually become clear that the price of following Stalin faithfully would be economic and political subservience, a state of affairs that Tito was unwilling to accept. He and his comrades had not won a four-year war against internal and external enemies in order to become a colony to a great power. They intended to preside over a socialist country with a diversified economy, capable of existing on its own. Accordingly, while the central government at Belgrade retained veto power over economic planning, industrialization and collectivization were deemphasized in favor of a more rational approach to the country's capabilities. The highly touted policy of workers' self-management, in which the staff of individual enterprises helped to determine wages, priorities, and marketing strategies, debuted in the 1950 Law on the Management of State Economic Association by Work Collectives. As before, the manufacturing sector had a high priority in Slovenia, because that was an area of advantage for the whole country. Not only Slovenes required high-quality clothing, furniture, and pharmaceuticals.

In the 1960s strategic reforms opened Yugoslavia's borders and economy. Mindful of Slovenia's status as the most economically advanced of all the republics, a new generation of Slovene leaders hastened to take advantage of new opportunities. The leader of the Slovene republic, Stane Kavčič, encouraged efforts to establish economic relationships abroad and urged firms to focus on profitable, growth-oriented industries such as electronics and appliances. He believed that these priorities would be essential to Slovenia's retaining its economic viability in the future. Ambitious businesspeople responded enthusiastically to Kavčič's appeals. The home appliances giant Gorenje, once a manufacturer of heavy agricultural machinery, shifted its focus to slow cookers and then stoves, refrigerators, and other home appliances. After the change of orientation, company leaders expanded their reach within Yugoslavia and then forged contacts with neighboring European states, which produced significant sales there. Meanwhile, the Yugoslav automaker Revoz negotiated a contract with its French counterpart, Renault, in September 1972. The next year, the chemical firm Belinka negotiated joint venture investment and technology transfer agreements with similar firms in Belgium and Great Britain. These efforts helped Slovenia maintain the enviable position it had long had among the Yugoslav republics. As before, it had less than 10 percent of the population, yet contributed over 30 percent of Yugoslavia's exports, most in the areas Kavčič had identified as crucial.

As bright as the future looked in the 1960s, one non-negotiable fact of Yugoslav political life was bound to cause difficulty for the Slovene economy. Yugoslav leaders always had a delicate balance to maintain in the state; they had to allow wide latitude in the individual republics so as to avoid the familiar charge that Belgrade—with its implied Serb dominance—was dominating the country. Besides, they were committed to the concept of workers' self-management in individual enterprises, since that constituted a legitimate innovation that set them apart from other socialist leaders. Yet they also knew that there was great economic imbalance among the republics, the northern, ex-Habsburg republics of Croatia and Slovenia surging ahead while the southern republics lagged behind. Since economic grievances tended to fuel nationalist sentiment, Yugoslav leaders expropriated funds from Croatia and Slovenia to finance development projects in the southern republics. If Macedonia and Kosovo had more and better economic opportunities, the reasoning went, workers there would perceive themselves equal to their fellow citizens in Croatia and Slovenia and endorse the state's ethos of "brotherhood and unity." This strategy was codified in the establishment of the General Investment Fund in the 1950s, which was administered by a special Yugoslav Investment Bank in Belgrade beginning in 1956.

This fund inevitably created resentment in both Slovenia and Croatia, the most economically advanced among the republics. While there was acknowledgment that measures to aid the poorer regions were necessary, it often seemed that the funds taken from Slovene coffers were not well spent. It was hard to see, for example, the value in a refrigerator plant located in a remote southern region that was inaccessible most of the year, or in a large soccer stadium in one of the least populated capitals. At the same time, the federal government sometimes proved unwilling to support projects that promised improvements specific to the Slovene economy, which continued to contribute more than its share to the country. In 1969 the republic applied for, and received, financial assistance from the World Bank for an overhaul of roads connecting Slovenia to Austria and Italy. This made sense, since Slovene exports reached European markets mostly through truck traffic. But because the funds went first to the central government at Belgrade, the bureaucrats there could distribute it as they wished. They decided that the money would be better spent elsewhere.

The predominance of politics in decisions affecting the Slovene economy remained an irritant while the country remained generally prosperous. By the 1980s, however, it was becoming a crisis for Slovenia and the rest of Yugoslavia. Early in the decade, Tito and Kardelj, the men who had founded Yugoslavia and made it work, passed from the scene. At the same time, the national economy buckled under the burden of a huge federal debt, the result of poor planning, overspending, and low growth. The post-Tito arrangement for political leadership, a presidency that rotated among leaders of all six republics, attempted to remedy these difficulties in part by requiring all republics to share equally in the servicing of the debt. This meant that Slovenia, which already contributed disproportionately to the national economy, would receive the same treatment as its less prosperous neighbors. A Slovene journalist opined that, once again, Slovenes were victims of overbearing political interference combined with an utter lack of economic perspective.

Consternation about Slovenia's political and economic role in Yugoslavia only grew after a series of provocative events that culminated in the coming to power of Slobodan Milošević as president of the Serbian republic in 1987. Milošević began his tenure by staging a public intervention on behalf of Serbs in a dispute with Albanians in Kosovo, appearing in the midst of a melée to proclaim before Yugoslav television cameras that Serbs "would not be beaten again." In the next few months Milošević masterminded the incorporation of two formerly autonomous republics into Serbia, thereby increasing the Serbian republic's political influence. These demarches caused concern in Slovenia and other republics, since the perception that Milošević was creating—that Serbs wished to dominate the other groups—had already destroyed one Yugoslav state. Concern became open alarm in Slovenia when officials from the Belgrade-based federal army arrested several journalists associated with the popular Slovene weekly *Mladina* and then tried them for antistate activity behind closed doors and in the Serbo-Croatian language. This episode had a fateful effect on Slovene attitudes toward their future in Yugoslavia. If Milošević's rule in Yugoslavia meant Serb bureaucrats taking liberties with Slovene sensibilities, perhaps Slovenes would have to seek other arrangements.

In fact, they did exactly that. Between 1989 and 1991, the Slovene leadership sought various means of altering Slovenia's position within Yugoslavia, with economic issues playing a key role. On several occasions, Slovene President Milan Kučan proposed that Slovenia and Croatia make their own financial assistance arrangements with the less developed republics rather than leaving such decisions to the federal government. Slovenes amended their constitution in 1990, pointedly reserving for themselves the right to manage their own revenues. Afterward, Kučan and his advisers insisted that the future viability of Yugoslavia depended on its becoming a confederation of sovereign states, so as to prevent what he saw as the exploitation of Slovenia and Croatia. When Milošević rejected and contested all these proposals, the Slovene leadership decided to ask its constituents to rule on their future in Yugoslavia. They answered with a resounding yes to the idea of sovereignty for Slovenia in December 1990.

This decision appeared inspired early in 1991, when Serb bureaucrats staged an illegal midnight raid on the Yugoslav federal treasury in order to pay pensions for Serbs exclusively at a time of great financial hardship for everyone. This outrage, known to history as the Great Serbian Bank Robbery, led directly to Slovenia's declaration of independence from Yugoslavia a few months later. After a brief, but difficult ten-day war with the Yugoslav army in June 1991, Slovenes won their independence. They would now have the opportunity to prove that a small, well-educated, and industrious people could stand on its own in postcommunist Central Europe.

THE SLOVENE ECONOMY IN TRANSITION (1991–1997)

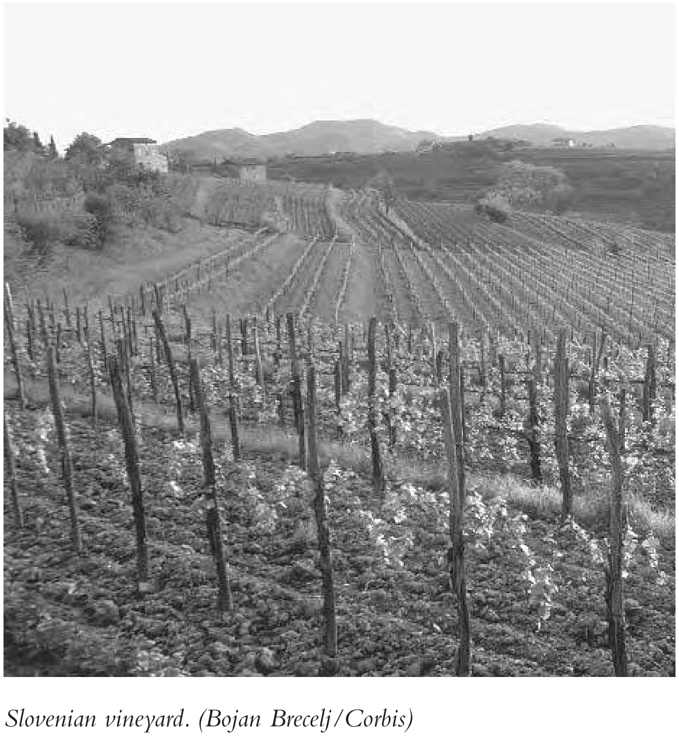
The Slovenes began their new life with some clear advantages, even though they had never had their own state. Thanks to the educational foundations laid in the first Yugoslavia, Slovenia had a well-educated, multilingual workforce. Beginning with the Kavčič era, the Slovene republic always exported far more products to Europe than its neighbors and attracted the most direct foreign investment. Newly independent Slovenia therefore had good relationships with the wealthiest nations in Europe, especially Germany. In contrast to some of their former communist neighbors, struggling to manage the transition to a market economy, the new Slovene citizens could call on their experiences with workers' self-management. Despite frequent interference from Belgrade bureaucrats, workers in all the Yugoslav republics had been responsible for making their own business plan, setting their own targets, and devising marketing strategies. The Slovenes already had these skills, and their products had competed successfully with those of other republics in a functioning market within Yugoslavia. Simply put, Slovenes knew how to do business.

Still, though, laying the foundations for the country's economy seemed a daunting task in the first months after independence. For one thing, the bill from the war for independence was quite high, well beyond the estimated $2 billion in physical damage done by the Yugoslav army during the ten-day war. This was in part because of the circumstances surrounding Slovenia's exit from Yugoslavia. If the separation had taken place amicably, if Yugoslavia had not been engulfed in conflict, Slovenia might have maintained its contacts with the Yugoslav republics. But the outbreak of war in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina disrupted existing political and economic relationships, after which United Nations sanctions suspended them indefinitely by imposing sanctions on Serbia. For Slovenes, this meant the loss of 30–40 percent of their existing market. At the same time, Slovene leaders urgently sought international recognition of their new state. This did not come immediately, because of disagreements in Europe and the United States over sanctioning the breakup of Yugoslavia. Until that was achieved, there could be no question of building a new economic infrastructure or forging new agreements with European partners.

In accordance with new European Community guidelines, Slovenian independence was recognized by most European states in January 1992. Two months later, Slovenia became a member of the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations. Now Slovenes could concentrate on laying the foundations for a market economy. Restructuring the banking and financial systems was an obvious priority, as demonstrated in the creation of a Bank Rehabilitation Agency in 1991. Next came the establishment of new banks, in addition to the diversification of existing institutions. Today, a number of foreign banks also have representation in Ljubljana and other major cities.

Another key task was determining ownership of existing enterprises, or privatization. This process was obligatory for all states making the transition from socialism to a market economy, since the central government had owned and controlled all essential economic activities. This was a difficult process everywhere, but especially in Slovenia, where Slovene workers themselves had owned and administered their enterprises since the implementation of workers' self-management in the 1960s. Not surprisingly, it took the new Slovene government many months, and several draft proposals, to come to an agreement on a strategy. The final Law on Ownership Transformation of 1992 required 40 percent of stock to be transferred. Beyond that, as the *Economist* magazine explained, a number of means would be possible: public sale of shares, internal distribution of shares exchanged for ownership certificates, shares sold at a discount for cash. It was hoped that this arrangement would strike a balance between the interests of workers and management and provide for a speedy transformation of the socialist economic landscape. By 1998, privatization was well under way, although critics have pointed to slow implementation in large national enterprises such as public utilities and banks.

Meanwhile, Slovene employers and employees struggled to master this and other challenges in their new universe. Accustomed to socialist-era largesse, such as subsidized meals, paid vacations at desirable destinations, and full health benefits, workers faced the reality of competition outside a protected market, which brought lower wages, cuts in services, and the previously unthinkable—unemployment. Presumably, these measures would make it easier to compete in new venues and find new clients. It was anything but easy in the first months; as production fell, unemployment—anathema in socialist Yugoslavia—exceeded 10 percent, and inflation soared on the introduction of the Slovene currency, the tolar. Gradually, however, firms with good management adjusted and held their own. The experience of the Belinka chemical enterprise, which had established a reputation in Yugoslavia as a future-oriented company, was an instructive case in point. "The transition from the ex-Yugoslavia has caused us very big problems, because Slovenia was very much oriented to the former Yugoslav market," director Marjan Cerar told a *Boston Globe* correspondent in the summer of 1993. "The Bosnian market, due to the war there, doesn't exist, and the Serbian market, due to the United Nations sanctions, doesn't exist either. So, we must export wherever possible." Drawing on past experiences in self-management, Belinka took an ag-



Slovenian vineyard. (Bojan Brecelj/Corbis) gressive approach to reinventing itself. It introduced immediate austerity measures, putting a freeze on hiring and liquidating the advantages its workers had known for decades, such as the resort hotel on the Adriatic for summer vacations. At the same time, it established joint-venture arrangements with firms in Russia and Italy and negotiated new contracts. Belinka products now were bound for Austria, labels on the packaging printed in German. Although profits initially disappointed, the company has remained viable in the new economy. Its goals for the twenty-first century, according to its Web page, include product diversification with a focus on environmentally friendly technologies.

"We know that everything won't be okay at the moment of independence," Slovene finance minister Marko Krajnec said shortly before the 1991 war. "In fact, it will be worse. But people understand that there will be a temporary lowering of living standards. After a transition period of three to five years, after we have improved the banking and economic system, we will be able to do business with the rest of Europe." Firms like Belinka made Krajnec's words a reality. By 1997, the Slovene economy had begun to recover from the first difficult years of transition, showing signs of steady, albeit slow, growth. In 1994 the Slovenian GDP registered a 3 percent rise; by 1997, it was growing at an annual rate of 5 percent. Reorientation of trade toward European markets had proceeded to the point that some 70 percent of the country's output now went to Germany, Austria, and other European states. Slovenia was also attracting foreign investment, as evidenced by the presence of Siemens, Renault, and the Austrian Creditinstalt bank in Slovenia. One sure—and ironic—indicator of this trend was the new career of Franci Zavrl, sentenced to an eighteen-month prison term by a Yugoslav military court in the infamous *Mladina* scandal of 1988. The sometime felon had founded an advertising and public relations agency—Pristop—that assisted Slovene and foreign businesspeople and government officials in learning to use the local media to their advantage. By 1997, this enterprise had made Zavrl one of independent Slovenia's wealthiest men.

By the end of 1995, Slovenia had achieved sufficient progress to begin preparations to enter the European Union, the holy grail for Central and Eastern European states emerging from communism. Its representatives were able to open negotiations by pointing out that almost three-fourths of the country's trade was conducted with European Union (EU) countries. Slovenia had met the preliminary criteria for candidate members, having established a stable political regime, restructured the economy sufficiently to permit successful competition in a larger market, and indicated its readiness to assume administrative responsibilities. In June 1996 Prime Minister Janez Drnovšek signed an agreement granting Slovenia associate membership in the

Bled Lake and Julian Alps. (Janez Skok/Corbis)

EU. This permitted the country's elected officials to begin to bring their financial and diplomatic policies in line with the numerous requirements for full members of the Union. One key task in this process was the passage of more than a thousand laws, bylaws, and sundry regulations approximating those of existing EU members. The date of Slovenia's accession to the EU was finally fixed for May 2004, following a formal vote of confidence from the citizenry, which enthusiastically voted in March 2003 for entry into the European Union. On 1 May 2004, Slovene citizens celebrated, as the nation formally joined the EU.

PREPARING TO JOIN EUROPE: THE SLOVENE ECONOMY AT THE MILLENNIUM

As Slovenia emerges from the difficulties of its first few years and contemplates the advantages and challenges of European Union membership, the contours of its independent economic life are coming into focus. Some long-established industries, such as mining, have gone into eclipse, probably not to return. Others, notably textiles, are experiencing tough times and may face radical restructuring or relocation. Employees of the well-established clothing company Mura, for example, now wonder whether their jobs will be outsourced to cheaper labor markets as their company struggles to survive in a tough market. On the other hand, the requirements of the new economy have spurred the creation of new fields of endeavor. One of the most prominent examples is Franci Zavrl's firm Pristop, whose fortunes have only risen since its establishment in the early 1990s. In 2003 Slovenia's premier advertising and public relations firm had representatives working in five countries and reported revenues of millions of euros.

One mainstay of the Slovene economy in the twentieth century, the manufacturing sector, is again proving to be a strong performer, especially in pharmaceuticals, appliances, and auto production/parts. In the first decade of independent Slovenia the drug companies Krka and Lek, the automobile manufacturer Revoz, and the Gorenje group, manufacturers of home appliances, have maintained the highest profile. Moreover, dedicated outdoors enthusiasts in Europe and North America have all come to know the ski, bike, and boat manufacturer Élan. In retail sales, another sector that has flourished in the transition period, Mercator has established itself as a major player in the competitive world of food markets. One also encounters the oil trader firm, Petrol, and the home entertainment company, BoFex, in discussions of successful new retailers in Slovenia.

As noted, Slovene manufacturers and retailers were forced to find new markets following the outbreak of war in Yugoslavia. Most concentrated on Western Europe, while Krka pharmaceuticals went east to revive old contacts in Warsaw and Moscow, successfully marketing dozens of drugs on the Russian market and making plans to open a production facility near the Russian capital. By the late 1990s, however, the Yugoslav markets were reviving, and Slovene firms were able to capitalize immediately. In a recent country profile, the *Economist* noted that by 2000, "almost every major Slovene company had either made some sort of investment in the rest of the region or was planning to do so." The Ljubljana-based Lek was among the first to take advantage of the improved circumstances, announcing plans in 1998 to build a greenfield plant in Macedonia in order to serve the emerging Balkan region. One of Slovenia's largest breweries, Pivovarna Union, expressed confidence in the recovery of Bosnia-Hercegovina by establishing a presence in Sarajevo. Meanwhile, Mercator and Petrol hastened to build markets and gas stations in Bosnia and Croatia when conditions made this possible. Mercator's CEO, Zoran Jankovič, declared his intention to become the largest retailer in Bosnia and the second largest in Croatia in the coming years. Significantly, he also mentioned plans to expand into Serbia, now generally acknowledged as the next frontier for Slovene economic activity in the post-Milošević era. Slovenia did a great volume of business with Serbia when both were republics of Yugoslavia.

Now as then, agriculture presents a mixed picture. Recent surveys indicate that even though Slovenes revere the traditions associated with rural life and highly value their homegrown agricultural products, this has not resulted in boom times for producers. About 5 percent of the country's workforce farms full-time, and Slovenia has long been an importer of foodstuffs. Slovene agriculture received a boost in the early 1990s with the outbreak of war in Yugoslavia, as farmers there were unable to market their products, and several successful cooperatives have formed in the past decade. Still, the outlook for domestic agriculture is unclear because of the uncertain impact of Slovenia's membership in the European Union, which will bring regional development funds to farmers at the same time it floods the Slovene market with competitors of all sizes.

One indisputably bright spot for the agricultural sector is wine production, which is making a remarkable comeback. While a revival was under way after the phylloxera invasion, the dislocations associated with World War I, Slovenia's entry into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and World War II meant that full recovery remained elusive. Most producers were able to resume their activities in Tito's Yugoslavia but were forced to accommodate the wishes of state authorities, who tended to prefer quantity to quality.

In these first years of independent Slovenia, the industry has taken full advantage of the century's territorial additions, with producers working successfully in three distinct regions. The oldest and most established of these is Podravje, which encompasses the Prekmurje and Styria regions. The area's climate and soil composition have determined the local specialty: sweet, aromatic white wines, similar to those found in the Saar and Rhine areas of Germany. In recent years wine journalists have sung the praises of the Renski riesling and the Šipon, which got its name from enthusiastic soldiers of Napoleon, who exclaimed *si bon* on sampling it for the first time. Šipon is the Slovenian equivalent of the Hungarian Tokaj, a yellowish, mellow sweet wine often served with desserts.

At the opposite end of the country, the Primorska region is chronologically the newest among Slovenia's producers, and also the most renowned in the new era. This region compares favorably to its neighbors in the production of white wines, particularly the well-balanced, mild Rebula. But it is the country's undisputed leader in the production of red wines—reds such as the Koper Refosk and the Vipava Valley Merlot account for over 50 percent of its yearly output, in contrast to the two other regions, where whites dominate. The Brda subdistrict, so named for its location amid low hills near the Italian border, has won a greater share of medals and awards in wine competitions than any other area of the country in recent years. One of its signature products is the Modri Pinot, "the noblest red of the cooler parts of Europe, the Riesling of Reds." Brda is home to two of the most celebrated among the country's wineries. One is Movia, the pride of the Kristančič family since the early nineteenth century. In the neighboring Vipava Valley, the Vipava 1894 winery is home to the popular Vipavski merlot and is now reviving two legendary Adriatic whites, Zelen and Pinela. In addition, the country's largest wine cooperative, the Dobrovo winery, processes the output of some eight hundred small vintners.

The third region, Posavje, lies between Primorje and Podravje, covering much of the territory known as Dolenjska. This is the geographical center of the country, where vineyards dot the low hills near the Krka and Sava Rivers. This region is often described as closest to central and south central France, in terms both of climate and fondness for blended wines. Most of Slovenia's wine producers are dedicated to the concept of a single grape, and many in Dolenjska devote all their efforts to producing high-quality whites such as Beli Pinot and Renski Riesling. However, Posavje's winegrowers, like their French counterparts in the Champagne and Bordeaux regions, appear to relish the challenge of marrying different varieties in order to produce something more flavorful than the sum of its parts. Accordingly, the Posavje specialties include Cvicek, a blend of at least two prominent reds and one white, and Metliška Črnina, the result of the best reds from both Posavje and Podravlje regions. The region is similarly well known for *ledeno vino,* or ice wines, the product of grapes left exposed to freezing temperatures for a period of consecutive days. Ledeno vino seems to be a Central European classic, a frequent accompaniment to the Slovenian sweet cake, potica.

The revival of the wine industry will likely further improve the fortunes of tourism in Slovenia. Already, gourmet and "slow food" tours of Slovenia can be arranged. In the early 1990s the country had understandable difficulty in attracting tourists and conventions because of lingering anxiety about the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. By the mid-1990s, the regional situation had improved significantly, so that it made sense to begin a formal campaign to bring visitors to Slovenia. Established in 1996, the Slovene tourist board has actively promoted tourism in the country, assisted by the global reach of the Internet. It has received assistance from wealthy companies like the oil and gas concern Istrabenz, which has invested in tourist infrastructure in attractive vacation spots like the Postojna cave area. Considerable unsolicited help has also come from foreign journalists, who have discovered Slovenia and begun singing the country's praises in magazines and newspaper travel sections. In 1997 Marie Harris of the *New York Times* hailed the "spirited, independent Slovenia" she had encountered while vacationing in Europe. A few years later, her colleague Frank Bruni found "the full beauty of Europe packed into a succinct swath of mountains, lakes, and Adriatic coastline, topped off by the gorgeous and entirely cosmopolitan capital of Ljubljana." If Americans did not immediately book tours, Europeans did, especially Italians and Germans taking advantage of cheaper Slovene Adriatic holidays. As of 2003, tourism was officially a billion-dollar yearly enterprise.

Most observers familiar with Slovenia agree that the Slovene economy has emerged from its time of trial showing strength, flexibility, and potential. Personal income is the highest of all the postcommunist states, at nearly $10,000 annually, a figure double that of neighboring Hungary and the Czech Republic and exceeding that of such well-established European nations as Greece and Portugal. This translates into a standard of living that has won Slovenes the coveted right to visit the United States without a visa—a privilege not granted to Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, or Poles—because it is assumed that they will return to their prosperous Alpine home. Of course, there remain areas of concern, caused by global economic phenomena as well as problems specific to emerging democracies. Foreign investment has lagged behind expectations, in part because of the slow pace of privatization. Unemployment persists at a relatively high level and may increase, since the process of liquidating unstable or unprofitable industries will continue for the foreseeable future. Ultimately, the long-term health of the economy will depend on Slovenes' ability to negotiate the tricky passage into the European Union, which holds out the promise of help for the victims of the new economy while presenting formidable challenges for its erstwhile winners. If Slovenes can manage this, then their country will certainly be viewed as a model for other small states emerging from similar circumstances. As goes the Slovene economy, so goes Slovenia in the eyes of the world.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The citizens of Slovenia, whose numbers barely exceed 2 million, have managed a series of outsized feats in the past two decades. Convinced that they could no longer tolerate life in Yugoslavia, where they had lived for seven decades, they carefully planned an escape. A resolutely peaceful and industrious group, they gathered themselves to fight and win a war against those who would prevent their departure, using speed and cunning. Appealing to a Europe fearful of chaos, they secured recognition and launched their ship of state in the midst of a dangerous storm in Croatia and Bosnia. In May 2004, just thirteen years after their declaration of independence, they joined the most powerful nations on the continent in the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Understated self-confidence, resourcefulness, and adaptability have undergirded these remarkable successes. These assets will continue to be essential as Slovenes face the challenges and opportunities that life in the new Europe promises to bring.

The Wine-Making Mavens of Movia

If there is a recipe for maintaining a successful enterprise in a volatile geopolitical region like Slovenia's, its major ingredients would surely include a passion for quality, visionary leadership, adaptability, and luck. No one knows this better than the Kristančičs, the mavens of the renowned Movia Vineyard, an enduring symbol of Slovenia's economic fortunes.

The Kristančič family acquired the Movia estate in Goriska Brda at the beginning of the nineteenth century, dedicating themselves to wine production. The family weathered the geopolitical storms that roiled the eastern Adriatic, beginning as French citizens, then acquiring Italian, Austrian, and finally Slovene citizenship in the twentieth century. Regardless of which country ruled them, the Kristančičs kept their focus on making the richest, highest-quality red and white wines. By 1945, in addition to multiple citizenship changes, they had managed to survive the deadly phylloxera virus and the destruction and devastation of two world wars. The coming of communist Yugoslavia and its animus toward "bourgeois" enterprises such as wine making constituted perhaps the most serious threat yet to Movia and the Slovene wine-making tradition.

But the Kristančičs got lucky. Providentially Ales Kristančič's grandfather had joined Tito's Partisan resistance during World War II and rendered distinguished service. After the war, the Partisan leadership offered the elder Kristančič a ministerial-level appointment in the new government, but he declined and returned home to his vineyards. The family was wondering how to cope with Yugoslavia's new postwar border with Italy, which had inconveniently separated the estate house and cellars from some of the vineyards, when the authorities decreed that all properties exceeding ten hectares would be nationalized. Incredibly, the new border guaranteed that Movia would remain intact—its vineyards now in Italy did not count in the total. The next shadow to fall on Movia came in the campaign for collectivized enterprises in the countryside, a development that the Kristančičs categorically rejected on the grounds that it would be fatal to Movia's tradition. There might have been a price to pay for such impertinence, had Tito not visited Movia and sampled its signature product. Apparently even future-obsessed communist leaders could appreciate the value of fine old wines. Movia not only escaped unharmed, but soon became the official vintner to the president of Yugoslavia.

Movia was not exactly prosperous in socialist Yugoslavia. Yet there were significant advantages beyond the prestige associated with its status as the court winery. Time and resources for production were virtually unlimited; the Kristančičs had only to inform the Agriculture Ministry of their needs each year. And when the Yugoslav government sanctioned economic activity beyond Yugoslavia, Movia took advantage of the new opportunities offered. As Movia's current chief, Ales Kristančič, recently recalled, they went first to Slovenia's former rulers, where people remembered what kind of wine came from Movia. After winning acclaim in Vienna and Venice, Movia products attracted the attention of famed chef Alain Ducasse, who put them on the menu of his Monaco restaurant.

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THE ECONOMY IN A NEW ERA

There is challenge and opportunity for the Slovene economy as it becomes integrated with Europe's. Manufacturers and retailers will have the chance to market their products freely throughout Europe, where they have already forged solid relationships. New strategies will be required for those who hope to succeed there. For example, winemakers aiming to compete in European markets can focus their efforts on producing wines unique to Slovenia, like zelen whites, and tailor advertising campaigns to make those products known to the broader European public. At the same time, there will a reciprocal influx of products into Slovenia from larger EU members. Slovene wine lovers will now have more choices in their supermarkets. These consumers were mostly responsible for the comeback of Slovene wine making in the 1990s, and they value Slovene products, but they will certainly be tempted by the sudden availability of inexpensive offerings from wine powerhouses like France, Germany, and Italy. Slovene winemakers who concentrate on the domestic market will have to redouble their efforts to ensure that their products are competitive, in terms of both quality and price. They might also benefit from targeted advertising campaigns extolling the virtues of Slovenian viticulture, thereby creating more jobs in a new sector. Public and media relations are undoubtedly a growth industry for Slovenia, a nation seeking to make itself known.

Slovene tourism faces a similar dynamic in the new Europe. Tourists from EU states will now enjoy seamless travel to Slovenia. On the other hand, EU regulations on gas pricing will diminish the attractions of Slovenia for legions of day tourists from Italy and Austria, who have apparently made a habit of short car trips there for a meal and cheap petrol.

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Like the Slovene economy itself, the Kristančičs and Movia were relatively well-prepared for independence. They had established contacts well beyond Yugoslavia, so the loss of that market was not catastrophic; by the mid-1990s, exports accounted for over 50 percent of Movia's output. It quickly became apparent that Slovenes valued their home-grown wines, and Movia retained its exalted status as the official wine of the Slovenian government. But the Kristančičs continued to aim higher, concentrating on producing distinctive and high-quality wines for export. This decision proved to be a combination of the personal and prophetic. Ales Kristančič obviously wanted Movia mentioned in the same breath as the finest German, French, and Italian winemakers. But he also knew that the survival of high-quality wine making in Slovenia depended on it. Slovenia's European Union accession meant that cheap imports from France, Germany, and Italy would flood the Slovene market, making sales more a function of marketing than of quality or skill. Only those vintners willing to invest the time and resources to the production of artisanal wines for the international market would be able to continue functioning on the highest level. "It is crucial that a winemaker have the ability to create a wine that has an international style, and thereby prove to customers that they can be trusted," Ales Kristančič told an interviewer in 2003. "Yet many experts also wish for our wines to reflect the unique nature of the environment they are grown in. This is where our future lies," he concluded. "Our wine is a testament to our uniqueness" (Prešeren 2003).

Movia signature wines—Rebula, a dry white, Chardonnay, Veliko Rocce, or Big Red—are now a fixture of the best restaurants and wine distributors in France, Germany, Italy, and the United States, so Movia's future seems assured. Meanwhile, Ales Kristančič has taken his passion for time and quality to an even larger stage. He has become Slovenia's unofficial representative in the Slow Food group, a worldwide movement born of outrage at the construction of a McDonald's in central Rome. This group of chefs, restaurateurs, and rank-and-file food and wine lovers has dedicated itself to combating eat-and-run meals, fast food, and the influence of corporate farming on good eating. Thus, even as Slovenia joins the world of integrated, standardized nations that is the European Union—some would say McEurope—Kristančič and Movia continue to hold high the Slovene standard of quality and distinctiveness.

Tourist industry representatives now must extend their focus to include tourists from beyond driving distance. This should not be difficult if they can negotiate arrangements with discount air carriers such as Ryanair, which delivers thousands of holidaymakers to all the European states on a weekly basis. It will also be important to promote the port of Koper as an attractive alternative for cruise ships that now stop at Trieste. Slovenia has year-round appeal, from skiing and spelunking to city adventures, sun and fun on the coast, World War I sites, and horseback riding at Lipica. It also has huge potential as a wine destination. Slovene officials would do well to enlist Ales Kristančič to tout Slovenian cuisine and vineyards to the growing ranks of food and wine tourists worldwide. They are likely to be intrigued at the idea of exploring the terra incognita of the Slovenian wine landscape.

Other sectors have challenges of a different nature in the new conditions. In the latter part of the 1990s many prominent Slovene companies, such as the supermarket giant Mercator, returned to Yugoslav markets temporarily lost because of UN sanctions during the Bosnian war. The contracts they have negotiated may run into problems, because Slovenia's interstate commerce will soon be subject to EU customs regulations. The heads of these firms can work toward a transitional agreement with the EU, perhaps emphasizing Slovenia's role in the Southeast European Stability Pact. Meanwhile, many Slovenes employed in agriculture and manufacturing will be eligible for financial and technical assistance from the EU, enabling them to modernize, diversify, and restructure their operations in order to compete successfully with their counterparts elsewhere in Europe. Others, however, will certainly find themselves victims of technological obsolescence and will have to seek retraining or employment possibilities elsewhere.

GEOPOLITICS

The Slovene government spent the early 1990s shoring up relations with its neighbors Hungary and Italy, opening a new border crossing with the former in 1992 and settling a difficult property restitution case with the latter in 1994–1995. In the mid-1990s Slovene officials looked beyond their immediate environs. They sought an active role in the United Nations, achieving election as a nonpermanent member for the year 1998–1999. There, its representatives chaired the Security Council Sanctions Committee for Libya and put forth proposals for suspending sanctions on Iraq. In addition, Slovenes participated in UN peacekeeping missions in East Timor, the Golan Heights, and Cyprus. At the same time, Slovenia made itself useful to the NATO nations in key ways before winning approval from those nations for NATO membership in 2002.

The greatest geopolitical challenges and opportunities are next door, in Southeastern Europe. Slovenia and Croatia continue to dispute the fate of Piran Bay and coastline, the two sides trading accusations and recalling ministers as recently as the summer of 2003. It is unclear how the conflict will be resolved, but Slovenia's EU membership will likely bring a favorable result since Slovene officials will have some influence on Croatia's application to the EU. Beyond that, the Slovene government is uniquely positioned—geographically and politically—to help bring peace and stability to Southeastern Europe, which has known neither since Slovenia's escape from Yugoslavia in 1991. It has already acknowledged this by taking the lead in the implementation of the EU's Southeast Europe Stability Pact, which was launched in 1999. Slovene representatives participate actively in all three of the Pact's working groups: Democratization and Human Rights, Economic Reconstruction, and Security Issues. As managers of the International Trust Fund for Demining and Mine Victims' Assistance, an initiative partially funded by the United Nations, they have helped to clear the regions of war detritus and provide over $100 million in financial assistance to local victims of land mines. The region's future depends on a steady supply of well-trained, responsible administrators. Slovenia accordingly has been instrumental in the planning for new pact-related educational institutions too, such as the Regional Center for Excellence in Public Expenditure Management and the International Postgraduate School of Economics. Reviewing ten years of Slovene foreign policy in a speech before the United Nations, Dmitrij Rupel emphasized that his country was aiming high. He expressed the hope that Slovenia's efforts in Southeastern Europe will enable the countries of the former Yugoslavia to be reunited with Slovenia in the European Union. "Our activity in this area is not only necessary," he said, "but also beneficial."

SLOVENE CULTURE AND THE PASSAGE INTO EUROPE

It is indisputable that Slovenia has achieved a lifelong objective in entering the European Union; it is now officially classified as part of Europe rather than the Balkans.

In Slovenia, the Smart Money's on Culture—and Vice Versa

Although it is usually taken for granted in numerous daily transactions, a nation's currency can be a reliable clue to its core values. In the United States, citizens revere the men who made the American political system and saw it through its greatest crises—Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, Lincoln. Their images appropriately crown the nation's banknotes. Hungary's enduring obsession through the centuries was liberation from foreign rule. The Hungarian forint features those who did the most to further that cause, such as Ferenc Deak, the author of the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. Who appears on Slovenia's currency, and what does it reveal about Slovenes?

The basic unit of Slovene currency is the tolar, soon to be replaced by the euro. The smallest denomination is the 10 tolar note, on which is found the visage of Primož Trubar, the father of the Slovene language, the man who gave Slovenes a version of the New Testament they could read. Janez Vajkard Valvasor, perhaps the most prolific intellect in the history of the Slovene lands, greets those who examine the 20 tolar note. He traveled the world yet preferred to focus his research in his native Carniola, where he investigated everything from hidden lakes to beekeeping. The 50 tolar note features the distinguished mathematician Jurij Vega, who fought in the artillery for Austria during the Napoleonic wars and later wrote three important scholarly works on logarithms. The best student mathematicians in Slovenia now compete yearly for the Vega Prize.

The painter Rihard Jakopič, a contemporary of Ivan Grohar's and a prolific impressionist himself, is honored on 100 tolar bills. He is credited with founding the Slovene Academy of Arts in Ljubljana, which explains why the most accomplished painter in Slovenia each year receives the Jakopič Prize. Jacob Gallus Carniolus reminds citizens of their musical heritage on the 200. The author of contemporary Ljubljana, Jože Plečnik, appears on the 500 note, while the father of Slovene literature, France Prešeren, greets those conducting transactions of 1,000 tolars. Slovenia's most international painter, Ivana Kobilica, and her contemporary, the writer Ivan Cankar, animate the 5,000 and 10,000 notes, respectively.

The Slovene government could have honored the makers of Slovenia's remarkable prosperity, its hardworking businessmen and entrepreneurs. If not for a courageous and far-sighted political class, Slovenes' passage into post-communist Europe might have proved divisive and costly. Yet the stars of the country's banknotes are invariably men and women of arts, letters, and sciences, people who did the most through the centuries to educate and equip their fellow citizens to assume the responsibilities essential to making a successful nation. It is clear that culture remains the real currency of the realm in Slovenia.

The opportunities for Slovenes in this arrangement are great: they can travel more freely, make their own work arrangements at home or in another EU country, and enjoy the best of cosmopolitan Europe, while continuing to live in one of its smallest, most livable corners. On the other hand, becoming part of a large union with a formidable body of standardizing regulations implies the forfeiture of some characteristics that make individual peoples unique. Since language and culture are among Slovenes' most prized possessions, many citizens now ask the old

Anton Martin Slomšek

One of Slovenes' recurring anxieties on the eve of their entry to the European Union is how to be proud of their language and culture *and* be a good citizen of Europe. There seems to be concern in some quarters about appearing to be too parochial, too attached to everything Slovene. In 1994 an American journalist was surprised to learn of controversy over needed improvements to the nation's Ethnographic Museum. It was evidently felt that the museum's focus on things unique to Slovenia could be interpreted as overly nationalist. On the other end of the spectrum, some Slovene youth have indulged in chauvinism, loudly proclaiming the superiority of Slovene culture over others. How should Slovenes carry the Slovene standard, so to speak, when they become part of a large conglomeration of European states? For inspiration, they might look to the man who will be Slovenia's first saint, Fr. Anton Martin Slomšek.

Anton Martin Slomšek was born in Slom, Styria (Štajerska), in November 1800. Early in his life, he knew that he loved God and his native language, so he decided to become a priest. Dismayed that so many of his parishioners and fellow priests were ignorant of their heritage and sometimes even the Slovene language, he took it upon himself to teach as many of them as possible. In the 1840s he made the totality of the Slovene lands his classroom. He preached regular sermons in Slovene, making an indelible impression on his listeners with his simple, yet vigorous language. "Our mother tongue is the greatest legacy we receive from our parents," Fr. Slomšek would say. "We must conserve it scrupulously and pass it on to our children." For those he could not reach from the pulpit, he wrote numerous books and pamphlets designed to amuse as well as instruct. *Blaže and Nežica in Sunday School,* a kind of mini-encyclopedia in Slovene, is one notable example. In order to ensure that Slovenes would always have access to good books in their language, Fr. Slomšek founded the Society of St. Hermagor in 1853, Slovenia's first publishing house. The Society was responsible for the publication of hundreds of Slovene language books and pamphlets in the mid-nineteenth century. It maintains an active presence today in Slovenia proper (Celje) and in Slovene areas of Austria (Klagenfurt) and Italy (Gorizia), so that citizens there will not lose touch with their heritage.

Fr. Slomšek was an active evangelist for Slovene language and culture whose deeds matched and even exceeded his words. Even more important, perhaps, was his worldview. He spent many years as Bishop of Maribor, in modern-day Styria province—an area of mixed Slovene and German population in his day. Although he sometimes encountered anti-Slovene sentiment among Germans there, he never responded in kind. In fact, he did the opposite, actively teaching and promoting his language while taking great care to be respectful and tolerant in his dealings with non-Slovenes. To do otherwise was unbecoming to a Christian, also dangerous in a multiethnic state like Austria-Hungary. "Extreme nationalism," Fr. Slomšek once said, "will be the cause of a terrible conflict which will make people turn on one another like savages." Subsequent events demonstrated that he was prescient as well as wise.

In 1999, almost seventy-five years after supporters opened a case for sainthood, Pope John Paul II announced that he would visit Slovenia to celebrate the beatification of Fr. Slomšek. The Pope almost certainly intended to send a message to the parties then at war in Kosovo by highlighting the life of an apostle of tolerance. "I would like to show the testament of the Blessed Slomšek," John Paul said in Maribor on 19 September 1999. "His example bears witness to the fact that it is possible to be a sincere patriot, and with the same sincerity live and cooperate with people of other nationalities, cultures and faiths." But Slovenes anxious about their culture and nationality in the new Europe can follow Fr. Slomšek's example, too. His personal motto was, "speak little, work a lot, support everything" that is positive about Slovenia and Slovenes. In fact, that is the special contribution Slovenes can make in Europe: speaking little, working a lot, and promoting their culture and language proudly and enthusiastically, without a hint of superiority or pridefulness. The recent history of nationalist-inspired violence on the continent shows clearly what a unique—and valuable—gift this will be.

question: how to preserve and advance them in the wider world?

The new era has already provided equal parts opportunity and challenge for Slovene literature. As books and analyses of the Balkan wars flooded the world's book markets, American and European scholars discovered Edvard Kocbek. His poetry has won acclaim in a variety of forums and attracted the interest of talented translators such as Michael Scammell. As collections of his work are published, a new generation of students and poetry lovers gets crucial exposure to Slovene letters. Responding to recent events, Slovene scholars have successfully resurrected the works of writers from earlier periods, such as Vladimir Bartol. Bartol's 1938 novel, *Alamut,* which chronicled a holy war waged by Persian Muslims against Turkish invaders, suddenly resonated in the wake of the events of 11 September 2001 and has appeared in fifteen languages, including Arabic. *Alamut* introduced thousands of Europeans to Slovene literature and made its publisher very happy. Contemporary writers have had no such breakthrough. They have traditionally been at their best when issues of national destiny loom large in public consciousness. Since the major issues associated with Slovenia's future seem to have been solved, they will have to find new questions to answer, new windmills at which to tilt. They also must reckon with the easy availability of popular fiction from Europe and America, published in translation. Their challenge, therefore, is to find an acceptable niche in a huge, profit-driven market.

Slovene musicians, artists, and filmmakers have a wider audience now, as members of the European Union. Like their compatriots in business, their principal task is to market themselves outside Slovenia, to find a way to make themselves known to the European public and beyond. They will benefit from their ability to access Ljubljana's well-known cultural infrastructure, which includes the Cankarjev center and the Ljubljana Summer Festival, which attract many international visitors. They can also compete for EU Culture 2000 resources, which provide funding for general and specific cultural projects. The future of Slovene folk art depends on the success of Slovene tourism and museum staffers' skill at winning EU funds in various categories and negotiating successful corporate partnerships. The days of government largesse for the arts having given way to market forces and individual initiative, Slovene cultural officials will draw on their ability to adapt.

The Slovene language does not appear to be endangered by EU membership. However, efforts to promote it could make good things happen. The Slovene Ministry of Culture would do well to emulate programs like the Summer School of Hungarian Language and Culture, held several times each year in Debrecen and Budapest, Hungary. Founded to raise awareness of Hungarian culture in the unfortunate aftermath of the Trianon Treaty of 1920 (which saw Hungary lose two-thirds of its territory), these intensive language and culture courses have attracted thousands of students from Europe, Asia, and America. These individuals tend to become unofficial ambassadors for Hungary, singing its praises at home, returning to work there, and even launching Hungarian-related business ventures both in Hungary and their home countries. A similar institution, perhaps based in Ljubljana and a prominent regional city, could serve as a means of extending the reach of the Slovene language. It could also pay dividends in tourism and foreign investment as it continually introduces Slovenia to the world.

POLITICS

Slovene political leaders have their own list of challenges and opportunities for the twenty-first century. They will help shape the destiny of Europe as deliberations on the European Union constitution continue. They also stand to emerge as a regional leader within the EU because of their involvement with the Slovene populations remaining in Austria and Italy and their unique history as both a European and Balkan country. Closer to home, they are deeply invested in the successful reconstruction of the war-torn Balkan area as leaders of the Southeast European Stability pact. Domestically, their principal responsibility in the near future is managing change, especially the country's entry into the European Union. This includes a variety of official tasks, such as arranging for the euro to replace the tolar as the country's currency, proceeding with other essential economic reforms, and bringing its border crossings with Croatia and Italy up to EU standards. It also means presiding over and planning for the distribution of EU funds for the restructuring of key economic sectors. Slovenia's politicians have a lot at stake as they tackle the latter task; many citizens are likely to lose their livelihoods in the process and face the necessity of finding other employment or retraining. How well their representatives help them cope with these changes will determine the shape of the political landscape in the next few years.

There is a hint of self-congratulation in the Slovene government's Web site celebrating the country's tenth anniversary. Slovenia's successes, the authors assert, have made it the envy of all countries emerging from socialism, "a champion that cannot be ignored, for it stands out above the others in every field." As the old saying goes, however, it is not bragging if one can back it up. By any reasonable measurement, Slovenia has had an extraordinarily successful first decade of independence. The most formidable challenge for the fathers of that independence will be to follow this remarkable first act.

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CHRONOLOGY

149 B.C.E.	Ptuj is mentioned in Roman chronicles, making it the oldest known Slovene town.
Seventh century	Slavic peoples arrive in the eastern Alps of Central Europe.
623	Prince Samo leads Slovenes in the overthrow of the Avars.
745	Duke of Karantania accepts Christianity.
1144	Ljubljana first appears in chronicles as Laibach.
1146	Stična Monastery founded, oldest in Slovene lands.
Thirteenth century	Slovenes come under the jurisdiction of the Habsburg monarchy.
1550	Primož Trubar's Slovene primer and translation of the New Testament become the first books published in the Slovene language.
1584	Jurij Dalmatin makes available the entire Bible in Slovene.
1701	Ljubljana Philharmonic founded.
1740–1790	Reign of Maria-Theresa and Joseph II of Austria, a crucial period of reform for Slovenes and other Habsburg subjects.
1758	First appearance of thematic painting on a beehive front—Madonna and Child on a hive in Carniola province.
1768	Marco Pohlin's *Carniolan Grammar* appears in print.
1790	Anton Linhart publishes the first history of the South Slavic peoples, including the Slovenes.
1797	Inaugural issue of first Slovene-language newspaper ever published, *Lublanske novice* (Ljubljana News).
1809	Illyrian Provinces created by Napoleon; large parts of Slovene territories included; Slovene introduced as language of instruction in primary schools.
1813	Illyrian Provinces end with Napoleon's defeat and retreat.
1844	France Prešeren's "Zdravljica" (The Toast) published; becomes the anthem of independent Slovenia 150 years later.
1848	Year of revolution in Habsburg monarchy; Slovenia's national program enunciated, including provisions for use of the Slovene language and calls for possible administrative unity for Slovene lands in the monarchy.
1864	Matica slovenska society founded.
1867	*Ausgleich* (Compromise) concluded between Austria and Hungary; divides monarchy into two halves, united only in person of the emperor and for certain national issues. Some 40,000 Slovenes assigned to Hungarian half of the empire.
28 June 1914	Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia; Austria's decision to punish Serbian government backed by Germany, triggering World War I.
26 April 1915	Treaty of London concluded; part of Slovene territory promised to Italians, on condition that they enter the war on Allied side.
29 May 1917	Anton Korošec reads the May Declaration in the Austrian Parliament, calling for the reorganization of the Habsburg monarchy into three parts, one of which would be for the monarchy's Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs.
20 June 1917	Yugoslav Committee head Ante Trumbić meets Serbian prime minister Nikola Pašić. Their talks produce the Corfu Declaration, a blueprint for an independent South Slavic state composed of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.
October 1917	The Habsburg monarchy wins the battle of Caporetto. Caporetto subsequently passes into Italian and later Slovene hands. Known today as Kobarid.
6 October 1918	The Narodno Vijeće, the National Council of the Habsburg South Slavic peoples, is formed. It will unite with Serbia to form a South Slav state.
1 December 1918	Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes proclaimed.
1919	University of Ljubljana founded.
June 1920	Treaty of Trianon signed, transferring the Prekmurje area and its Hungarian and Slovene residents to the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.
28 June 1920	The first constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is ratified in Belgrade, codifying Serb centralist rule in the state.
10 October 1920	Austria is declared the winner of the Carinthia plebiscite; thousands of Slovenes become citizens of Austria.

1921	Treaty of Rapallo signed. Former Austrian Adriatic lands transferred to Italy; some 300,000 Slovenes go with them.
6 January 1929	King Alexander suspends the parliamentary life of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and renames the state "Yugoslavia."
30 October 1934	King Alexander assassinated in Marseilles, France; Prince Paul becomes regent and lifts the dictatorship.
1938	Slovene Academy of Sciences founded in Ljubljana.
14 December 1940	Anton Korošec, de facto Slovene leader since 1914, dies.
27 March 1941	Serbian officers overthrow the government of Prince Paul, reject Yugoslavia's participation in the Tripartite Pact, and install their own representative.
6 April 1941	The German army invades Yugoslavia; Slovene lands are expropriated by Italy, Germany, and Hungary.
April 1941	Edward Kardelj leads Slovene resistance fighters in the foundation of the Osvobodilna fronta (OF, Liberation Front).
1943	The journal *Mladina,* Slovene youth magazine, founded.
November 1943	OF formally unites with Tito's Partisan organization under the rubric of "brotherhood and unity."
May 1945	Tito, Kardelj, and the Partisans emerge victorious from both the Yugoslav and world wars and prepare for a new Yugoslavia. Slovenes become one of six republics in the new state.
Summer 1945	Thousands of Domobranci, Slovene anticommunist resistance fighters, executed by the new Yugoslav leadership.
28 June 1948	Stalin expels Yugoslavia from the Cominform. Edward Kardelj emerges as a major architect of the new theoretical foundation for the state.
June 1950	Kardelj's Law on Workers' Self-Management announced.
1954	London Agreement settles Yugoslav-Italian territorial disputes. Yugoslavia receives Adriatic littoral, including Koper (Capodistria) and Piran (Pirano); Italy is given jurisdiction over Trieste.
May 1955	Austrian state treaty signed, guaranteeing minority rights for Slovenes in Austria.
1956	Yugoslav Investment Bank founded at Belgrade, designed to help remedy economic imbalances among the Yugoslav republics.
June 1961	First meeting in Belgrade of the nonaligned movement, a gathering of states formally aligned with neither east nor west.
1962	Gorenje enterprises shift focus from agricultural machinery to home appliances, "everything for the home." Emblematic of new Slovene economic priorities.
1979	Kardelj, the leading Slovene of Communist Yugoslavia and one of its founding fathers, dies.
May 1980	Tito, founder of Yugoslavia and Kardelj's close colleague, dies.
February 1987	The Slovene journal *Nova revija* publishes issue 57, "On the Realization of a Slovene National Program."
24 April 1987	Slobodan Milošević makes incendiary appearance amid Kosovo Serb-Albanian rioting; declares Serbs "will not be beaten again."
February 1988	Staffers of provocative youth magazine *Mladina* arrested for possession and copying of a classified document; Yugoslav army presumed behind the arrest and subsequent trial in July 1988.
September 1989	Slobodan Milošević announces a Serb economic boycott of Slovenia over Kosovo criticism, amendments to Slovene constitution.
January 1990	Slovenian Communist leaders quit the Yugoslav League of Communists.
April 1990	First multiparty elections held in Slovenia; anticommunist DEMOS coalition and longtime Communist leader Milan Kučan emerge victorious.
December 1990	Slovenes vote overwhelmingly for sovereignty.
February 1991	Slovenia announces it will declare independence in June unless Yugoslav government agrees to a confederated arrangement.
25 June 1991	Milan Kučan makes formal declaration of independence.
26 June 1991	Yugoslav army troops cross into Slovenia in attempt to stop Slovenes' breakaway; ten-day war ensues, in which sixty-six people lose their lives.
7 July 1991	Brioni agreement imposes three-month delay in granting Slovene independence.
15 January 1992	European Community formally recognizes the independent Slovene state.
May 1992	Slovenia becomes a member of the United Nations.
January–December 1992	Thousands of Bosnian refugees seek refuge in Slovenia.
November 1992	First general election in independent Slovenia. Voters elect Milan Kučan as president of Slovenia and return a majority of Liberal Democrats to the legislature, making Janez Drnovšek prime minister.

May 1993	Slovenia becomes a member of the Council of Europe.
30 March 1994	Slovenia joins the Partnership for Peace, a group for states preparing for NATO membership.
1996	Slovenia accepted as an associate member of the European Union.
November 1997	Kučan elected to a second term as president with 55 percent of the vote.
March 1998	Slovenia begins negotiations leading to full EU membership.
November 2000	Liberal Democrats and likeminded parties returned to power in the country's third national elections.
25 June 2001	Slovenia marks ten years of independence.
November 2002	Kučan completes his second and final term as Slovene president. Longtime colleague Janez Drnovšek replaces him.
November 2002	Slovenia's formal acceptance in NATO and the European Union confirmed, effective mid-2004.
March 2003	Slovenes vote decisively in favor of entry into the EU.
April 2004	Slovenia enters NATO.
1 May 2004	Slovenia becomes a member of the EU.

kerchief (a *karpa za glava*), and a vest was often worn. A man wore trousers *(benevretzi),* shirt, belt, and (usually) a jacket or vest; the predominant colors were black and white. Men also usually wore a fur cap (a *kalpak*) as well. The clothes were homemade, and were usually constructed of wool, hemp, cotton, flax, and silk. Embroidery, primarily geometric but often containing small lines of birds, flowers, or even humans, elaborately adorned the sleeves, fronts, and backs of the shirts. The *soukman,* often sleeveless, was also embroidered in numerous colors and was worn with a belt (a *pafti*). The apron was, in most cases, the most decorative part of a woman's costume and made each costume distinctive.

Aside from the regional costumes, Bulgarian peasants were also skilled in decorative textiles (such as tablecloths) in floral and geometric designs. Rugs, made of goat hair, were decorated in geometric patterns and stripes. The dyes, made from plants, blended with the materials to create rich colors that did not quickly fade.

Another aspect of Bulgarian peasant culture that was preserved was music. Bulgarian music admittedly is much less well known than the music of other countries in the region. It lacks the internationally known composer that one associates with Hungary (Béla Bartók) or with the Czech and Slovak lands (Antonín Dvořák or Bedřich Smetana, to name but two). Bulgarian music may not be known within the world of classical music, but it has a rich tradition that derives from its peasant roots. Whereas many folk traditions have either died out or are merely remembered on days of celebration, this folk music tradition is an exception.

Bulgarian folk songs have always reflected the experiences in Bulgaria and within the village. They are filled with joy and sorrow, moods that reflect the difficulty of life and yet the pleasures that life brings. What is most unique about Bulgarian music is the sound of its women, and Bulgarian women folk choruses have become internationally famous during the last two decades of the twentieth century, thanks, in part, to the State Ensemble for Folk Music and Dance, founded by Philip Koutev. Although these choruses do reflect an amalgamation of the folk past with new professional training, the sound produced is still unlike that found anywhere else. Melodies have limited range, but there is a power and expressiveness in their distinctive harmonies. Songs feature sounds that seem to float in the air; they deal with aspects of village life, such as the harvest, with heroes defending the people from oppressors (the songs of the *haiduk* tradition, which glorified the bandits who resisted authority), religious celebrations, feasts and festivals, and love. The choruses are often accompanied by instruments derived from the village, such as the *kaval,* a flute-like instrument used by the shepherds, the *gadulka,* an upright fiddle that is perhaps the oldest instrument used in Bulgaria, and the *gayda,* a bagpipe that is a centerpiece of wedding music.

Thus, while perhaps not internationally known, culture in Bulgaria is deeply rooted in its past, rich in its variety, and, in a way that illustrates the vitality of the people, a synthesis of the old and new.

Traditionally dressed men and women celebrate the Rose Festival. (Michael Freeman/Corbis)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bulgaria's decade-long transition from the command economy of the past half century to capitalism had achieved at best mixed results. The average annual growth from 1995 to 2000 fell slightly over 1 percent. Adding to other economic woes was the continued high inflation rate. Although these rates had declined from the early 1990s, inflation from 1995 until the end of the decade continued to average 5.7 percent annually; in 2001 it rose again to 7.4 percent. Similarly, the rate of unemployment, already high (averaging above 14 percent from 1995 to 2000), rose to 16.3 percent in 2001 (the twelfth highest rate in the world according to *The Economist*).

Certainly the transition from communism has proved to be painful for many Bulgarians, a fact that has affected Bulgarian politics. An economy already underdeveloped during the early twentieth century, then suddenly placed under the constraints of the communist command system (1945/7–1989) in which the failure to innovate was partly responsible for the collapse of the regime in 1989, faced the daunting challenge of suddenly integrating into a world economic system. Even its former trading patterns within the Soviet bloc had been disrupted. As a result, Bulgaria found itself confronted by a competitive system for which it was little prepared. In almost all measures, from gross domestic product (GDP) to purchasing power to deficits and foreign debt (Bulgaria had the thirty-fifth highest deficit in the world in 2003 and the fortieth largest foreign debt), Bulgaria lagged behind most of the other nations in Europe and even some countries normally associated with the undeveloped Third World.

Communist leaders stressed the need for rapid industrialization. The very philosophy of Marxism itself, and certainly its form as Marxism-Leninism, diverted resources into the transformation of an agrarian state into an industrial, one with little regard for the social or environmental ramifications of the planning. Since Bulgarian indices were low in the 1950s, at first the growth rates, especially in the early 1970s, appeared to be dramatic. But the progress was illusory, and by the late 1970s the economy not only stagnated but rapidly declined. Following the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the already poor performance of the economy continued. The clearest indication of the painful legacy of communism was a negative 12.6 percent growth in annual real percentage growth in industrial output during the 1990s.

It would be myopic merely to lay the blame for Bulgaria's economic woes on the communist dictatorship, even if there were few economic positives during the period. Rather, the stagnant economy was a by-product of numerous factors that had stifled growth over the centuries.

Before the fall of communism, people in Bulgaria (as well as other countries in Southeastern Europe) often attributed their nation's economic problems to a backwardness brought on by centuries of control by the Ottoman Turks. It is human nature to seek scapegoats for problems, and the Turks provided an ideal excuse. Certainly Ottoman rule had retarded economic progress, but to blame the Turks for failures in Bulgaria a century after the fall of the Ottomans would be equally myopic. Still, some account of the economic situation under the Ottomans and after provides a necessary background for understanding the economic situation in Bulgaria today.

For centuries, Bulgaria's economy was tied to Istanbul. Turkish landlords controlled large estates *(timars)* in return for military service. These estates produced grains, such as barley, wheat, and rye, as well as vegetables and livestock. Well into the early nineteenth century the essentially feudal nature of the Bulgarian economy changed little, save for the increasing oppression of the peasant class as the Ottoman Empire became more stagnant and corrupt.

Modern economic development in Bulgaria had its infancy in the early 1800s. As the Turks confronted numerous problems, both internally and externally, reforms were enacted that greatly benefited Bulgaria economically. The loss of direct control over Greece and indirect control over the Romanian Principalities created new opportunities for Bulgarian merchants and manufacturers. In 1839 Bulgarians received the right to trade freely throughout the Ottoman Empire. As a result, Bulgaria now became one of the principal suppliers of goods and materials for the Turks. Bulgarians supplied the reformed Turkish army with both food and military uniforms. Cloth production spread, primarily in the form of small woolen handicraft industries. This in turn led to a rise in the population of towns and cities, such as Plovdiv, Gabrovo, and Sliven, which served as manufacturing and commercial centers. Bulgarian merchants traded primary products such as grain, salt, and livestock through offices in Istanbul and other regional centers. Grain exports to Western Europe began in the 1840s. Other products traded included honey and pig iron. Land reforms, especially after the beginning of the largely unsuccessful *Tanzimat* (reform) period in the Ottoman Empire in 1839, saw the establishment of some small, private farms. Tobacco became a key agricultural product for export as well as for consumption within the empire.

While this small economic boom was relatively shortlived, partly owing to foreign competition (primarily from England) following the Crimean War, and partly because of Istanbul's failure to achieve real reforms either politically or economically, a small stratum of middle-class wealthy Bulgarians did come into being. This development, however, had perhaps a greater impact on the movement toward revolution and independence than it did on the economic situation. Artisans and merchants now pushed for education in the form of primary schools (the first such school began in Gabrovo in 1835). For the bulk of the country, however, life, which revolved around a subsistence peasant agricultural system, went on relatively unchanged, and conditions within the entire economy made only sporadic improvement.

Peasants, who constituted over 80 percent of the population, for the most part used archaic equipment, such as wooden plows pulled by oxen. Modern methods of planting, as well as the use of fertilizers, were rare. Illiterate and rooted in tradition, governed by the rules and ideals of the village and the *zadruga* (the communal, extended family that formed the center of peasant society), peasants were reluctant to innovate. Moreover, their lack of income and possessions meant that they were not consumers, thus retarding economic development elsewhere in society.

National independence created both new opportunities and new problems in the economic sphere. Liberation created a euphoria that led to a doubling of land devoted to grain. But an overdependence on wheat, a rise in the peasant population that in many ways offset the increase in arable land, poor soil management, and poor weather at the turn of the century combined to produce an agricultural depression. Reliance on one crop, such as wheat, meant that if things did not go well, the resulting problems would have effects throughout the economy.

Much of Bulgaria's export trade after independence continued to flow toward the Ottoman Empire, a reflection of past trade patterns (although access to these markets became more difficult after 1878, when the country gained autonomy from the Turks), while imports came primarily from Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire. With independence came tariffs that led to a decline in the total trade with the Ottoman Empire, thus further retarding development.

Mechanization, which had revolutionized agriculture in countries with which Bulgaria now found itself in economic

A Bulgarian ethnic Turk hangs up strings of tobacco leaves to dry in the village of Fotinovo in the Rhodope Mountains in 2002. Bulgaria is a major producer of tobacco and tobacco products. Tobacco is grown heavily in southern Bulgaria. (Reuters/Corbis)

competition, proceeded slowly. Yield per acre in fact did not increase, but rather stabilized or declined. Moreover, peasants were forced to pay for the land, thus reducing the size of their holdings (most peasants owned less than twenty hectares, often in unconnected smaller strips of land) and contributing to high levels of debt. A vicious cycle thus developed, one in which peasant income was too small to buy more land and equipment, which only increased the need for land and machinery in order to combat the low income levels. This situation in turn led to peasant dissatisfaction, especially with the lack of government support for projects aimed at lifting the agricultural sector, and so to the rise of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU, or *Bulgarski Zemedelska Naroden Soiuz* [BZNS]) led by Aleksandûr Stamboliiski. Although shut out of the political power structure before World War I, BANU nevertheless was able to create cooperatives and insurance funds, as well as gain credits through the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank (Bulgarska Zemedelska Banka).

Any hope for a rapid improvement in economic conditions in Bulgaria in the period before World War I was hindered by the difficulty in raising investment capital, as well as the unrealistic approach of governments lured by the dream of economic development and restricted by fiscal realities (conditions faced by all countries in Southeastern Europe). The government borrowed heavily to finance projects (such as railroads) that crippled state budgets by consuming a significant portion of the state's revenues (the debt service reached 20 percent of state revenues). Promoting manufacturing, although perhaps commendable, ignored the reality of the difficulty of finding markets. Bulgarian goods could not compete with the higher quality products from Western Europe. Although labor was available, much of it was unskilled, and wages remained low. As a result, industrialization remained but a small part of the overall economy for decades.

This is not to say that the economic picture was entirely bleak. The construction of a transportation network, despite its costs, was critical for future development. Tobacco remained a profitable commodity, and the foodstuff industry remained a bright spot. The expansion of education both within the country and abroad also led to new economic innovations and opportunities.

Bulgaria's defeat in the Second Balkan War (1913) and World War I cost the country valuable resources as well as the loss of land, most notably the southern Dobrudja (to Romania). Fortunately, the country had not suffered physically (only minor fighting took place on Bulgaria's soil during World War I) during the conflicts, thus reducing dislocation. This situation enabled the manufacturing sector to grow throughout the decade following World War I; even so, despite a significant rate of growth, the low levels of manufacturing in the first place make the changes seem far more important than they actually were.

Bulgaria was (and remained throughout the interwar period) an agriculturally based country, and with the loss of the rich lands of the Dobrudja and the changes in markets, the agricultural sector suffered long before anyone spoke about the Great Depression. (One of the few bright spots was the fact that Bulgaria was already a nation of small landholders and was thus able to avoid the painful land redistributions that afflicted some of its neighbors.) Critical to the underlying weakness in the economy, especially in terms of agriculture, was the fact that as the recovering nations of Europe placed high tariff barriers on imported grains in order to bolster their own agricultural sectors, Bulgaria lost potential markets for its agricultural produce. Only tobacco and rose oil (exported to France for the production of perfume) continued to be in demand.

As a defeated state in World War I, Bulgaria, like other members of its alliance, was forced to pay reparations. While not crippling, the payments placed an additional burden on already shaky budgets (until the reparations were renegotiated in 1930). State debts, a prewar problem, thus remained a burden, as it hindered the state's ability to raise capital and promote projects.

With the coming of the Great Depression, Sofia confronted a collapse in the agricultural sector. Markets, already limited, dried up. Although Bulgaria weathered the Depression better than some of its neighbors, it still faced the need for markets. That need was filled by Germany, which better than doubled its share of Bulgarian grain exports between 1929 and the outbreak of World War II a decade later. By 1939, three-fourths of Bulgarian food exports were bought by the Third Reich. Payment for these products was often made by credits or products, thereby increasingly tying Sofia to Berlin economically, a contributing (although not crucial) factor in the alliance that developed in World War II between Bulgaria and Nazi Germany.

As the forces of the Soviet Union defeated the German Wehrmacht, the advancing Red Army entered and occupied Bulgaria in 1944, providing the basis for the imposition of communist rule that was to follow the end of the hostilities. The coming to power of the Fatherland Front, a coalition of center and left parties, in September 1944, began the three-year transition to complete communist rule, which included the full direction of the economy. Symbolic of the subordination of the nation's economy to the Soviet model was the dissolution of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union as an independent organization. For the next four decades, Bulgaria was a prisoner of a command economy, as the new system reversed past policies of decentralization in favor of central planning and state ownership.

In order to build a Soviet-style economic system based upon large-scale industrialization and collectivized agriculture, a 180-degree shift in the economy away from one driven by market forces was required. From 1944 to 1947, as the communists solidified control politically, they moved to nationalize industries. In December 1947, months after Cominform, the Communist Information Bureau that served as the propaganda organ for Moscow, announced that the pace of nationalization would quicken, all private firms in Bulgaria were seized. In addition, all independent banks, of which there were few even before the war, were incorporated into the national system. And the first steps aimed at state planning were announced with a shift in funds from agriculture to industry.

Before World War II, Bulgaria was a nation of small landholders. Nearly 80 percent of the population was engaged in agriculture. Like Stalin in the Soviet Union, the new Bulgarian leaders saw agriculture as potentially providing revenue needed for industrialization, and collectivization as the means to gain that objective. At first, collectivization was encouraged as a voluntary movement, but the policy of suasion produced limited results at best by 1947. With the consolidation of the regime in December of that year, Sofia increased pressure on peasants to join. Over the course of the next decade, either through intimidation or economic pressure, over 90 percent of Bulgaria's agricultural land was brought under the collective system.

Originally modeled after the Soviet system, over the next decade the collective farms decreased in number, while consolidation increased their size. What had been a nation of smallholders had become one of large agricultural complexes. Although these complexes were largely inefficient, as evidenced by the fact that the small plots of land granted to farmers for personal use accounted for nearly 25 percent of the overall production, Bulgaria remained an exporter of agricultural products, one of the leaders in such exports in the entire Soviet bloc. Tobacco remained the most lucrative export; Bulgarian cigarettes, high in tar and nicotine, could be found throughout Europe. In addition, Bulgarian fruits and vegetables (such as tomatoes and grapes) found markets across the continent. France continued to import rose oil for its perfume industry. Although the agricultural sector stagnated in the 1980s, in part due to a series of poor harvests that resulted in the need to import grains, agriculture, although not the primary focus of government planners, remained Bulgaria's economic bright spot.

Communist planners, however, had unflagging faith in heavy industries and central planning. With control of capital and resources, they could build sectors virtually by decree, no matter the cost in valuable resources or in damage to the environment. This freedom for the planners created inefficiency and ultimately economic stagnation.

Symbolic of the disastrous decision making that accompanied central planning was the massive Kremikovtsi Metalurgical Complex, which was built near Sofia. Constructed in the belief that huge deposits of iron ore existed in the area that would provide the needed materials for steel making, the plant in fact had to import iron ore, with much of it coming from the Soviet Union, when the supplies failed to meet initial expectations. The Kremikovtsi works failed to meet production targets, and rather than becoming a contributor to the economic health of the country, it drained it.

Inefficiency was visible throughout the industrial sector. Although industrial production rose impressively from the 1950s through the 1970s, when the industrial sector surpassed agriculture as the leading sector of the economy, fealty to the Soviet model and the five-year plans stripped away at innovation. Gains were made in the chemical and machinery sectors, and major improvements were made in electrical generation. Bulgaria exported heavy machinery, especially forklifts. Large plants were constructed throughout the country, from petrochemical plants at Pleven and Burgas, to shipbuilding at Varna, to machine tools at Gabrovo. Western investment offset the nonconvertibility of the Bulgarian monetary unit (the leva). Nevertheless, the fact that the economic sector was dependent upon the health of the Soviet bloc, since most of its industrial exports were sold to fellow members of Comecon (the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, the Soviet Union's answer to the Common Market in the West), meant that Bulgaria was, in effect, a prisoner of a system that began to unravel in the 1980s.

Although on the surface Bulgaria had seemingly achieved "modernization" in just a short span of time, the economy stagnated, in part due to problems in the agricultural sector, as well as to an inability to generate new foreign investments. Prior to the 1980s, Western capital had masked some of the internal weaknesses, such as a poor infrastructure and the uncertainty of Zhivkov's reforms aimed at reviving the economy. Although Bulgaria had avoided the severe foreign debt burden that plagued some of the other countries in the region (notably Romania), capital generation became critical. In addition, productivity began to decline, causing a greater reliance on state subsidies. Energy production was inadequate. The economy was over-reliant on its trading partners within the Soviet bloc, which absorbed the vast majority of Bulgaria's exports. Most of that went to a Soviet Union that was experiencing its own economic malaise, the malaise that resulted in the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's calls for restructuring (perestroika). The combination of these factors fueled discontent within Bulgaria, which in turn led to the collapse of the regime in the fall of 1989.

With the fall of Zhivkov and the shift away from the command economy, the legacy of the communist economic system to Bulgaria was clear (both in visible and not so immediately apparent terms). Outwardly, the existence of large unproductive enterprises that required excessive energy resources and continued to produce substandard goods that had no market was an obvious problem. In addition, the environmental legacy of four decades of centralized planning that emphasized growth at the expense of health could be seen almost everywhere. In 1990 numerous Bulgarian cities, including Ruse (due to chlorine gas emissions from the Romanian city of Giurgiu that lies across the Danube) and Plovdiv, were declared to be environmentally damaged regions. The power grid remained dependent on a nuclear facility at Kozloduy that had been constructed along the model of Chernobyl in the Soviet Union. Even after the Chernobyl disaster in 1985, the Bulgarian reactor, which leaked radiation, still could not be closed, despite several near catastrophes in the 1970s and 1980s, because the economy was too dependent on the energy.

Cooling pond at Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. (Ed Kashi/Corbis)

While the communist political system crumbled throughout Eastern Europe, so too did the trading patterns that had governed the economies of the Comecon nations. Over 80 percent of Bulgarian trade prior to 1990 had taken place within the bloc. Removal of the overarching economic system in the region left Bulgaria without markets, while having to pay market prices for imports. A year later, the Gulf War destroyed Bulgaria's trade with Iraq, one of its most valuable prewar non-bloc economic partners.

Less visible, but still clear, was the psychological impact of the communist era upon the average Bulgarian. The explosion in urban growth brought on by rapid industrialization and modernization had changed the character of Bulgaria. Old ways and old ties had been broken with little to replace them. The inefficient use of labor (there were in many sectors of the economy too many workers for jobs) and the lack of pay incentives led to a diminution in the work ethic (the old joke throughout the Soviet system was "You pretend to pay me and I'll pretend to work") that is difficult to overcome. Although workers wanted more material goods (one of the dreams of many Bulgarians after the collapse of the Zhivkov regime in 1989), the psychological shift that was necessary to make that even a long-range possibility was virtually impossible for those who had toiled so long under the old system.

Thus, the post-1989 Bulgarian economy has been beset by continuous difficulties, problems that cannot be divorced from the immediate past. Integrating into the world system with outdated plants, poor quality goods, few natural resources, a weak infrastructure (such as an outdated transportation grid), little investment capital, a lack of entrepreneurial innovation, an outdated educational system that discouraged initiative and creativity in favor of ideology, technology that was years if not decades behind the nations of Western Europe, and the reemergence of independent labor unions, which demanded benefits that the state simply could not deliver, all together have constituted a daunting challenge, despite the expectations of the people that things would quickly improve.

An immediate need was to figure out how to handle property. Since the state had owned virtually everything (despite some limited privatization during the 1980s for small areas of the economy such as restaurants), the redistribution of land and other property became vexing issues. Money was unavailable for investment, especially since former high-ranking officials knew where the money was and often expropriated it for their own use.

Moreover the reversion to a market system brought severe economic dislocation, which continued throughout the 1990s. Inflation was high, and wages fell. The country continued to fail to attract foreign investment due to continued bureaucratic red tape (especially in the economic sector) and limited opportunities for a profitable return on those investments. Midway through the 1990s, Bulgaria attracted only one-fourth of the foreign investment that went to neighboring Romania, for example. Inflation remained a constant problem. And the continued power of the restructured communist party has in some respects stalled progress.

In 1992 Bulgaria's parliament passed a privatization law that legislatively paved the way for change, but the reality was that privatization proceeded slowly. By the mid-1990s only about 10 percent of agricultural land had been privatized (although on a positive note, nearly 90 percent of housing had been turned over). And while the pace of privatization quickened, beginning in the spring of 1996, most private farms remain less than ten hectares in size. State cooperatives and farms continued to predominate. Thus, those who use the land continue not to own the land. This in turn has led to a situation in which farm incomes remain low (in part due to a significant decline in production of numerous crops brought on by land degradation caused by a half-century of poor management and soil acidification), thus reducing the domestic market for all products. Lack of credit leaves all farmers short of capital needed to purchase needed equipment.

On the industrial side, the government continued to move at a slow pace away from the state-run economy to a market one. The absence of capital markets hampered stock generation. Outdated large firms continued to operate in part because there was no economic alternative. While small privately owned businesses and shops opened (a striking sight to anyone who had been in the country during the years of communism was the changes in the shop windows from the formerly drab and indistinguishable display of products to a more attractive consumer-friendliness), the legacy of years of heavy industrialization continued to cast a pall over the country.

The government in the early 1990s attempted to sell shares in the state-run industries, but found few takers. Productivity continued to decline, while unemployment increased. Most Bulgarians supported state-run economic endeavors as a means of maintaining employment and price subsidies. But Western banks and international monetary funds demanded a speed-up in privatization and fewer government subsidies to outdated enterprises.

By 1995, inflation was 122 percent, and a year later over 300 percent according to World Bank statistics. Six governments took power between 1989 and 1997, providing few substantive economic answers to the country's problems. Retirees could barely survive on their pensions. People even turned off their heat the following winter because the bills were too high. And economic output continued to decline until 1997, when a few positive signs of increasing productivity, sales, and lower inflation were seen. Still, the failure (or unwillingness) of the government to make a clean break from the past policies of state sponsorship remained a serious problem, lessening hopes for future economic vitality.

Critical for the future of the country at the turn of the century was the prospect of joining the European Union (EU). Talks with the EU began in the spring of 2000. But four years later, Bulgaria had still not met many of the requirements for membership (including administrative and judicial reforms). The government's slow pace of reforms, including barriers to foreign investment in industrial development and budget deficits, continue to hamper the country in fulfilling the requirements for membership.

The burden of ensuring Bulgaria's economic future thus ironically still lies with the government. For nearly a half-century, false hopes were placed on a command economy that shifted the country's economy from the West to the East. For over four decades, governmental decisions hampered the country. With the collapse of communism and a return to a market economy, the government has continued to make choices that have slowed economic regeneration. Despite recent hopeful signs, that failure to meet the challenges and opportunities presented by the collapse of the communist bloc has led to hardship and political dislocation and an almost Third World economic status.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

With the collapse of the Soviet empire, the greatest threat to stability and prosperity in Central and Southeastern Europe is no longer the possibility of external conflict, but rather internal. Two forces have long plagued the region, especially in the Balkans: irredentism and nationalism. Ironically, during the Cold War these forces, so potentially destabilizing, were generally held in check by the imposed communist ideology. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, the restraints fell as well.

Irredentism is the belief or perception that neighboring territory lies unjustly outside the boundaries of the nation. Such a belief may be derived from historic, ethnic, or cultural claims. Given the emotionalism engendered by the issue, irredentism often becomes an instrument of state policy, as political leaders see the opportunity to use the claims for their own political purposes, or are obliged to play to the public clamor for "justice." Irredentist sentiments and demands are tied to nationalism, which for centuries has proved to be the Achilles' heel of the Balkans. Nationalism is an emotional attachment to and identification with a group that sees itself as distinct and possibly threatened by others not part of the group. Historians have long debated the exact nature of nationalism and its variant in Eastern Europe, where ethnic homogeneity is rarely found (unlike many of the nations of Western Europe), and where ethnic divisions have led to genocidal bloodshed, most notably in Yugoslavia during World War II and again during and following the dissolution of the Yugoslav state in the 1990s. What is clear is that the appeal of nationalism has turned neighbors into enemies in the twinkling of an eye. Hot spots are not confined to Kosovo and Bosnia, the most visible problem areas of the 1990s. Transylvania, although quiet as the twentieth century came to an end, has long been a thorn in the side of relations between Romania and Hungary. And Macedonia remains a source of bitter conflict between Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece, over a hundred years after the onset of the "Macedonian Question."

Macedonia dominated Sofia's foreign and domestic agendas for decades. Statesmen who ignored Bulgarians' emotional attachment to the region risked stirring up nationalist passions. The greatest Bulgarian interwar statesman, Aleksandûr Stamboliiski, was killed in a coup in 1923, in large measure because of his belief that the country had greater needs than a nearly obsessive, almost paralytic, preoccupation with Macedonia; instead, he focused on domestic matters, in the belief that they were far more pressing for the future welfare of the state. It made little difference that boundaries in Southeastern Europe, given the shifting movements of people and the various states that existed before the coming of the Ottoman Turks in the 1300s, were often at best ethnic approximations. Claims that were a thousand years old (or more) remain essential to the national soul. Even today, the thought of an independent Macedonia is beyond the imagination of those Bulgarians, Greeks, and Serbs who see the region as part of their historic lands.

Energies in the region thus have often been sapped by inter- and intrastate preoccupation with real and perceived grievances and injustices. Nationalism has often trumped all other needs and made progress much more difficult for a region often termed backward; nationalism has become a millstone around the neck of progress in countries that have far more pressing problems.

If there was one positive effect of the communist takeover in Bulgaria and Eastern Europe in general, it was the apparent cooling of irredentist and nationalist passions by the new ideology of communism and the dream of a socialist future mandated by the new political masters. For four decades, nationalism, at least on the surface, was ideologically anathema, utterly foreign to the rhetoric of internationalism and the socialist fraternity.

In fact, however, the replacement of the old prewar governments with a communist state apparatus could not douse the flames of nationalist aspirations; even during the heyday of communism, nationalist problems continued to arise, a reminder (albeit infrequent) that the past never lurks far beneath the surface in Southeastern Europe. As communism began to unravel in the 1980s, nationalism, as so often in the past, again became a convenient tool for regimes that had lost favor and credibility with the people. Nationalism provided a means of diverting attention away from the realities of economic decline and material shortages.

Marxist claims of a new world in which internationalism would create a new order failed to take into account the fact that nationalism in Eastern Europe was often ethnic in origin, with ethnic minorities living in countries that considered them as "outsiders" and "alien." Romania's Nicolae Ceaușescu used the ethnic divisions within Transylvania (where 30 percent of the population is Hungarian) to prop up his unpopular dictatorship in the 1980s. Likewise, Slobodan Milošević came to power in Belgrade by playing to the memory of the great Serb defeat at Kosovo in 1389.

In the 1980s nationalism also made positive contributions to the lives of the people of Eastern Europe. Poles rallied behind shipyard workers (the Solidarity movement) and a Polish pope (John Paul II) to lay bare the hollow claims that communism had led to a "workers' paradise." Their actions led to the eventual toppling of the house of cards that was the Soviet empire. Moreover, the overthrow of communism was more than merely a political change; it also represented the removal of a kind of foreign overlordship and the restoration of national sovereignty. Yet in the wake of the collapse of communism, a vacuum was created that invited a reversion to past policies. For a "new" Bulgaria, the danger that nationalist sentiments at home and irredentist claims abroad would undermine its efforts at reintegrating the state into Europe was a threat not to be overlooked.

During the 1980s, the economy of Bulgaria was flagging and public discontent was growing; political jokes, always a barometer of public opinion in countries in which the only public voice was the state-run media, became darker and more bitterly directed toward the regime. The Bulgarian government, led by Todor Zhivkov, responded by turning its attention not to the economy (the real focus of the discontent) but to the Turkish minority.

After almost five centuries of Ottoman domination, a small Turkic and Turkified population existed within Bulgaria at the time of national liberation in the nineteenth century. Some were native Bulgarians who had converted during the long period of Turkish overlordship. These Pomaks ("helpers," from a Bulgarian word [*pomagach*] that denoted a traitorous renunciation of the Bulgarian Orthodox heritage for the Muslim faith of the ruling elites) were considered to in fact be Turkish, due to the Ottoman millet system that differentiated the population on the basis of religion. In addition, Turkish settlers had colonized parts of Bulgaria in the 1400s, moving into towns and serving as administrators or irregular military forces. Others populated urban areas as part of the ruling bureaucracy.

When the Ottomans lost control of the Balkans in the nineteenth century, many Turks left, but sizable numbers of Turks and Pomaks remained in the towns and valleys they had inhabited for centuries. The two largest pockets of Muslims could be found in the northeastern part of the country between Ruse and Varna in the Dobrudja and in the valley south of the Maritsa River. Although a minority, they were not an insignificant one. By the 1980s, Turks made up approximately 10 percent of the total population (although the numbers vary depending upon the source; Amnesty International claimed that there were 900,000 ethnic Turks in Bulgaria in 1986).

After World War II, the new constitution of 1947 provided for minority rights and the protection of language and culture. For a Turkish population that numbered some 675,000 out of a total of 7 million and that had seen close to 220,000 leave during the interwar and war years, the guarantee of minority rights was critical. But, like so much written in socialist constitutions, words did not necessarily match reality.

From 1949 until 1951, 155,000 Turks either left the country or were expelled (as Ankara charged) after the new communist government announced that 250,000 Turks would be "allowed" to leave. This exodus placed enormous strains on the Turkish government, which had to absorb this population. Twice, in fact, Ankara had to close the borders with Turkey lest the exodus overwhelm Turkey's capacity to deal with the problem. The majority of the Turks who left Bulgaria came from the southern Dobrudja, the richest agricultural region in the country, which the regime hoped to collectivize. Town names in Turkish in the Dobrudja were replaced by Bulgarian ones.

In 1958 the government closed schools for the Turkish minority and began to crack down on the religious life of Muslims. Turkish schools were replaced with Bulgarian ones. The number of imams (religious leaders) began to decline. By 1965, the census did not even distinguish between ethnic groups, and six years later a new constitution dropped references to ethnic minorities altogether. In 1968 Turkish language publications had been reduced to two (one newspaper and one journal). In 1972 Turkish language classes were banned, and fines were issued for speaking Turkish in public.

In 1971 the Party began the process of assimilating the country's minority population. Pressure was placed on Pomaks (as well as the Roma [Gypsies]) to become Bulgarian. Pomaks with Turkish family names were ordered to change them to Slavic or Bulgarian (that is, Christian) ones or suffer imprisonment. Many Pomaks resisted and were sent to labor camps; they had become enemies of the state by clinging to their names. Effectively, the Pomaks had ceased to exist. By the 1970s, even the use of the word "Pomak" was banned, despite the fact that there were an estimated 170,000 Pomaks in Bulgaria.

For the moment, however, save for the language restrictions, the regime left the ethnic Turkish population alone, perhaps owing to concerns about international reaction. (Bulgaria, like the other states in Eastern Europe, was working toward gaining foreign economic credits and investments.) Instead the regime continued to "encourage" emigration. From 1968 to 1978, an agreement between Sofia and Ankara reopened the border, and another 130,000 Turks left Bulgaria.

In the early 1980s the campaign against the Turks resumed. "Historians" began to assert that the Turks were really ethnic Bulgarians (that is, Pomaks) who had lost their cultural and historic consciousness during centuries of occupation or had been forced to convert to Islam by the Turks.

In 1984–1985, after a few years of quiet, the regime initiated a new campaign designed to end the Turkish presence in Bulgaria. Whatever the motivation for the policy, the effects were catastrophic. All Turks (as well as other Muslims) were ordered to adopt Bulgarian names, as had been done earlier with the Pomaks. This action was intended to signal that they were voluntarily taking the names so as to return to their true ethnic roots. If one refused to comply, a name was assigned, and those who resisted were punished. And the campaign went far beyond names. Towns and villages were occupied. Citizenship cards (with the new names) were issued, and the cards were required for obtaining salaries and pensions. Those who resisted were imprisoned, and some (the numbers range from 500 to 1,500) were killed.

The assault was also cultural. Despite the requirements of Islamic law, circumcision was banned, as was the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of the faith. Birth certificates and marriage licenses could only be issued in Bulgarian. Speaking Turkish became a criminal offense. Muslim sites were destroyed and mosques closed. Even the traditional Turkish peasant costume was forbidden. Nationalism had become both xenophobic and demagogic.

Like much of the propaganda that filled the airwaves or appeared in the newspapers (an old joke in the socialist world was that people preferred not to read the papers; the newsprint merely got their hands dirty), the reasoning issued by Sofia was stunningly brazen. Charges were made that unless something was done and done quickly, the Turkish birthrate was so much higher than the Slavic birthrate that Turks would swamp Bulgarians and the nation would cease to exist. Another angle in the propaganda campaign was that the attack on the Turkish population was really for their own good. The return to their true national culture was the end that supposedly justified the means. In fact, however, this campaign was clearly tantamount to a declaration of war upon the culture of the Muslim minority, requiring the largest single military exercise employed by Bulgaria in decades to enforce the dictates.

Zhivkov perhaps believed that if he could use the Turks to rally ethnic Bulgarians in a nationalist crusade, he could divert the public's attention from the regime's economic failures. Whatever his motivation, the plan backfired. Bulgaria, reeling under the weight of international credits it was unable to repay, and unable to secure new loans or to attract new business or investment, now felt the wrath of the international community. The United Nations, the Islamic Conference, and other organizations swiftly condemned Bulgaria's actions. Zhivkov's campaign was a clear violation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords, which prohibited such violations of human rights. International condemnation did not, however, halt the campaign or its negative effects.

Beginning in May 1989, the government began the forcible removal of Turks from their homes; they were permitted to take only what they could carry. By August, over 300,000 refugees were either in Turkey or in camps along the border waiting to be processed. Although most in the West took little notice (in the summer of 1989, much of the world was transfixed with the rapidly unfolding events in the Soviet bloc that led to the collapse of the empire), this exodus took an enormous toll on both the people and the Bulgarian and Turkish nations directly involved.

Since the Turkish inhabitants of Bulgaria were often agricultural workers or employed in low-paying construction jobs, a labor shortage quickly developed, primarily in the countryside. With the fall harvest season approaching, others had to be recruited to fill the void. The effects upon the economy, including the tobacco crop (one of the country's leading exports and thus a source of essential hard currency), were catastrophic. An already failing economy had just worsened.

Although Zhivkov could not help being pleased with his success in driving so many Turks from Bulgaria, he had clearly isolated himself politically, even within the ranks of the Party. This fact was not lost upon the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, whose needs for glasnost and perestroika (openness and restructuring) in the Soviet Union required that international attention not be focused on the abuses of communism but rather on his attempts at reformism.

Within a matter of months, Zhivkov was toppled from power by the Party, and a new National Assembly (Subranie) moved to retreat from the policy of cultural assimilation and assault. In 1991 lawmakers decreed that those who wished to restore their names could do so (for a period of three years). Slavic endings to ethnic names could also be removed; this decree was directed not just at the Turks but at other groups, such as the Roma, who had been forced to alter their familial spellings. In addition, limited language instruction in Turkish was reinstated. At the same time, however, the Socialists, who controlled the parliament, added a measure to the new constitution that prohibited the formation of political parties on the basis of religion or ethnicity, a provision clearly directed at the Turkish minority. Thus, although some of the provisions of the campaign against the minorities were repealed, and a new friendship agreement was concluded with the Turkish government, the effects and lessons of the xenophobic exercise in nationalism have lingered.

Despite the restrictions on the formation of political parties, a political organ, the Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF), formed to represent the voice of the Turkish population, which increased with the return of over one-half the Turks who had emigrated in 1989. Although the MRF has been courted to participate in coalition governments, criticism of the human rights record toward the Turkish minority (as well as the Roma) has continued to be a barrier toward admission to the European Union and NATO. In the late 1990s the leadership of the dominant political party in the country, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), made overtures to the Turkish population. It was clear that as Bulgaria moved toward full integration into the European system, the problems of aggressive nationalism would be detrimental to the greater cause of economic progress and international respect. Nevertheless, the dangers of nationalism and irredentism, as evidenced by what has occurred in the former Yugoslavia as well as in the case of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, are always potentially sources of division and hostility that linger, influenced by the past. Whether the moves by Bulgarian leaders to deal with the problems of the Turkish minority are sincere or based solely on expediency thus remains to be seen. For Bulgaria to make progress in the third millennium, that part of its past has to stay buried.

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CHRONOLOGY

Fifth century B.C.E.	Thracian kingdom established in Bulgarian lands.
352 B.C.E.	Conquest of the Bulgarian lands by Philip of Macedon.
First and second centuries B.C.E.	Conquest by the Romans.
Sixth and seventh centuries C.E.	Migration of the Bulgars and the Slavs into the region south of the Danube and settlement there.
681	Following his victory over a Byzantine army, Bulgarian khan Asparuh is recognized by Constantinople as the head of a Bulgarian state with its capital at Pliska.
681–1018	First Bulgarian Empire.

Eighth and ninth centuries	The slow assimilation of the ruling Bulgars by the larger Slavic population, who in turn adopt the term Bulgarian for themselves.
803	Bulgar forces, led by Krum, defeat a Byzantine army led by the emperor Nicephorus.
852	Boris becomes khan.
864	Conversion by Boris to Orthodox Christianity.
886	First translations of religious texts into Old Bulgarian, or Old Church Slavonic.
893–927	Height of First Bulgarian Empire under Simeon the Great, with his capital at Preslav.
917	Simeon takes title of "Tsar of the Bulgarians and Emperor of the Romans" after failed siege of Constantinople in 913.
927	Recognition of the Bulgarian Patriarchate by Constantinople.
946	Death of John of Rila; construction of Rila Monastery begins.
Tenth and eleventh centuries	Bogomil "heresy" weakens Bulgarian state.
1018	Fall of First Bulgarian Empire to Byzantine forces led by Basil II ("the Bulgar-Slayer").
1185	Creation of Second Bulgarian Empire with capital at Turnovo, after successful revolution led by Petur and Asen.
1185–1396	Second Bulgarian Empire.
1218–1241	Territorial height of empire under Asen II.
1371	Bulgarian tsar becomes a vassal of the Ottoman Turks; Bulgaria is divided into two parts, with capitals at Vidin (west) and Turnovo (east).
1393	Turnovo taken by Ottoman forces; Bulgarian Patriarchate abolished.
1396	Ottomans take Vidin, ending the Second Bulgarian Empire.
1396–1878	Ottoman rule of Bulgarian lands.
1453	Forces of Mehmed the Conqueror take Constantinople.
1762	Paisi of Hilendar publishes *A Slavonic-Bulgarian History (Istoriia Slavianobolgarskaia),* which attacks Greek influence in Bulgaria.
1774	Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji grants Russia authority to protect Christians in the Ottoman lands.
1792–1807	Warlord Osman Pasvanoglu rules from Vidin over parts of Bulgarian lands.
1806	First work in Bulgarian published in Bucharest.
1809	Bishop Sofronii establishes a Bulgarian center in Bucharest.
1835	First Bulgarian school established at Gabrovo.
1839	Beginning of *Tanzimat* (reform) period in Ottoman Empire, aimed at revitalizing the empire. Reform period lasts until 1876.
1856	First *chitalishta* (reading rooms) are established.
1860s	*Cheti* (armed groups) form in Romania to fight for liberation. Key revolutionaries include Georgi Rakovski, Liuben Karavelov, Khristo Botev, and Vasil Levski.
1870	Ottoman sultan offers the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian church, the Exarchate.
1876	Failed April Uprising.
1877–1878	Russo-Turkish War.
March 1878	Treaty of San Stefano creates an independent "Big Bulgaria."
July 1878	Congress of Berlin revises the provisions of San Stefano. A semi-independent Bulgaria and an autonomous Eastern Rumelia (under Ottoman jurisdiction) are created.
1879	Turnovo Constitution written, which will remain in force until the "Dimitrov Constitution" of 1947.
April 1879	Alexander of Battenberg elected monarch.
1885	Union with Eastern Rumelia.
November 1885	Serbo-Bulgarian War.
8–17 August 1886	Coup led by pro-Russian officers in the Bulgarian army forces Alexander to abdicate; countercoup, led by Stefan Stambolov, invites Alexander to retake throne.
26 August 1886	Alexander formally abdicates.
June 1887	Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg is elected as new monarch.
1891	Bulgarian Social Democratic Party founded.
1893	Formation of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO).
1894	Resignation of Stambolov government.
1895	Assassination of Stambolov.
1899	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU) founded.
1903	Failed Ilinden Uprising in Macedonia.
1903	Formation of Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party by Dimitûr Blagoev.
1908	Bulgaria gains complete independence; Ferdinand takes the title of tsar.
1912	Formation of Balkan League with Serbia and Greece.
October 1912–May 1913	First Balkan War.
May 1913	Treaty of London ends First Balkan War; Bulgaria does not feel properly compensated in Macedonia.
June–July 1913	Bulgaria attacks Macedonia, precipitating Second Balkan War.

August 1913	Treaty of Bucharest ends Second Balkan War; Bulgaria loses territory, including southern Dobrudja.
October 1915	Bulgaria enters World War I on the side of the Central Powers by declaring war on Serbia.
September 1916	Bulgaria attacks Romania.
September 1918	Salonika Front breaks, leading to armistice and Radomir Rebellion.
October 1918	Ferdinand abdicates for son Boris.
November 1919	Treaty of Neuilly signed. Bulgaria loses land to Serbia, Romania, and Greece.
1920	Aleksandûr Stamboliiski forms a government led by the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union.
June 1923	Coup overthrows and murders Stamboliiski; government led by Aleksandûr Tsankov forms.
September 1923	Failed September Uprising against rightist government.
1930s	Effects of Great Depression cause severe economic dislocation.
1934	Greece, Turkey, Romania, and Yugoslavia form Balkan Pact aimed at containing Bulgarian territorial revisionism.
May–June 1934	Boris overthrows government and bans all political parties and organizations; Turnovo Constitution is suspended.
1933–1941	Growth in economic dependence on Nazi Germany.
March 1941	Bulgaria joins the Tripartite Pact.
April 1941	Bulgarian troops occupy Yugoslav Macedonia and western Thrace.
1943	Coalition of parties, led by the Communist Party, forms the Fatherland Front.
August 1943	Boris dies.
September 1944	Soviet army crosses into Bulgaria. Bulgaria declares war on Nazi Germany.
8–9 September 1944	Coup d'état by Fatherland Front overthrows the government.
1946	Fatherland Front candidates control the National Assembly.
November 1946	Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov named prime minister.
1947	Peace treaty with Allied powers ratified; opposition leader Nikola Petkov arrested, tried, and executed; new constitution, the "Dimitrov Constitution," promulgated.
1949	Dimitrov dies; replaced by Vulko Chervenkov, a hard-liner who will purge the Party of "deviationists."
1949–1951	First campaign against the Turkish minority leads to the flight of 155,000 Turks.
1953	Death of Soviet leader Josef Stalin; Chervenkov increasingly isolated politically.
1954	Todor Zhivkov named first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP).
1958	Turkish schools in Bulgaria closed.
1962	Zhivkov consolidates power.
1971	Zhivkov issues new constitution.
1981	Celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the First Bulgarian Empire.
1984–1985	Campaign against the Turkish minority intensifies.
1989	Renewed campaign against the Turkish and Muslim minority.
November 1989	Zhivkov replaced as Party secretary at plenary Party session by Petûr Mladenov; days later he is replaced as president as well.
January 1990	BCP gives up exclusive political power; in April it will rename itself the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).
1990	First free elections in the postcommunist era; despite BSP victory, a coalition of opposition parties, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), refuses to endorse BSP program.
22 November 1990	The People's Republic of Bulgaria is renamed the Republic of Bulgaria.
1991	Zhelyu Zhelev elected president.
1992	Privatization laws adopted.
April 1997	Elections lead to UDF government headed by Ivan Kostov.
June 2001	A new party, the Simeon National Movement, headed by the former monarch Simeon II, wins elections. Simeon becomes new prime minister. Later, Georgi Parvanov, from the BSP, elected president.

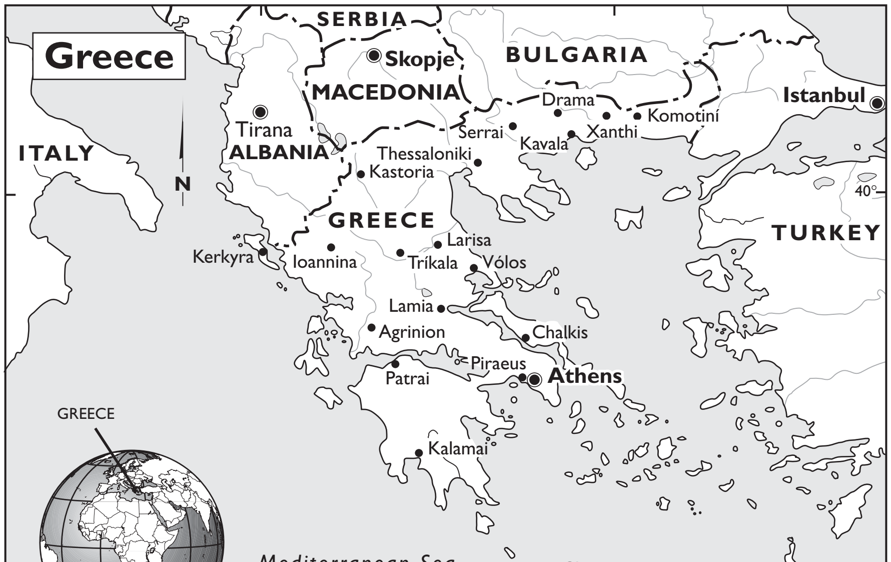
GREECE

ALEXANDROS K. KYROU

LAND AND PEOPLE

At varying times in their almost 4,000-year-history, the Greeks have populated diverse areas of the larger Mediterranean world. The earliest Greek communities emerged within a geographic pale corresponding roughly to Greece's current territory and extending across the Aegean Sea to the central and southern portions of Asia Minor's western coast. At the height of their distribution of settlement in antiquity, Greeks dominated the southern Balkans and the peninsula's surrounding islands, western and northern Asia Minor, southern Italy and Sicily, and Cyprus. At the same time, Greek populations, especially in urban communities, were widely dispersed along the shores of the Black Sea, the Libyan coast in North Africa, and throughout much of the Near East; meanwhile, Greek colonies in Western Europe dotted the Mediterranean coasts of France and Spain, and networks of Greek settlement stretched as far as Iran and Afghanistan in Southwest Asia. During the Middle Ages, Greek society, and its population, consolidated through the Byzantine Empire to form a geographic and population core anchored in, first, the peninsular landmass of Asia Minor and, second, the southern Balkans, as well as the Aegean Islands and Cyprus. Greek communities continued to cling to southern Italy and Sicily, as well as other places, but these particular historic Greek centers steadily declined under the pressures of foreign conquest and assimilation.

During the early modern period, and largely as a result of the Greek world's conquest by the Ottoman Turks, a major territorial contraction of the Greek population took place. In Asia Minor, most of the region's Greek population, despite its survival in considerable numbers along the Aegean and Black Sea coastal areas, as well as places in the interior, was displaced or assimilated by the Turks. In the Balkans, although Greeks continued to dominate the south of the peninsula and even expanded northward into urban settlements throughout the region, Ottoman conquest of Southeastern Europe brought with it Turkish settlement and consequent displacement of many Greek populations, especially in large parts of Macedonia and Thrace. The contraction of Greece's geographic space and population distribution was accelerated in the modern era. Although the Greek nation-state emerged in the early nineteenth century as the first successor to the Ottoman Empire, it proved incapable of liberating and incorporating all of the Greeks' geographic patrimony. Today, in fact, the Greek world is geographically smaller than at any other time in its history. In its present form, the country's territory of 131,957 square kilometers is overwhelmingly mountainous, shaped by a complex coastline exceeding 15,000 kilometers in length, and includes as many as 2,000 islands and islets that dot the surrounding Aegean, Ionian, and Mediterranean Seas.


Greece
SERBIA
Skopje
BULGARIA
MACEDONIA
Drama
Komotiní
Istanbul
Tirana
ALBANIA
Serrai
Kavala
Xanthi
ITALY
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Thessaloniki
Kastoria
40°
GREECE
TURKEY
Larisa
Kerkyra
Ioannina
Tríkala
Vólos
Lamia
Agrinion
Chalkis
Piraeus
Patrai
Athens
GREECE
Kalamai
Mediterranean Sea
Chania
Irakleion
35°
0 50 100 mi
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20°
25°

The Acropolis, Athens. (PhotoDisc, Inc.)

Given Greek society's exceptionally long history, it is not surprising that Greece's geographic stage, and corresponding population landscape, experienced such dramatic change. What is remarkable, however, is that the Greeks managed for over three millennia to maintain or reassert their constant, dominant position in the southernmost Balkans, their historic homeland and geographic base. Often identified as the Greek peninsula, this region, comprising the lands of the modern Greek state, are traditionally divided into nine geographic regions that are differentiated by historic frontiers but not by political administration. The six mainland regions are Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace in the north, and Central Greece, the Peloponnesus, and Thessaly to the south. The three island regions consist of the Aegean Islands, in the Aegean Sea between mainland Greece and Turkey, the Ionian Islands, in the Ionian Sea immediately west of the mainland, and the island of Crete, straddling the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas.

Greece's most underdeveloped area, Epirus, is the Greek part of a larger territory, which extends into Albania. Dominated by a mass of complex mountain lines known as the Pindus Range, Epirus is the most mountainous region in Greece and, by virtue of its rugged topography and limited passageways, the country's historically most isolated area. Because there are no major valleys between its steep ridges, Epirus is also a poor agricultural region, suitable mainly for pasture. The chief city, Ioannina, which enjoyed considerable cultural and political influence in Ottoman times, functions today as the region's primary commercial center. Although the population of Epirus played an important role in the Greek Revolution against Ottoman rule in the 1820s, most of Epirus was not incorporated into Greece until 1913.

East of Epirus, south of the border with the former Yugoslavia and bounded by the Aegean Sea, is Macedonia, the largest region of Greece. Macedonia is the Greek portion of a geographically larger area that also includes the lands comprising southwestern Bulgaria and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM, or the Republic of Macedonia, which until 1991 was the southernmost republic in Yugoslavia). Macedonia's terrain is defined primarily by rugged mountains interspersed with fertile river valleys and an extensive coastal plain shaped by the Axios (Vardar) River, which empties into the Aegean Sea. Western Macedonia, an area dotted with several large lakes, is the mountainous source of Greece's longest flowing river, the Aliakmonas, which meanders eastward to form a swampy delta shared with the mouth of the Axios River. The fertile Strymonas (Struma) River valley is nestled in eastern Macedonia. Central Macedonia's plain is one of the most agriculturally productive regions in the Balkans and a resource crucial to Greece's economy. Greece's second largest city, Thessaloniki, is also located in central Macedonia. Thessaloniki possesses one of the most strategic ports in Southeastern Europe and the city serves as an important commercial center, linking Balkan markets with international trade. Founded in the fourth century B.C.E., Thessaloniki was for many centuries, both in the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires, the most important economic and cultural center in the Balkans after Constantinople. Southeast of Thessaloniki, one of Macedonia's most prominent geographic features, the Chalcidice peninsula, extends three subpeninsulas into the Aegean Sea. The rugged easternmost of these three long arms of land is home to the autonomous religious community of Mount Athos, a legendary Orthodox Christian monastic enclave that has provided seclusion to its male-only members for more than a millennium. Athos, although preserving its status as a self-governing territory, was, like the rest of Greek Macedonia, incorporated into the Greek state in 1913.

Thrace, like Epirus and Macedonia, is the Greek part of a larger geographic and historic region. Greek Thrace is sometimes distinguished as Western Thrace to differentiate it from Turkish Thrace, also known as Eastern Thrace or European Turkey. Thrace's eastern border is defined by the Evros (Maritsa) River, which separates Greece and Turkey, while the Greek border with Bulgaria serves as the region's northern frontier. To the south, Thrace meets the Aegean Sea, and to the west the Nestos River sets the regional border between Greek Macedonia and Thrace. While most of northern Thrace is dominated by the Rhodope Mountains, Thrace's southern lands encompass three alluvial plains, running along the coast of the Aegean Sea and the valley of the Evros River. Thrace became part of Greece in 1919.

The region of central Greece, known historically as Rumeli, extends from the Ionian Sea on the west to the Aegean Sea on the east, and from Epirus and Thessaly in the north to the Gulf of Corinth on the south. The main range of the Pindus Mountains extends southward into the western part of Central Greece, where it connects with another mountain system, the Parnassian Range, which extends southeastward toward the historic area of Attica and the city of Athens. Greece's capital, Athens, is surrounded by its largest metropolitan area and neighbors the country's chief port, Piraeus. Greater Athens is the hub of Greece's lucrative international trade and investing activity and the center of the country's largest industrial complex. Leaving an enormous intellectual, cultural, and political imprint on the development of civilization, the legacy of ancient Athens continues to overshadow much of the modern city, which, like its ancient ancestor, has developed a reputation for rapid growth, overcrowding, an inadequate transportation structure, a frenetic pace of public and private life, and a creative and resourceful population. Center-stage along with the Peloponnesus in the course of the Greek Revolution, fought in the 1820s for liberation from Ottoman rule, Rumeli, or Central Greece, was one of the core territories comprising the independent Greek state established in 1832.

The southernmost part of mainland Greece, as well as the Balkan Peninsula, is a mountainous landmass connected to central Greece by an isthmus only four miles wide at its narrowest point. The isthmus connecting the Peloponnesus to central Greece, is, in fact, cut by the Corinth Canal. Since the canal's completion in 1893, the Peloponnesus has been made a virtual island surrounded by the Gulf of Corinth on the north, the Ionian Sea to the west, the Mediterranean Sea on the south, and the Aegean Sea in the east. The Peloponnesus, like much of Greece, is renowned for its physical beauty, which also reflects an intensely complex concentration of diverse topographical features. The Peloponnesian networks of mountains extend southward to form three peninsulas that make up the southernmost points of the landmass. In the center of the Peloponnesus, surrounded by mountains, rests the Plateau of Arcadia. Lowlands stretch along the northern and western coasts, along inland river valleys, and in several spring-fed mountain basins, while fertile alluvial plains are found in the northeast. All the same, much of the peninsula is arid during summer, requiring irrigation in many agricultural areas. The centrally located city of Tripolis aside, most of the Peloponnesus's population is located on the periphery of the peninsula. Still home to several cities, such as Argos, Corinth, and Sparta, renowned for their importance in the ancient world, today the Peloponnesus's largest and most important city is the thriving industrial, commercial, and port city of Patras on the north coast. A major source of early nationalist revolutionaries and the first region to be liberated from Ottoman rule during the Greek War of Independence, the Peloponnesus was a core territory of the modern Greek state created in 1832.

The region of Thessaly occupies the east side of the Pindus watershed, extending south of Macedonia, north of Central Greece, and on to the Aegean Sea. Thessaly's major river, the Pinios, originating in the Pindus Range and emptying into the Aegean, flows through the region's most important topographical feature, its central plain. The fertile, and relatively large, Thessalian Plain constitutes one of Greece's most vital agricultural areas, particularly for the production of grains and livestock. Another of Thessaly's most prominent geographic features is a spur of mountains extending southeastward from Mount Olympus in Macedonia along the Aegean coast, forming and terminating in the Magnesia peninsula. The peninsula envelops the Gulf of Pagasai along which rests one of Thessaly's two major urban centers, the port city of Volos. The nearly landlocked gulf provides metropolitan Volos with a natural harbor for shipping the agricultural products from the plains just to the west. Thessaly's second large city, Larisa, makes good use of its geographic position in the center of the region's productive plain and at the nexus of major transportation corridors to function as one of Greece's largest food-processing centers. The Ottoman Empire was forced to cede to Greece most of Thessaly in 1881; the remainder of the region's territory was incorporated in 1913.

Greece's islands have long held a special place in the imagination of Greeks and foreigners alike. Like the mainland, however, the islands are geographically and topographically far more diverse than they are popularly represented. Most of the islands are geological extensions of the mountains of the Greek mainland, forming regional clusters in the Aegean Sea. In the northern Aegean the densely forested island of Thasos is part of Macedonia, dry Samothrace belongs to Thrace, and the lush chain of the Northern Sporades make up part of Thessaly.

In the western and central Aegean are a large group of some twenty-four islands comprising the Cyclades. Excluding Naxos and Siros, which benefit from fertile and well-watered valleys, most of the Cyclades Islands are dry, rocky, and infertile. A historic bed of piracy and a source of decisive opposition to the Ottomans for control of the sea during the Greek Revolution, the Cyclades were an integral part of independent Greece established in 1832. East of the Cyclades and close to the Turkish coast is another archipelago known as the Dodecanese Islands, the largest of which is Rhodes. The Dodecanese, wrested from the Ottoman Empire by Italy in 1911 and awarded to Greece in 1947, comprise the last territories added to Greece. North of the Dodecanese are the relatively large islands of Samos, Ikaria, Chios, Lesbos, and Lemnos, the first of which is remarkable for its green forests, the fourth of which is notable as one of Greece's most economically developed islands, known for its enormously profitable olive production. All of these islands were acquired by Greece in 1913.

Shielding the Aegean Islands from the Mediterranean Sea is Crete, Greece's largest island. Crete's location in the eastern Mediterranean and on the cusp of the Aegean has made it historically significant as a natural and vital link in the exchange and diffusion of cultures between Europe and the Near East. Conquered by the Ottomans in 1669, Crete had been a Venetian possession for more than four centuries. After several uprisings against the Ottomans, Crete secured autonomous status in 1897 and was incorporated into Greece in 1913.

Finally, beyond the Aegean and immediately west of the Greek mainland are the Ionian Islands, which share the name of the sea in which they are found. Corfu is the northernmost of the main Ionian Islands, as well as the archipelago's most populous, most prosperous, and most strategic island. In fact, its strategic position, which commands the strait between Italy and the Balkans where the Ionian and Adriatic seas meet, had placed it for several centuries at the mercy and occupation of several foreign powers such as Venice, Russia, France, and Britain. Corfu is the only part of Greece never to have been subject to Ottoman conquest and rule. Corfu, as well as the other Ionian Islands, was ceded by Britain to Greece in 1864. Despite their many differences, the Greek islands share a set of distinctive features that have defined the broader Greek historical experience—the geographical markers of sea and mountains.

NATURE AND ENVIRONMENT

Greece's environment is significantly influenced by its climate, which is largely Mediterranean but with considerable regional variation. There are essentially five main climatic regions in Greece: Attica and the Aegean, the continental northeast, the mainland mountainous interior, the Peloponnesus, and the west (including the Ionian Islands). Considerable local variation within these zones results from differing elevation and distance from the sea. The dominant condition of Greece's climate is the alteration between hot dry summers and cold damp winters typical of the larger Mediterranean climatic belt. Continental climatic and weather influences are, as could be expected, felt more in the north and in the center of the country than in other parts of Greece. In winter, low-pressure systems originating in the North Atlantic reach Greece, bringing rain and drawing cold winds from the eastern Balkans over Macedonia and Thrace. In summer, low-pressure systems decline, allowing for hot and dry conditions throughout most of the country. Precipitation throughout the year is influenced appreciably by elevation, with high mountain regions from Macedonia, in the north, to Crete, in the south, covered with snow for several months during the year.

The rapid modernization that swept Greece in the postwar period also produced severe pressures on Greece's natural environment. Several of the problems associated with ongoing economic development have had a deleterious effect on Greece's ecological system. The considerable expansion of industrial activity, a dramatic increase in the number and use of motor vehicles, poor controls over land use, and massive waves of regular tourism have lowered air and water quality and placed enormous strains on Greece's environment. Athens, for example, has become known for acutely poor air quality and frequent severe incidents of smog. The city's climatic conditions and topography favor formation and trapping of pollutants close to the ground, a condition created in large part because the rapid postwar urbanization of Attica has proceeded without any systematic plan for traffic and industrial expansion. The same conditions contribute to air pollution in Thessaloniki, albeit to a lesser extent. In addition, sulfur dioxide, created chiefly by industrial manufacturing, has severely damaged monuments and stone buildings in Athens and Thessaloniki and generated acid rain that has injured the health of forests in Epirus, Central Greece, and Macedonia.

Water pollution and soil conservation have likewise become serious problems. Greece has shared in the general postwar deterioration of water quality in the Mediterranean basin. Bodies of water adjacent to industrial centers, especially the Saronikos Gulf south of Athens, where virtually half of Greece's industrial complex is located, receive large amounts of untreated industrial waste and municipal sewage. Greece's soil, most of which is naturally poor in organic matter, has been degraded in recent decades by the extensive, and in some instances uncontrolled, use of fertilizers as well as by soil erosion, the latter a problem plaguing Greece since antiquity. Furthermore, together with chronic and apparently increasing droughts, erosion has caused semi-desertification in many agricultural areas. Finally, rural vegetation has been stripped by overgrazing and urban sprawl construction, further contributing to soil erosion. The major agricultural plains of Macedonia and Thessaly have, however, been largely immune to soil erosion problems.

In response to the mounting crises, which became clearly apparent in the 1970s, Greek governments have produced a mass of environmental regulations. Greece's 1975 constitution gives the state authority over the country's environment and natural resources, while the 1986 Law on the Protection of the Environment sets the basic principles of

Greece's environmental policy. However, rather than establishing an efficient, centralized apparatus for implementing and enforcing such principles, the 1986 law provides for no autonomous regulatory environmental agency. In place of such an agency, the law requires nearly one hundred implementation decisions by multiple government agencies before going into full effect. The unwieldy nature of this structure has promoted bureaucratic inaction and even obstruction as much as it has led to any tangible problem solving. Often, for example, government ministries responsible for infrastructure projects and linked construction industries oppose land-use and conservation initiatives.

Despite the state's largely failed attempts to introduce effective environmental protection policies on its own, significant progress has been made on this front in Greece since the early 1990s. This progress is largely the result of the convergence of a number of sources of pressure and activism that have compelled, or forced, government and industry in Greece to undertake measures to tackle the country's environmental problems. The Greek media have been instrumental in this area by increasing attention to escalating problems. Pressure beginning in the early 1990s from the European Community (EC), and later its successor, the European Union (EU), on Greece to uphold national and international environmental obligations were important in motivating the Greek government to act more responsibly. Likewise, major decisions made by the Council of State, the highest administrative court in Greece, overturning antienvironmental policies had a decisive impact on the advancement of environmental concerns. In addition, during the 1990s several grassroots nongovernment environmental organizations emerged, and have continued, to mobilize public opinion in support of specific environmental issues. Moreover, such activist groups have brought environment-driven legal proceedings successfully before the Council of State in Greece and relevant agencies of the EU. Despite steadily increasing successes, Greece's environmental movement remains fragmented and highly localized, beginning only recently to coordinate and coalesce its efforts on a national level comparable to the "Green" groups of Western Europe.

Agriculture, the backbone of the Greek economy since antiquity, has experienced steady proportional decline as a sector of the country's overall economy in the postwar period. This trend, of course, is representative of the transition to an increasingly more developed economy and general modernization. The shrinkage of the agricultural sector, relative to other sectors, has been accelerated especially during the last two decades. For instance, whereas agriculture (together with forestry and fishing, the so-called primary sector) contributed approximately 20 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) around 1980, by the year 2000 that figure had declined by half to about 10 percent. Nevertheless, agriculture remains comparatively more important to Greece than to most other EU countries. In the EU as a whole, the agricultural sector contributes 6–7 percent of GDP. Notwithstanding, employment in agriculture has declined as the primary sector's role in the Greek economy has receded. While in 1980 persons employed in agriculture represented 28 percent of national employment, two decades later that figure had declined by almost one-third to approximately 20 percent.

Despite the modern transformation of Greece's agricultural sector toward export crops, the millennia-old tradition of fragmented, non-contiguous, and small-scale landholdings continues to persist. This pattern of land tenure was reinforced in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries by state land distribution programs that divided national lands to be given to landless peasants. The state's commitment to universal land ownership for the peasantry spared Greece much of the social instability, hence the absence of a significant agrarian political movement, that was common throughout much of the rest of prewar Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, the application of these policies often sacrificed efficiency in land use for equity in land distribution.

Greece's total agricultural utilization area is 3.7 million hectares (one hectare equals approximately 2.5 acres) of land, of which roughly 60 percent is in the plains and 40 percent is in the semimountainous or mountainous areas. While two-thirds of the land under cultivation is used for crops, and about one-quarter for orchards, the remaining agricultural land is used for pasturage and vineyards. In the EU as a whole, the average area per holding is approximately fourteen hectares, while in Greece the average is below four hectares. The small size of individual landholdings is the primary cause of lower agricultural productivity in Greece compared with other EU countries. The economies of scale offered by the most recent advances in farming methods have a limited impact on small plots of land characteristic of the Greek agricultural sector.

Greece's diverse topography and climatic conditions have led to differences in agricultural practices and cultivation methods throughout the country. For example, in Macedonia and Thessaly approximately 85 percent of agricultural land was cropland, while in Crete two-thirds of the island's agricultural areas were occupied by vineyards and orchards. Meanwhile, in the Peloponnesus two-thirds of agricultural land was used as cropland and one-third was used for vineyards and orchards. The approximate shares of major crops in total agricultural production are as follows: 16 percent from cotton, tobacco, and sugar beets; 11 percent from wheat and other grains; 11 percent from fruits and vegetables; 11 percent from olive products; and 6 percent from grapes. Livestock and livestock production constitute roughly 30 percent of the total value of Greece's agricultural output. The largest components of the country's livestock population are sheep and goats, whose meat and milk, respectively, account for 6 percent and 7 percent of the agricultural total. Whereas most of the sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry are evenly distributed among the agricultural regions of the country, about half of Greece's cattle are concentrated in the plains of Macedonia. Beef and milk provide 6 percent of the country's agricultural output, while poultry and eggs account for 6 percent, and pork for 4 percent.

POPULATION

At the time of the 2001 census, the population of Greece was 10,964,020, marking an increase of approximately

700,000 since 1991. The de jure population by region was approximately as follows: 490,000 in the Aegean Islands; 4.6 million in Central Greece; 580,000 in Crete; 400,000 in Epirus; 220,000 in the Ionian Islands; 2.32 million in Macedonia; 1.18 million in the Peloponnesus; 800,000 in Thessaly; and 370,000 in Thrace. Greece's largest urban area is metropolitan, or Greater, Athens with a population of 3,761,810 in 2001. Metropolitan Thessaloniki's population exceeds 740,000, followed by Patras with a population of approximately 175,000. Only three other cities, Heraklion on Crete and Larisa and Volos in Thessaly, have populations over 100,000. According to the most recent statistics, Greece has a population density of 78 persons per square kilometer. As for most other EU countries, the Greek birthrate has been declining steadily in the postwar period from its peak of 20.3 births per 1,000 inhabitants in 1951 to an estimated 9.82 in the year 2000. At present, 18 percent of the population is 65 years and over, 67 percent is 15–64 years, and 15 percent is under 15 years of age. Females, making up 51 percent of the country's population, have an average life expectancy of seventy-nine years, three years longer than that for males. Greece has a literacy rate of 95 percent.

According to official statistics, Greece's ethnic composition consists of a 98 percent Greek population and minority populations totaling only 2 percent. The latter figure typically does not include the small Vlach population, of fewer than 80,000, concentrated primarily in the central Pindus Range area and the even smaller Macedonian Slav population, numbering less than 40,000, located in northwestern Macedonia, both of which have been viewed culturally, if not linguistically, as Greek. Greece's largest minority comprises approximately 130,000 Muslims in Thrace, half of whom are ethnic Turks, one-quarter of whom are Pomaks (ethnic Bulgarian, or Bulgarian-speaking, Muslims), and the remainder of whom are Roma (Gypsies). Greece's indigenous population is one of the most ethnically homogeneous in Europe. Notwithstanding, during the 1990s Greek society experienced increased ethnic diversification through the influx of significant numbers of foreign workers. Historically a net exporter of labor, as the Greek economy developed during the preceding decade, Greece was transformed into a net importer of labor. Whereas a million persons emigrated from Greece between 1944 and 1974 to industrialized countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, since 1991 the trend has been reversed, with the number of immigrants to Greece far exceeding emigrants, the latter's once substantial numbers now altogether insignificant. By 2001 there were perhaps as many as 500,000 to 600,000 foreign citizens living in Greece. Although a significant proportion of that population consists of ethnic Greeks from Albania and the former Soviet Union, the overwhelming majority was made up of laborers from the former East Bloc and developing countries.

Perhaps the most significant postwar change in Greece's demography has been the rapid urbanization of the country's population. Whereas in 1940 only 32 percent of Greece's population resided in urban areas, by 1971 only 35 percent remained in rural communities, and in 2001 only 28 percent of Greece's population was categorized as rural. This dramatic shift of the majority of Greece's population from rural to urban and semiurban life in one generation has also produced dramatic social changes. Furthermore, Greece's population has also shifted into a new geographical axis defined by Athens in the south and Thessaloniki in the north. Through a pattern of expanding chain migration, village families established lives in the city, with migrants to Athens coming mainly from southern Greece and the islands and their counterparts in Thessaloniki coming from the north of the country. The highest rates of this postwar wave of migration took place between 1950 and 1967. Although the trend slowed during the late 1960s and through the 1970s, in those two decades alone Athens grew by 37 percent and 19 percent, respectively, and Thessaloniki grew by 46 percent and 27 percent, respectively.

RELIGION

Reflecting Greece's ethnic and cultural homogeneity, an estimated 97 percent of Greece's population identifies itself as Orthodox Christian, while 1.3 percent is Muslim. The country's remaining religious communities comprise small groups of, in order of their size, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. With Greek philosophy, language, and ideas so decisively informing the development of Christianity in Late Antiquity, with Orthodox Christianity functioning as the chief source of inspiration for cultural production and worldview among the medieval Greeks, and with the imprint of the Orthodox Church as the primary Greek institution for the organization and preservation of collective identity under Ottoman rule, it is not surprising that Orthodoxy remains closely intertwined with national identity in Greece today.

Orthodox Christianity is based on the theology of Christianity as codified in the canons passed by the first seven church councils of the Byzantine (Christian Roman) Empire, as well as by the Christian Church's patristic foundations, established by Christ, the Apostles, and the early Church Fathers. In contrast to Western Christianity, which has developed a largely legal and functional approach to theology, Orthodoxy has consistently emphasized the experiential and mystical dimensions of theology. Furthermore, unlike Western Christendom, which was by the Early Middle Ages preoccupied with conflicts over papal religious versus secular supremacy, Eastern Christendom remained committed to the principle of ecclesiastical unity, but with a decentralized administration. This principle had been realized in practice with the creation of the five patriarchal sees of (in order of their establishment) Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople. Eastern Christendom's tradition of cultural and administrative decentralization as a basis for ecclesiastical organization led to the formation, concurrent with the creation of an independent Greek state, of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Greece (Church of Greece) in 1830; the autocephaly of the Church of Greece was recognized by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1850.

During much of its history, the relationship between the Church of Greece and the Greek state was characterized by simultaneous partnership and ambivalence. One of the means by which the early Greek state sought to legitimize itself and

The Greek Language

Greek is the official language of the Greek state, and the primary language spoken by virtually all of the almost 11 million inhabitants of Greece, as well as the more than a half million Greeks of Cyprus. Greek continues to be spoken in some villages of Apulia and Calabria in southern Italy, throughout much of southern Albania, and among the dwindling Greek community of Istanbul. Greek is also spoken around the world in a global diaspora of 4–6 million Greeks. In terms of native speakers, Greek ranks well down the list of world languages. However, culturally and intellectually its importance is disproportionate to its number of native speakers. As the language of classical Greek philosophy and literature and later as the language cauldron for the development of early Christianity, Greek has profoundly shaped Western thought and world civilization.

Like any other language, Greek has evolved over time, but modern Greek can trace its pedigree to the first attempts at recording ideas in writing. An Indo-European language, Greek, in its several variations, has been used to shape a continuous literary tradition stretching back almost 3,500 years, a role no other European language has played. The earliest records of written Greek, in the archaic Mycenaean dialect, are dated around 1450 B.C.E. Ancient Greek, however, is most associated with Attic Greek, the language of fifth and fourth century B.C.E. Athens, in which most of the surviving classical Greek literature was written. Later, Greek, as it was most widely spoken in the Hellenistic Near East and throughout much of the Roman Empire, became known as *Koine* (Common). This was the form of Greek in which the New Testament was written, and from this version of Greek emerged the medieval Greek that became the official language of the Byzantine Empire and finally modern Greek.

Although its inter-intelligibility with ancient Greek is a matter of debate, modern Greek retains many of the linguistic qualities of its ancient form and a high degree of unity with it. In spite of this basic continuity, until recently the chief linguistic problem for Greece has been a conflict and dichotomy between use of the vernacular language and the literary language. As Greek intellectuals became increasingly influenced by nationalist ideas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, language emerged as an important political issue. As they envisioned an independent Greek state, populist nationalists debated the merits of standardizing the spoken vernacular, demotic Greek, to serve as the language of a future Greek state. In contrast, elitist nationalists sought to return to a form of Greek closer to classical Greek, a literary (or artificial) language, fashioned by intellectuals and known as Katharevousa (pure) Greek. Katharevousa was accepted as the official language of the newly independent Greek state in the 1830s. The adoption of Katharevousa over demotic did not resolve the tensions between the vernacular and higher literary forms. In fact, demotic Greek experienced a creative renaissance beginning in the late nineteenth century and enjoyed increasing support from intellectuals and writers who championed it as a natural expression of the Greek people's nationhood. Although Katharevousa stimulated advances in the sophistication of demotic Greek, the dual-language system tended to reinforce social and economic divisions in Greek society to such an extent that it eventually became associated with a kind of antiquated conservatism. After a long rivalry that contributed as much to its own transformation into a new literary language as to its eventual triumph, in 1976 demotic Greek replaced Katharevousa as the official language of Greece.

its nation-building agenda was by co-opting the Orthodox Church. Meanwhile, the Orthodox Church sought to safeguard its influence in Greek society by virtue of its privileged position vis-à-vis the Greek state. In short, both institutions were interested in the subordination and exploitation of the other; consequently, the Greek state recognized Orthodoxy as the official state religion in 1833. This status for the Orthodox Church ensured that it would have a decisive role in the nation-building process of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but it did not resolve the complex tensions between church and state, which continue, despite fairly recent changes in the status of the Church.

The constitution of 1975 changed the status of Orthodox Christianity and the Orthodox Church from the official "state religion and state Church" to the "prevailing religion and established Church" of Greece. This seemingly minor change, in fact, marked a major reform in church-state relations. By drafting the Orthodox Church as Greece's established but no longer official Church, the state recognized the country's religious majority while acknowledging its religious pluralism. Like several similar constitutionally "prevailing religions and established Churches" in Western Europe, the Orthodox Church of Greece enjoys certain benefits, such as financial support from the state. However, it no longer, especially following additional church-state reforms initiated in the 1980s, wields the kind of influence through the state that it was associated with in the past.

In terms of its administrative structure, the Church of Greece is divided into seventy-eight dioceses, eight dioceses comprising the semiautonomous Church of Crete, four additional dioceses in the Dodecanese Islands, and the monastic community of Mount Athos, which enjoys constitutionally guaranteed autonomy. The Church is governed by a Holy Synod made up of all the diocesan bishops, who convene annually under the chairmanship of the archbishop of Athens, the Church's primate. Twelve bishops, chosen from the Holy Synod on a yearly basis, and the Archbishop of Athens form an executive body responsible for day-to-day Church administration. The dioceses of Crete, the Dodecanese Islands, and, nominally, the monastic community of Mount Athos are officially administratively dependent on the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in Istanbul, Turkey. Mount Athos, given its constitutional protections, is formally organized as the Monastic Republic of Mount Athos and is administered by a committee of twenty monks, each representing one of the community's monasteries.

After Greece's 130,000 Sunni Muslims in Thrace, the country's remaining religious minority groups are made up almost entirely of small Western Christian communities. Chief among these other religious populations are Catholics. Organized into four archdioceses, in 2003 approximately 52,350 Roman Catholics lived in Greece. Most of the members of this community are descendants of Venetian settlers in the islands. Two other Catholic Churches, the Byzantine Rite and the Armenian Rite, have 2,300 and 550 communicants, respectively. The largest Protestant group in the country is the Greek Evangelical Church, which has thirty parishes and approximately 5,000 members. There are also small numbers of Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons in Greece.

Before World War II, Greece had a Jewish population of approximately 75,000. That population, however, like the Jews of every country in Eastern Europe, was devastated by the genocide of World War II. Home to the first Jewish settlement in Europe, Jews have lived in Greece since the fourth century B.C.E. The oldest Jewish communities in Greece, with roots in antiquity, were Romaniote, Greek-speaking, Jews concentrated primarily in Athens and Ioannina. The largest Jewish population in Greece, however, was made up of Sephardic, Ladino-speaking, Jews who first arrived in the Balkans as religious refugees from Spain in the fifteenth century. Before World War II, Sephardic communities of more than a thousand Jews each could be found on Corfu, Crete, and Rhodes, as well as in the towns of Kastoria and Volos. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of Greece's Jews resided in Thessaloniki, where they played a dynamic role in the city's rich cultural and commercial life. In 2003 the Athens-based Central Board of the Jewish Communities of Greece, the main administrative body of Judaism in the country, estimated Greece's Jewish population at about 5,000.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS

The most important official national symbol of Greece is the Greek national flag. Although there is no consensus on the exact origins of the flag, it is clear that it was in use by Greek revolutionaries within the first year of the Greek War of Independence. The newly established Greek state adopted the revolutionary flag as Greece's official flag in 1833. The flag consists of five blue and four white alternating stripes set against a canton, which occupies the upper left corner of the flag. The canton contains a white Orthodox cross over a blue background. The cross symbolizes the Orthodox Christianity of the Greeks and their struggle against the Muslim empire of the Ottoman Turks. The use of nine stripes is deliberate, each stripe representing one of the nine syllables in the revolutionary phrase, *Eleutheria e Thanatos* (Freedom or Death), which served as a motto of determination for liberation from Ottoman rule. According to convention, the flag's two colors represent the blue of Greece's seas and the white of the restless Greek waves. Another view posits that the use of white in the flag was intended by the revolutionaries to symbolize the purity of their cause for freedom.

An unofficial flag, consisting of a simple white cross on a blue background, also dates from the first year of the Greek Revolution. This flag has been used in the past as an alternative national flag but only on land, not at sea. However, from June 1975 until December 1978, this same flag was used as the only official national flag. The law of 1978 reversed this situation, making the striped flag the only official national flag, although the alternative flag can still be seen in unofficial use.

In addition to the country's flag, the Greek national anthem also enjoys official recognition. Inspired by the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Turks begun in 1821, the Greek national anthem is based on the "Hymn to Freedom," a lengthy poem written in 1824 by the distinguished poet Dionysios Solomos, a native of the Ionian island of Zakynthos. In 1828 the eminent composer, and native of the Ionian island of Corfu, Nikolaos Mantzaros, wrote the music for Solomos' Hymn. Although the words and music were an instant sensation and enjoyed immense popularity throughout both liberated and unredeemed Greece, the work of Solomos and Mantzaros was not adopted as the country's official anthem until 1864, when their Hymn, in words and song, finally replaced an unpopular royal anthem that had been imposed on Greece by the Great Powers in 1832.

Rudyard Kipling completed the most popular English-language translation of the national anthem in 1918, as follows:

> We knew thee of old,
> Oh, divinely restored,
> By the lights of thine eyes,
> And the light of thy Sword.
>
> From the graves of our slain
> Shall thy valor prevail
> As we greet thee again—
> Hail, Liberty! Hail!
>
> Long time didst thou dwell
> Mid the peoples that mourn,

Awaiting some voice
That should bid thee return.

Ah, slow broke that day
And no man dared call,
For the shadow of tyranny
Lay over all:

And we saw thee sad-eyed,
The tears on thy cheeks
While thy raiment was dyed
In the blood of the Greeks.

Yet, behold now thy sons
With impetuous breath
Go forth to the fight
Seeking Freedom or Death.

From the graves of our slain
Shall thy valor prevail
As we greet thee again
Hail, Liberty! Hail!

HISTORY

ANCIENT GREECE

People appear to have first entered Greece as hunter-gatherers from southwest Asia about 50,000 years ago. With the development of agriculture, Neolithic settlers began to establish village life in Greece by 7000 B.C.E. By the third millennium B.C.E., these Stone Age communities were transformed by advances in metallurgy. The subsequent emergence of Bronze Age culture and technology laid the foundations for the rise of Europe's first civilization, Minoan Crete. The Minoans, named for King Minos, a legendary ruler in Greek mythology, had by 2200 B.C.E. created a sophisticated urban society. The Minoan Greeks built considerable prosperity for themselves through maritime trade in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean and innovative agricultural methods at home. Much of their wealth, in fact, was displayed in palace structures and a dramatic architectural and artistic style. The Minoans knew how to write and mastered multiple technologies, including shipbuilding and sailing. The Minoans continued to prosper until about 1450 B.C.E., when the combined pressures of a succession of natural disasters, beginning with a huge volcanic eruption that ravaged the Aegean fifty years earlier, and attacks from neighbors north of Crete brought down Minoan society.

The vulnerable Minoans were attacked and destroyed by the Mycenaeans, probably over control of the lucrative trade routes in the Mediterranean. Greek-speaking people like the Minoans, the Mycenaeans, named for the palace at Mycenae in the Peloponnesus, were settled in the southern Greek mainland as well as most of the Aegean and Ionian islands. Mycenaean culture developed later than Minoan, but by 1400 B.C.E. it had become quite prosperous. Like the Minoans, the Mycenaeans lived in independent communities organized around palaces and ruled by kings. The Mycenaeans had a warrior culture that enabled them to conquer the Minoans, but the Mycenaeans' preoccupation with fighting also contributed to their eventual downfall. By 1200 B.C.E. they began to fight each other in a succession of civil wars that lasted until about 1000 B.C.E., a period that coincided with the arrival in the southern Balkan Peninsula of a new wave of Greek tribes known as the Dorians, who, in turn, were quick to overcome the weakened Mycenaeans and seize many of their lands.

The "invasion" by the Dorians, the Mycenaeans' internecine conflicts, and other still undetermined calamities had major repercussions for the Greek world. These events appear to have caused a major migration of the Mycenaeans across the Aegean to the western coast of Asia Minor and Cyprus. More importantly, and whatever the cause, the entire economic system, kingship and centralized bureaucracy, cities and urban life, art and craftsmanship, as well as literacy disappeared, while population plummeted. For 300 years, from roughly 1050 to 750 B.C.E., after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, a veritable dark age descended on Greece. Recovery came slowly, with the earliest revivals in agriculture and trade occurring in a few locations by 900 B.C.E. Shortly thereafter an innovation in metallurgy helped Greece escape its Dark Age. Greeks acquired from Near Eastern traders the skills necessary for the production of iron and applied this technology to produce, among other things, highly efficient and relatively inexpensive agricultural tools. Plentiful tools helped increase food production and thus stimulated population growth and economic activity.

Technological innovation paved the way for the cultural and political revival of Greece during the eighth century B.C.E. but it was not the only factor behind the rapid redevelopment of Greek society. Other significant stimuli were, first, the restoration of trade with the advanced societies of the Near East, one of the consequences of which was the development of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician script, and, second, the Greek colonization of much of the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts. In response to the pressures produced by a sudden and rapid population growth in a country with relatively limited arable land, large numbers of Greeks left their homeland for livelihood elsewhere. As a result, throughout the eighth century B.C.E. and beyond, Greeks established a network of colonies on the Mediterranean coasts of France and Spain, the Libyan coast of North Africa, the southern and northern shores of the Black Sea, and especially in southern Italy and Sicily, where eventually Greek cities were so densely concentrated and the Greek population so large and dominant that the region would come to be called *Magna Graecia,* or Greater Greece, by the Romans.

The reemergence of cities, among other things, marked the transition from the Dark Age to what is commonly labeled the Archaic Period, lasting from about 750 to 500 B.C.E. The poverty and insecurity of the Dark Age had forced people to cooperate in order to defend themselves, and gradually the Greeks established political power-sharing practices. By the beginning of the Archaic Period most Greeks had organized themselves into independent

Mural, palace of Minos, Knossos. (Corel Corporation)

city-states *(poleis)*. Breaking the tradition of kingship, the Greeks created new kinds of political organization for their growing communities. Initially, most of the city-states were dominated by an oligarchy, a limited elite, which was often overthrown by tyrants who temporarily seized sole power on behalf of the people. By the close of the Archaic Period this process of political evolution led to a political innovation that replaced most tyrannies and remaining oligarchies. In short, driven by the goal of avoiding a strong central authority, and utilizing long-established power and decision-making practices, the Greeks created democracy, a system involving shared self-government by all of the state's citizens. The Greek city-state, or polis, was a political and social organization based on the concept of citizenship, which guaranteed shared rights and responsibilities to its free members. Citizenship made, at least in theory if not always in practice, free men, regardless of their social status or wealth, political partners who shared equal privileges and duties under the law. In Greek democracies, all free adult male citizens, including the poor, shared in government by membership and voting in a political assembly, where laws and policies were decided. Although Greek society was decidedly paternalistic, giving only men the right to participate in politics, women were citizens legally, socially, and religiously, meaning women could own property, were equal before the law, and enjoyed privileged positions in Greek religion.

It was largely within the dynamic of the democratic city-state that Greek culture, especially during the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.E., produced a flood of intellectual and artistic creativity that established the foundation of Western civilization. This period saw the emergence of not only the principle of citizenship and the practice of democracy but philosophy and science as well. Some of the world's most influential thinkers, Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, to name but a few, essentially created our understanding of logic, ethics, and science during this time. Moving beyond their seminal inheritance of Homer, these critical centuries also produced great literary innovations in poetry and theatrical drama and comedy, as well as the first historical writing. In addition, Greek artistic brilliance expressed itself through unparalleled accomplishments in complex and beautiful architecture, as well as masterful sculptures. The works of this period exercised enormous influence in shaping subsequent notions of beauty and excellence in the creative arts and aesthetic concerns, making its own norms and values synonymous with classical standards and ideals. This remarkable confluence of creativity from so many quarters in such a relatively short period of time altered dramatically the trajectory of civilizational development.

Parthenon, Athens. (Corel Corporation)

At any rate, although democracy, most well-represented by the city-state of Athens, was the most common political system among the many Greek polities, by the beginning of the so-called Classical Period, lasting from 500 to 323 B.C.E., kingdoms survived in some parts of Greece, such as Macedonia in the far north, while elsewhere some states blended monarchy with democratic principles to create elite democratic monarchies, such as the militarist city-state of Sparta in the far south of the mainland. What all the Greek states shared in common, however, was a fierce commitment to their respective independence. The continual demand of each city-state for its complete autonomy, combined with Greek geography, which fragmented the country by its mountain complexes, hampered Greek political unity and impeded interstate cooperation even in the face of external threats.

The most serious challenge to Greek freedom, theretofore, arose in the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E. The huge Persian Empire, the most powerful state thus far in existence in the Near East, had conquered the large and prosperous Greek cities and territories in western Asia Minor around 550 B.C.E. Encouraged and supported by Athens, the Greeks in Asia Minor revolted against Persian rule in 499 B.C.E. The revolt was unsuccessful and served only to elicit the wrath of the Persians who now planned to destroy Athens. In 490 B.C.E. a large amphibious force was sent across the Aegean by the Persian emperor Darius to attack Athens. The Persian force did not reach its destination and was instead crushed by the much smaller Athenian citizen-army at the battle of Marathon. For the Athenians the victory was a remarkable demonstration of the superiority of their city-state, and it reinforced the people's confidence in democracy. The Persians, for their part, suffered a severe blow to their prestige that Darius's successor, Xerxes, would attempt to avenge a decade after Marathon. Toward that end, the Persians launched a massive invasion of the Greek mainland in 480 B.C.E., overrunning northern Greece and penetrating as far south as Athens, which had been evacuated before the Persians burned the city. All the same, allied Greek forces led by Sparta, the country's fierce military city-state, had successfully slowed the Persian advance, giving other Greek forces led by Athens, the country's leading naval power, time to consolidate their strength and defeat the Persian navy at the battle of Salamis. A year later, in 479 B.C.E., the Greeks completed their triumph by decisively defeating the Persian army at the battle of Plataia. This string of unexpected Greek victories against the Persians preserved Greek independence and further reinforced their confidence, especially that of the Athenians.

Before the Persian Wars, Sparta was the most powerful and feared city-state in Greece. Athenian power and influence, however, had grown enormously as a consequence of its major role in the defeat of the Persian invasion. Both Athens and Sparta were soon competing with each other for primacy among the Greek city-states. Athens used its wartime fleet to become an aggressive power rivaling Sparta, while Sparta maintained its alliance with other city-states in the Peloponnesus as a counterbalance to the growing influence of Athens. The Delian League, made up largely of the Aegean maritime city-states, brought Athens unprecedented power and wealth. Athens, having established hegemony over the Delian League gradually through the use of force and political controls, converted the alliance into an empire and the erstwhile allies into subject peoples.

As resentment grew against the Athenian misuse of power, the city-state's perhaps most dynamic political leader rose to prominence. Pericles, an Athenian from a distinguished family, and the originator of Athenian monumental public works and building projects, including the Parthenon, became the era's leading politician in the 450s B.C.E. by promoting Athenian dominance within the Delian League and expansionist goals outside the alliance. He sponsored far-flung expeditions in the Black Sea and eastern Mediterranean and engaged the Athenian navy in a confrontation with Sparta. Despite a brief stabilization of relations with Sparta, the aggressive policies of Pericles so threatened the balance of power between Athens and Sparta that any crisis soon acquired the potential to provoke a major conflict. In fact, in 431 B.C.E. tensions erupted when Athens pressured Corinth, a crucial Spartan ally, which was a rival with Athens for maritime trade. Sparta came to the defense of Corinth and the subsequent fighting led to the Peloponnesian War.

Ultimately involving virtually all of the states comprising the Greek political world, and fought in two phases between 431 and 404 B.C.E., the Peloponnesian War began well for Athens, which used its large fleet to good effect against Sparta and its allies. However, the death of Pericles and the superior Spartan army produced a military deadlock. In an effort to break the armed stalemate, the Athenians undertook increasingly bold, risky strategies. In 415 B.C.E. Athens launched an ill-conceived large-scale campaign against Sparta's allies in Sicily, which ended in a catastrophic defeat of the Athenian army outside the city of Syracuse in 413 B.C.E. Athens did not recover from this defeat, and the Spartan victory on land was followed by the destruction of the Athenian navy in 404 B.C.E. and the surrender of Athens in the same year.

Before the victorious Spartans withdrew to their home territory in the Peloponnesus, they imposed a harsh peace on the Athenians. The Athenian empire was dismantled and the Delian League ended. Moreover, Athenian democracy was abolished and replaced by a brutal puppet government made up of an autocratic group of oligarchs. However, with Spartan troops gone from Athens, the oligarchs were unable to keep their hold on power and were overthrown in 403 B.C.E., less than a year after being installed. Athens restored its democracy, rebuilt some of its strength, and entered into a new phase of competition for leadership in Greece. From 403 to 338 B.C.E., Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Thebes competed with each other for hegemony in Greece, with Sparta wielding more power during the first half of this period followed by Thebes during the last half. None of these rivals, however, was strong enough to decisively defeat all of the other competitors and fully dominate Greece. As a result of this intense interstate rivalry, these city-states drove each other to exhaustion by constant warfare, creating instability, weakness, and a veritable power vacuum in central and southern Greece.

The Kingdom of Macedonia stepped into this competition for hegemony in Greece during the reign of Philip II, which began in 359 B.C.E. Despite its comparatively large territory and population, Macedonia had historically been underdeveloped and politically weak. As a consequence, Macedonia rarely played a significant role in Greek politics. In addition, Macedonia's geographic position as Greece's northernmost state had long forced the kingdom to devote most of its attention and resources to the defense of its porous northern frontier against the non-Greek peoples of the central Balkans, the Illyrian and Thracian tribes, who continually raided and sometimes invaded Macedonia's territory. Furthermore, although the Macedonians were ethnically, culturally, and linguistically Greek, they were viewed disparagingly by many southern Greeks as barbarous and even foreign because of their unsophisticated customs and lack of urban ways. Undaunted, the ambitious Philip was committed to asserting Macedonia's leadership in the Greek world. Macedonia emerged as a powerful force when Philip II built up a large, highly disciplined army, which he used to secure the kingdom's northern flank by neutralizing the Illyrians and Thracians and then turned south against his Greek rivals. Effectively employing diplomacy, bribery, and, when faced with resistance, his army and war, by 338 B.C.E. Philip forced the weakened city-states to acknowledge Macedonia's leadership and hegemony in Greece.

Philip's ultimate goal, to lead an allied Greek army in a war of revenge and conquest against the Persian Empire, was taken up by his son, Alexander, who succeeded his father after Philip's assassination in 336 B.C.E. Alexander the Great began the invasion of the Persian Empire in 334 B.C.E., defeating a Persian army near historic Troy, liberating the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, and overrunning Anatolia. Alexander continued his astonishing campaign and added to his growing string of victories through Syria and Egypt, before turning his advance against Mesopotamia, where he demolished the Persian emperor Darius III's final field army in 331 B.C.E., and eventually the heart of the Persian Empire in Iran. After destroying the Persian capital, Persepolis, in an act of vengeance for the Persian burning of Athens almost 150 years earlier, Alexander and his forces resumed their eastward march, conquering former Persian lands in Central Asia and beyond into India. The unity of Alexander's far-flung empire, which he colonized with Greek settlers in a string of newly established cities throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Near East, and within which he had planned to create a new global hybrid society of blended

Greek and Persian peoples and cultures, did not survive his premature death in 323 B.C.E.

The death of Alexander the Great resulted in a power struggle and division of his empire into kingdoms established by his senior generals. Antigonos formed a kingdom encompassing the historic Greek territories in the southern Balkans and Asia Minor, while Seleucus established rule over Mesopotamia, Iran, and the Central Asian provinces, and Ptolemy seized Egypt and initially Syria and Palestine. These absolutist Greek monarchies encouraged the continued Greek colonization of their cities and towns and witnessed the integration of Greek and local Near Eastern cultures to produce a new cultural environment in which the Greek language functioned as the lingua franca for culture, commerce, and administration throughout the Near East. Greek art, architecture, and thought, as well, became prevalent in the eastern Mediterranean during the three centuries following the death of Alexander the Great, a period typically known as the Hellenistic Age.

Macedonia's ongoing domination of the city-states of central and southern Greece, as well as the absolutist rule of the Hellenistic kingdoms, disturbed many Greeks, who remembered their history of political freedom and democracy. Consequently, during the second century B.C.E., when the Hellenistic kingdoms had been weakened by internecine wars, some mainland Greeks appealed for help from the western Mediterranean's emerging superpower, Rome. The Romans, who had begun their steady expansion into the Greek world by conquering the Greek states of southern Italy and Sicily and invading the Greek lands in the western Balkans a century earlier, took advantage of the new opportunity to interject themselves in Greek affairs. After defeating the Macedonians in 197 B.C.E. and declaring the rest of Greece liberated, the Romans proceeded to impose their will on Greece. The Greeks consequently rebelled, but a Roman army invaded the country, burned the city of Corinth in 146 B.C.E., and placed mainland Greece under Roman rule. The Romans continued their expansion into the Greek world, and within about a hundred years Rome conquered the last remaining Hellenistic kingdom with the fall and annexation of Queen Cleopatra's Egypt in 31 B.C.E.

The conquest of the Greek world ensured that the fortunes of the Greeks and Romans would be intertwined for the rest of the Roman Empire's existence. During the two centuries that followed Rome's conquest of Hellenistic Egypt, uninterrupted peace and security in the Mediterranean created the conditions for considerable cultural creativity and economic growth in the Greek world, as well as the emergence of Greek scholars as the empire's intellectual elite and the integration of prominent Greeks into Rome's ruling class. In addition, Greek cities became the administrative and economic centers of the eastern half of the empire. Greek cities such as Alexandria, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna, and Thessaloniki flourished, producing a new urban, and often wealthy, Greek elite. At the same time, life in Greek cities incorporated certain Roman features, and new generations of Romanized Greeks emerged. Concurrently, Roman elites and even emperors embraced Greek culture, actively promoting the Hellenization of much of Roman culture and drawing from Greece to produce architecture, art, education, and literature. Meanwhile, and moreover, the Greek cultural, demographic, intellectual, and linguistic landscape, which had been grafted onto the Near East by Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic kingdoms, was only further embedded and expanded in the region under Roman rule. Greek language and thought, interacting with local religion, created the foundations for the cultural and intellectual development and spread of Christianity, leaving a lasting Greek philosophical influence on the theology and ecclesiology of the Christian Church.

BYZANTIUM AND MEDIEVAL GREECE

The peace and prosperity that the Greek world enjoyed during the first two centuries C.E. began to break down as the result of a series of Roman civil wars and foreign attacks against the empire in the third century. The responses to the growing pressures on the imperial system highlighted the disparity in strength and resilience between regions rather than the unity of the empire as a whole. Such conditions set the Latin West and the Greek East onto separate historical trajectories. When the Emperor Constantine I chose to relocate the empire's capital from Rome to the Greek city of Byzantium (later known as Constantinople) in 324 C.E., he not only advanced the growing separation of the eastern and western halves of the empire, he explicitly acknowledged the superior cultural, economic, and military resilience of the east. This move did not represent a break with Rome; the Roman Empire would continue but under a revised political structure, with a different geographic anchor, and, in time, an entirely new cultural and religious foundation. In short, Constantine established the foundations for the transition of the Roman Empire to the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire, an essentially Medieval and Christian Greek state.

Marking this transformation, in 325 Constantine proclaimed Christianity the empire's official religion and presided over the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea. This gathering of the hierarchical leadership of the early Christian Church, as well as subsequent councils, formalized the faith's doctrines and defined the theology of Orthodox Christianity. During the next two centuries Christianity supplanted the final vestiges of pagan tradition in the Greek world, producing a culture founded on Orthodoxy and Roman identity within a Greek-speaking society. Notwithstanding the fact that the Byzantines were ethnically and linguistically Greek, they thought of themselves as Romans and their empire, quite legitimately, as the direct inheritor of classical Rome. Constantinople in time became the cultural, economic, intellectual, and political center of the Medieval Mediterranean world, and the Byzantines regarded their capital as the center of a theocratic state meant to represent God's heavenly order on earth.

For the Byzantine Greeks, their confidence in the superiority of their state was affirmed by the survival of their empire. The Greek East faced many of the same barbarian waves in the late fourth and through the fifth centuries that would also descend on the West. The Byzantines had even suffered some military losses to the barbarians, but their army succeeded in either destroying or pushing out the invaders. The Latin West, conversely, did not fare as well. By the late fifth century, the western part of the empire had been overrun by Germanic invasions and its lands had been transformed into a patchwork of barbarian successor states. Although Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire eventually triumphed over the Germanic threat and demonstrated a remarkable ability to withstand and survive serious external threats, something that would be repeated continually for many centuries, parts of mainland Greece were devastated by the barbarians. The Visigoths, who had been pushed across the Danube by the Huns, defeated an imperial army at Adrianople in 378 and marched southward wreaking havoc in peninsular Greece, sacking several cities, including Argos, Corinth, and Sparta in 395, before being driven out of the Balkans. Almost a century later, in 465, the Vandals attacked northern and central Greece but were quickly defeated. The Greek mainland recovered some prosperity and the population thrived once more during the following hundred years. However, this peaceful interlude ended with the massive Slav migrations into the Balkans beginning in 582.

Shortly before the Slav invasions took place, the Byzantine Empire launched a major series of military campaigns aimed at the reconquest, or liberation, and reunification of the Roman imperial lands lost earlier to the barbarians in the West. Emperor Justinian I, who ruled from 527 to 565, inaugurated this policy and succeeded at restoring imperial control over Italy, much of Spain, and northwest Africa. However successful Justinian's campaigns may have been in the short term, his policy of reconquest of the West left a vastly reexpanded but perilously overstretched empire, in both financial and military terms. Consequently the empire's core Greek territories in Asia Minor and the Balkans were more vulnerable to external threats after Justinian's reign than they had been before it. This fact was made evident when beginning in the late sixth, through most of the seventh, and into the eighth centuries Slavs broke through Byzantium's northern defenses, entered the Balkans, overran enormous stretches of the peninsula, and penetrated as far south as the Peloponnesus. Meanwhile, the empire's longtime nemesis in the east, Persia, occupied Byzantine Syria and pushed into Asia Minor.

Unlike the previous Germanic invaders, who had been content to raid and loot in the Balkans and Greece, the Slavs established permanent settlements. The Slav migration and occupation of the central Balkans, as well as much of western mainland Greece and parts of the country's interior, had been aided by a plague, which had depopulated and made available much of the region's territory to the Slavs.

Byzantine city of Mistras in the Peloponnesus. (Corel Corporation)

Hagia Sophia

Considered the finest example of Byzantine architecture and perhaps the most impressive building achievement of Late Antiquity and the early medieval world, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, a cathedral overlooking the Bosporus, was constructed on a scale unprecedented in human history. For more than a thousand years it stood as the world's largest structure, with an interior space unrivalled by any other building in both total mass and height. Although there is no available physical evidence confirming it, early accounts suggest that Hagia Sophia was built on the site of an ancient pagan temple appropriated for the service of the Eastern Roman Empire's new official religion, Christianity.

The church underwent three major phases of construction before attaining its final form. The first church on the site was built by Emperor Constantius I, son of Emperor Constantine, and was consecrated in 360. Although little is known about this structure, it is generally accepted that it was a basilica-type building with a rectangular floor plan, circular apse, and timbered roof. The structure was first named Megali Ekklesia (the Great Church) because it was the largest church in the Christian world at the time. Before Constantius's reign ended, the church became known as Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom), a name attributed to Christ by Greek theologians in the fourth century. In 404 the church was destroyed by rioting mobs protesting the emperor's illegitimate exiling of the patriarch of Constantinople. In 415 Emperor Theodosius I rebuilt the church, but it was destroyed by a rebellion of heretics in 532. After putting down the rebellion, Emperor Justinian I, a firm defender of Orthodoxy, ordered the construction of an entirely new church that was to surpass in magnificence all earlier churches.

Driven by his ambition to make his church the greatest structure in the world, Justinian personally supervised the construction of Hagia Sophia and made full use of the empire's resources. The finest and rarest materials from throughout the Mediterranean world were brought to Constantinople to be used in the building of the church. The two most famous architects of the Greek world at the time, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, were entrusted with the design of the church and execution of its construction. They oversaw the work of 100 master builders and 10,000 laborers. Launched in February 532, the construction of Hagia Sophia was completed in December 537. The new building was like no other structure that had been built before it. In fact, the grand basilica represented a major revolution in architecture. In grappling with how to build a circular dome atop a square base, Anthemius and Isidorus arrived at an unprecedented solution and thus created a brilliant, creative outcome. They built four massive columns, each measuring approximately 33.45 square meters, at the base, positioned at each corner of the foundation, and on top of each column they built four arches. The architects then filled the spaces between the arches with masonry to create curved triangular shapes called pendetives, which, once structurally integrated with the arches, created an incredibly strong base of support for Hagia Sophia's most remarkable feature, its huge dome with a diameter of 33.5 meters. The church measures 79.25 by 82.3 meters, and the dome rises 64 meters above the floor. Pierced by forty single-arched windows set at the dome's base, light entered the structure in a way that created the visual sensation that the dome actually floated over the church. In addition, twelve large windows in two rows flooded the building with streams of light, producing the impression of infinite space. Having been damaged by three earthquakes in the sixth century, another in the ninth, and again by one in the tenth century, the church was made progressively stronger and more resilient with each set of repairs and additional architectural buttressing.

Hagia Sophia, the mother church of all Orthodox Christians and the greatest architectural triumph of the Byzantine Empire, even survived foreign conquest. In 1204 Roman Catholic Crusaders attacked and sacked Constantinople. Hagia Sophia was not spared as the crusaders looted and defiled the church, while purposely damaging much of its interior. With the restoration of Greek control in Constantinople in 1261, Hagia Sophia was repaired and again functioned as the cathedral of the patriarch of Constantinople. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque. In 1935 it was converted into a Turkish state museum. Albeit Turkey's most visited museum and the country's most famous tourism resource, Hagia Sophia has not enjoyed government support comparable to that extended to Muslim historical sites in Istanbul and elsewhere. Furthermore, the structure is aggressively marketed and increasingly subjected to the vulgarities of the tourist trade, whereas the religious sanctity and historical integrity of other sites are safeguarded. UNESCO and other international organizations have expressed serious concerns about Turkey's insufficient attention to the preservation, restoration, and management of Hagia Sophia. This crisis of indifference led World Monument Watch to include Hagia Sophia on its list of one hundred most endangered sites.

Nonetheless, this rugged part of Greece had historically been the most sparsely populated area of the country and, given its limited agricultural potential, could never sustain a large population, either Greek or Slav. All the same, most of the Greek population from these territories was displaced and pushed toward the coasts and the eastern part of the country, where imperial defenses held. Where Greek communities survived in the interior, they had been able to do so because they had withdrawn to defensive geographic positions before arriving at local understandings for coexistence with the Slav tribes. By 750, despite the fact that the Greek population in the region had remained intact and was still larger than that of the Slavs, most of northern and central Greece, and even parts of the country's south, had been overrun and occupied by Slav tribes. At the same time, the empire's territories in the Near East had been seized by a new enemy that proved to be an even more serious threat than the Persians, the Arabs, who also raided Asia Minor in depth and threatened Constantinople.

Again demonstrating its resilience, the Byzantine Empire reversed many of these losses by going on the counteroffensive against the Slavs in Greece and pushing the Arabs out of southeastern Asia Minor. Political stability internally, the beginning of a new period of economic growth and expansion in the late eighth century, and dissension among their enemies, enabled the Byzantines, by the year 800, to reestablish control over all of Asia Minor and to reassert the empire in the Greek mainland territories formerly overrun by the Slavs. Once these territories were again under imperial administration, the Byzantines implemented a resettlement policy, like that used earlier with considerable success in parts of eastern Asia Minor, to ensure that the reconquered, or liberated, lands would contain only loyal populations. Consequently, following the expulsion of considerable numbers of Slavs, the Greek communities that had been displaced by the invasions of the preceding century were returned to their original lands, while Greek refugees from southern Italy and surplus Greek populations from densely populated western Asia Minor were also settled in these areas. Pockets of Slavs remained scattered in the Greek territories, but their isolated condition and reduced numbers led in time to their assimilation and absorption by the much larger surrounding Greek populations.

Although the empire had been successful in reconquering mainland Greece and restoring, more or less, the historic Greek ethnological frontier in the south Balkans, Greek security problems in the region were far from over. The Bulgars, a Turkic people assimilated by the Slavs, settled south of the Danube and began to pose a serious threat to Byzantium by the late ninth century. In the early tenth century, under the aggressive leadership of their khans, they established a rival empire and invaded much of northern Greece and the central Balkans. The Byzantines and Bulgars were soon locked in a long series of brutal wars that culminated in 1014, when the dynamic and formidable Emperor Basil II led his army in a string of brilliant actions, decisively crushing the Bulgars (earning the nickname Bulgar Slayer) and conquering all of their lands. Before destroying the Bulgars, Basil had defeated the Arabs in a series of equally dazzling military campaigns beyond southeastern Anatolia, restoring parts of northern Mesopotamia, northern Syria, and the Syrian coast to the empire.

Basil II's reign from 963 to 1025, the longest of any Byzantine Roman emperor, marked the zenith of both the empire's power and the prestige and influence of the Medieval Greek world. All of the Balkan Peninsula south of the Danube was firmly back in Byzantium's grip; even the Croats and Serbs in the region's northwest had voluntarily submitted to vassal status rather than risk the fate that had befallen the Bulgars, total conquest and subjugation. On the eastern frontier, with the Arabs defeated and the Byzantines having established forward defense positions in Syria, Asia Minor was well protected, at peace, and prospering. In order to create an additional geographic shield for the empire's most valuable territorial base, Anatolia, Basil expanded his control of formerly independent Armenian and Georgian principalities. Although the empire under Basil was smaller than it had been under Justinian, it was more territorially cohesive and fundamentally stronger. Protected by border conquests and an innovative system of layered and territorial defense, Byzantium's core, historic, and Greek-populated lands—Asia Minor, the southern Balkans, and southern Italy—now formed a more compact, homogeneous, manageable, and powerful territorial unit than at any previous time.

Byzantium's large, professional, well-led, yet still primarily citizen-soldier army was the most efficient and feared fighting force in the Mediterranean world, but the empire's power and influence was not limited to military affairs. The empire experienced a dramatic revival of intellectual life beginning in the ninth century that continued through the tenth century. During this period, ancient manuscripts were recopied and disseminated in large quantity, reference works and encyclopedias were compiled, and astronomy, literature, mathematics, and philosophy received new attention. The revival of classical learning was accompanied by a conscious return to classic models in art and literature, which were found to complement rather than conflict with Byzantium's dominant religious aesthetic in the creative arts. The empire also experienced a remarkable, steady economic expansion during this period, fueled in large part by intensified trade in the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Byzantium so effectively dominated international trade, accumulated such incomparable wealth, and enjoyed such fiscal stability, that its coinage was for centuries accepted as the international hard currency standard for trade throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond.

Moreover, Byzantine cultural, religious, and intellectual influence radiated throughout Eastern Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, and much of Italy. It was during Basil's reign that the state of Kiev converted to Christianity and a new era of development began for Russia. Two centuries earlier, the Greek monks Cyril and Methodius had been instrumental in establishing the foundations for the conversion to Orthodoxy of the Bulgars, Serbs, and East Central European Slavs by creating a literary language, Church Slavonic, for liturgical use among all Slavs. The Medieval Greeks, from their cosmopolitan centers of Constantinople and Thessaloniki transmitted modes of art, architecture, and thought that were embraced and reproduced by the peoples newly converted to Orthodoxy. In short, these Eastern European and Russian peoples, like the historic Christian populations of the Near East earlier, were drawn into a kind of Greek cultural commonwealth that extended far beyond the empire's political borders, leaving a lasting Byzantine civilizational imprint on their societies.

By the death in 1025 of Emperor Basil II, the empire was once again the paramount economic, cultural, political, and military power in the Mediterranean world, rivaled only by the Arab caliphate in Egypt and Syria. Byzantium's accomplishments and monumental wealth created unparalleled grandeur and prestige for the empire, often articulated through a tradition of imperial statesmanship and adroit diplomacy. Notwithstanding, sometimes Byzantium's image was greater than its actual strength, and it often disguised the empire's problems, both small and large. After Basil's death, the empire enjoyed continued economic expansion and prosperity but suffered from a series of mediocre emperors who neglected the state's needs and allowed the army to deteriorate. Increasing state demands for revenue clashed with short-sighted aristocratic resistance to tax paying, while political factionalism in the imperial court led to policy failures, the dangerous overestimation of military strength, and neglect of defenses. Paradoxically, these structural problems, which rapidly sapped the empire's real power and ability to respond to serious threats, went largely unnoticed because of the universal perception of Byzantium's presumably unshakable prowess.

Byzantium's image as an invincible superpower was so great that even the magnitude and implications of the strategic disaster that befell the empire in 1071 could not be fully understood or appreciated by both belligerents in this clash, Greeks and Turks. When Seljuk raiding parties were able to defeat a major (but inadequately trained and poorly led) imperial force at the chaotic battle of Manzikert in Armenian Anatolia in 1071 and capture the emperor, Romanus IV, the empire could offer no organized counterattack. As a result, the interior of Asia Minor was open to invasion by the Seljuk Turks, and central Anatolia was lost permanently to the empire. Asia Minor, the empire's agricultural breadbasket, the source of most of its soldiers, and the core of its population base, would now be vulnerable to attack and invasion. For centuries the Byzantines had relied on the rugged, mountainous, excellent natural defense lines created by the geography of eastern Anatolia to defend the rest of Asia Minor. Other invaders had penetrated Asia Minor in the past, but the empire had always been able to respond with successful counteroffensives that forced the Arabs or Persians back across the eastern frontier defenses. Now, however, conditions changed as the Turks could not be dislodged from the central Anatolian plateau. This strategic turn began the steady multicentury transformation of Asia Minor from an entirely Christian and Greek-populated region to a predominantly Muslim and Turkish one.

Ironically, in their relations with their fellow Christians in the West, the imperial majesty, prestige, and wealth that the Byzantines enjoyed proved to be as much a liability as an asset. The Latin, and from the perspective of the Byzantines, semibarbarous, Westerners, increasingly resented the power and influence of Byzantium, while they coveted the Greek world's spectacular wealth. Furthermore, many of the petty princes and kings of Western Christendom had irritated the Byzantines since the ninth century by seizing the empire's lands in Italy and, more menacingly, by challenging the legitimacy of Constantinople's emperors as heirs of the Roman Empire and affecting the pretense themselves as inheritors of the Roman Crown, thus implicitly threatening Byzantium. The bishop of Rome, or pope, contributed to the growing tensions between Western and Eastern Christendom by aligning his see with the political ambitions of Germanic and other imperial pretenders to the Roman Crown in exchange for their political and military support to press his own objective of papal supremacy over the entire Christian Church. Although the early Christian Church reserved, among its ancient ecclesiastical sees, primacy of honor for Rome, this primacy was honorific among equals, not administrative over subordinates. Consequently the early Christian tradition of ecclesiastical autonomy, cooperation, and decision making in ecumenical councils, still vibrant in Eastern Christendom in the ninth century and beyond, necessarily required the sees, or patriarchates, of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem to reject the growing autocracy and imperial ambitions of the pope. More immediately for Byzantium, after centuries of growing tension, the expanding political and cultural gulf between Eastern and Western Christendom reached a crisis with a formal schism between the papacy and the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1054. This mutual excommunication would have significant political implications for Byzantium and the freedom of the Medieval Greeks.

As relations between the Latin West and the Greek East deteriorated, an atmosphere of hostility emerged that many Western adventurers, with their attention focused on Byzantium's wealth, were quite willing to exploit. Violence was initiated by the Normans, who began raiding Byzantium's western territories in 1080 from their base in Sicily. In 1146, and underscoring the serious nature of the threat posed by the Latin West, the Normans attacked mainland Greece, ravaged much of the countryside, and sacked the city of Thebes, which had been targeted because of the wealth it had acquired from the silk trade. Approximately forty years later, the Normans once more invaded Greece and sacked the great cultural and commercial center of Thessaloniki, Byzantium's second largest city. The Byzantine emperor turned to the growing naval power of Venice for help in interdicting the Normans at sea. The Venetians agreed to assist the Greeks but only in exchange for access to the lucrative trade markets of the empire. Once the Venetians penetrated the empire's economy, they ruthlessly and systematically exploited their privileges. Although the Byzantine emperors attempted to curtail predatory Venetian policies, Byzantium found its former ally a deadly threat embedded within the empire.

The Greeks' fears of the West's intentions materialized during the Fourth Crusade. The Venetians exploited Western prejudice against the Greeks and persuaded the Crusader army, mobilized earlier by the pope and organized in France, to attack Constantinople rather than go to the Holy Land. In 1204 the Fourth Crusade besieged and sacked the empire's capital, Europe's and the Mediterranean world's largest and wealthiest city. Constantinople's population was brutalized and much of the city was burned while most of its treasures and wealth were looted and carried off to Western Europe. The Crusaders then proceeded to partition many of the empire's territories into a ring of Latin kingdoms, principalities, and duchies based in Constantinople, the Greek mainland encircling the Aegean, and the Aegean islands. These occupation states imported Western feudalism and Catholic hierarchs to exploit the Greek subject populations economically and to oppress them religiously. The actions of the Crusaders ended the possibility of any ecclesiastical reconciliation or political cooperation between the Greeks and the West.

Their general incompetence at governance, coupled with the popular hatred against them that their conduct produced, ensured that most of the Latin occupation states would be short-lived. Moreover, as soon as the Crusaders began their occupation of Greece, resistance against them was organized. From their territorial bases in western and northeastern Asia Minor and Epirus in the Balkans, Greek Byzantine successor states waged a war of liberation and reconquest against the Latin occupation forces in and around Constantinople. Led by the new Paleologos dynasty, in 1261 the Greeks recovered Constantinople, much reduced in population and condition by the Latin regime's abuses, and reestablished the city as the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

Although the empire was revived, the events of 1204 had so weakened Byzantium that it was no longer a great power. The empire consolidated most of its territorial base in northern Greece and western Asia Minor during the late thirteenth century but was unable to assert itself beyond this area. Furthermore, the empire's Balkan territories remained caught in a strategic pincer during the fourteenth century, with the Bulgars and Serbs, having reasserted their independence after 1204, pressing on Byzantine Macedonia and Thrace from the north and the surviving Latin states clinging to parts of central Greece to the south. At the same time, the Byzantine position in Asia Minor was threatened by the emerging strength of the Ottoman Turks.

Under these overwhelming conditions, the much truncated and weakened empire could not have expected to survive much longer. The empire's resources after 1261 were acutely limited in terms of finances, territory, and military strength. Remarkably, despite the ongoing depredations of the West, the continual loss of territory to rival Balkan states, followed by the loss of virtually all of Byzantium's remaining lands to the expanding and powerful Ottomans, Late Medieval Greek society experienced an astonishing outburst of artistic, cultural, and intellectual creativity. The empire's waning years saw another major revival of Greek classicism as Greek scholarship and increasing numbers of Greek intellectuals found their way to Italy, where both would have a significant impact on the Renaissance. Nonetheless, by the middle of the fifteenth century, Byzantium had been reduced to little more than Constantinople and its outlying villages, the historic Spartan portion of the Peloponnesus, and a few Aegean islands, all surrounded by the Ottoman Empire. The end came in 1453 when, after a two-month siege, an Ottoman force of 200,000 overcame Constantinople's 8,000 defenders and captured the city. Although the Ottomans had conquered most of the Greek lands in Asia Minor and the Balkans years earlier, and although it was some years before all Byzantine territories were conquered, the fall of Constantinople marked the end of the Greek medieval empire and the Greeks' freedom.

MODERN GREECE

During the three centuries after the Turks first entered Southeastern Europe, the Greek world came almost entirely under the control of their Islamic and dynastic empire. Between 1354, the year the Ottomans crossed the Straits into Thrace, and 1461, the year the final Byzantine fortifications in the Peloponnesus fell to them, the Ottomans had not only conquered all of mainland Greece but virtually the entire Balkan Peninsula as well. With their own state destroyed, the Greeks now became spectators and victims in a struggle for dominance of the eastern Mediterranean between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. Although much smaller Venice lacked the military resources that the huge Ottoman Empire possessed, the apparently unequal struggle was sustained by a potent combination of the Italian republic's wealth, diplomacy, naval power, and religious fanaticism. The rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and Venice was fought out almost entirely on Greek soil, and the fate of much of the Greek population was determined for the next several centuries by the fortunes of these aggressive rivals. Control of strategic positions on the coasts of the Greek mainland and in the islands of the Aegean and Ionian Seas was fiercely contested and was regarded by both the Ottomans and Venetians as essential to their survival.

The first Turko-Venetian War broke out in 1463 and ended in 1479. The war did not produce a change in the strategic balance between the Ottomans and Venetians, but it did establish a pattern of conflict and fighting between the two protagonists, which resulted in more injury to the local Greek population than to either of the belligerents, that would be often repeated. Renewed wars were fought on the Greek islands, as well as in coastal and southern Greece, from 1499 to 1502 and again from 1537 to 1540. Between 1566 and 1669 the Ottomans and Venetians fought each other without respite. This brutal, protracted phase of the Ottoman-Venetian rivalry over Greece led to a series of Ottoman victories culminating in the Turkish conquest of Venetian-held Crete and Cyprus, as well as the Aegean islands not already under their control. Emboldened by the Ottoman failure to capture Vienna a year earlier, the Venetians launched a counteroffensive war in 1684. The Venetians successfully reoccupied the Peloponnesus and advanced into central Greece, positions they would hold onto until their final defeat in 1715. It was during this campaign that the Parthenon, largely intact since antiquity, atop the famed Acropolis, was seriously damaged by Venetian cannon fire.

The near destruction of the Parthenon, caught between Venetian cannonballs and exploding Ottoman gunpowder magazines, served as a symbolic analog for the fate of much of Greece during the Turko-Venetian Wars. For the Greeks, both the Turks and Venetians were foreign masters who denied them their freedom, exploited them and their lands, and imposed often violent and arbitrary rule. The greatest impact of the two-century-long conflict was on the physical condition of the hapless Greek population. Most of the crews, in both the Ottoman and Venetian navies, that fought each other were made up of Greeks pressed into service by their respective occupiers. Greeks also had to provide military levies to both belligerents. But the enormous loss of life among Greek sailors and soldiers paled in comparison to the level of destruction experienced by the general population. The savage intensity of these wars, the marching of armies back and forth over the same territories, and the depredations of both Turks and Venetians against local villages and towns left much of central and southern Greece depopulated, while many Aegean islands were made entirely uninhabitable.

The Greek populations in Asia Minor and those north of the fighting in the Balkans escaped the devastation that affected other parts of the Greek world during the Turko-Venetian Wars. These communities, which experienced uninterrupted Ottoman rule, may not have been exposed to fighting but they did not escape the dictates of the Ottoman state, which was, in its classic form and function, an Islamic war machine whose purpose was constant expansion. The lives of ordinary Greek people were, accordingly, structured to satisfy the interests and needs of the Ottoman system. The Greeks, as the empire's most populous and important subject peoples, were profoundly affected by this situation. Their taxes paid for the sultan's wars and their agriculture was organized to sustain the economic needs of a feudal Ottoman military caste. They built, captained, and crewed the sultan's fleet. Finally, through the *devshirme,* a human tax on the subject Christians, Greek children were taken from their families, converted to Islam, and trained to form the elite corps of the sultan's army, while others ascended the imperial system to serve as the highest officials and diplomats of the Ottoman state. The non-Muslim inhabitants of the sultan's territories were regarded by the Ottoman state as *reaya* (cattle), a resource to be tapped for manpower and material in pursuit of Islamic and imperial expansion. The customs, social structures, and religious institutions and hierarchies of the Greeks (as well as other Christians) were of no interest to the sultan, so long as they provided the resources to serve the empire's policies and did not challenge the state's total authority and Islam's supremacy.

As an Islamic polity, Ottoman society was organized into millets (nations), in effect, administrative units based on religious identity. Thus, over time, the Patriarchate of Constantinople functioned simultaneously as an ecclesiastical institution and an administrative, civil, and judicial apparatus for Orthodox Christians in the empire. The patriarch, as head of the Orthodox population, answered to the sultan, for whom he administered the Orthodox populations, and was responsible for ensuring the subject Christians' loyalty and obedience to the empire. As a result of this situation, the Orthodox Church was put in the paradoxical position of acting to advance the interests of the Ottoman Islamic theocracy while trying to preserve through limited autonomy the survival of Christian culture and Greek society. This delicate balancing act did not always work, as more than one patriarch paid with his life for his coreligionists' resistance to the sultan's rule and as significant numbers of Orthodox Christians converted to Islam in order to escape the devshirme, discriminatory taxes, abuses, and restrictive and demeaning regulations that accompanied the Ottoman separate but unequal *millet* system.

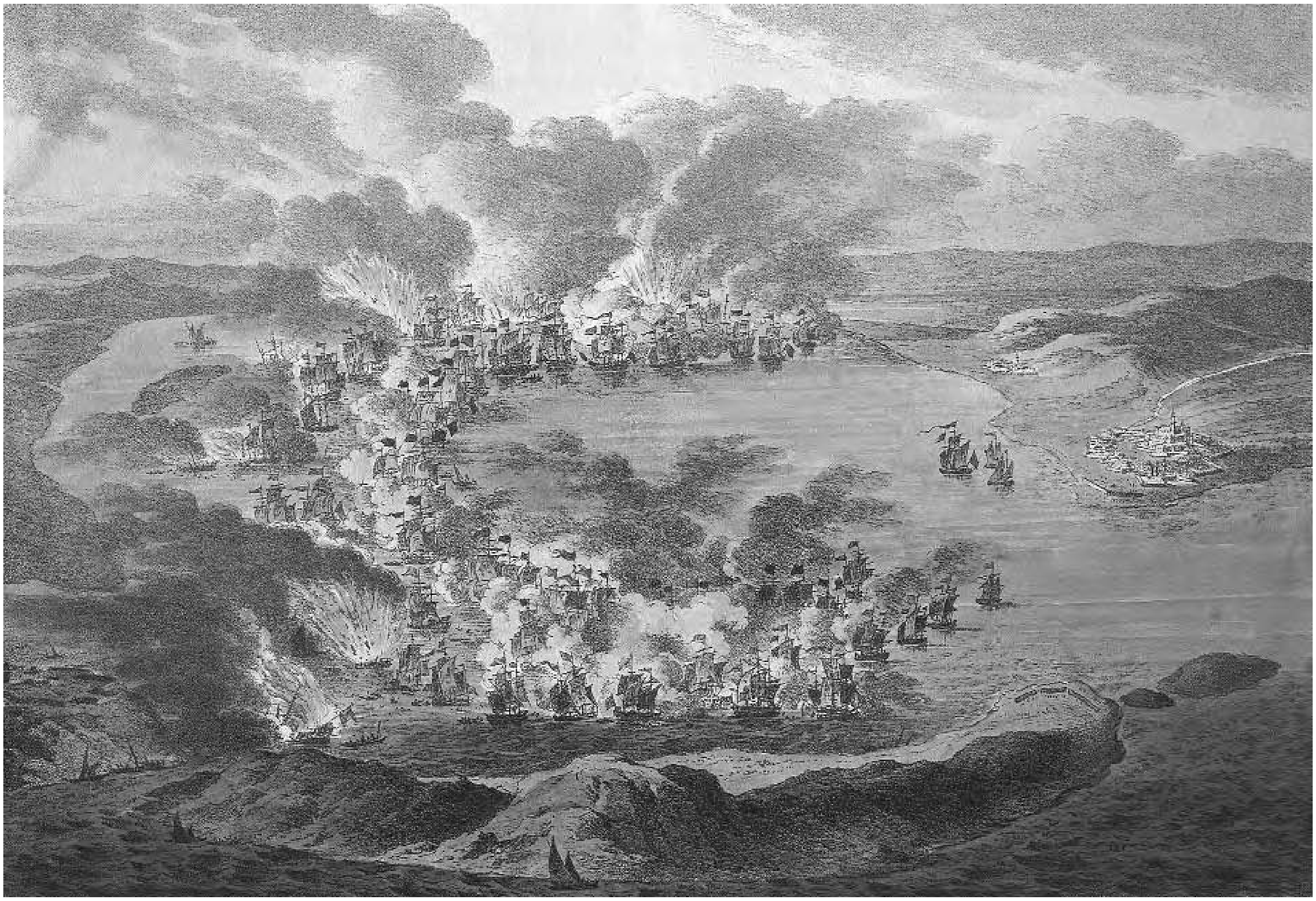
Many Greeks suffered while others benefited from this system of contemptuous tolerance. So-called Phanariot Greeks, members of a small group of families originating in the Phanar quarter of Constantinople, came to hold important administrative and diplomatic positions in the service of the sultan, forming an influential elite and, for a period, exercising considerable autonomous authority in the Ottoman Romanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. In the Greek countryside local elites, especially in the Peloponnesus, enjoyed some social status and privileges in exchange for controlling their peasant counterparts. Finally, given the Muslim Turks' disdain for the usurious aspects of commerce and investment, Greeks were allowed to dominate trade and eventually banking in the empire. Their involvement in commerce within the empire led to the emergence of a prosperous Greek merchant class that was dispersed throughout the urban centers of Asia Minor and especially the Balkans. Furthermore, Greek networks of trade expanded beyond the empire to link Ottoman markets and Europe's economies, with Greeks operating as the commercial middlemen in the process. The subsequent growth of international trade activity led to the demand for a large Greek merchant marine that, by the end of the eighteenth century, dominated Mediterranean ports. These conditions eventually combined to create a Greek diaspora of wealthy business families settled throughout Europe's commercial, urban centers.

Increasingly influenced by exposure to the ideas of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the radical concept of nationalism, some members of the wealthy Greek diaspora, along with an émigré intellectual community that their patronage had helped create, began to explore the idea of Greek political independence. In 1814 a secret revolutionary organization, Philike Hetairia (Friendly Society), was formed by Greek nationalists in the Russian port city of Odessa with the aim of overthrowing the Ottoman Empire and liberating the Greeks. The group enrolled members and began to collect resources and organized plans for a revolt. Alexandros Ypsilantis, a Greek general in the service of the Russian tsar Alexander I, accepted leadership of the organization, and early in 1821 launched an attack from Russia into Ottoman Moldavia. Ypsilanti's revolutionary forces, however, were defeated when the assistance the revolutionaries expected from the tsar did not materialize. Nonetheless, and almost simultaneously, another uprising broke out in the Peloponnesus and soon spread to other parts of Greece.

The Greek War of Independence, or Greek Revolution, began in March 1821 and initially went well for the Greeks. In the early stages of the revolution, the Greek insurgents achieved some striking successes against the Ottoman army while the Greek revolutionary fleet won a string of impressive naval victories. Continued Greek advances, however, were undermined by factional struggles among the insurgents that led to a veritable civil war within the liberated Greek territories in 1824. Capitalizing on the Greek internecine conflict, and the arrival of a large army from Egypt, the Ottomans launched a major counteroffensive against the Greeks in 1825 and retook most of the gains the Greeks had made. Responding to growing public support for the Greek cause in Europe, the Great Powers overcame their initial hostility to the Greek Revolution, and in July 1827 Britain, France, and Russia signed the Treaty of London, which called for the establishment of an autonomous Greek principality. However, the unplanned, spontaneous battle of Navarino in October 1827, resulting in the destruction of the Ottoman navy at the hands of a combined British-French-Russian fleet, impressed the Great Powers to move beyond mere autonomy to support Greek independence.

The Great Powers proclaimed the independence of Greece under the London Protocol of February 1830, which also placed the new kingdom under their protection. Greece's boundaries were subsequently established by the Treaty of Constantinople (July 1832). The new state contained only the Peloponnesus, Rumeli, or Central Greece, and the Cyclades in the Aegean, meaning most of the Greeks in the Balkans and none of the Greeks in Asia Minor were liberated. Also in 1833, Prince Otto of Bavaria, whom the Great Powers had chosen a year earlier, arrived in Greece to become the independent country's first king.

Otto did not prove to be a popular monarch. The Bavarian administrators he brought with him to Greece alienated most of the population. Furthermore, Otto's refusal to grant a constitution, his failure to convert to Orthodoxy from Catholicism, and his inability to produce an heir to the throne culminated in a military coup in 1843, which led to a reduction of the king's powers. In 1844 Otto was forced by military and political leaders to accept a liberal constitution, which defined the country's political system as a constitutional monarchy. Nevertheless, Otto continued to act as an autocrat, only producing more opposition to his rule. In 1862 growing dissatisfaction with King Otto led to an uprising and finally his abdication. The Great Powers offered the throne to Prince William of Denmark, who in 1863 was crowned George I King of the Hellenes.



The Battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827, during the Greek War of Independence, where the Turkish and Egyptian forces were defeated by Greek allies Great Britain, France, and Russia. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

George's title, King of the Hellenes, not merely King of Hellas, expressed the popular nationalist sentiment that all Greeks, not only those in the limited territory of the Greek kingdom, should, along with their historic lands, ultimately become part of a larger fully unified Greek nation-state. The fact that only one-fourth of the Greeks who had been under Ottoman rule were included in the territories composing independent Greece in 1832 all but guaranteed that irredentism would become Greece's chief political preoccupation for the first century of its existence. Greek elites and common people alike passionately supported the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea) of uniting the unredeemed Greeks still under Ottoman rule in the Balkans and Asia Minor within a single state. Greeks cherished this goal despite the fact that it was bound to bring the small and comparatively weak Greek kingdom into conflict with the Ottoman Empire.

Independent Greece's first territorial gain came not from the Ottomans but from the British. In order to mark the beginning of King George's reign, Britain ceded the Ionian Islands in 1864, over which they had exercised a protectorate since 1815. Following the defeat of the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the sultan was forced by the July 1878 Treaty of Berlin to cede most of Thessaly and a portion of southern Epirus to Greece in 1881. As part of the same settlement, Britain acquired the right to occupy and administer the predominantly Greek-populated island of Cyprus beginning in 1878. During the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries, Greece's expansionist ambitions focused on the Ottoman territories of Macedonia and Crete. In Macedonia, Greek insurgents and Bulgarian guerrillas fought each other in a complex, protracted, and savage contest for domination over the region before its liberation from the Ottomans, while in Crete, Greek nationalists expressed their fervent desire for union with Greece through repeated rebellions against Ottoman rule, eventually sparking a brief, failed Greek war against the Ottoman Empire in 1897.

Constantine I, King of Greece. (Corbis)

The lesson of the humiliating defeat of 1897 was not lost on the Cretan politician and ardent nationalist, Eleutherios Venizelos, who, as leader of the Liberal Party, became prime minister of Greece in 1910. Venizelos realized that Greece could not unilaterally challenge the still considerable power of the Ottoman Empire, and he therefore sought to develop alliances with the other Ottoman successor states in the Balkans, particularly Serbia. Consequently, in October 1912 the First Balkan War began when an alliance consisting of Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia launched a coordinated attack against the Ottoman Empire, defeating the Turks and pushing their army to the outskirts of Constantinople. Unsatisfied with its territorial gains in Macedonia, in June 1913 Bulgaria attacked its former allies, Greece and Serbia, only to be defeated by them, Romania, and the Ottoman Empire one month later. This Second Balkan War ended with the August 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, which awarded southern Macedonia, most of Epirus, Crete, and the Aegean Islands to Greece. Under the leadership of Venizelos, Greece increased its territory by 70 percent and almost doubled its population.

When World War I broke out in August and September 1914, Venizelos, emboldened by the victories of the Balkan Wars, was confident that Greece was poised to achieve the *Megali Idea* at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. At the outset of the war, Venizelos advocated Greece's entry on the side of the Entente Powers, or Allies, who were arrayed against the Central Powers, which eventually included the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. However, King Constantine I, who had succeeded his father, George I, in 1913, favored neutrality. The differences in foreign policy perspective between the king and the prime minister led to increasingly hostile confrontations between the two leaders. Forced to resign twice in 1915, Venizelos broke with King Constantine in October 1916, and with the support of Allied forces already in Greece, he established a rival government in Thessaloniki. This serious rupture between Venizelos and the king marked the beginning of a national schism that would divide Greek politics and society into two rival camps, Liberals versus Royalists, for at least the next two decades. Intervening in Greek domestic affairs, in June 1917 British and French troops occupied Athens and forced Constantine to resign in favor of his second son, Alexander.

Eleutherios Venizelos (1864–1936)

Generally regarded as the greatest Greek statesman of modern times, Eleutherios Venizelos was born in Chania, Crete, on 23 August 1864. After studying law in Athens, Venizelos returned to his native Crete, then part of the Ottoman Empire, and became involved in the island's liberation movement. He was politically active during the Cretan revolt of 1897 in favor of union with Greece. When Crete became autonomous as a result of international intervention following the revolt and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897, Venizelos played a major role in drafting the island's constitution. As a member of Crete's assembly, he actively promoted the cause of union with Greece. After making his mark in the politics of Crete, he was projected onto the stage of national politics by the military coup of 1909 in Athens, becoming the choice of the coup leaders, or Military League, for prime minister and assuming office in October 1910. As founder and leader of the Liberal Party, Venizelos dominated Greek political life for the next quarter century, serving as prime minister for twelve of those turbulent years.

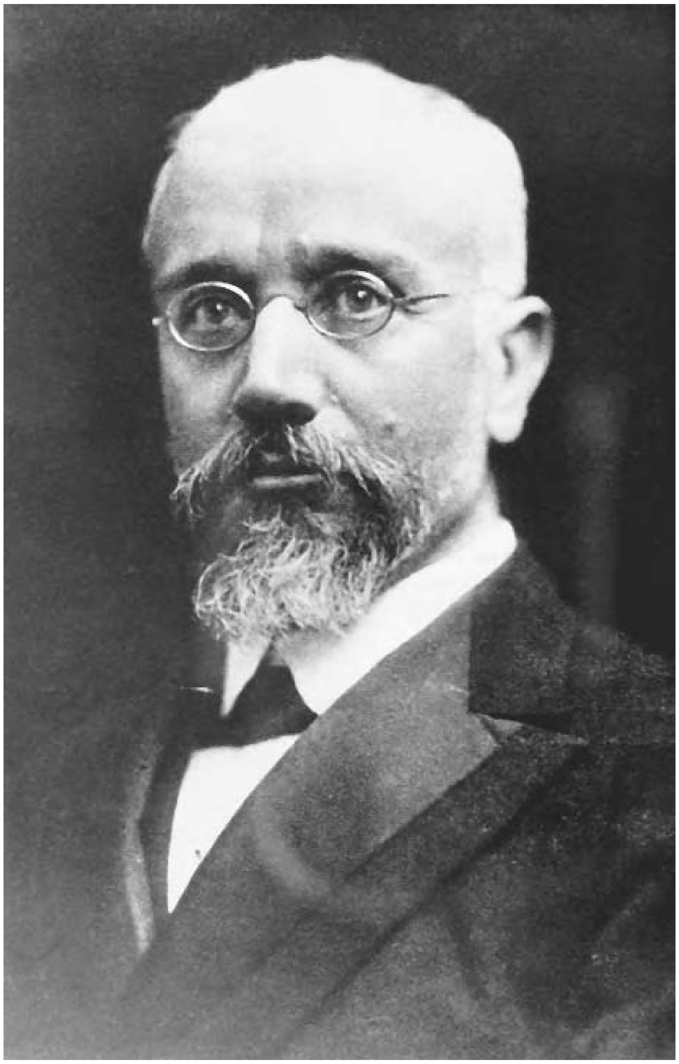
During his first two years as prime minister, Venizelos presided over a vigorous reform program that extended to the administration of the state, public education, and the national economy. Simultaneously he led Greece into an alliance network with Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia aimed at wresting from the Ottoman Empire its remaining Balkan territories. Indeed, Venizelos first achieved international prominence as the architect of Greece's spectacular victories against, first, the Ottoman Empire in the First Balkan War in 1912 and, second, against Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War, fought in 1913. As a result of Greek successes in the Balkan Wars the country doubled its territory. Encouraged by these successes, Venizelos was committed to Greece's entry into World War I on the side of the Entente as a means to liberate the Greeks and their territories still under Ottoman rule. Venizelos and King Constantine, who favored neutrality in the war, soon clashed over foreign policy differences. The subsequent feud between the two leaders resulted in Venizelos's forced resignation twice in 1915 and the eruption of a crisis that divided Greek politics and society between supporters of Venizelos and supporters of the king. This division, or National Schism, became irreversible when Venizelos established a rival government in Thessaloniki in 1916. In 1917 King Constantine was forced to leave Greece under British and French pressure, and Venizelos returned to Athens to lead a reunified but bitterly divided country.

Restored to office by British and French military intervention, as prime minister, Venizelos brought Greece into World War I on the side of the Entente in June 1917. Representing Greece at the Peace Conference in Paris, he secured Allied consent to occupy the important Anatolian city of Smyrna in 1919, and a year later he obtained major territorial concessions for Greece against the Ottoman Empire in Eastern Thrace and western Asia Minor. Venizelos's apparent postwar achievements were, however, short-lived. In 1920 he was defeated in national elections and went into self-exile. By 1922, Venizelos's policy of involvement and expansion in Asia Minor ended in disaster when the Greek army was defeated by nationalist Turkish forces and over 1.3 million refugees poured into Greece.

Venizelos represented Greece at the 1923 Lausanne Conference, ending hostilities between Greece and Turkey, before returning to Greece to serve briefly as prime minister from 1923 to 1924. During his last term as prime minister, from 1928 to 1933, his regional diplomacy significantly improved Greece's bilateral relations with Romania and Yugoslavia and built a rapprochement with Turkey. Faced with the repercussions of the international economic crisis, Venizelos fell from power in 1933. An abortive March 1933 coup by pro-Venizelos army officers tarnished his controversial reputation, and his involvement in another attempted coup two years later forced him to go into self-exile once more. Fleeing to France in March 1935, he lived the last year of his life in Paris, removed from politics. Shortly before his death on March 18, 1936, Venizelos urged his followers to cooperate with King George II, who had recently returned to Greece, for the sake of stability and national unity.

That same month Venizelos returned to Athens in triumph as prime minister of a reunited Greece, declared war against the Central Powers, and began a purge of royalists from government and the state bureaucracy.

After the Allied victory in 1918 and Greece's subsequent diplomatic successes at the postwar settlements in Paris, Venizelos's policies appeared to be vindicated. The November 1919 Treaty of Neuilly required Bulgaria to transfer Western Thrace to Greece. Moreover, after long negotiations, many of Venizelos's territorial aspirations against the Ottoman Empire seemed to be obtained with the signing of the Treaty of Sevres in August 1920. According to the provisions of Sevres, Greece acquired all of Eastern Thrace, excluding Constantinople, the rest of the Aegean islands,



Eleutherios Venizelos. (Bettmann/Corbis)

excluding Rhodes, and a mandate to administer Smyrna and its hinterland in western Asia Minor, pending a plebiscite in five years to determine the area's permanent status. It now appeared that realization of the *Megali Idea* was within reach. However, Venizelos's diplomatic triumph in Paris was illusory. Overwhelmed by opportunity, Venizelos overestimated the Allied, especially the British, commitment to the postwar treaty, especially once the Turks proved unwilling to ratify Sevres. Furthermore, he underestimated the challenges facing the Greek position in Asia Minor, and he dismissed all counsel, civilian and military, that advised him that Greece did not possess the resources necessary to act unilaterally against Turkey, the fundamental principle that had guided his earlier more restrained foreign policy.

Before any treaties regarding the status of Ottoman territories had been concluded, Venizelos had involved Greece militarily in Asia Minor. At the behest of Britain, France, and the United States, who sought to use Greece as a counterweight against another ally, specifically Italy and its expanding sphere of influence in southwestern Anatolia, Venizelos landed Greek forces in Smyrna in May 1919. The presence of Greek troops in Asia Minor aroused a Turkish backlash and helped to fuel the growing armed Turkish nationalist movement led by Mustafa Kemal in the Anatolian interior. With British encouragement, in October 1920 Venizelos ordered the Greek army to advance from Smyrna in order to put down expanding Turkish nationalist resistance to the Treaty of Sevres. A month later a war weary electorate voted Venizelos out of office, returned the Royalists to power, and restored Constantine to the throne, Alexander having died only weeks before the election. Venizelos's electoral defeat proved to be a blessing for his political career. Having put Greece in an increasingly untenable diplomatic and military position, Venizelos now went abroad and did not have to preside over the disastrous outcome of his Asia Minor policy.

Locked now in an irreversible conflict, with no meaningful opportunity for negotiation, the Royalist government continued to pursue a military solution to Greece's Anatolian dilemma. In early 1921 the Greek army began a sweeping offensive deep into Anatolia with the goal of decisively defeating Kemal's illusive nationalist forces. Securing a series of victories along its advance, the Greek operation reached the outskirts of Ankara where it engaged the Turks in a fierce but indecisive battle in September. Unable to overpower the Turkish forces, the Greek army withdrew to and held defensive positions between Smyrna and Ankara during the winter and spring of 1922. Isolated and weakened by the Allies' abandonment and declaration of a policy of neutrality and now realizing that a military victory was impossible, the Greeks were left paralyzed. In August 1922 Kemal's now large and powerful nationalist army launched an enormous, well-coordinated offensive, quickly routing the Greek army, pushing a mass of Greek refugees ahead of its advance, and burning Smyrna in its wake. Meanwhile, Constantine, who was blamed for the fiasco in Anatolia, abdicated in favor of his son George II, after a military coup took place against the Royalist government.

The Treaty of Lausanne, signed in July 1923, formally ended the Greek-Turkish War and introduced a new, draconian principle to the resolution of international conflicts—forced population exchange. Along with fixing the boundary between Greece and Turkey, which required that Greece relinquish all territories awarded to it earlier by the Sevres Treaty, Lausanne dictated the exchange of minority populations between Greece and Kemal's Turkish republic, which had succeeded the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, 1.3 million Greeks, many of whom had already been uprooted by the Turks, were expelled from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace, in exchange for 350,000 Turks who were expelled from Greece. The only exceptions to this compulsory exchange of populations were the 80,000 Muslims, half of whom were ethnic Turks, in Western, or Greek, Thrace, and the 120,000 Greeks left in Istanbul. The Greek disaster in Asia Minor, remembered by the Greeks as the Great Catastrophe, ended the *Megali Idea* in a tumult of chaos and human suffering and shattered forever the goal of a fully restored Greece encompassing all its historic lands. Greece and the Greek people were exhausted, confused, defeated, and demoralized. Although the circumstances probably could not have been worse, the population exchanges, ironically, resulted in the unification of the Greek people, albeit in a smaller and poorer Greece than most Greeks could have foreseen a decade earlier.

A country of barely 5 million people before the population exchanges of 1923, Greece's interwar problems necessarily focused on the economic and social integration of the nation's refugees. Greek society's ability to tackle the serious issues that confronted it was, however, undermined by political instability. The leaders of the military coup that had removed Constantine from the throne yielded in January 1924 to a democratically elected government led by Venizelos, recently returned to Greece. In March of that same year the parliament declared Greece a republic, and the proclamation was confirmed by a subsequent plebiscite. Although the constitutional issue of the monarchy appeared to be resolved, the political polarization created by the wartime Constantine-Venizelos dispute continued into the 1920s and 1930s between the Liberal and Royalist parties and their supporters. Intense factionalism precluded political dialogue and led to repeated breakdowns of the parliamentary system. The interwar period was wracked by multiple military interventions in the political process, with pro-Liberal coups followed by pro-Royalist countercoups and vice versa. Practically the only thing the two major political parties could agree on was their opposition to, and fear of, the small but exceptionally well-organized and disciplined Greek Communist Party (KKE), which capitalized on the economic distress and social discontent of the interwar years. Finally, the republic's domestic problems were too great and its institutional foundations not strong enough to withstand the international turn toward authoritarianism that affected most of Europe and virtually all of Eastern Europe by the close of the 1930s. The failure of an anti-Royalist coup in 1935 led to the end of the republic with the restoration of the monarchy under King George II, whose return to Greece and exaggerated fears of a communist seizure of power paved the way for dictatorship. In August 1936 a retired general, Ioannis Metaxas, seized power, suspended parliament, and abolished all political parties.

Despite Metaxas's authoritarian governance and affinity for fascism, he maintained a foreign policy oriented toward Britain, which soon brought Greece into direct conflict with Germany and Italy. Metaxas's efforts to keep Greece out of World War II ended in October 1940, when fascist Italy attacked Greece from its bases in Albania. Against overwhelming odds, the Greek army repulsed the Italian invasion and pushed Mussolini's forces, which were saved from a complete rout by weather and poor communications, deep into Albania. Hitler intervened to rescue Mussolini from his widening fiasco and German forces invaded Greece in April 1941. The country was quickly overrun and divided into German, Italian, and Bulgarian occupation zones.

The brutality of the Axis occupiers provoked resistance. In fact, several resistance movements soon emerged in the mountains. By far the largest of these was the communist-led National Liberation Front (EAM) and its military arm, the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS). Of the smaller armed movements, the most significant was the National Republican Greek League (EDES), a nationalist organization that supported restoration of the republic. In an effort to monopolize control of the resistance movements in anticipation of liberation, the ELAS, in the midst of the occupation, attacked its noncommunist rivals in October 1943, provoking a civil war that was halted by an uneasy truce in February 1944. In August representatives of the surviving resistance organizations joined in support of a government of national unity established in Cairo under the leadership of a Liberal Party prime minister, George Papandreou.

Despite the agreement arrived at in Cairo and the German withdrawal from Greece in October, the prospects for political reconciliation were ended shortly after liberation. A ministerial crisis between the Papandreou government and EAM over the disarmament of ELAS led to violence in December and quickly escalated into a full-fledged battle for the control of Athens fought between the small Greek government forces, police, and allied British units on one side and ELAS forces on the other side. Meanwhile, in the rest of the country the ELAS returned to the offensive against the EDES and other noncommunist resistance

Bird's-eye view of large crowd jamming University Street, off Constitution Square in Athens, Greece, as the EAM stages a protest rally on the eve of the first free Greek elections in ten years, March 1946. (Library of Congress) forces. The ELAS, however, lost the battle of Athens and signed an armistice in January 1945. Responding to the events in Athens and the brutal ELAS suppression of opponents in the countryside, all of which had the appearance, if not the substance, of an armed communist attempt to seize power, a rightist reaction descended on Greece. A cycle of retributions and counter-retributions created a state of chaos and lawlessness throughout the country. The restoration of King George II to the throne by plebiscite in September 1945 further polarized the Greek Left and Right. The KKE ultimately responded by organizing a guerrilla army and launching a civil war in March 1946. Implementing the Truman Doctrine, the United States intervened in Greece against the communists precisely one year later and provided the national government with economic aid and military supplies sufficient to turn the tide. After more than three years of intense fighting, the death of 160,000 combatants and civilians, and the dislocation of over 800,000 people, the communist insurgency was defeated in August 1949.

Although the decade-long ordeal of war, invasion, occupation, and civil war left Greece devastated, the country recovered quickly during the 1950s. In 1952 Greece became a member of NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), and with significant aid from the United States the conservative government that dominated the decade of the 1950s inaugurated a rapid economic and social modernization of the country. This period of growth was primarily associated with the policies of Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis, leader of the National Radical Union, a conservative party despite its appellation.

Many of Karamanlis's domestic achievements, however, were overshadowed by an increasingly bitter conflict over Cyprus, a British Crown colony since 1914 with an 80 percent Greek population. During the 1950s, British colonial forces brutally suppressed the Greek Cypriots' growing struggle for self-determination expressed through demands for union, *enosis,* with Greece. The problem of Cyprus soured relations between Greece and Turkey. The British, pursuing a policy of divide and rule, encouraged Turkey, which had abandoned its interest in Cyprus since 1878, to interject itself in the Cyprus issue as the protector of the Turkish Cypriot minority, which composed 18 percent of the island's population. Moreover, in order to manufacture a rationale for a continued colonial presence, British policy deliberately created intercommunal conflict that led, for the first time, to violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In 1959, as an alternative to the wishes of the majority of Cypriots, who continued to favor enosis, Britain, Greece, and Turkey, all acting as protecting powers, reached an agreement that Cyprus would become an independent republic within the British Commonwealth. In 1960 Cypriot independence was established under the leadership of the new country's president, and its Orthodox primate, Archbishop Makarios. Within a few years, the dysfunctional constitution and arcane power-sharing political system that the British had imposed on independent Cyprus led to a paralysis of government and subsequent intercommunal tensions and ultimately violence.

Portrait of Constantine Karamanlis, prime minister (1955–1963, 1974–1980) and president (1980–1985, 1990–1998) of Greece. (Embassy of Greece)

Meanwhile, events in Greece were pushing the country toward another period of instability and crisis. Karamanlis, who had clashed with King Paul and Queen Frederika, resigned in 1963 and went into self-exile. In the elections of February 1964 the Center Union Party, led by wartime leader George Papandreou, defeated the conservatives, winning a clear majority in parliament. Against a background of renewed crisis in Cyprus, Papandreou found himself embroiled in a conflict with King Constantine II, who had succeeded his father, Paul, in March 1964. In an apparent effort to protect his son, Andreas, whom some conservatives alleged had been involved in a conspiracy with radical military officers, Papandreou moved to assume control of the Ministry of Defense. The king refused to sanction the older Papandreou's attempt to take control of the ministry and thus Papandreou resigned in protest in July 1965. For almost two years, parliamentary democracy steadily broke down as a succession of weak, coalition caretaker governments failed to function effectively, while polarization between Left and Right reached a fevered pitch in countless massive demonstrations. Finally, when Panayiotis Kanellopoulos became prime minister in April 1967, he dissolved parliament and announced that elections to form a new national government would be held the following month.

Before the planned elections that would have finally replaced the string of unstable caretaker governments with an elected government could took place, a group of army officers led by Colonel George Papadopoulos seized power in a bloodless coup on 21 April 1967. The junta, whose members became collectively known as the Colonels, claimed that they had acted to thwart a communist takeover. In reality their primary motivation was to forestall the May elections, which they feared would return George Papandreou to power, who was expected, at the behest of his son, Andreas, to purge ultraconservative officers such as themselves. The junta suspended the constitution, abolished political parties, imposed censorship, and arrested thousands of opponents from across the political spectrum. The dictatorship was extremely unpopular and did not even enjoy support among the military. In December 1967 King Constantine launched a countercoup with units of the army. The attempt to topple the Colonels failed and Constantine fled into exile. In May 1973 elements of the navy tried to bring down the junta but their mutiny failed. When anti-government demonstrators headed by university students tried to end the dictatorship through a massive protest in November 1973, they were brutally suppressed with tanks and troops. When the junta finally fell, it was the result of its own bungling. In July 1974 Turkey invaded and occupied northern Cyprus following a short-lived coup against Archbishop Makarios that had been instigated by the junta. Paralyzed by incompetence and international isolation, and unable to mobilize Greece's armed forces in response to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the junta collapsed.

Within days of this critical juncture, Constantine Karamanlis was recalled to Greece from Paris and sworn in as prime minister. Karamanlis quickly reestablished civilian government and brought the seven-year military dictatorship to an end without bloodshed. In November 1974 the first general election in a decade resulted in an overwhelming victory for Karamanlis's conservative New Democracy Party. In December 1974 a plebiscite abolished the monarchy, ending definitively the historically vexing constitutional issue, and in June 1975 the parliament approved a republican constitution. Emphasizing economic modernization, political pluralism, and integration within the evolving framework of European cooperation as the keys to the consolidation of democracy, growth, and security in Greece, Karamanlis achieved one of his primary long-standing objectives when he helped secure agreement for Greece to enter the European Community (EC), the precursor to the European Union (EU), in 1981.

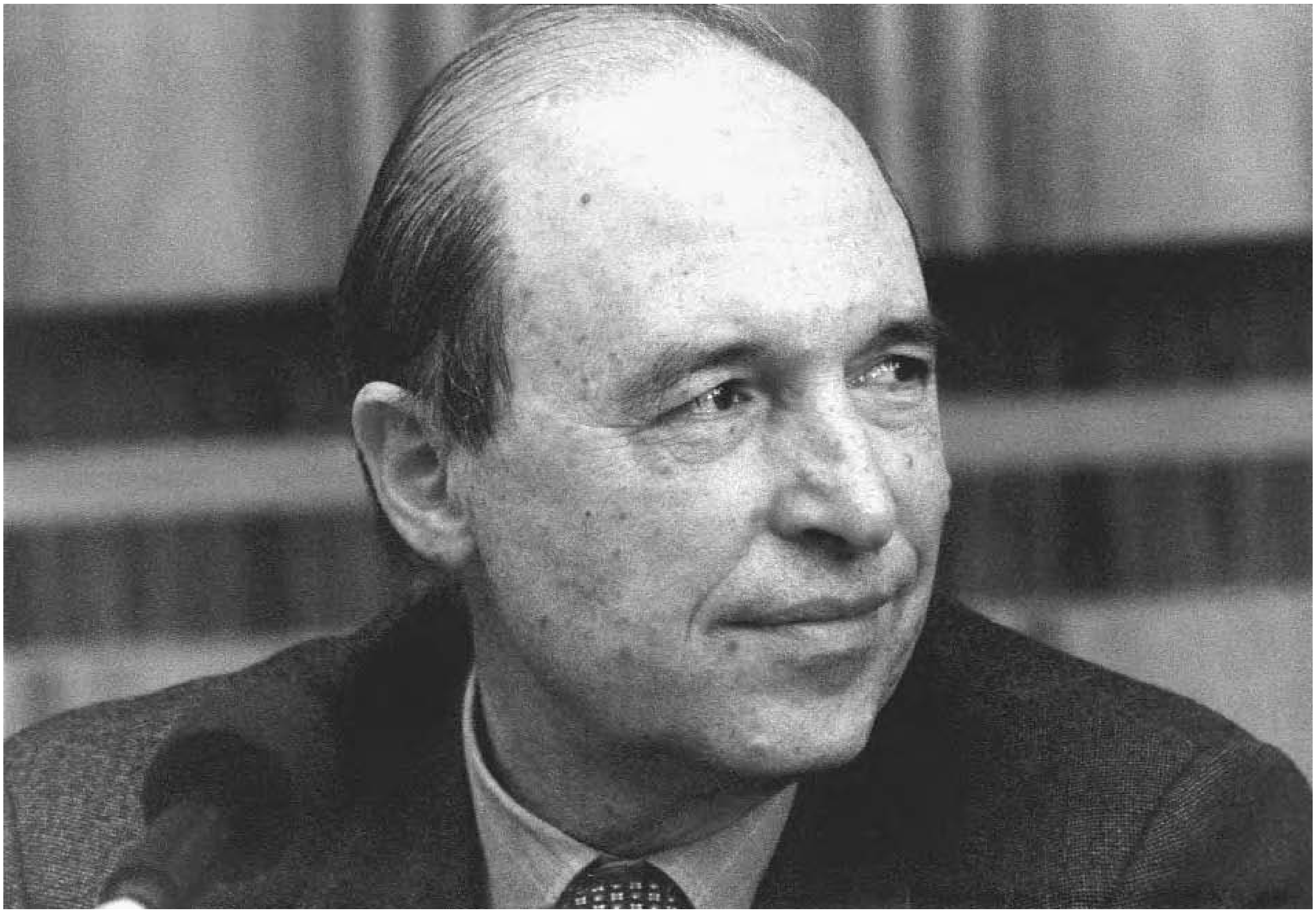
When Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) won the elections of 1981, the new government continued along the EC policy lines established by Karamanlis while simultaneously instituting sweeping social reforms that promoted further modernization and broadened political participation at the grassroots level. Growing economic problems, coupled with scandals in the government and in Papandreou's private life, contributed to the defeat of PASOK in the parliamentary elections of 1989, but after a brief coalition government and then a New Democracy Party interlude, Papandreou and the socialists were returned to power in 1993. Managing (not always satisfactorily) a worsening state of relations with an increasingly revisionist Turkey and struggling to maintain security in the troubled central Balkans after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Greece's domestic development was often overshadowed by foreign policy crises during the 1990s. By the turn of the century, however, it was clear that the government of Costas Simitis, who succeeded the ailing Papandreou in 1996 and represented the modernizing, technocratic wing of PASOK, was beginning to enjoy the results of successful economic modernization policies, an improved foreign relations and security environment, and steady progress toward full integration within the European Union. Although Greece's path to its current position was difficult and it continued to face many challenges, the country's entry into the Economic and Monetary Union of the EU in January 2001 capped Greece's ultimately successful effort over two centuries, if not longer, to build a modern, stable, and democratic nation-state.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Greece, the oldest and most stable democracy in Southeastern Europe, is a parliamentary republic whose president is the official head of state and whose prime minister is the head of government. The government and political system is based on the constitution of 1975 and the 1986 revisions to the constitution, with the former concretizing the establishment of a representative republic and the latter curtailing presidential power. The 1975 constitution marked the resolution of the so-called constitutional question, the conflict over a monarchy versus a republic, which plagued countless governments and had been at the center of political instability in the country since the establishment of an independent Greece in the 1830s.

The country's constitution was drafted by a legislature elected through popular elections held after the fall of the last military dictatorship in Greece in 1974. The document, reflecting the overwhelming vote of the national referendum of December 1974, abolished the monarchy and established the basis for a democratic republic. Based on the fundamental view that the state's legitimacy stems from the self-determination and will of the nation, the constitution notes that sovereignty rests with the people. Employing the principle of checks and balances, the constitution establishes a governmental structure, and accompanying functional responsibilities, dividing the state into three branches—executive, legislative, and judicial. The president of the republic, who is placed above the three branches of government and is intended to be above partisan politics, functions as a titular head of state, especially since the constitutional amendments of 1986.

As in most nations in the European Union (EU), but to a lesser extent than most Eastern European countries, the ethnic model, not the citizenship model, remains the chief informal norm for identity in Greece. Nonetheless, the constitution grants equal rights to all persons residing in

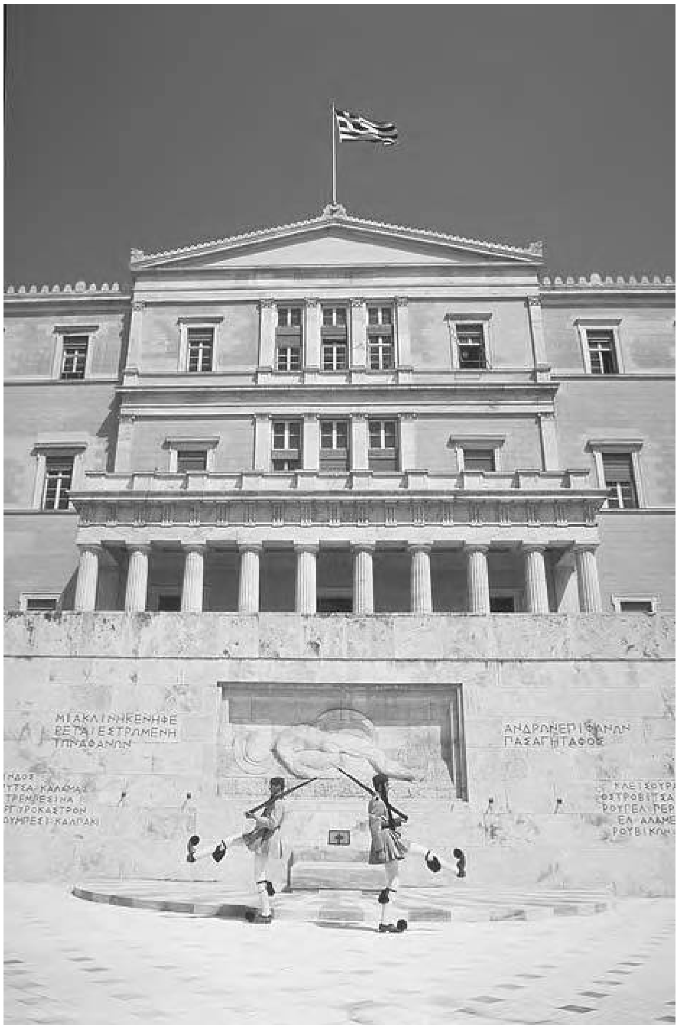


Portrait of Costas Simitis, prime minister of Greece (1996–). (Embassy of Greece)

Greece. The full range of human rights is protected under the constitution, which notes that all citizens of Greece may enjoy "full protection of their life, honor, and freedom, irrespective of nationality, race, or language and of religious or political beliefs." While every adult citizen has the right to participate in the economic, political, and social life of the country, the Greek state and all its agents are to ensure that individual rights and liberties are protected and exercised fully. The constitution specifies that basic rights and liberties include freedom of speech, of the press, of peaceful assembly and association, and of movement; furthermore, basic rights extend to economic freedom and ownership of property, the inviolability of privacy, and equality before the law, as well as legal due process. Also guaranteed by the constitution are the rights to social security and housing, to education, and to health care, as well as the right to petition the state for redress of grievances. In addition, the constitution states that work is a right, and that all workers are entitled to equal compensation for equal labor or services performed. The freedom of workers to organize (including the right to strike) is protected, but judicial functionaries and members of the state security forces are prohibited from striking.

While the basic articles of the constitution, such as those defining Greece as a parliamentary republic, those guaranteeing fundamental rights and liberties, and those establishing and distributing respective powers to the three branches of government, remain unalterable, all other parts of the constitution may be amended. In order to amend the constitution, a proposal for change must be introduced into the parliament by at least fifty of the three hundred members of the legislature. The next step in the amendment process requires that 180 (the equivalent of three-fifths) of the members of parliament vote in support of the amendment on each of two ballots held at least one month apart. Finally, the next session of parliament enacts the amendment by a majority vote of the total legislature's membership, at least 151 out of 300 representatives. At any rate, constitutional revisions cannot be made before a lapse of five years from the completion of a previous revision. These methodical, incremental, and reflective provisions are designed to ensure the stability of constitutional order in Greece and have succeeded.

Inspired by the modern systems of government in Western Europe, especially the French model of state organization, Greece is a unitary state based on a system of parliamentary democracy. In order to prevent the concentration of power in a single authority, the powers and functions of the state are separated into three branches of



Parliament, Athens, Greece. (Corel Corporation)

government. Despite constitutional provisions to strengthen local administration and the 1994 inauguration of direct local elections for provincial governors (formerly appointed by the central government), real power rests overwhelmingly with the central government in Athens.

At the head of the central, or national, government is the president. As the principal link among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, the president is insulated from direct political pressure by virtue of his election by the parliament for a term of five years, and a maximum number of two terms. The presidency, especially after the constitutional amendments passed in 1986, enjoys largely ceremonial functions as a sort of representative national figurehead. The day-to-day governance of Greece is conducted by the three branches of government arranged according to the elected parliamentary system, with an independent judiciary and an executive branch that operates with the approval of the legislature.

The executive branch, or government, consists of the prime minister and his cabinet, which includes twenty-two departmental ministers, thirty-one alternate or deputy ministers, and one cabinet-rank minister to the prime minister. All major cabinet ministers are members of the parliament, while others are chosen by the prime minister and formally appointed by the president. Led by the prime minister, the executive branch is collectively responsible to the parliament for the formulation and implementation of general government policy, while each minister is also individually responsible for the work of his respective office as an agency of the national government. The cabinet must receive and maintain the confidence of the parliament. A confidence vote by the legislature is required whenever a new cabinet is established. This vote, which is determined by an absolute majority, focuses on the broad outline of the government's proposed policies and programs. If a government is forced to resign as a result of a no-confidence vote, a nonpartisan caretaker government must be formed to administer new elections. Although two attempts have been made, in 1988 and 1993, no government has been censured by a no-confidence vote since the adoption of the constitution of 1975.

The National Assembly, or Parliament, is a unicameral body of three hundred deputies elected through direct universal ballot to a term of four years. The parliament elects its own officers and a committee that organizes the body's legislative work agenda. At the beginning of each annual session, which convenes in early October, committees are formed to examine bills, with committee membership proportional to party representation in the parliament. Bills may be introduced by the government or by any member of the parliament. In practice, however, the vast majority of legislative initiatives originate with the government. Bills become laws by a majority vote in the full assembly or by a majority of a proportionally representative section of parliament that continues to meet while the remainder of the assembly is in recess.

The current legal system, with roots in ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine civil law, as well as modern French and German models, is administered by an independent judiciary, which is divided into civil, criminal, and administrative courts. Underscoring the independence of the judiciary, judges enjoy personal immunity and are subject only to the constitution and the law in discharging their responsibilities. Judges and other judicial personnel are appointed and promoted by presidential decree, based on the prior decisions of the Judicial Council. The Judicial Council comprises the presidents of the three highest courts in Greece—the Supreme Court for civil and criminal justice, the Council of State for administrative cases, and the Comptrollers Council for fiscal matters. All legal proceedings are public and, depending on their severity, are decided by juries, judges, or magistrates. At the top of the judicial system is the Special Supreme Tribunal, comprising the presidents of the Supreme Court, the Council of State, and the Comptroller's Council, as well as four members of the Supreme Court chosen by lot every two years, and two distinguished professors of law also chosen by lot. The Special Supreme Court Tribunal interprets and rules on the constitutional validity of laws in cases where the Supreme Court, the Council of State, and the Comptroller's Council have rendered conflicting judgments. In these instances, the ruling of the tribunal is irrevocable. Constitutional interpretation in other cases is left to the legislature, not the judiciary.

The foundational linchpin and primary legitimizing instrument of the entire Greek political system is the principle of democratic representation, which is practiced through the electoral system. Except for the period of military dictatorship between 1967 and 1974, the electoral process has provided the country's citizens a tangible (if sometimes imperfect) structure for the exercise of democratic choice in postwar Greece. Elections, which are direct, universal, and achieved through secret ballot, are held every four years for both parliamentary and municipal elections unless the dissolution of the parliament necessitates an interim election.

The three hundred members of the parliament are elected from fifty-six local districts, which are represented by from one to thirty-two seats according to their population. Candidates are elected under a so-called reinforced proportional representation system in which 288 members of the parliament are chosen directly from the fifty-six constituency districts, while the remaining twelve seats of the assembly are occupied by so-called national deputies, elected not in any of the electoral districts but at large from political party lists in proportion to the popular vote the parties receive. Thus these national deputies, who enjoy the same rights and functions as directly elected representatives, represent the entire country. In one form or another, the reinforced proportional system has been in operation since the 1920s, with virtually every successive government modifying the system to maximize its own electoral prospects. As a result, the proportional system has consistently worked to the advantage of Greece's larger, dominant political parties. The justification for such a practice is that the proportional system helps to preserve political stability and, more importantly, functional one-party governments. Reinforced proportional representation, usually expressed through the allocation of most or all national deputy seats to a plurality party, makes it possible for a parliamentary majority to be formed even if a winning party fails to secure a majority of the popular vote. This outcome is made possible by awarding extra parliamentary seats to the larger parties that obtain more than a minimum percentage of the national vote.

Despite its demonstrated capacity for promoting stability, the proportional representation system has been controversial since its implementation. The proportional system has been consistently opposed by Greece's small political parties, especially those representing the ideological left, to whom reinforcement has been an exclusionist instrument that minimized their numbers in parliament between the 1950s and 1970s. As the fear of the Left receded in the 1980s and 1990s, the country's two dominant political parties, the conservatives and socialists, reached a consensus in favor of a system that made representation more in proportion to the direct vote but still significantly favoring the largest parties. Despite its problems, the electoral system has provided remarkable political stability in Greece. Since the restoration of democracy in Greece in 1974, of the nine parliamentary elections held, only two held in 1989 failed to produce a one-party majority government.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SERVICE

Although important in traditional and historical terms, Greece's nine geographic regions have no administrative significance. They are, however, the basis for subdividing the country into fifty-two prefectures, or provinces, which are the main local administrative units and the chief links between central and local government. The prefect, or *nomarch,* operating as a provincial governor, oversees local administration and functions as the principal agent of the central government. It is the prefect's responsibility to coordinate the activities of the ministerial field offices within his jurisdiction. The office of the prefect works in concert with a provincial council. For its part, the provincial council consists of the mayor of the prefecture's administrative capital, two representatives drawn from the province's municipalities and communes, and representatives of mass organizations for farmers, workers, professionals, entrepreneurs, and public corporations. Provincial councils may also meet with senior officials of the central government ministries on matters of shared local interest.

At the lowest level of local administration, the provinces are subdivided and organized around the country's approximately 350 municipalities and 5,600 communes. Typically, a municipality is a city or town with a population exceeding 10,000 residents, while a commune is a town or village containing fewer than 10,000 persons. Municipalities and towns elect councils headed by a mayor and president, respectively. The tenure and mandate of these councils is renewed every four years through popular election. Membership in the local councils varies from five to sixty-one deputies, depending on population.

Traditionally, through the entire Ottoman experience and most of the modern Greek state's history, local government had been popularly viewed as the exclusive domain of wealthy elites. The concept, let alone prospect, of popular participation in local administration was seen as remote until fairly recently. In 1982 Greece's first socialist government, which had promised to fully democratize local decision making by enacting the conditions necessary for popular involvement in provincial administration, passed legislation that began the profound transformation of local government. A new legal framework was created that began the transfer of considerable decision-making authority from the central government to the prefectures, municipalities, and communes. Although the decentralization initiatives, which had lost momentum by the mid-1980s, stalled with the return to power of the conservatives in the early 1990s, the socialists, on returning to power in 1993, renewed the agenda for decentralization. The now continuing strides forward in this area were made especially evident in 1994, when provincial governors, formerly appointed by the central government, were for the first time determined by direct popular local elections.

With major reform goals achieved in virtually all areas of government, the state's civil service remains the most intransigent challenge to Greece's state evolution. Like other modern governments, the Greek state is entrusted to a network of public personnel within a vast civil service bureaucracy. Entry into the civil service is generally made possible by competitive state examination. However, government ministries often bypass the regular recruitment system and engage personnel, without benefit of civil service examinations, by individual contract. The logic behind this accepted practice is based on the need for governments to employ specialists to fulfill certain tasks that the existing civil service pool cannot address as effectively. Such contract specialists are hired through a noncompetitive procedure at higher salaries than the mainstream ranks of the civil service bureaucracy. Furthermore, after several years of service, contract personnel are entitled to receive civil service tenure, or guaranteed permanence of position and salary. Precisely because these contract positions depend on the discretion of each minister, the practice is highly conducive to political patronage and favoritism. Furthermore, the effective internal division of the state bureaucracy into two unequal categories of recruitment and compensation has promoted resentment and often undermined professionalism and efficiency within the ranks of the regular civil service.

Despite periodic attempts to rationalize the goals and the methods of the system, the civil service apparatus is the single most visibly inefficient sector of the Greek governmental process. Since 1974 both ruling parties, the conservatives and socialists, have offered various programs to deal with the problems endemic in the civil service, especially in the area of personnel recruitment. However, the impact of these legislative reforms has been minimal, apart from broadening the immediate political influence of the governing party. In the final analysis, continued reliance on subjective criteria and personal connections in state agencies is a (perhaps throughout the Balkan region) practice rooted in the late Ottoman experience, a norm reinforced during most of the history of the independent Greek state. This pattern has cultivated in Greek citizens a general distrust for formal criteria such as exams, inspectors, and objective qualifications. Yet, at the same time, the consequent inefficiency associated with the civil service has bred almost universal contempt for its agencies.

THE PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL EVOLUTION

Although the ancient Greeks invented democracy, their nineteenth- and twentieth-century descendants had to struggle for generations to create a viable and truly representative government, a modern version of a democratic political system. Although the current Greek political system still grapples with serious flaws, the transition to and solidification of democracy since 1974 is often cited for the effectiveness with which it has dealt with political problems lingering from the past. Political development in nineteenth-century Greece was forestalled by the continual interference of the Great Powers in the country's domestic affairs. Political evolution in the first half of the twentieth century was handicapped by war, a pervasive culture of political patronage, polarization and schism between liberals and royalists, and a collapse of constitutional order.

The chief postwar political problems in Greece were the final disposition of the monarchy and the legalization of the Communist Party. By resolving both of these issues within one year after the fall of the junta in 1974, Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis removed two of the major issues of the postwar political environment that had made the accession of a military dictatorship possible in 1967. The immediate result of World War II had been a brutal civil war fought between communists and the national government from 1946 to 1949. The trauma of the conflict left Greece with a succession of repressive rightist governments and a stunted parliamentary system characterized by a meddling monarchy, pervasive domestic surveillance, and a Cold War–driven, paternalistic, interventionist U.S. ally throughout the 1950s and most of the 1960s.

After seven years of highly unpopular military rule and political isolation, let alone decades of parliamentary dysfunction, preparing Greece's political system for vigorous democratization and long-term stability was a formidable task. The conservative, decidedly democratic government of Karamanlis's New Democracy Party that came to power in 1974 tried to recover the economic momentum that had propelled a rapid political evolution in the late 1950s and made possible the liberal policies of the mid-1960s. The military dictatorship's pariah status and its general incompetence had separated Greece from the developmental path followed by its Western European counterparts, leaving the economic system that emerged from the early 1970s unprepared to cope with the monumental social changes and political demands of the remainder of the century.

The establishment of a republic and the legalization of the Communist Party and other leftist parties under the Karamanlis government cleared the way for the consolidation of democracy in Greece. The expanded political spectrum stimulated calls for further democratization, a goal vigorously embraced by New Democracy's chief opposition party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). Founded as an anti-junta organization by the Greek diaspora intellectual and member of a prominent political family, Andreas Papandreou, PASOK was transformed into a political party in 1974. Seven years later, the new party and its charismatic leader came to power to form the first socialist government in Greece's history. PASOK's rapid rise and its electoral success in 1981 confirmed that government power could pass in orderly democratic fashion from one party to another, even between parties of quite different ideology.

The first socialist government launched a wave of jarring and controversial social and political transformations. Central features of the early 1980s were an environment of increasing openness and a concurrent sense of disorientation. PASOK's initial fiery rhetoric created high public expectations that were frustrated by deepening economic problems and by the socialists' unfocused long-term agenda. Nonetheless, PASOK's first term brought new segments of society, which until that time had been marginalized in the political life of the country, into the political mainstream. This process of expanding democracy and political participation stalled under mounting economic pressures during the socialists' second term, which ended in 1989 amid malaise and scandal. A subsequent New Democracy gov-

Portrait of Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece (1981–1989, 1993–1996). (Embassy of Greece)

ernment was unsuccessful in both domestic and foreign affairs, so the electorate again turned to Papandreou's Socialist Party, which returned to power in 1993.

Following Papandreou's death in 1996, Greece's newly elected prime minister and leader of PASOK, Costas Simitis, began a restructuring of policy, which has produced considerable success in achieving his government's primary goals. Simitis's government, reelected in 2000, is committed to economic stability and modernization, monetary integration into the EU, and security through multilateral and cooperative international structures. Under Simitis's technical and sophisticated (if not charismatic) leadership, Greece has achieved most of its goals in these areas. Moreover, Simitis's approach to expanding domestic political life has been crucial in stimulating another vital evolutionary step in Greece's political development. Although the process is not entirely complete, the country's major political parties have been transformed to a considerable extent from exclusively elite organs to instruments for popular participation in the increasingly urgent process for reforming and modernizing national institutions.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

FAMILY AND FOLK TRADITION

Reflecting the enduring influence of traditional culture, Greek society, for the most part, continues to prioritize collective over individual identity in assigning social status to persons. The family remains paramount in society's perception of an individual's public standing and value. Because of its patriarchal structure, Greek culture defines family membership through patrilineal descent, but bilateral kinship remains a factor in determining family relationships. Although mitigated by the growing imprint of Western culture, two basic categories of kinship exist simultaneously within the larger family system. The basic, primary category is based on notions of bloodline, or biological bonds, and is composed of the nuclear and extended family. The second category of relationships is established through sacramental sponsorship in weddings or baptisms and thus unites different families into so-called affinal, or nonbloodline, networks of kinship. The two categories of kinship—primary and affinal—are denoted in the conceptual terms *oikogenia* (family) and *koumbario* (affinal relation), respectively.

Breaking from the centuries-old pattern of multigenerational households, the nuclear family has for the last few decades constituted the basic domestic unit in Greek society. Consistent with general demographic trends among the EU countries, the average nuclear Greek family in the 1980s and 1990s consisted of four people (husband, wife, and two children) who generally occupied a common residence apart, although often close to, extended family households. Marriages arranged by parents or trusted intermediaries were typical in Greek culture as recently as the first half of the twentieth century but have been replaced by largely independent unions. Traditionally marriages functioned, at least in part, as economic mergers and alliance structures between families and thus tended to be arranged. Courtship rules, which once were appropriate only to engaged couples, have been relaxed since the 1970s but remain (at least formally) restrictive, especially as applied to girls and women in rural communities.

Underscoring the general continuity of roles and values, male heads of household are chiefly responsible for engaging the public on behalf of the family's interests, while their female partners are typically responsible for most of the family's domestic management. Mothers tend to be the primary caregivers in most Greek families, although grandparents and elder siblings are often actively involved in child rearing. Although early childhood is associated with considerable freedom, behavioral controls that are intended to protect family reputation and status are applied to children and are expanded and adjusted with age. Consistent with traditional patriarchal norms, male children generally enjoy more autonomy and privileges than do female children and are subject to less family and community scrutiny in terms of social conduct. Primary and secondary education is prized from the perspective of most traditional families as a system for inculcating children, especially boys, with competitive principles. Social elites aside, higher education is valued almost exclusively as an instrument for children's economic advancement, leading to an emphasis on professional and vocational training, often at the expense of creative and intellectual pursuits.

Although material factors such as individual wealth and education operate as the primary factors in the acquisition of status and influence in community life, intangible yet culturally significant factors can build or undermine social status regardless of personal wealth and power. The basis for this dynamic, as well as the source for the attendant mechanisms of social control, lies in the integrated principles of honor and shame. Although less openly pronounced at present than in earlier periods, these principles continue to resonate within Greek society. Honor functions as a moral commodity defining, or at least contributing to, a family's status. Family honor, and hence respectability and status, can be compromised and lost by the deviant actions of any member of the family. The collective, corporate nature of honor consequently requires that individuals conform to the interests of the family in abiding by the norms of the community. Acting otherwise brings shame not only to oneself but to one's entire family. Shame, in the form of public derision and social marginalization, thus works as an inducement for conformity and a deterrent against aberrant behavior.

THE VISUAL AND PERFORMING ARTS

Despite their enormous influence and presence in the lives of most Greeks, folk art and popular aesthetic tradition did not attract the interest of modern Greece's first artists. The post-Byzantine tradition of religious art that prevailed before the Greek Revolution was ultimately challenged by a Western influence that came to Greece with the Bavarian monarchy and administration imposed on the independent Greek state by the Great Powers in the 1830s. The majority of nineteenth-century Greece's most important artists studied or completed their training or education in Bavaria. The most prominent of these artists, Nikolaos Ghizis, became an influential professor of art at the Munich Academy and gained considerable fame abroad. Other leading artists making up the cohort of talent known eventually as the "Munich period" artists included George Iakovides, Nikiforors Lytras, and Constantine Volanakis, who returned to Greece to accept appointments at the School of Fine Arts in Athens. Heavily influenced by Western European sensibilities, the only Greek element in the work of these artists was the subject matter, which was sometimes drawn from folklore. Although less influential, a more indigenous tradition came from the local artists of the Ionian Islands, which became part of Greece in 1864.

The work of Greek artists living in Western Europe during the first half of the twentieth century was affected significantly by postimpressionism. The most accomplished among this group of artists was Constantine Parthenis, who returned to Greece to teach at the Athens School of Fine Arts, where he influenced a generation of artists that studied under him. As a symbolist and exponent of modern trends, Parthenis's work demonstrates a strong interest, emulated by his students, in Greek light and color. An equally influential but opposite artistic influence came from a refugee from Asia Minor, Photios Kontoglou. Committed to reviving the tradition of Byzantine religious art, Kontoglou rejected Western influences and urged his students to seek out creative roots in Greek culture. Eventually the cross-fertilization of Parthenis and Kontoglou produced a postwar generation of artists with a unique hybrid vision of Greece and Greek culture.

When Greece became independent in the 1830s, it enjoyed two dominant musical traditions, colored by countless regional variations. The first of these traditions was so-called demotic music, which had originated in the Ottoman period and was heavily influenced by liturgical music. The second tradition was found in the music of the Ionian Islands, which escaped Ottoman rule and was influenced by Italian forms. In the twentieth century the musical folk tradition divided into the older demotic songs of the countryside and a new type of urban song, known as *rebetika* or *rebetiko,* which appeared mostly among Asia Minor refugees and Greek immigrants in the United States.

Once Greece obtained its independence, many Greeks living in Western Europe returned home to introduce Western musical culture. Moreover, Greece's first monarch, King Otto of Bavaria, established bands, imported Western musical instruments, initiated musical education in schools, and sponsored musicians from Germany, Italy, and the Ionian Islands to perform in Athens. Opera was introduced, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, Greece was home to numerous orchestras, choirs, and musical societies. Among the most respected representatives of the Western musical tradition, expressed through the Ionian school of composers, were Nikolaos Mantzaros, who wrote the music for the Greek national anthem, Pavlos Karrer, and Napoleon Labelette and Dionysios Lavrangas, the founders of the Greek National Opera. Under the creative composition of the Asia Minor Greek, Manolis Kalomiris, Western and Greek folk traditions merged to form a new orchestral style. The most revered of Greece's operatic performers, and perhaps the most renowned twentieth-century master of classical voice, was the diaspora Greek Maria Callas, born Maria Kalogeropoulos, who enjoyed a brilliant career in Greek opera before being discovered in the West.

Regardless of its unique classical composers and unmatched operatic artists, Greece is best known abroad for its popular music. Manos Hatzidakis was the first of a generation of composers who introduced themes from *rebetika* in their work and, in the process, legitimized nonmainstream music. Hatzidakis's compositions and Greek popular music gained global recognition through international film, beginning with *Never on Sunday* (1960). This phenomenon was magnified with the film *Zorba the Greek* (1964), which showcased the music of the influential and politically controversial Mikis Theodorakis, whose compositions became widely known throughout Europe and beyond.

Greek filmmaking first drew international attention through the work of Cypriot-born Michael Cacoyannis, the director of the immensely popular *Zorba the Greek* and the critically acclaimed film *The Trojan Women* (1971), as well as other major features. Another filmmaker who has achieved recognition as one of Europe's most original cinematic artists is the director Theo Angelopoulos, the recipient of countless awards for works that entered the European canon of classic films during the 1980s and 1990s.

THE LITERARY ARTS

Of all the aspects of cultural and artistic creativity associated with modern Greece, literature and everything connected with language was the most lively and perhaps most important realm of expression. Although Greek writing in the early nineteenth century depended largely on the formal and rigid literary tradition of the Ottoman-era Constantinopolitan elites, the incorporation of the Ionian Islands into an independent Greek state in 1864 marked a critical turn in the development of a modern Greek literature. Ionian poet and author of the words of the Greek national anthem, Dionysios Solomos, and his contemporary Andreas Kalvos experimented with a largely unexplored, yet vibrant and potentially rich vernacular. In doing so, Solomos opened the way to poetic emancipation from the formal, stilted idiom. Although the formal idiom, Katharevousa, produced a large group of nineteenth-century prose writers, the only impressive and lasting craftsman of this medium was Alexandros Papadiamantis, a short story writer of considerable genius. The son of a poor priest and a native of the island of Skiathos, Papadiamantis studied briefly at the University of Athens before earning a modest living as a translator and prolific writer. He led an ascetic life, dominated by the Orthodox religious calendar, for whose traditions his writings reflected admiration and nostalgia. Papadiamantis's short stories and novels centered on historical and cultural themes. They appeared in serial form in periodicals during his lifetime and were published as books only after his death.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a wellspring of extraordinary poetic writing flowing from both formal and vernacular camps. The most talented of the vernacular poets during this period and a celebrated exponent of demotic was Kostis Palamas, whose approach to verse was highly original and unrestrained by convention. Palamas was one of the best known and most loved Greek poets of his time. Born in Patras and educated in Mesolonghi, he worked as a journalist and literary critic before publishing his first collection of verses, *The Songs of My Fatherland,* in 1886. After the publication of his second collection of poems in 1897, he was appointed secretary-general of the University of Athens, a position he held until his retirement in 1926. On the opposite end of the stylistic spectrum was the understated poetry of diaspora Greek Constantine Cavafy. A native of Alexandria, Egypt, Cavafy spent much of his childhood in Constantinople and England before settling permanently in Egypt in 1885. He

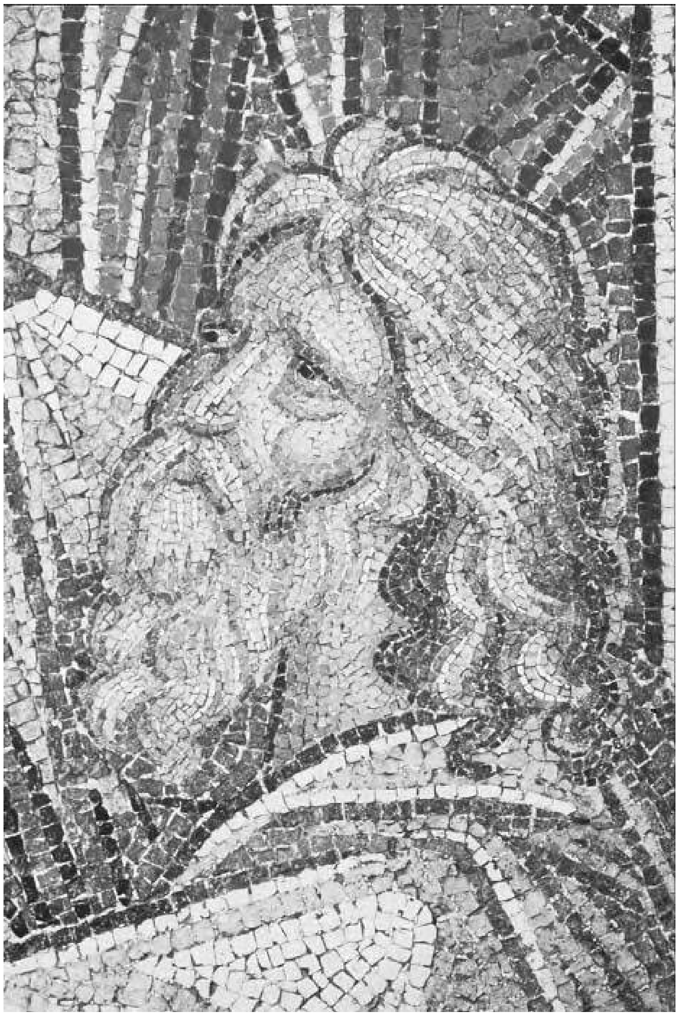
Adamantios Koraes

The leading figure of the eighteenth-century Greek Enlightenment, a Western-inspired intellectual revival, Adamantios Koraes (1748–1833) was born in Smyrna, the son of a merchant from the island of Chios. Although Koraes obsessively identified with Chios, there is no evidence that he ever visited the island from which his family originated. While a young man in Smyrna, Koraes was introduced to Latin and exposed to Western classical scholarship by Bernard Keun, a Dutch Protestant pastor. Between 1771 and 1778, Koraes attempted to pursue the family trade as a merchant in Amsterdam. His experience of freedom in Holland fueled his hatred for the Turks, whom he considered nothing more than barbaric oppressors. Not finding fulfillment in his life as a merchant, Koraes studied medicine at the University of Montpelier from 1782 to 1786. Nonetheless, his real interests lay in ancient literature, and he soon developed into one of the foremost classical scholars of his day in Europe. From 1788 until his death in 1833, Koraes lived in Paris, experiencing at close quarters the turbulent events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Alarmed by the violent excesses of the revolution, mob rule, and Napoleonic despotism, Koraes embraced the virtues of moderation.

Koraes's passions were manifest in his private pursuit of classical scholarship and his public effort to raise the educational level of his fellow countrymen and instill in them an awareness of a glorious past that was universally admired in Europe. Toward achieving the latter, Koraes conceived the idea of publishing the *Hellenic Library,* consisting of editions of ancient Greek authors and aimed at a Greek audience. Koraes believed that the Greeks would never attain freedom from the backwardness of Ottoman bondage unless they became versed in the knowledge of their ancient heritage. As a result, he thought the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821 was premature by a generation, since the Greeks had not yet reached the educational level required to make them truly free. Nonetheless, he published works in support of the revolution, as well as pieces aimed at ensuring that his fellow countrymen did not merely substitute native tyrants for their Ottoman masters. A central participant in the debates of the early Greek intelligentsia over the form of the language appropriate to an independent Greece, Koraes was one of the chief architects behind the formal language, or what became known as Katharevousa.

made a living as a bureaucrat in the British Imperial Irrigation Office of Alexandria, but his poetry was his private life and all-consuming obsession. The 154 poems that compose Cavafy's completed works fall into three categories, which the poet himself identified as philosophical, historical, or hedonistic reflections. The poems of the first category, all published before 1916, often displayed a didactic imprint. The historical poems, the first of which was published in 1906, explored the unity and continuity over time of the Greek experience, paradoxically by setting them in the Hellenistic age. In this context Cavafy drew considerable inspiration from the decline of Hellenism and the conflict between Christianity and paganism. As for the third category, Cavafy's hedonistic poems first saw publication in 1911 and by 1918 had become increasingly explicit but also expressive of a social dimension as they depicted life on the margins of society.

The period between the two world wars witnessed the emergence of Greece's most dynamic and influential crop of poets and novelists. This new wave of intellectuals and writers, who would dominate Greek letters during the rest of the twentieth century, vacillated in their outlook between the complete despair and isolation of the suicidal Kostas Karyotakis and the sophisticated resignation of George Seferis, born George Steferiadis, to the exaltation of the senses in the vision of Odysseus Elytis, born Odysseus Alepoudhelis. The poetic medium in Greek culture, an international literary form, marked a high point of achievement with the award of Nobel Prizes to Seferis and Elytis in 1963 and 1976, respectively. Seferis, a professional and senior diplomat as well as an accomplished poet, developed an international following thanks to skillful translations of his work that retained his poetry's brilliant lyrical quality. Elytis became world celebrated for his poetry's vigorous commitment to the struggle for freedom and creativeness. Closely associated with this group of poets, who all began their long careers during the interwar period, was an important cadre of intellectuals who became known as "the generation of the 1930s." Prolific and thoughtful advocates of liberal democracy and political moderation, the most prominent members of this group were Constantine Dimaras, Kosmas Politis, and George Theotocas.



Adam, Church of the Holy Apostles, Thessaloniki, Greece. (Corel Corporation)

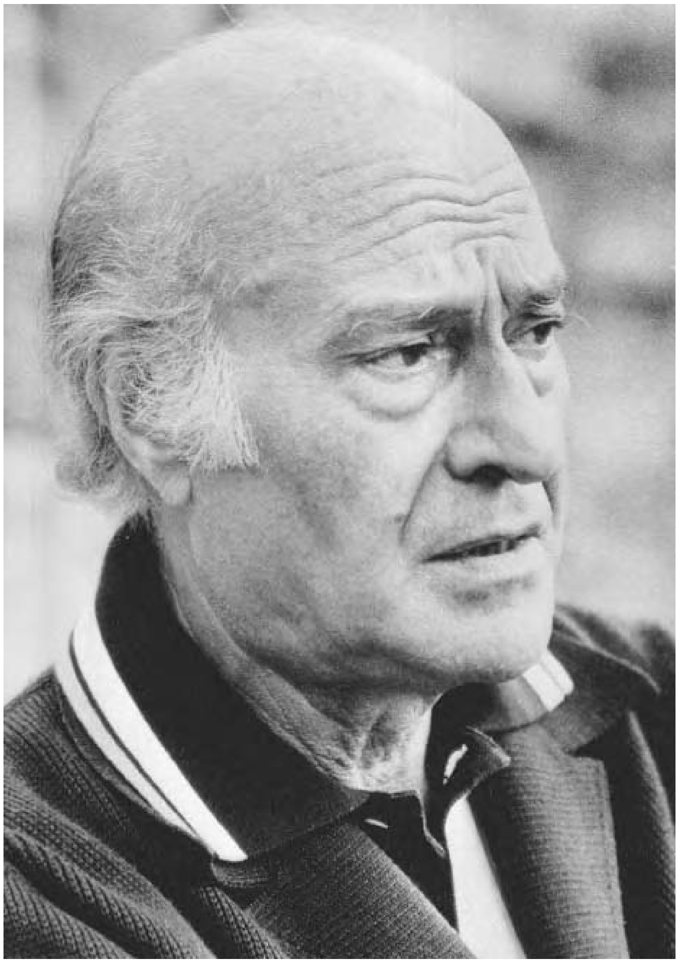
Kostas Karyotakis, born in Tripoli in the Peloponnesus, was the son of a rural engineer, whose family moved continually from one provincial town to another in pursuit of work. Karyotakis spent most of his lonely childhood in Crete, where he began to publish his writing, his first poems appearing in children's magazines when he was only sixteen years old. After completing his law degree in Athens, he was posted as clerk to the prefecture of Thessaloniki. Openly contemptuous of his superiors and unwilling to accept the conventions of bureaucratic life, Karyotakis was dismissed from his position and assigned to a series of demeaning positions, many in the countryside. These experiences added to his existing sense of misery and alienation, themes that dominated his poetry. In 1919 Karyotakis published his first book-length collection, *The Pain of Man and Things,* which was dismissed by literary critics. Two years later he published his second book of poetry, *Nepenthe,* a term denoting freedom from sorrow and grief. His last book was published in 1927; a year later, consumed by depression, he killed himself. Marking the influence of the nineteenth-century French symbolist poets on Greek writing, Karyotakis's haunting, complex verse was appreciated as a reaction against the emotionalism of romanticism only after his death.

George Seferis, the son of an accomplished university literature professor, was born in Smyrna and educated in law in Athens and Paris before studying English in London. Although his real interest was in philology, Seferis pursued a diplomatic career while writing and publishing poetry. In 1931 he published a small collection of thirteen poems. Despite the booklet's brevity, it was important in marking Seferis's desire to shed new light on the existing Greek poetic landscape and overcome the shadows of Palamas and Karyotakis. Other poems soon followed this first publication, many of them built on the intermingling of Greek history and mythology, a theme that would inspire much of Seferis's writing for decades. During World War II, when Seferis served with the Greek government in exile in Egypt, his poetry was deeply influenced, as Cavafy's was earlier, by Alexandria's climate of cosmopolitanism and diaspora Hellenism. The decade after the war was a particularly successful one for Seferis as both a poet and diplomat. In 1947 he published his most mature work, *The Thrush.* Meanwhile, Seferis's diplomatic career skyrocketed with a series of prestigious assignments, culminating in 1957 with his appointment as ambassador to London, where he would finish his career in the Greek foreign service corps. In 1963 Seferis became the first Greek author to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. Seferis achieved international recognition not only because of the extraordinary quality of his poetry but also because of the creative ways that his work explored intellectual concerns. In the final analysis, Seferis was concerned with the dynamic interrelationship between the ancient and Modern Greek language, between the power of Greek civilization and its modern expression, and finally between tradition and innovation.

Greece's second Nobel laureate, Odysseus Elytis, was born in Heraklion, Crete, to a family from the island of Lesbos. During the 1930s, Elytis was influenced by French surrealist poetry and adopted surrealism's rejection of traditional modes of poetic expression. These qualities were manifest in the publication of Elytis's first collections of poetry, *Orientations* (1939) and *Sun the First* (1943), joyous celebrations of the Greek landscape as an ideal world of sensual enjoyment and moral purity. Elytis's experience of war, when he served as a junior officer on the Albanian front, where the Greek army thwarted the fascist Italian invasion in 1940, marked a departure from the sunny atmosphere of his early poetry. From this point, Elytis began to identify himself, through more sorrowful writing, with the loss and suffering of the Greek nation. This direction in his writing reached its zenith with the publication in 1957 of his most ambitious and important work, *Axion Esti*. This monumental work is a three-part composition of intricate structure, aiming to present Modern Greek consciousness through the development of a first-person narrator who is simultaneously the poet himself and the voice of his country. In this poem Elytis attempts to identify the vital elements of Greece's long history and complex tradition. In all of his poetry Elytis consistently emphasized humanity's innocence, dismissed guilt and fate, and professed the redeeming quality of light. He criticized the vulgarity and materialism of contemporary society and culture, showed the possibility of a different relation with the things of the world, and reformulated the fundamental and minimal essentials of life.

GREECE'S CHIEF CULTURAL EXPORT: NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS

Any review of modern Greek culture must include Nikos Kazantzakis, a prolific novelist, poet, essayist, and author of plays, who was arguably the most important Greek writer and philosopher of the twentieth century. Kazantzakis, the Greek author with the most translations in several languages, is more known to people outside Greece than any other writer from the world of Greek letters. Thanks to highly successful film adaptations of some of his most popular novels—including *Christ Recrucified* by French director Jules Dassin, *Zorba the Greek* by Greek director Michalis Cacoyannis, and *The Last Temptation of Christ* by American filmmaker Martin Scorsese—Kazantzakis achieved world recognition.



Odysseus Elytis. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Born in Heraklion, Crete, to an entrepreneurial couple, Kazantzakis was raised in a provincial town under Ottoman rule and teeming with revolutionary fervor. On completing his secondary education at the Gymnasium of Heraklion in 1902, Kazantzakis studied law for four years, receiving his law degree from the University of Athens in 1906, the year of his first publication, a narrative entitled *Snake and Lily,* and his first stage play. The following year he went to Paris and studied philosophy until 1909 under Henri Bergson. After his studies in France, Kazantzakis authored in 1910 a tragedy, *The Master Builder,* based on a popular Greek folktale. Returning to Greece, he began translating works of philosophy and in 1914 met and formed an influential friendship with the lyric poet and prominent playwright Angelos Sikelianos. Together with Sikelianos, whose enthusiastic nationalism served as a wanderer's guidepost among Greek communities in Europe and the Middle East, Kazantzakis traveled for two years in places where Greek culture, outside Greece, flourished. His personal knowledge of the Greek diaspora was put to practical use in 1919 when, as recently appointed director general of the Ministry of Public Welfare, Kazantzakis undertook the humanitarian relief and relocation of Greek populations from the Caucasus to Greece. By 1927, when Kazantzakis resigned from his post, he had been responsible for rescuing 150,000 ethnic Greeks from famine, revolution, and civil war in the southernmost region of the Soviet Union.

Kazantzakis's experience in the Caucasus became the beginning of a continuous global wandering. Like his hero, Odysseus, Kazantzakis lived most of his artistic life, excluding the years of World War II, outside Greece. Driven by an intense internal urge, Kazantzakis spent short periods of time in Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia until his death from leukemia in 1957 in Freiburg, Germany. His numerous journeys inspired Kazantzakis to publish the series *Travelling,* which included books on China, Egypt, England, Italy, and Japan and became known as masterpieces of Greek travel literature. Kazantzakis himself considered *The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel,* a massive book informed by his humanitarian involvement in the Caucasus, to be his most important work. Written seven times before being finally published in 1938, this immense spiritual exercise followed the structure of Homer's *Odyssey,* divided into twenty-four rhapsodies and comprising 33,333 verses. During the interwar period and through his travels, especially to Germany and later the Soviet Union, Kazantzakis was attracted to communism but never became a communist. Kazantzakis became increasingly disillusioned with revolutionary materialism and rationalism. Yet his exposure to communism tempered his earlier nationalism and replaced it with a more universal ideology. Bringing his views back to public service, as minister of state in the Greek government from 1945 to 1946, he tried in vain to reconcile the factions of left and right in Greece between the end of the Axis occupation and the outbreak of the civil war. During the 1950s, his career, especially as a novelist, reached its most creative and prolific peak, and in 1957, the year of his death, Kazantzakis came close to winning the Nobel Prize, ultimately losing by a single vote to the French writer Albert Camus.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Like most of the countries of Eastern Europe, Greece had an economy that was dominated by agriculture until the postwar period. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Greece drew most of its income from the export of a few highly profitable agricultural products, such as tobacco and dried fruits, and from its expansive shipping industry. After the 1940s, the Greek economy underwent significant transformation. Driven largely by government policies, and the results of membership in the European Community (EC), later the European Union (EU), manufacturing and services emerged as the chief areas of economic activity, accounting, by the 1990s, for roughly 85 percent of the gross national product (GDP). By 2001, it was estimated that Greece's labor force of approximately 4,590,000 people was divided into a primary, or agricultural, sector employing 18 percent of workers, a secondary, or industrial and manufacturing, sector engaging 23 percent of labor, and a tertiary, or service, sector utilizing 59 percent of the country's workforce. Greece enjoys the highest proportional level of entrepreneurial self-employment and family-based small business ownership in the EU. This employment characteristic has limited, compared to most of the EU, the growth of labor unions outside the public sector. Nonetheless, approximately 600,000 members of the Greek workforce are members of private or public sector labor unions.

Reflecting the modernization and progress of the economy, per capita income in Greece has increased from $500 in 1960 to $19,100 in 2002, the highest in all of Eastern Europe. Despite the fact that the Greek economy is ranked as one of the lowest performers in the highly developed and industrialized EU, in the world it is ranked twenty-third in per capita income and is placed in the top 10 percent of the world's national economies. Furthermore, despite slowing, or, according to some analysts, stagnant trends in the early 1990s, since 1995 the overall economy produced an annual average growth rate of 3.6 percent, exceeding the average rate achieved by the EU. According to 2002 statistics, Greece's GDP had reached $203 billion, an increase of 33 percent in only four years. These comparatively impressive figures do not, however, tell the full story of recent economic development and national wealth creation. Such official statistics understate Greece's actual prosperity because an estimated 40 percent of all economic activity in the country takes place in an unofficial, unrecorded, market outside the tax and social security systems.

Despite its remarkable postwar accomplishments, the Greek economy continues to grapple with serious problems and potential threats to its long-term growth. The significant size of the unofficial, or underground, economy is an obstacle to complete economic modernization, as black market merchants rarely make improvements to their businesses or comply with commercial regulations. Another problem confronting the economy is the large size of the public sector, which, in expenditures, constitutes one-third of Greece's GDP. Although attempts were made in the 1990s to reduce the size of the public sector through privatization, these efforts were only partially successful when confronted by severe opposition from powerful public sector unions opposed to reform.

The Greek government in the late 1990s sought to tackle many of the Greek economy's impediments to long-term growth by prioritizing monetary integration, seen as a necessary building block for attacking structural problems. Consequently in 1996 the government undertook efforts to qualify Greece to share a proposed single European currency, the euro, with other EU member states. These initiatives involved the implementation of austere and unpopular measures aimed at reducing Greece's chronically high rate of inflation, at 18 percent throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, and increasing its tax revenues. By the close of 1999, Greece had effectively reduced its deficit to an acceptable EU standard and had reduced its rate of inflation to 2.6 percent, thus meeting the qualifying criteria to join the EU single currency system. In January 2001, Greece, marking an economic and political threshold in its development and

Olive grove on Euboea. (Yann Arthus-Bertrand/Corbis)

modernization, adopted the new euro currency, thereby fully integrating its economy with the EU.

During the nineteenth century, the most important developments in the Greek economy were in the agricultural sector, which employed more than three-quarters of the labor force. Prior to liberation from Ottoman rule, of the 120,000 peasant families residing in the lands that would compose independent Greece by 1832, approximately 85 percent were landless and worked as sharecroppers for Turkish large landowners. Independence, however, changed the structure of land ownership and therefore the nature of agricultural production in the newly liberated regions of Central Greece, the Peloponnesus, and the Cyclades Islands. Although it was not completed until 1871, the Greek state's distribution of the former Ottoman estates to the peasantry led to the replacement of formerly large estates by relatively small family plots. Furthermore, before the Greek Revolution the large Ottoman estates had produced wheat for export, while after independence the proliferation of small family plots, not conducive to profitable wheat farming, caused the currant (the "raisin of Corinth"), a comparatively viable commodity for small landholders, to become Greece's major export item. Thus the production of currants dominated Greece, especially in the Peloponnesus, at the expense of wheat and other grains. During the 1870s, in fact, currant exports constituted more than half of the value of all exports. Wheat, the chief export before the 1830s, had declined to 41 percent in the 1840s, to 38 percent in 1860, and plummeted, following the completion of the land distribution process, to 23 percent by 1880. The lands of independent Greece, which had been exporters of wheat at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had become dependent on the importation of wheat before the close of the same century.

Demand and price fluctuations of the currant, nineteenth-century Greece's major export item, had a significant effect on the condition of individual peasant cultivators, as well as the national economy. Single-crop cultivation in southern Greece was especially encouraged by the blight that devastated French vineyards in the 1870s and spurred Greek farmers to fill the vacuum in the international market for currants. As a result, currant production increased from 43,000 tons in 1861 to over 100,000 tons in 1878. Once the French vineyards recovered and production returned to normal, surpluses emerged that, combined in 1892 with the French imposition of high tariffs on imports from Greece, triggered a plunge of 70 percent in the price of Greek currants. Despite the efforts of the Greek state to relieve the plight of financially devastated peasants, thousands of villagers were forced to migrate, thus setting into motion the largely economically driven exodus of over 500,000 Greeks to the United States between 1891 and 1922.

Despite the disaster that befell Greece's economic sector at the end of the nineteenth century, the decades that followed independence saw significant progress in the development of other areas of the national economy, especially in a crucial sphere long ignored by the former Ottoman rulers—the country's infrastructure. The profitability of export crops such as currants depended largely on the Greek merchant marine fleet, which had expanded, thanks in large part to favorable international treaties, to dominate much of the carrying trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the last several decades before the Greek Revolution. After independence was achieved in 1832, domestic growth of Greek commerce was a further stimulus to expansion of the merchant fleet.

Expanding trade in agricultural products, chiefly currants, provided the impetus for the development of the first post-Ottoman Greek financial networks, as well as the creation of a variety of domestic economic infrastructures. The establishment of the National Bank of Greece in 1841 marked a significant development in building the country's financial system. Authorized to issue banknotes and able to deal in both domestic and foreign currency, the National Bank of Greece fostered the gradual unification of a national market by making a uniform national currency available throughout the country. This critical development greatly facilitated domestic and foreign trade, saving and investment, availability of credit, and access to capital from abroad. By the 1870s, the National Bank of Greece had emerged as the country's leading economic institutional force, and a major international financial actor.

Thanks in large part to the success of the financial and capital systems, other parts of Greece's economic infrastructure could be improved or, where they did not exist, created. In the 1880s and 1890s paved roads and modern bridges, the first network of railroads, the opening of the Corinth Canal, and the construction and rehabilitation of several port sites all contributed to Greece's growing infrastructure, as well as to the movement of Greek goods in domestic and foreign markets. The country's first manufacturing facilities also appeared during this time, in conjunction with Greece's large infrastructure projects. Nonetheless, major industrial growth was hindered by the instability of the agricultural export sector, government debt, and resulting economic crises.

Greek industry, plagued by sluggish growth in the nineteenth century, was not successful at attracting either domestic investors or foreign capital at the beginning of the twentieth century. World War I brought commerce to a halt and produced the adoption of trade barriers to protect Greek industry from foreign competition, but the end of the war revived the adverse factors that had originally impeded industrial growth. The majority of early twentieth-century industries were involved in food processing or the production of consumer goods that required neither technological nor organizational modernization. Furthermore, manufacturing enterprises typically were small-scale operations, as evidenced by 1920 statistics indicating that workshops with fewer than six workers made up 92 percent of the industrial sector, while those with more than twenty-five workers represented less than 2 percent. Although the Greek state was committed to a policy of economic modernization, its programs were interrupted by a decade-long series of wars beginning in 1912.

As a result of these conflicts, Greece experienced a rapid and dramatic transformation of its economic and social structures. Beginning in 1915 and culminating in 1923, Greece, with a population of around 5 million, was forced to absorb almost 1.5 million refugees, mainly from Asia Minor, whose displacement and resettlement acted as a catalyst for profound change. The financing of the resettling of the refugees expanded the involvement and power of the state in the country's economy, as well as increasing the importance of such institutions as the National Bank of Greece. Wartime activities and public projects generated an enormous increase in government expenditure and a corresponding rise in taxes and state borrowing. Between 1914 and 1926, the external national debt tripled and outstanding debts to foreign creditors became an obstacle to contracting new public and commercial loans. Nonetheless, and after faltering under multiple domestic and foreign pressures, the economy experienced a revival beginning in 1927. The sophisticated entrepreneurial and modern farming skills introduced to Greece by the refugees, as well as increased domestic demand for goods, combined to stimulate a period of growth and industrialization. This growth was reinforced by financial reforms that included the stabilization of Greece's currency, the drachma, and the establishment of the Agricultural Bank of Greece. All the same, these institutional changes aimed primarily at improving the allocation of resources, not the extension of the benefits of economic growth to broader segments of the population. Consequently, despite growth, widespread economic hardship persisted in interwar Greece.

In 1931 the onset of the Great Depression ended Greece's interwar growth cycle. A year later, under the weight of the international market collapse, Greece was obliged to suspend interest payments on its foreign debt. This development consequently forced the country to dedicate the remainder of the decade of the 1930s to the management of the financial crisis caused by the default. A new period of economic stagnation, together with urban poverty, stimulated social tensions, the growth of political militancy, widespread labor unrest, and finally the imposition of an authoritarian dictatorship in 1936. Responding to the international economic depression and anticipating war in Europe, the Greek dictatorship of the late 1930s was committed to the goal of national self-sufficiency. Through price-support measures and various debt moratorium policies, the state restored considerable stability to the economy, especially its agricultural sector. Furthermore, the state succeeded in promoting significant increases in the production of vital, strategic crops. The output of wheat, for example, rose from 30 percent of domestic consumption before the dictatorship to 60 percent by 1939.

Fascist Italy's attack on Greece in 1940 upset the balance of the economy, but the Nazi invasion of the country in 1941 and subsequent Axis occupation destroyed the basis of Greece's productive capacity. Given Greece's low level of industrialization and the prevalence of small-scale manufacturing, the Axis occupation authorities saw no incentive to maintain the country's production plants and enforced an extractive policy in Greece. In short, Greece's economic resources were systematically plundered between 1941 and 1944. In addition to pillaging the Greek economy, the Axis authorities exacted payment from Greece for the enormous cost of the Bulgarian, German, and Italian occupation of the country. This deliberately cruel policy had the effect of unleashing a wave of hyperinflation that destroyed the value of Greece's currency, created a destructive web of black markets, and pushed the economy down to a barter level system for goods and services.

Unlike the rest of Europe, Greece's economic recovery did not begin with the end of World War II. The postwar reconstruction efforts of the Marshall Plan in Western Europe provided no immediate benefit to Greece, which underwent a bitter civil war from 1946 to 1949. A new round of violent conflict produced yet another period of physical destruction, inflation, and economic instability. Although Greece was a major recipient of American aid under the Marshall Plan, beginning in 1947, the overwhelming majority of this support was dedicated to either military assistance or war-related economic needs. At the close of the decade of the 1940s, the country's shattered economy had not yet had a chance to recover from the combined destructive impact of world war and civil war.

Although the Greek Civil War ended in 1949, economic stabilization was not achieved until 1953. A critical threshold in the country's postwar recovery, restoration of public confidence, and economic development was a package of economic measures implemented by the Greek government in 1953, which included the devaluation of the drachma and the lifting of most controls that impeded exports. The package also included new banking regulations to counter inflation and speculation, as well as new laws for the protection of foreign investment. These monetary and trade reforms were followed by an ultimately successful policy to attract foreign investment, and by an equally ambitious program that produced significant achievements in rebuilding, modernizing, and expanding the country's infrastructure, including not only Greece's roads and seaports but its airports and electric power and telecommunications networks. The initiatives launched in 1953 began a twenty-year-long period of sustained and high growth rates, low inflation, effective industrialization, export expansion, urban growth, and significant, albeit uneven, prosperity.

The period from the late 1950s to the late 1960s is often characterized as an era of unprecedented growth, the so-called Greek economic miracle. During these years, Greece's GDP grew at the fastest rate in Western Europe, averaging almost 8 percent annually. Meanwhile, industrial production grew at an average annual rate of 10 percent, exceeded in Western Europe only by Spain. Marking a major turning point, in the 1960s manufacturing exports surpassed agricultural exports for the first time in Greece's history. Yet the dramatic changes produced by economic growth, especially those associated with rapid urbanization and inequities in the distribution of Greece's growing wealth, also caused social tensions in the 1960s. The basic weaknesses of the Greek economy, including the lack of competitiveness in the country's manufacturing sector, remained untreated. Neither the conservative government of the 1950s and early 1960s that was the architect of the economic recovery, nor the centrist government that led the country in the mid-1960s, nor the military junta that seized power in 1967 resolved these problems.

After two decades of growth, the global energy crisis of 1973 and the ensuing international monetary turmoil had a profoundly adverse effect on the Greek economy. One of the most pernicious and lasting results of the economic disruption was the unleashing of high rates of inflation. Running for more than a decade at only 3 percent, the annual rate of inflation jumped to 16 percent in 1973 and 27 percent in 1974. The negative effects of the economic recession brought on by the crisis of 1973 were magnified by the ineptitude of the military junta in managing Greece's problems. The collapse of the junta in 1974 and the restoration of democracy marked another major turn in Greece's economic development. With a civilian government returned to office, in 1981 Greece became a full member of the European Community, the tenth member in the economic alliance of European states to join the community. As a community member, Greece began to eliminate its protectionist policies, leading eventually to full liberalization of trade and the movement of capital and labor within the EC.

The democratic governments of the 1970s and 1980s inherited the accumulated economic and social problems that had been either ignored or suppressed by the junta. Issues that needed to be tackled before the structural adjustments necessary for long-term economic growth and modernization could be made possible included labor legislation, social insurance, education reform, and the provision of public health care. Furthermore, the state had to address the serious problem of a rising inflation rate that damaged business competitiveness, caused increasing energy costs, and triggered escalating pressures for higher wages. Adding to the state's challenges, the policy requirements for resolving Greece's economic and social problems were often contradictory. Modernization of social protection required increased public spending while economic stabilization and adjustment, an urgent need with the internationalization of the Greek economy through the EC, required spending restraints by government.

The conservative government that restored democracy in Greece in 1974 and secured the country's membership in the EC was unable to hold on to power in the 1980s. Reflecting the frustrations of those in the middle and lower classes who felt that they had missed out on the boom of the late 1960s and 1970s, when the annual growth rate averaged around 7 percent, the socialists were handed a major electoral victory over the conservatives in the national elections of 1981. After decades of sustained growth, it fell to the socialists to preside over the beginning of a decline in the Greek economy. The rate of growth in the 1980s fell to approximately 1.5 percent. The government under the socialists failed to restructure the economy at a time when most developed countries were moving away from labor-intensive industries toward those based on higher technology. Such readjustments caused significant increases in unemployment, which the new government was unwilling to face. Consequently, instead of taking measures to continue the modernization of the economy and make the Greek marketplace more competitive, the state sought to cushion the impact of the decline on the electorate by expanding welfare programs. The entire economic policy orientation of the socialist government in the early and mid-1980s prioritized political expediency and day-to-day survival over the interests and needs of long-term development and growth.

The mounting economic crisis, characterized in the public sector by high budget deficits, public borrowing, and an erosion of tax compliance in combination with economic stagnation, created serious problems that persisted into the early 1990s. Long overdue stabilization policies finally implemented in 1986 and 1987 began the arduous and difficult process of rebuilding the economy. From 1990 to 1993, a conservative government undertook more systematic efforts at stabilization accompanied by a government austerity agenda and a privatization program for state-owned firms, all measures aimed at increasing marketplace efficiency and competitiveness.

The socialists, back in power in late 1993, did not reverse the economic policies set into motion by the preceding conservative government. In reality, the socialist governments of the 1990s had considerably less economic policy latitude than in the 1980s. Greece, as a signatory of the Treaty on European Union, known as the Maastricht Treaty of February 1992, was now bound to a set of standards of state policy and economic performance. Indeed, EU membership imposed strict rules and disciplines on the economic behavior of the Greek state, and introduced long-term structural changes that no government could have achieved outside the larger European framework. Motivated by the new EU architecture, which promised greater integration of member states, a goal that Greece supported, both the conservative and socialist parties began to move to a common economic policy outlook.

The Maastricht Treaty had a profound effect on Greek policies and the Greek economy. In pursuit of the goal established by Maastricht for the increased integration of EU states through a monetary union, a common euro currency, the Greek government successfully implemented policies aimed at producing positive structural changes in the Greek economy. Chief among these policies were a reformed, more efficient tax structure and a pragmatic course of privatization of major segments of the public sector. The impact of this approach was positive, finally breaking Greece's perennial inflation problem and stimulating a vigorous revival of economic growth that has outpaced EU averages since the mid-1990s. Problems such as unemployment and a troubled, albeit reduced, public sector persisted, but the recent dynamism of the Greek economy reflected favorable domestic structural changes that also underscore the importance of, and are to a large extent the product of, EU membership. The changes undertaken to achieve successful integration into the supranational EU, magnified by entry into the Euro single currency system in January 2001, reflected a new and remarkable level of responsible and disciplined state-economy relations and leadership in Greece. By the late 1990s, after almost two decades of decline or stagnation and vacillating, indecisive policy directions, Greece had rebuilt the foundations for sustainable growth and, for the first time in its modern history, enjoyed a political consensus and common vision for the county's economic future.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

DOMESTIC CHALLENGES: IMMIGRATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Since the 1990s, Greece has undergone a significant transformation from a land that was for centuries associated with the emigration of its own population to a country that is now a major European recipient of foreign immigrant populations. The late-twentieth-century influx into Greece of economic and political refugees from foreign countries marks a striking reversal of the historic pattern of population movement in Greece. For the first time, in at least its modern past, Greece has attracted the immigration of not only uprooted ethnic Greeks from abroad but people from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Greece has drawn significant numbers of immigrants because of the opportunities that the country's growing economy and its free and open society offer to the destitute and oppressed. Yet the new immigration is also characterized by several problems and challenges: immigrants are mostly employed in the informal or tertiary economy, their social position is at the end of the social scale with little opportunity for advancement, they are not organized in trade unions or other collective structures, and most of them are illegal, clandestine immigrants with no documentary record. The immigrants' status depends on several factors, including whether they are in Greece as political refugees, in which case they are granted temporary residence in the country. In addition, there are many nonpolitical immigrants that come to Greece with temporary work or tourist visas. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of immigrants who reside in Greece are there illegally and remain undocumented.

The number of overall immigrants, legal and illegal combined, has never been determined with any accuracy. Nonetheless, Greek government estimates in 1999 indicated that there were between 500,000 and 600,000 immigrants in Greece, while some unofficial estimates suggested that the number was actually closer to 800,000 persons. In the beginning of the 1980s Greece accepted the settlement of some 200,000 ethnic Greeks who were displaced by turmoil in a host of African and Middle Eastern countries and were thus considered political refugees. During the same period, approximately 50,000 ethnic Greeks from the Soviet Union were permitted to immigrate to Greece, beginning a pattern of migration that continues to the present at an annual rate of around 10,000 ethnic Greek immigrants largely from Georgia, Russia, and Ukraine. Ethnic Greeks from Albania, especially from the country's southern region where a sizable Greek minority is concentrated, represent another large body of political immigrants who settled in Greece in the beginning of the 1990s.

Because of their status as ethnic Greeks, and often as political refugees, most of these immigrants obtained Greek citizenship. Nonetheless, the adjustment to life in Greece has not been without its difficulties for many of these immigrants. Approximately half of the ethnic Greek refugees from the former Soviet Union spoke little or no Greek, making their assimilation into a familiar culture but a forgotten language particularly challenging. Although most ethnic Greek immigrants from Albania were Greek speaking, they had fled from one of the world's most closed societies and one of its most oppressive, isolated regimes. As a result, not all Greek immigrants from Albania were equipped to cope with a modern, open society and marketplace that required initiative and creativity for success. The displaced Greeks from the former Soviet Union have been received in Greece better than the Greek immigrants from Albania. The Greek authorities, concerned by declining domestic birthrates, have generally welcomed this injection of Greeks from the former Soviet Union but have not provided adequately for their settlement. With the exception of modest language instruction programs to promote their facility in Greek, and some assistance to meet initial expenses, most of these immigrants have been left to their own devices. Working chiefly in low-wage manual labor or service positions, and settled largely in Athens and Thessaloniki, these "Russian Greeks" remain socially marginalized and are often economically exploited by unscrupulous employers. Despite these significant hardships, the problems stemming from the integration of ethnic Greeks into Greek society have been considerably less complicated than the problems confronting other immigrant groups.

Ethnic Greeks may constitute the largest group of legal immigrants in the country, but Albanians are the most prominent group of illegal migrants in Greece, probably forming a plurality of the overall immigrant (legal and illegal) population. Reliable estimates indicate that there are between 250,000 and 350,000 ethnic Albanians in Greece, most of them illegal economic immigrants and migrants. The collapse of the communist regime in Albania in the early 1990s triggered a flood of Albanian migrants who crossed the border into Greece in pursuit of economic opportunities. Most of this initial stream of destitute, desperate people found low-skilled service employment in Greece's urban areas, while much of the subsequent wave of Albanian movement into Greece has been characterized by migratory and seasonal patterns of employment related to the labor needs of Greece's agricultural and construction sectors. As a result, Albanians constantly cross the border into Greece illegally and are immediately deported by the Greek authorities, only to return to Greece as soon as they can again reach the border. This problem, although it continues into the present, reached its peak in 1993, when the Greek government reported that over 220,000 Albanian citizens were apprehended entering Greece illegally.

Never having experienced such an influx of foreign migrants, the Greek state was not prepared to cope with this unprecedented phenomenon. During most of the 1990s there was no coherent migration policy, as Greece was still considered to be a net exporter of population. Institutions such as support centers for the legal, social, and economic orientation of immigrants barely existed. Furthermore, illegal Albanian (and other) immigrants were excluded from aid by the public social service system, especially regarding the provision of housing, health care, and personal safety, which historically were provided by the Greek state only to Greek citizens and documented foreigners.

Albanians were prepared to assume the risks associated with illegal migration because of their dire economic plight. The legacy of the inefficient communist economic model, the breakdown of economic structures, the closure of 90 percent of Albania's factories during the early 1990s, and the chaotic revolts of 1990–1991 and 1997 were just a few of the many factors responsible for the exodus of hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers to Greece. The importance of economic migration for Albania is paramount because it functions as a kind of development aid through the export of labor and the import of capital. Remittances from Albanians abroad are an indispensable financial source for the development of Albania's domestic economy, especially as other sources such as export revenues and foreign investment have remained insignificant. Moreover, since 1991, the majority of Albanian families have depended on remittances for their survival. Since 1991, most of these payments have come from Greece, averaging annually 80–85 percent of the Albanian national total. In addition, technical knowledge and work experience obtained by Albanian migrants in Greece has been used to modernize the private sector as many of these workers have returned to Albania.

The employment of foreign workers in general, and Albanian workers in particular, has also had a significant impact on the Greek economy. One of the positive consequences, for the economy but not necessarily for workers, is that Albanians are employed with lower wages and without social security, thus reducing production costs and increasing the competitiveness of Greek exports. In addition, Albanian workers and their families help increase the private consumption of goods and services, thereby stimulating growth of domestic markets. Furthermore, undocumented workers form a readily available, flexible, and unorganized labor force that benefits countless small Greek enterprises, whose survival could be threatened without occasional, seasonal, and above all inexpensive employees. The majority of Albanians are employed as unskilled workers at building sites, as transient agricultural workers, and, in the case of most women, as household domestics.

Although Albanians, like most immigrants in Greece, exert a positive influence on the Greek GNP, some negative consequences have also been produced by the large and rapid influx of migrant labor. The skilled labor sector has been largely unaffected by these new conditions, but increases in unemployment among manual and unskilled Greek workers is directly linked to the growth of immigrant labor. In many cases, the low salaries paid to Albanian immigrants have pushed away Greek workers, especially those in the industrial and construction sectors. As a result, there has been a general decline in wages in these sectors, and the position of the working class has become weaker, as a consequence of the abundance of alternative and cheaper employees. In order to meet the costs associated with massive repatriations of illegal migrants and the editing of visas, Greek public spending is increasing while tax revenues are lost to Albanian workers, whose incomes are usually unreported. Finally, it is impossible to estimate the moral costs to Greek society associated with the exploitation of foreign workers, especially women and children.

Since 1991, both of Greece's conservative and socialist governments have focused on security as their primary concern in relation to the immigration question, especially regarding the country's Albanian migrants. Apart from the obvious security concerns that the routine violation of the Greek border with Albania poses, illegal Albanian immigration is linked, although much exaggerated in its scope by the Greek media, to Albanian crime cells that prey on undocumented immigrants and utilize the illegal flow of migrants to traffic in narcotics and exploited human beings. The failure of Greek authorities to deal effectively with Albanian organized crime networks, a problem confronting much of the western and southern Balkans, has contributed to the common public perception that criminality is rife within the Albanian immigrant community, thus promoting considerable mistrust and misunderstanding of Albanians in Greece. Greek feelings toward the Albanian immigrants are overwhelmingly negative. Although the 200,000 to 250,000 Arabs, Bulgarians, Filipinos, Kurds, Pakistanis, Poles, and Romanians making up the remainder of the immigrant population have not been integrated into the mainstream of Greek society, unlike the Albanians, these groups are not perceived as a threat to public security and hence have not encountered the kind of prejudice and negative stereotyping that characterizes popular views of Albanian migrants.

Greek public opinion is beginning to adjust to the growing realization that Greece has become a more heterogeneous society than it was before the 1990s. Xenophobic and even racist sentiments, although real in some quarters, are tempered by countervailing attitudes, which emphasize the need to extend legal status to immigrants, as well as the historic dynamism and resilience of Greek culture and identity often expressed through the historic assimilation of non-Greeks. Increasing economic interaction between Greeks and immigrants has also contributed to the erosion of group barriers, the growth of mutual familiarity, and declining prejudice. The Greek state, in 1999 and again in 2001, began the complex process of establishing a coherent immigration policy through new parliamentary legislation. Finally, despite many shortcomings in dealing with its immigrant question, Greek society has demonstrated a considerable capacity for tolerance and flexibility in accommodating itself to a new cultural landscape. There have been no efforts to endanger the security of immigrants, there is no anti-immigrant political movement in Greece, and there are no parties in the parliament that hold an anti-immigrant or anti-immigration stance, all phenomena that have been observed in Austria, France, Germany, and Italy, as well as in most of Greece's other EU partner states.

FOREIGN CHALLENGES: GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, THE EU, AND NATIONAL SECURITY

It is commonplace to argue that Greece and Turkey have been constant rivals. After Greece achieved independence from the Ottoman Empire in the 1830s, its diplomatic history in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was dominated by irredentist wars and rebellions against the declining empire. These conflicts led to the formation of Greece's borders and embedded the view that Greek and Turkish interests could only be antithetical. Nevertheless, the establishment of the nationalist Turkish republic in the early 1920s led to an interwar reconciliation and period of détente between the two countries.

Cordial relations, however, were disrupted by a massive pogrom against the Greek minority in Istanbul and the emergence of the Cyprus issue in the 1950s. The frustration of self-determination on Cyprus by the British colonial authorities, the establishment in 1960 of a nonviable state system for an independent Republic of Cyprus, and the consequent deterioration of relations among the Greek majority and Turkish minority communities on the island directly affected Greek-Turkish state relations. The process reached a critical threshold in 1974 when a botched nationalist coup instigated by the Greek junta against the Cypriot government was used as a pretext by Turkey to invade and occupy the northern part of the island.

Greece and Turkey came to the brink of war during the Cyprus crisis, and this tension had a spillover effect fueling disputes in the Aegean and beyond. The invasion of Cyprus, a fait accompli achieved with little international protest, was a watershed in Turkish foreign policy. For Ankara's military and diplomatic elites, the invasion, occupation, and partition of Cyprus established the lesson that war can accomplish foreign policy objectives and that the principles of international law should not act as a restraint on Turkish interests and actions. Thus encouraged by its experience in Cyprus, Turkey confronted Greece with a new set of contested issues, or revisionist demands, beginning in the 1970s. Ankara insisted that the international status quo regarding three issues in particular was unacceptable—control of air traffic over the Aegean, the allocation of operational responsibility for the Aegean and its airspace within the NATO framework, and, most important, the delimitation of the Aegean continental shelf, an issue that brought Greece and Turkey close to war in 1976 and 1987. Athens has viewed these demands as incremental steps aimed at the gradual dismantling of Greek sovereignty in the eastern Aegean, and has thus responded with proposals to have the growing disputes between Greece and Turkey resolved by the International Court of Justice. Turkey has consistently refused to accept the jurisprudence of any international mediation and, instead, has increased coercive pressure on Greece by inaugurating an armaments buildup and simultaneous concentration of armed forces along the border with Greece. Greece's response to the increasing military threat from Turkey has been to develop a deterrent through its own military buildup. At the same time, Greece has used diplomacy to safeguard its security.

Problems in Higher Education

Greek culture historically placed a high value on formal education. In the postwar period the public demand for education grew with the increasing modernization of Greek society, which since at least the nineteenth century has viewed education as the key to upward social mobility and status. The national educational system established shortly after Greece gained independence in the 1830s was the result of a combination of the contemporary French elementary school model, the Bavarian system of education, and the late-nineteenth-century German university system. Many elements of that original system have survived with very little change, especially in the sphere of higher education.

Greece's first modern university, known eventually as the National and Capodistrian University of Athens, was established in 1837. The University of Athens opened a new era in Greek education, producing the first modern indigenous Greek intelligentsia and professional class, as well as serving as a model for the development of other educational institutions in the other Balkan countries. At present there are nineteen Greek state universities, the largest being the University of Athens, with over 70,000 undergraduate and graduate students, followed by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the University of Crete, the University of Thrace, the University of Patras, the National Polytechnic University of Athens, the University of the Aegean, and the University of Macedonia.

Several private universities and colleges, all of foreign origin, also operate in Greece but are not recognized by the state, leaving their graduates with no official credentials in the public arena. The rationale for this constitutionally mandated policy is that education should not be commercialized, not even at the level of higher education, nor should the marketplace determine access to education. Nonetheless, the state system has not provided a sufficient supply of higher education in response to increased demand. The high social status and competitive advantage associated with a university education have produced an enormous increase in the demand for the relatively small number of student positions in the university system. During the 1990s, on average, annually there were 150,000 applicants for only 40,000 state university and technical college slots.

The intense demand for higher education has had several problematic results. Secondary students with sufficient means utilize the large network of supplementary private schools throughout the country to prepare themselves for university entrance examinations. This practice undermines the official principle of equal access to higher education by producing inequities of opportunity among university applicants. Many students who are not accepted into the Greek university system go abroad to study. Underscoring the impact of this situation, in the 1980s Greece had the highest ratio of foreign to domestic university enrollment in the world. Moreover, a significant number of these students remain abroad, establishing careers outside Greece, depriving their homeland of their expertise and creating a brain drain. Furthermore, because of their very limited funding, Greek universities offer few graduate programs, and faculty have little incentive to pursue advanced research. Finally, despite efforts initiated in the 1980s to make the administration of the country's universities more professional, university and departmental administration has actually become more politicized by reforms inspired more by the governing socialists' populist agenda than the university system's practical needs.

Membership in the EU, and earlier the EC, has served as Greece's chief asset in its relations with Turkey. Turkey's persistent violation of Greek sovereign rights and disregard for international law and norms had not, until fairly recently, attracted any significant international support for Greece's positions as other states defined their policy in the region on the basis of their own interests. In that environment Greece had to rely on its own resources and options against Turkey—thus its emphasis on the EU as an instrument for the protection of its national security and sovereignty. As Turkey's main strategic objective is integration into the European political, economic, and cultural architecture, its campaign to join the EU has become critically important and this has increased Greece's leverage in using its EU membership to exert counter pressure on Turkey.

Until the late 1990s, Greece exploited Turkey's ambitions for EU membership by conditioning its consent to the improvement of EU-Turkish relations on the modification of Turkey's revisionist policies in the Aegean and a resolution of the Cyprus problem. As Turkey proved unwilling to alter its policies, EU-Turkish relations suffered a stalemate, as any decisions that could improve EU-Turkish relations were blocked by Greece's EU member veto. Nonetheless, as a gesture of goodwill, and in exchange for a commitment from the other member states to discuss Cyprus's future EU membership application, Greece lifted its objections to Turkey's entry into the EU customs union agreement in

Turkish soldiers stand on a tank outside Kyrenia ten days after they launched their invasion of Cyprus, July 1974. (David Rubinger/Corbis)

March 1995. The Greek move, which satisfied an important demand of the Turkish government, elicited no positive response from Ankara. In fact, Greek-Turkish relations sharply deteriorated after the customs union agreement came into force at the beginning of 1996.

Having already threatened Greece with war in June 1995 if Athens were to exercise its legal right according to international law conventions to extend the country's territorial waters from 9.66 to 19.3 kilometers, Turkey renewed the threat of war by launching a provocative incident in January 1996. Executed during the first twenty-four hours of the administration of a new government in Greece, the Turkish action on the barren Greek islet of Imia ultimately led to Ankara's official claim to the islet as well as to several other islands in the Dodecanese complex and beyond, extending as far into Greece as the island of Gavdhos, south of Crete. The crisis was defused through American mediation, but a Turkish claim to actual land had now been added to the weighty list of Greek-Turkish problems. No longer able to ignore the seriousness of Greek-Turkish troubles, not only the United States but NATO too became involved in efforts to mediate between the alliance's two southeastern states, the organization proposing confidence-building measures to avoid future crises. The EU added its voice to the issue in July 1996 when its Council of Ministers issued a declaration stating that relations between Turkey and the EU should be guided by respect for international law, international agreements, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the EU member states.

Clearly an important factor governing Greek-Turkish relations is the perception that each side has of the other. Where the Aegean is concerned, Turkey believes that Greece is interested in transforming the area into a "Greek lake," while Greece believes that Turkey aspires to make inroads in the region at the expense of Greek sovereignty in the eastern Aegean islands. Furthermore, Turkey's political instability, its ongoing occupation of Cyprus, its poor human rights record, the systematic obliteration of its Greek minority, routine threats of war against multiple neighbor states, its blockade of Armenia, and Ankara's response to the Kurdish autonomy movement have made Greece suspicious of Turkish motives in the region. Finally, the tendency of the Western powers to view what Greece considers to be Turkish provocations as merely a dispute between two allies has been interpreted by Athens as Western tolerance of aggression. More important, given Turkey's enhanced strategic role in the region, most Greek political leaders believe that the United States has adopted a policy of appeasement vis-à-vis Ankara at the expense of the potential victim, Athens. In response, and on the whole, Greece's policy is centered on defending the territorial status quo, while Turkey appears committed to challenging certain legal aspects regulating Greek sovereignty and rights in the region.

Again, given these conditions, Greece has seen its membership in the EU as its chief asset in defending its sovereignty vis-à-vis Turkish revisionism. Adversely affecting Turkey's primary strategic goal of EU membership, in the EU Copenhagen summit of June 1993 the EU leaders agreed on a set of conditions to be met by all states aiming to accede to the European Union. These requirements, known as the Copenhagen criteria, included, among other things, the stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for and protection of minorities, as well as the existence of a functioning market economy and the ability to take on the aims of political, economic, and monetary union. Despite Turkey's failure to meet any of the Copenhagen criteria, Greece had to routinely use its veto power to block Turkey's request for official EU candidacy status during most of the 1990s. Greece's EU partners, although generally unenthusiastic about the prospects of Turkish membership, were also dissatisfied by the way Greece appeared to undermine EU official policies with respect to Turkey. Although Greece was effectively depriving Turkey of any closer relations with the EU through its consistent veto policy, this objective was being achieved at increasing political cost to Greece's image within the EU.

In 1996 Greece's newly elected prime minister, Costas Simitis, began a restructuring of domestic and eventually foreign policy aimed at rebuilding Greece's position within the EU. A pivotal part of the foreign policy restructuring necessarily involved policies toward Turkey. Toward that goal, in May 1999 Athens launched a dialogue initiative with Ankara on low-profile bilateral issues, such as environmental protection, tourism, and trade. The display of mutual goodwill at both the governmental and popular levels during the earthquakes that hit Turkey and Greece in August and September 1999, respectively, contributed to a dramatic reversal of hostile attitudes in the press and public opinion of both countries.

The growing rapprochement between Greece and Turkey had a positive influence on EU-Turkish relations. Ankara had suffered a severe setback at the EU Luxemburg summit of December 1997, when Turkey was omitted from the list of states awarded candidate status. In this instance, and again as Ankara resumed its effort to achieve candidate status, Greece was decreasingly hostile toward Turkey's EU membership process, while other states such as Germany and Sweden, which could no longer conveniently take advantage of Greece's veto and simultaneously express consternation with Athens, were revealed as staunch opponents of Turkey's candidacy. Nonetheless, with active support from Greece, the EU Helsinki summit of December 1999 extended official recognition to Turkey as a candidate state for accession to the EU. The Helsinki summit also established that before the start of EU accession negotiations, Turkey should settle its disputes with Greece or, alternatively, bring the disputed issues before the International Court of Justice, while substantial progress was the least to be expected for the Cyprus problem. In short, under the Simitis government, Greece was now using the EU as a more nuanced asset, offering Turkey a set of structured incentives in exchange for corresponding changes in Ankara's behavior instead of simply imposing punishment for its unflinching policies.

Greece's position toward the prospective accession of Turkey to the EU marked a critical turn in Greek diplomacy. In 1995 Greece had abandoned its veto policy against any improvement of EU-Turkish relations and conceded to the customs union between the EU and Turkey. This did not mean, however, that Greece would support the prospect of Turkey's membership in the EU. The latter was to happen only after the December 1999 Helsinki EU summit, when active support for Turkey's efforts toward EU membership became a key component of Greek foreign policy strategy. This policy came to its culmination during the EU Copenhagen summit of December 2002, when Turkey's compliance with the 1993 Copenhagen criteria was evaluated by the EU member states. Although Turkey failed to meet the established standards, Greece, along with Italy and Spain, argued that the EU should reconsider Turkey's progress in the implementation of the Copenhagen criteria within 2003, so that Turkey's accession negotiations could start in 2004, provided that compliance with the Copenhagen criteria was achieved. In response, the European Council decided to reconsider Turkey's progress in December 2004 and to not set a date for accession discussions.

Although Greece's proposal on dealing with Turkey's candidacy was not accepted by the Council, the fact that the state that had kept EU-Turkish relations frozen for more than a decade had emerged to lead the minority of EU member states that supported acceleration of Turkey's accession process was characteristic of the change in the Greek view of EU-Turkish relations and the role of the EU in Greek-Turkish relations. By February 2004, the Simitis government could claim that its policy of support for Turkey in the EU succeeded in creating the necessary inducements for Ankara to agree to finally support a UN-sponsored plan for the reunification of Cyprus, regardless of the plan's unresolved implementation questions or actual viability. Nonetheless, although Greece under Prime Minister Simitis played a decisive role in promoting Turkey's EU vocation, a significant gesture of reciprocity regarding the basic issues of Greek sovereignty and concerns for international law in the Aegean has yet to materialize in Ankara.

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CHRONOLOGY

3000 B.C.E.	Bronze Age culture replaces Neolithic culture on the Greek mainland, the Cyclades, and Crete.
2200 B.C.E.	Minoan Greek culture emerges in Crete.
1450 B.C.E.	Minoan society is destroyed by natural disaster.
1600–1150 B.C.E.	Mycenaean Greek civilization flourishes in the southern mainland. Mycenaean communities are destroyed by a wave of human and natural catastrophes (Homer's Troy destroyed in 1184).
1050 B.C.E.	An "invasion" of most of the mainland by Dorian Greek tribes begins.
	Dorian and Ionian Greek populations spread across the Aegean and Mediterranean to settle the western coast of Asia Minor and Cyprus.
1050–750 B.C.E.	A highly limited record of cultural activity characterizes this so-called Dark Age (776 traditional date for the first Olympic Games).
800–700 B.C.E.	City-states emerge throughout most of Greece.
700–500 B.C.E.	Greece's many polities are ruled by aristocratic elites during the so-called Archaic Period. In the sixth century many of these elites are overthrown and replaced by tyrannies, which in turn are overthrown and supplanted by oligarchies.
500–400 B.C.E.	The century known as the Classical Period produces Greek democracy and an unparalleled flood of intellectual and artistic creativity to form the foundation of what develops into "Western civilization," as well as a complex of foreign wars and city-state rivalries and conflicts.
490 B.C.E.	After conquering the Greeks of Asia Minor fifty years earlier, the Persians attack mainland Greece and are defeated by an Athenian force at the Battle of Marathon.
480 B.C.E.	The Persian Empire launches a massive invasion of mainland Greece, penetrating as far south as Athens. Greek forces led by Sparta slow the Persian advance, giving other Greek forces led by Athens time to consolidate and defeat the Persian navy at the Battle of Salamis and, a year later, the Persian army at Plataia.
478 B.C.E.	Athens forms the Delian League, an alliance of city-states, to pursue the war against the retreating Persians.
478–431 B.C.E.	Athens, subjugating its erstwhile allies, uses the Delian League to create an empire for itself in the Aegean. Led by Pericles, Athenian power and influence grows.
431 B.C.E.	Resentment against Athenian hegemony over other Greek states leads to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.
431–404 B.C.E.	The Peloponnesian War, ultimately involving most of the Greek world's city-states and kingdoms, ends with the defeat of Athens by its chief rival, Sparta.
404–371 B.C.E.	Sparta wields political and military domination over most of the Greek mainland.
371–338 B.C.E.	The city-state of Thebes defeats Sparta and establishes its own period of hegemony over Greece.
338–336 B.C.E.	Thebes and its allies are overpowered by Greece's northernmost state, the kingdom of Macedonia, which, as the Greeks' final hegemonic power, forcibly unites most of the Greek world under its leadership.
336–323 B.C.E.	Succeeding his father, Philip II, as king of Macedonia, Alexander the Great launches a Greek war of revenge against the Persian Empire, invading and conquering all of its vast territories throughout the Near East.
323–146 B.C.E.	Alexander the Great's successors establish several Greek dynastic states in the conquered lands of the former Persian Empire. Greek populations, the Greek language, and Greek culture spread into the Near East, creating the foundations for the emergence of a hybrid Hellenistic civilization, the cultural cauldron in which the emergence and spread of Christianity later takes place.

197–86 B.C.E.	The Romans defeat Macedonia and progressively annex all the remaining Greek states in Europe and Asia.
30–300 C.E.	The convergence of Greek philosophy and Jewish religious thought within the framework of a politically united Roman Mediterranean and a Greek-speaking East create the conditions for the development and expansion of Christianity.
324	The Roman emperor Constantine relocates the empire's capital from Rome and the Latin West to Byzantium, eventually known as Constantinople, and the predominantly Greek East, establishing the foundations for the transition of the Roman to the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire, a medieval Greek state.
325	Constantine, declaring Christianity the empire's official religion, presides over the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea, which formalizes Christian doctrine. This and subsequent councils define the theology and ecclesiology of Orthodox Christianity.
325–550	Christianity supplants the final vestiges of pagan tradition in Greece (Olympic Games are suppressed in 395; Athenian pagan philosophical schools are closed in 529).
550–750	The Byzantine Empire's control over most of the northern and western Balkans collapses as Slavic raids and settlement extend into central and southern Greece, displacing much of the Greek population from the interior and pushing it toward the coasts and the eastern part of the country.
800–900	Byzantium reasserts control over the Greek lands previously lost to the Slavs. Greek populations are resettled in these territories, while most of the Slavic tribes not destroyed are either pushed northward or gradually Hellenized. Cultural differences between Eastern and Western Christendom begin to take on an increasingly political dimension.
900–1025	The Byzantine Empire reaches the zenith of its power with the destruction and conquest of the Bulgars in the Balkans and the decisive defeat of the Arabs in the Near East.
1054	After centuries of growing tension and mutual suspicion, the expanding cultural and political gulf between Eastern and Western Christendom reaches a crisis with the formal ecclesiastical rupture between the See of Rome (the emergent Roman Catholic Church), on one hand, and the Sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem (the Orthodox Church), on the other hand.
1071	The Byzantine Empire suffers a major defeat at the Battle of Manzikert in eastern Anatolia, opening the interior of Asia Minor to invasion by the Seljuk Turks. This strategic turn begins the steady multicentury transformation of Asia Minor from an entirely Christian and Greek-populated center to a predominantly Muslim and Turkish region.
1080	The Normans, from their base in Italy, begin raiding the western territories of Byzantium. These raids escalate to a series of wars fought for Byzantine land and wealth that continue until the Fourth Crusade.
1185	Underscoring the serious threat posed to the Byzantine Greeks by the Catholic West, a Norman army sacks the great cultural and commercial center of Thessaloniki, Byzantium's second largest city.
1204	The Fourth Crusade sacks Constantinople, breaks up the Byzantine Empire, divides most of its territories and spoils, and subjects most of its population to the feudal exploitation of a series of petty Western occupation states. These actions end the possibility of ecclesiastical reconciliation or political cooperation between the Greeks and the West.
1204–1261	From their territorial bases in Asia Minor and the Balkans, Byzantine Greek successor states wage a war of liberation and reconquest against the Western occupation forces in and around Constantinople.
1261	The Greeks recover Constantinople and reestablish the Byzantine Empire, which still enjoys enormous prestige and influence but in its weakened state and reduced domain is no longer a major power.
1261–1453	Despite the ongoing depredations of the West, the continual loss of Byzantine territory to rival Balkan states, and the loss of virtually all of Byzantium's remaining lands to the expanding and powerful Ottoman Turks, late medieval Greek society experiences an incredible outburst of artistic, cultural, and intellectual creativity.
1453	After a desperate siege, on 29 May Constantinople falls to the Ottoman

	Turks, who make the city the capital of their expanding Islamic empire.
1453–1821	Under Ottoman rule, the Greeks are organized according to Islamic political principles and placed under the administrative authority of their religious leaders while simultaneously subject to the absolute authority of the sultan and his government.
1463–1479	The first Turko-Venetian war takes place, ravaging the population of southern Greece and the islands.
1499–1502/ 1537–1540	The second and third Turko-Venetian wars continue to devastate Greek populations on the mainland and the islands.
1566–1669	Greek populations are further reduced by Ottoman wars in the Aegean and Mediterranean that lead to the conquest of the Aegean Islands, Crete, and Cyprus.
1684–1715	The Venetians occupy the Peloponnesus and raid Central Greece (the Parthenon, largely intact since antiquity, is seriously damaged by Venetian cannon during a siege of the Athens Acropolis in 1687).
1774	The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji ends the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774 and gives Russia considerable concessions in the Ottoman Empire, which fuel early Greek nationalist aspirations for freedom.
1774–1821	The Greek commercial diaspora throughout Europe begins to shape the intellectual foundations for a Greek nationalist revival.
1814	The secret nationalist revolutionary organization Philike Hetairia (Friendly Society) is established by Greek nationalists in Odessa with the aim of overthrowing the Ottoman Empire and liberating the Greeks.
1821	The Greek War of Independence against Ottoman rule breaks out.
1822	The first constitution for an independent Greece, a liberal and democratic document, is drafted by the revolution's leaders.
1827	The unplanned, spontaneous battle of Navarino sees the destruction of the Ottoman fleet at the hands of a combined British, French, and Russian fleet, producing Great Power support for Greek independence and a Russian invasion of the Ottoman Balkans.
1830	Britain, France, and Russia recognize the independence of Greece under the London Protocol (3 February), which also establishes the three Great Powers as protecting states over Greece.
1832	The Treaty of Constantinople (21 July) between Britain, France, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire formally establishes Greece's boundaries.
1833	Prince Otto of Bavaria arrives in Greece to become the independent country's monarch.
1834	Relocating it from Nafplion, Athens becomes Greece's capital.
1843	In a bloodless revolt, King Otto is forced by the troops of the Athens garrison and a popular demonstration by the capital's citizens to grant a constitution.
1844	Otto officially accepts the new constitution, which defines the political system as a constitutional monarchy.
1853–1857	Popular Greek support for Russia against the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War leads to a blockade and eventual occupation of Piraeus by British and French troops, enforcing strict neutrality on Greece.
1862	Growing dissatisfaction with Otto leads to an uprising in Athens and Nafplion against his rule, and produces his abdication.
1863	Prince George of Denmark becomes "King of the Hellenes."
1864	Britain cedes the Ionian Islands to Greece through the Treaty of London (29 March). The new constitution defines the political system as a "crowned democracy."
1866–1869	An uprising in Crete fails to liberate the island from Ottoman rule.
1870	The Ottoman sultan recognizes the autonomy of the Bulgarian Exarchate Church, which inspires a Bulgarian nationalist reaction against Greek cultural and ecclesiastical dominance, as well as ethnic presence, in Macedonia.
1878	According to one of the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (13 July), Britain occupies and assumes administration of Cyprus, which officially remains part of the Ottoman Empire.
1881	As an addendum act to the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, which established Romanian and Serbian independence, along with an autonomous Bulgaria's borders, Britain forces the Ottoman Empire to cede most of the province of Thessaly and the region of Arta to Greece.
1883–1893	The reformer Charilaos Trikoupis and the expansionist Theodoros Deliyannis alternate in power during this decade, marking the heyday of the two-party system and establishing a dynamic of political rivalry that will be repeated by

	other politicians to more divisive results in the twentieth century.
1896	Cretan rebellion against Ottoman rule.
1897	Set into motion by the rebellion in Crete, a Greco-Turkish war breaks out. The Greeks are quickly defeated and Athens is forced to surrender some strategic border territories in Thessaly.
1893–1908	Local Greek armed bands, some supported by Greek officers, organize to counter the Bulgarians' guerrilla forces operating in Ottoman Macedonia. Both sides fight each other for the liberation and future control of Macedonian territory.
1909	Frustrated by the lack of effective political leadership in Athens, a group of officers organizes a Military League and coup that force the government to draft reforms.
1910	The liberal nationalist Cretan Eleutherios Venizelos, the Military League's political adviser, wins an overwhelming popular mandate in general elections and launches extensive reforms.
1911	Italy attacks the Ottoman Empire in Libya and occupies the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean.
1912	Venizelos and his Liberal Party enjoy a landslide election victory. Greece and its allies, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia, defeat the Ottoman Empire and push its army to the outskirts of Constantinople in the First Balkan War.
1913	Dissatisfied with its territorial gains in Macedonia, Bulgaria attacks its former allies, Greece and Serbia, only to be defeated by them, Romania, and the Ottoman Empire in the Second Balkan War. Greece doubles its territory with the acquisition of the Aegean Islands, Crete, most of Epirus, and southern Macedonia in the Treaty of London (30 May) and the Peace of Bucharest (10 August).
1914	World War I begins, Britain declares war on the Ottoman Empire, an ally of the Central Powers, and annexes Cyprus.
1915	Prime Minister Venizelos and King Constantine clash over Greek foreign policy in response to the outbreak of World War I. Venizelos advocates a Greek alliance with the Entente Powers (the Allies), while Constantine remains committed to neutrality. Bulgaria joins the Central Powers. Venizelos resigns under pressure from the king.
1916	A national schism develops as Greece is divided between north and south with a revolutionary government under Venizelos backed by the Allies in Thessaloniki and the official government in Athens appointed by Constantine.
1917	Under Allied pressure, Constantine abdicates and is succeeded by his second son, Alexander. Venizelos reestablishes his government in Athens and Greece severs relations with the Central Powers who declare war on Greece.
1918	The Greek army, alongside other Allied forces, scores major successes on the Macedonian front, defeating the Bulgarian army and forcing German forces to retreat. Bulgaria and Turkey sign armistices.
1919	Venizelos takes his place among the victors of World War I and puts forward Greece's territorial claims against Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire at the Paris peace conference. At the behest of Britain and France, Greek forces land in Smyrna. The Treaty of Neuilly (27 November) requires Bulgaria to transfer Western Thrace to Greece. Mustafa Kemal declares his independence from the Ottoman sultan and establishes a Turkish nationalist movement and army in Anatolia.
1920	Under the Treaty of Sevres (10 August) Greece acquires Eastern Thrace, the rest of the Aegean Islands, and a mandate to administer Smyrna and its hinterland in Asia Minor, pending a local plebiscite to determine the area's future status. With Allied backing, Venizelos orders the Greek army to advance from Smyrna to put down growing Turkish nationalist resistance and forcibly impose the terms of the Sevres Treaty. King Alexander dies prematurely. Venizelos is defeated in the ensuing elections, and the royalists return to power and restore Constantine to the throne.
1921	The Greek army's offensive against Kemal's nationalist forces reaches the outskirts of Ankara but is blocked from further advance. The Allies, abandoning Greece, declare a policy of strict neutrality.
1922	The Turks launch a massive offensive, routing the Greek army in Asia Minor and sacking Smyrna. Constantine abdicates in favor of his eldest son, George, after a military coup against the royalist government.
1923	The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July) fixes the boundaries between Greece and Turkey and imposes an exchange of

	populations. Almost 1.5 million destitute ethnic Greek refugees arrive in Greece, a country of barely 5 million people. Venizelos's Liberal Party wins almost all the seats in parliament after the royalists abstain from the national elections.
1924	Venizelos accepts the premiership and Greece is declared a republic.
1924–1926	The republic is destabilized by a series of pro-royalist and pro-Venizelist military coups.
1926–1928	In order to curb instability, an all-party government takes office.
1928–1932	Venizelos returns to power and initiates a Greek-Turkish diplomatic rapprochement.
1932–1936	Renewed rivalry between liberals and royalists erodes the republic's stability.
1935	The failure of an antiroyalist coup leads to the restoration of King George.
1936	Greece's leading senior politicians, including Venizelos, die in quick succession. King George suspends the constitution and enables retired General Ioannis Metaxas to assume dictatorial powers.
1936–1940	Metaxas establishes a nationalist authoritarian regime but enjoys little popular support.
1940	Greek resistance to the thwarted Italian invasion from Albania results in the first Allied victories in Europe during World War II.
1941	German forces invade and overrun Greece. A Greek government in exile is established in Egypt.
1941–1944	Greece is occupied by German, Italian, and Bulgarian forces. Armed resistance obliges the Germans to maintain a large number of forces in Greece. Internal strife and political rivalry between Communist-dominated and nationalist resistance groups erupts into a short-lived civil war.
1944	Greece is liberated but an armed rebellion of the Communist-dominated resistance leads to intense fighting in Athens and deepening political polarization.
1946–1949	A large-scale civil war is fought between the Communists' insurgent army and the national government and its armed forces.
1947	In accordance with the Treaty of Paris (10 February) Italy cedes the Dodecanese Islands to Greece. Under the Truman Doctrine, the United States grants massive aid to Greece.
1952	Greece becomes a member of NATO, and a reconstruction program of the war-ravaged country is launched with significant aid from the United States.
1955	A massive state-sponsored pogrom against the Greek community of Istanbul takes place as Turkish nationalists demand the annexation of Cyprus by Ankara.
1956	Elections are won by the newly formed conservative party, National Radical Union, led by Constantine Karamanlis. British colonial forces suppress the Greek Cypriots' growing struggle for self-determination, expressed through demands for union with Greece.
1959	Finalizing a British compromise involving Greece and Turkey, Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders, the former under British pressure, sign the London agreement on the independence of Cyprus.
1960	Cyprus, albeit saddled with a nonviable constitution and political system, becomes an independent republic with Archbishop Makarios as president.
1963	Karamanlis and the conservatives lose the national elections to George Papandreou, leader of the Center Union, a party formed by the coalition of all of Greece's center factions. Papandreou, however, refuses to form a coalition government with the political left and resigns. As the state system begins to fail, violence breaks out between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus.
1964	In new elections the Center Union wins an absolute majority. The Turkish air force bombs Cyprus after a series of violent incidents between the Greek and Turkish communities.
1965	King Constantine II, who came to the throne a year earlier following the death of his father, King Paul, clashes with Papandreou over ministerial appointments, leading Papandreou to resign in protest and demand new elections.
1965–1967	Political conditions deteriorate as the monarchy interjects itself in parliamentary affairs and tensions grow across party lines.
1967	A junta of colonels stages a coup against the civilian government and establishes a military dictatorship. King Constantine flees Greece after an abortive effort to oust the colonels.
1973	Units of the Greek navy launch an abortive coup against the military dictatorship.

1974	Turkey invades and occupies northern Cyprus following a short-lived coup against Makarios instigated by the dictatorship in Athens. On the heels of its disaster in Cyprus, the junta collapses. Democracy is restored and Karamanlis returns from self-exile in France to lead his New Democracy Party and to be elected prime minister. The monarchy is abolished and Greece becomes a republic after a national referendum.
1975–1976	Following the entrenchment of the Turkish occupation in Cyprus, Greek-Turkish relations are further strained by a series of Turkish provocations against Greek sovereignty in the Aegean.
1979	Karamanlis signs a Treaty of Accession (28 May) to the European Community (EC) with the nine EC member states.
1981	Greece officially joins the EC. The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), led by Andreas Papandreou, the son of George Papandreou, wins the national elections. The new socialist government launches a wave of populist reforms.
1985	Papandreou and PASOK retain power following victorious parliamentary elections.
1987	Greek-Turkish relations face a crisis over renewed disputes in the Aegean.
1988	Papandreou and Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal meet in Davos, Switzerland, to defuse tension between their two countries.
1989	A deadlocked election leads to the formation of a short-term coalition government made up of the conservative New Democracy Party and the Communist Party. Papandreou faces serious financial corruption charges. Subsequent to inconclusive elections, an all-party caretaker government is formed.
1990	New Democracy, under Constantine Mitsotakis, wins the national election. Mitsotakis's government introduces an economic austerity program to overcome economic malaise.
1992	The issue of diplomatic recognition of the newly independent Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) dominates Greek foreign policy under the Mitsotakis government. General strikes over privatization and social security reforms paralyze the economy. Mitsotakis dismisses his entire cabinet after disagreements over economic policy and the Macedonian issue. Andreas Papandreou is acquitted of corruption charges.
1993	Greece accepts international arbitration to resolve state name and other disputes with FYROM, the name under which the country is admitted into the UN. Mitsotakis government falls with the defection of some New Democracy Party members. PASOK is voted back into office and Papandreou again becomes prime minister.
1994	In reaction to the FYROM policy of diplomatic intransigence, Papandreou imposes a nominal trade embargo. Although this assertive policy backfires, creating significant international antipathy for Greece, it succeeds in forcing Skopje to negotiate with Athens.
1995	Greece and FYROM resolve several disputes and agree to begin normalization of relations. Turkey threatens Greece with war over sovereignty issues in the Aegean.
1996	Failing in health, Papandreou resigns and is replaced by Costas Simitis. Greece and Turkey come close to war over disputed islets in the Aegean. Simitis and PASOK win national elections.
1997	The Simitis government pursues decisively its convergence policy, ensuring that Greece will meet criteria to qualify to participate in the EU Economic and Monetary Union.
1998	Greece's relations with its Balkan neighbors continue to improve while Greek-Turkish relations reach a new low amid tensions over Cyprus, the Aegean, and Greek complicity in the international passage of the anti-Turkish Kurdish independence movement's leader, Abdullah Ocalan.
1999	Although Greece does not take part in military operations against Yugoslavia, the Simitis government, facing strong public opposition, maintains solidarity with its NATO partners. Greece becomes the strategic linchpin for the deployment and supply of American and other forces into Kosovo. Greece and FYROM sign a series of important cooperation agreements.
2000	Simitis and PASOK remain in power after a narrow election victory.
2001	Having satisfied all criteria, Greece officially joins the Economic and Monetary Union of the EU.
2004	PASOK, now led by George Papandreou, the American-born son of

	the party's founder, Andreas Papandreou, suffers a major defeat in national elections. PASOK, which dominated the Greek political system more or less since 1981, is succeeded by the conservative New Democracy Party. Costas Karamanlis, the nephew of New Democracy's founder, Constantine Karamanlis, becomes Greece's new prime minister.
2004	Olympic games are once again held in Athens.

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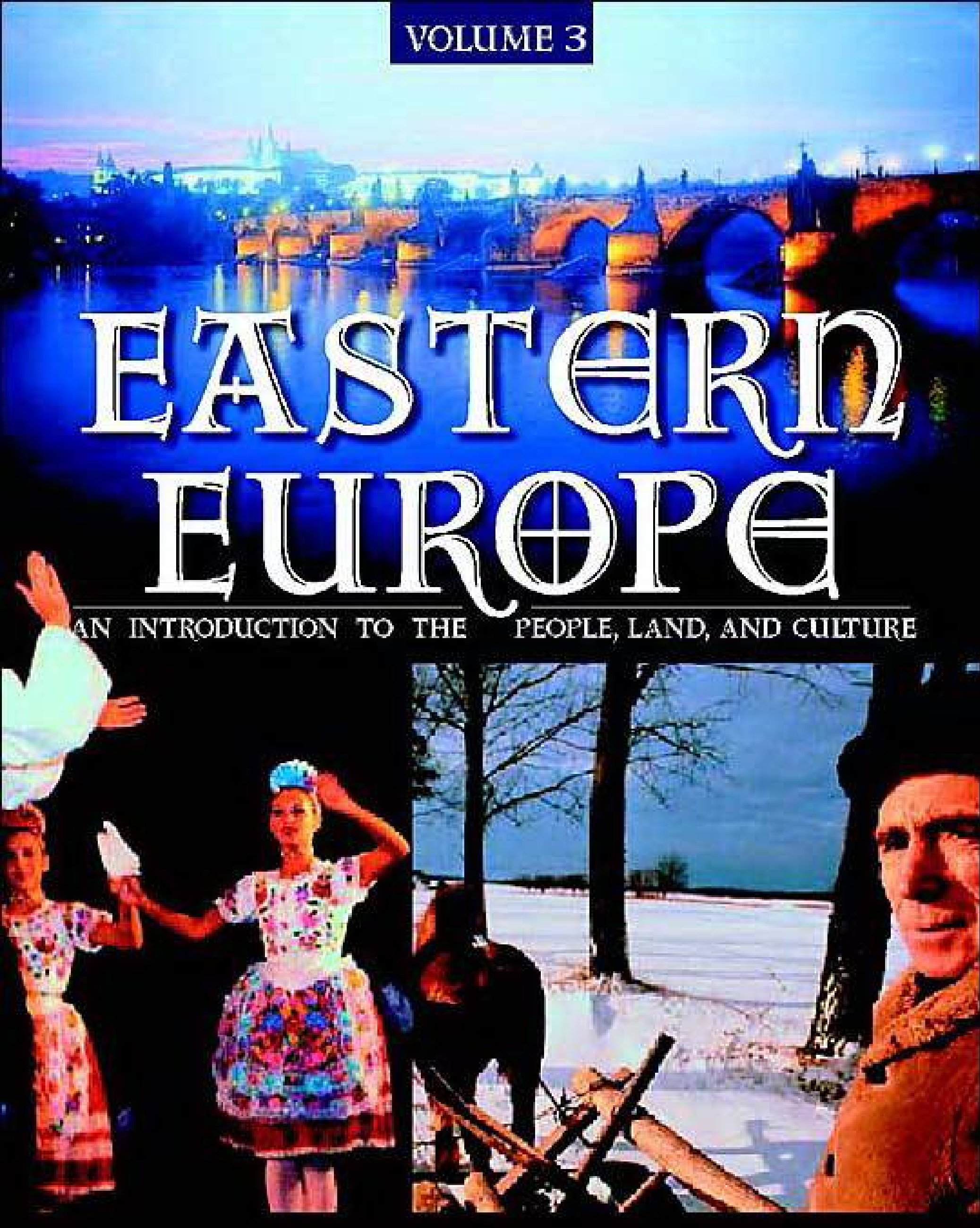

EASTERN EUROPE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PEOPLE, LAND, AND CULTURE

RICHARD FRUCHT

EASTERN EUROPE

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An Introduction to the People, Lands, and Culture

VOLUME 3

EDITED BY RICHARD FRUCHT

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PREFACE

In *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999) and *Longitudes and Attitudes* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2002), the award-winning reporter for the *New York Times* Thomas L. Friedman observed that the world has made a remarkable transition during the past quarter century from division to integration. What was once a world of separation, symbolized by the Cold War and "the Wall," evolved, especially with the collapse of the Soviet Union, into a world of globalization and global interconnectedness, symbolized by "the Net." That new reality has led to remarkable changes. Moreover, it is not merely a passing trend; it is a reality that affects every facet of human existence.

Regrettably, however, not everyone has become part of what amounts to a revolution; in some cases, an antimodernism has caused a lag in the developments of the critical trends of democratization and economic change. That gap, epitomized by the difference between the world of the Lexus and that of the olive tree, forms the core of Friedman's analysis of the Middle East, for example. As perceptive as he is of this clash in that region, in many ways Friedman's observations regarding the necessity of seeing the world in a more global and integrated manner are prophetic for many in the West as well. Although Friedman's emphasis is on an antimodernism that creates a gap between the world of the olive tree and the world of the Lexus, preventing interconnectedness from being fully realized, there are other barriers, more subtle perhaps, but no less real, that create gaps in the knowledge of so many areas of the world with which we are so closely linked.

Certainly in the United States, knowledge of other parts of the world is at times regrettably and, some might argue, even dangerously lacking. The events of September 2001 and the actions of a handful of al-Qaeda fanatics are but one example of an inattention to the realities of the post–Cold War world. Despite the fact that the organization of Osama Bin-Laden had long been a sworn enemy of the United States (and others) and his followers had already launched attacks on targets around the globe (including an earlier attempt on New York's World Trade Center), many, if not most, Americans knew very little (if anything) about al-Qaeda, its motives, or its objectives. What is troubling about that limited knowledge is the simple fact that if an organization with such hostile designs on those it opposed could be so overlooked or ignored, what does that say about knowledge of other momentous movements that are not so overtly hostile? In a world that is increasingly global and integrated, such a parochialism is a luxury that one cannot afford.

Although educators have at times been unduly criticized for problems and deficiencies that may be beyond their control, it is legitimate to argue that there are occasions when teaching fails to keep pace with new realities. Language training, for example, hasn't changed much in the United States for decades, even though one can argue that languages critical to the future of commerce and society, such as Japanese, Chinese, or Arabic, are less often taught than other "traditional" languages. Thus the force of tradition outweighs new realities and needs. Such myopia is born out of a curricular process that almost views change as an enemy. Similarly, "Western Civilization" courses, on both the high school and college level, for the most part remain rooted in English and French history, a tunnel-vision approach that not only avoids the developments of globalization or even a global outlook, but also ignores key changes in other parts of Europe as well. Provincialism in a rapidly changing world should only be a style of design or furniture; it cannot afford to be an outlook. In a world of rapid change, curriculum cannot afford to be stagnant.

Such a curriculum, however, especially on the high school level, is often the inevitable by-product of the materials available. When I was asked to direct the Public Education Project for the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in the early 1990s, I had the opportunity to review countless textbooks, and the regional imbalance (overwhelmingly Eurocentric in presentation, with a continued focus on England and France) present in these books was such that it could lead to a global shortsightedness on the part of students. Despite the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the books usually contained more on obscure French kings that on Kosovo. Educators recognized that, and from their input it was clear that they needed, more than anything else, resources to provide background material so that they could bring to their students some knowledge of changes that only a few years earlier had seemed unimaginable.

This need for general resource works led to the publication of *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the Fall of Communism* (Garland, 2000). Its goal was to provide information on the rich histories of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The reception the book received was gratifying, and it has led to this work, which is designed to act in tandem with the information in the *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe* to offer the general reader a broad-based overview of the entire region running from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. In addition, this

book expands the coverage to other areas in the region not addressed in the encyclopedia.

The three volumes of this work cover three groups of countries, each marked by geographical proximity and a general commonality in historical development. The first volume covers the northern tier of states, including Poland and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. The second volume looks at lands that were once part of the Habsburg Empire: Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia. The third volume examines the Balkan states of Serbia and Montenegro, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Greece, lands all once dominated by the Ottoman Empire. Each chapter looks at a single country in terms of its geography and people, history, political development, economy, and culture, as well as the challenges it now faces; each also contains short vignettes that bring out the uniqueness of each country specifically and of the area in general. This structure will allow the reader not only to look at the rich developments in each individual nation, but also to compare those developments to others in the region.

As technology makes the world smaller, and as globalization brings humankind closer together, it is critical that regions once overlooked be not only seen but viewed in a different light. The nations of East Central and Southeastern Europe, that is, "Eastern" Europe, are increasingly a vital part of a new Europe and a new world. What during the Cold War seemed incomprehensible to many, namely, the collapse of totalitarianism and the rise of democracy in these countries, is now a reality all should cherish and help nurture; first, though, it has to be understood. It is the hope that this series may bring that understanding to the general reader.

Putting together this work would have been impossible without the scholarship, dedication, professionalism, and patience of the authors. The words are theirs, but the gratitude is all mine. In addition, I would like to thank a number of students and staff at Northwest Missouri State University who helped with the mountain of work (often computer-related) that a project of this size entails. Chief among them is Patricia Headley, the department secretary, who was not only my computer guru but also someone whose consistent good cheer always kept me going. I would also like to thank Laura Pearl, a talented graduate student in English who filled the role of the "general reader" by pointing out what might make sense to a historian but would not make sense to someone without some background in the region. Other students, including Precious Sanders, Jeff Easton, Mitchell Kline, and Krista Kupfer, provided the legwork that is essential to all such projects. And finally, I would like to thank the staff at ABC-CLIO, especially Alicia Merritt, for keeping faith in the project even when delivery of the manuscript did not match initial projections; Anna Kaltenbach, the production editor, for navigating the manuscript through the various stages; the copy editors, Silvine Farnell and Chrisona Schmidt, for their thoughtful and often painstaking work; Bill Nelson, the cartographer; and the photo editor, Giulia Rossi, for creating such a diverse yet balanced presentation.

And finally there are Sue, my wife, and Kristin, my daughter. Words can never express how important they are, but they know.

Richard Frucht
September 2004

INTRODUCTION

The use of the term "Eastern Europe" to describe the geographical region covered here is standard, but it is nevertheless something of a misnomer. The problem is that it not only makes a geographical distinction between this area and "Western Europe"; it also implies a distinction in development, one that ignores the similarities between Western and Eastern Europe and instead separates the continent into two distinct entities. It even suggests that Eastern Europe is a monolithic entity, failing to distinguish the states of the Balkans from those of the Baltic region. In short, it is an artificial construct that provides a simplistic division in a continent that is far more diverse, yet at the same time more closely linked together, than such a division implies.

Western Europe evokes images of Big Ben and Parliament in London, the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre in Paris, the Coliseum and the Vatican in Rome, the bulls of Pamplona in Spain. Eastern Europe on the other hand brings to mind little more than the "Iron Curtain," war in Kosovo, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, orphanages in Romania, and the gray, bleak images of the Cold War and the Soviet Bloc. Just as colors convey certain connotations to people, so too do the concepts of "Western" and "Eastern" Europe convey very different impressions and mental images. The former is viewed as enlightened, cultured, and progressive; the latter is seen as dark, uncivilized, and static. Western Europe is democratic; Eastern Europe is backward and totalitarian, plagued by the kind of lack of fundamental humanity that leads inevitably to the horrors of Srebrenica.

Some of these stereotypes are not without some degree of justification. Foreign domination—whether German, Habsburg, Ottoman, or Russian (later Soviet)—has left parts of the region in an arrested state of development. All the peoples of the region were for much of the last half-millennium the focus and subjects of others rather than masters of their own destinies. Accordingly, trends found in more favored areas were either delayed or stunted. Albanian nationalism, for example, did not take root until a century after the French Revolution. The economic trends of the West as well as the post-1945 democracy movements (notably capitalism and democracy) are still in their infancy.

But labels are often superficial, and they can blind individuals to reality. Certainly, Tirana would never be confused with Paris. Estonia is not England. At the same time, the Polish-Lithuanian state was at its height the largest empire in Europe. Prague stuns visitors with its beauty no less than Paris; in fact, many remark that Prague is their favorite city in Europe. Budapest strikes people in the same way that Vienna does. The Danube may not be blue, but it does run through four European capitals, not just Vienna (Bratislava, Budapest, and Belgrade being the other three). The painted monasteries in Romania are no less intriguing in their design and use of color than some of the grandiose cathedrals in "the West." The Bulgarian Women's Chorus produces a sound no less stunning than that of the Vienna Boys' Choir. In short, to judge by labels and stereotypes in the end produces little more than myopia.

To dismiss Eastern Europe as backward (or worse, barbaric) is to forget that many of the Jews of Europe were saved during the Inquisition by emigrating to Poland or the lands of the Ottoman Empire. To cite the Magna Carta as the foundation of democracy in England, even though in reality it meant little more than protection for the rights of the nobility, is to ignore the fact that first written constitution in Europe was not found in the "West" but rather in the "East" (Poland). And although backwardness and even barbarity certainly can be found in the recent past in the region, no country in Europe is immune from a past that most would rather forget (the Crusades, the Inquisition, religious wars, the gas chambers of World War II, to name but a few). Myths are comfortable, but they can also be destructive. They can ennoble a people to be sure, but they can also blind them to reality and lead to a lack of understanding.

Eastern Europe is not exotic, and an understanding of it is not an exercise in esoterica. Rather the region has been and will continue to be an integral part of Europe. In one sense Europe became a distinct entity when Christianity, the cultural unifier, spread through the last outposts of the continent. In another sense, it has again become a unified continent with the demise of the last great empire that held sway over so many.

When former president Ronald Reagan passed away in June 2004, the media repeatedly recalled perhaps his most memorable line: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall," a remark made in 1984 as the American president stood in front of the Berlin Wall. In this case the American leader was referring to the concrete and barbed wire barrier behind him erected in the 1960s by the former Soviet Union to seal off its empire from the West. Yet, in many respects, the modern history of Eastern Europe was one of a series of walls, some physical (as in the case of the Iron Curtain), others geographical (all of the nations in the region were under the domination of regional great powers), and, one could argue, even psychological (the at times destructive influence of nationalism that created disruption and violence and has been

a plague in the lands of the former Yugoslavia on numerous occasions in the past century). These walls have often determined not only the fate of the nations of the region but the lives of the inhabitants as well.

The past is the DNA that tells us who we are and who we can be. It is the owners' manual for every country and every people. Without that past there would be no nation and no nationalism. It is that past that provides the markers and lessons for nations and peoples. It gives direction to the present. It provides a bedrock upon which we build our societies. Whether it leads to myths that embody virtues or myths that cover up what we don't wish to acknowledge, it is the shadow that we can never lose. Thus, when each of the nations of East Central and Southeastern Europe was reborn in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries (in some cases twice reborn), the past was the compass directing them to the future.

Nations are a modern concept, but peoples are not. Poland, for example, once a great and influential European state in the Middle Ages, was partitioned in the late eighteenth century, only to rise again, like a phoenix, in 1918. And even when it again fell prey to the domination of outside influences following World War II, it was the people, embodied in Solidarity, the workers' union, who toppled the communist regime. Despite the fact that at one time or another all of the peoples and nations addressed in these volumes were under the rule or direction of a neighboring great power, the force of nationalism never abated.

Nothing is more powerful than an idea. It can inspire, unify, give direction and purpose; it can almost take on a life of its own, even though it may lie dormant for centuries. In his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind), the eighteenth-century German philosopher Johann Herder captured the essence of nationalism in his analysis of the *Volk* (the people). Herder emphasized that a spirit of the nation (which Georg Hegel, the nineteenth-century German philosopher most noted for his development of the concept of the dialectic of history, later termed the *Volkgeist,* or "spirit of the people") existed that transcended politics. From the point of view of Herder and the other German idealist philosophers, peoples developed distinct characteristics based upon time and place (reflecting the *Zeitgeist,* the "spirit of the time"). Societies were therefore organic, and thus each had to be viewed in terms of its own culture and development. Accordingly, each culture not only was distinct but should recognize the distinctiveness of others, as characteristics of one culture would not necessarily be found in another. To ignore that uniqueness, which gives to each Volk a sense of nobility, would be to ignore reality.

For the peoples of Eastern Europe, language, culture, and a shared past (even if that past was mythologized, or in some cases even fabricated), exactly that spirit of the Volk that Herder, Hegel, and others saw as the essence of society, proved to be more powerful and more lasting than any occupying army or dynastic overlordship. And when modern nationalism spread throughout Europe and for that matter the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, culture became the genesis of national revivals.

For centuries, Eastern Europe served as a crossroads, both in terms of trade and in the migrations (and in some cases invasions) of peoples. The former brought prosperity to some parts of the region, notably the northern and central parts of the belt between the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, while the latter left many areas a mosaic of peoples, who in the age of nationalism came to struggle as much with each other for national dominance as they did with their neighbors who dominated them politically. As the great medieval states in the region, from the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dušan to the First and Second Bulgarian Empires, to the Hungarian and Polish-Lithuanian states, fell to stronger neighbors or to internal difficulties, no peoples were left untouched by outsiders. Greece may have been able to remain outside the Soviet orbit in the 1940s, but for centuries it was a key possession of the Ottoman Empire. Poland may have been the largest state of its time, but it fell prey to its avaricious neighbors, the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians. Yet, despite centuries of occupation, in each case the Volk remained.

One of the dominant elements in modernization has been the establishment of modern nations. While the rise of the modern nation-state was late arriving in Eastern Europe, and some in Eastern Europe had failed to experience in the same manner some of the movements, such as the Renaissance or the rise of capitalism, that shaped Western Europe, it was no less affected by the rise of modern nationalism than its Western neighbors. Despite the divergent and, in some cases, the retarded development of the region in regard to many of the trends in the West, the nations of Eastern Europe in the early twenty-first century are again independent members of a suddenly larger Europe.

The story of Eastern Europe, while often written or at least directed by outsiders, is more than a mere tale of struggle. It is also a story of enormous human complexity, one of great achievement as well as great sorrow, one in which the spirit of the Volk has triumphed (even though, admittedly, it has at times, as in the former Yugoslavia, failed to respect the uniqueness of other peoples and cultures). It is a rich story, which will continue to unfold as Eastern Europe becomes more and more an integral part of Europe as a whole (a fact evident in the expansion of the European Union and NATO into areas of the former Soviet Empire). And in order to understand the story of that whole, one must begin with the parts.

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suggestions of Gregory X. Ference of Salisbury University, Lenka Kocková and Pavel Kocek (on several aspects of Czech culture and history), Alex Švamberk (on Czech popular music), and Ivan Lalák (on modern architecture).

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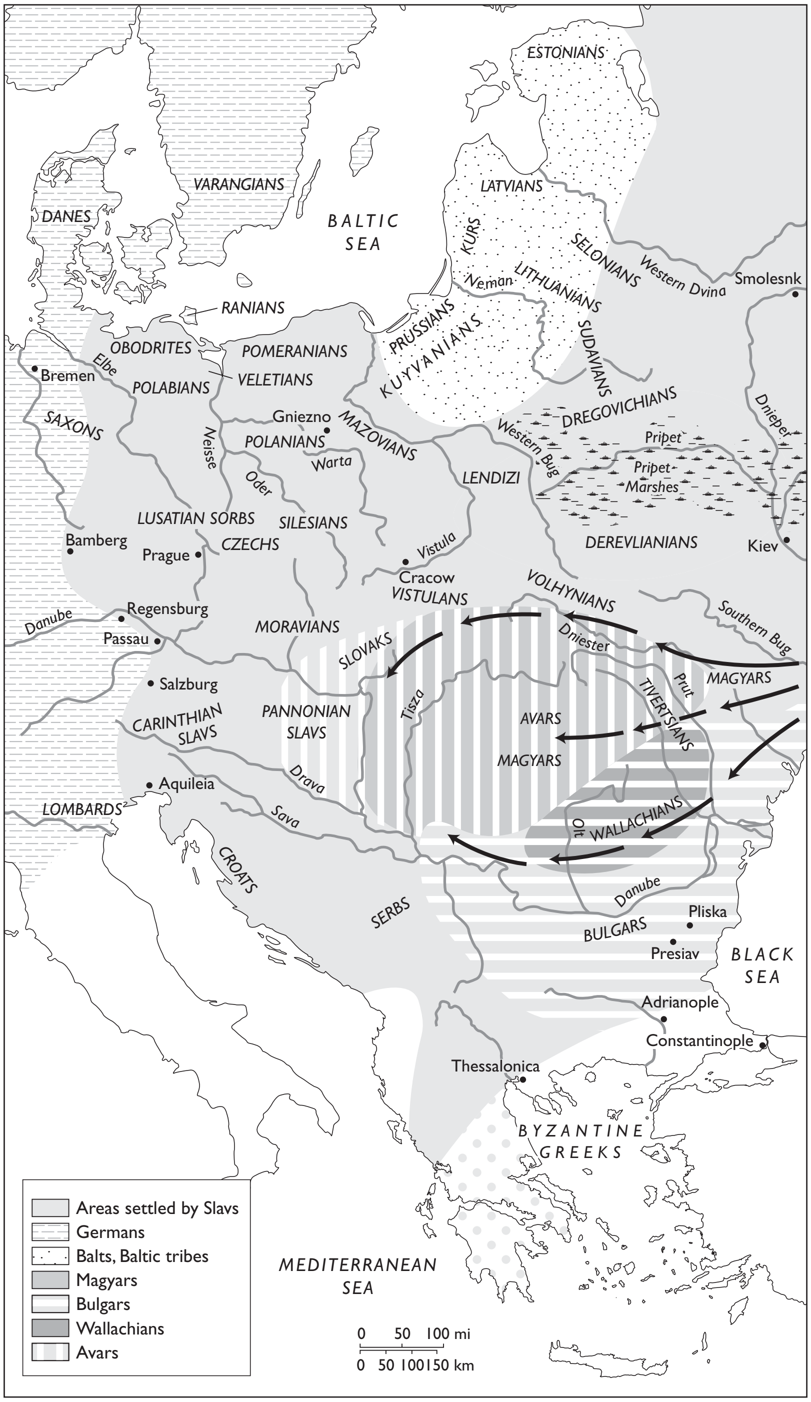
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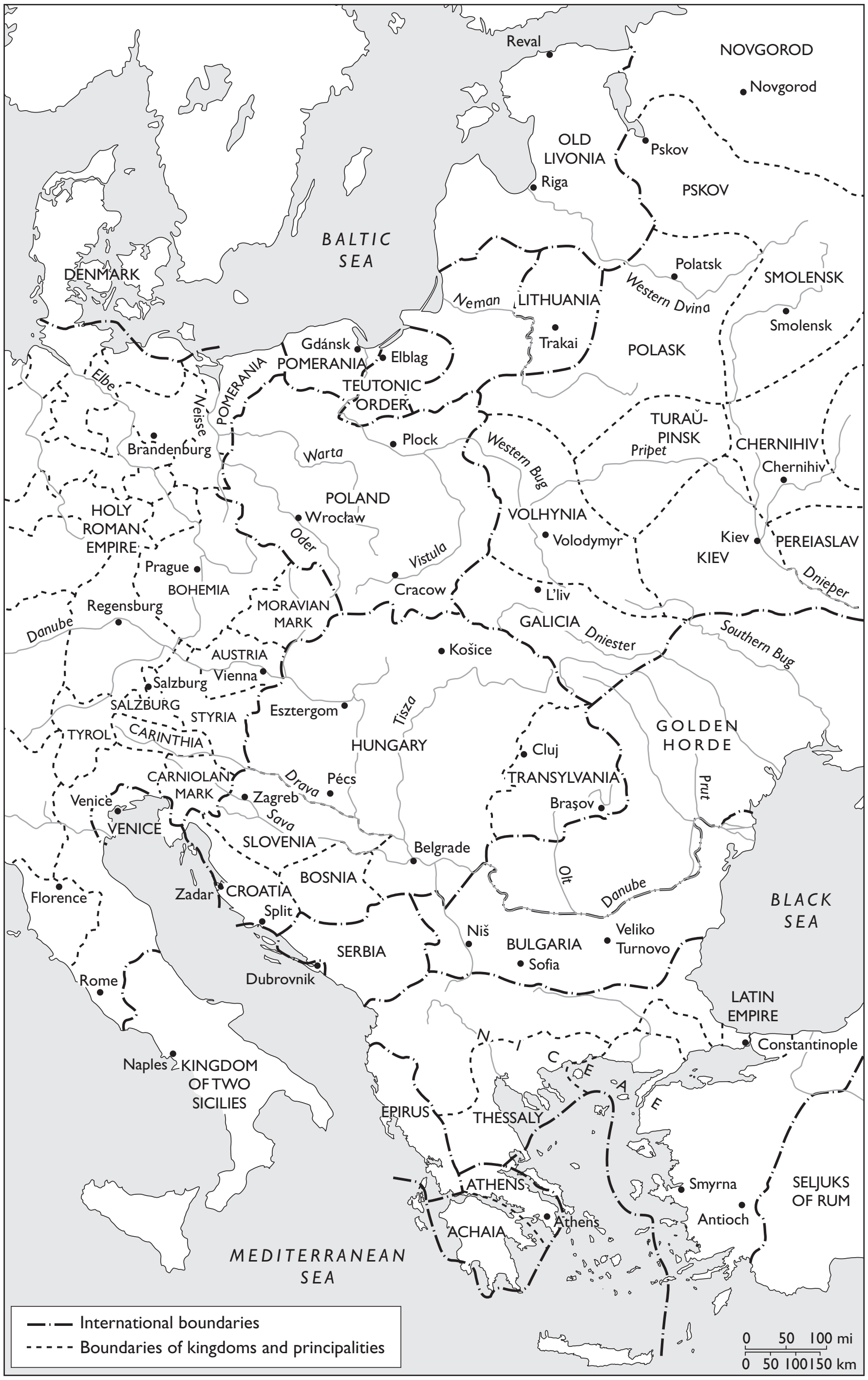
The peoples of Eastern Europe in the ninth century.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TYROL
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Cluj
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Split
Niš
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Veliko Turnovo
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Sofia
Dubrovnik
Rome
LATIN EMPIRE
N I C E A E
Constantinople
Naples
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
EPIRUS
THESSALY
ATHENS
Smyrna
SELJUKS OF RUM
Antioch
ACHAIA
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of kingdoms and principalities
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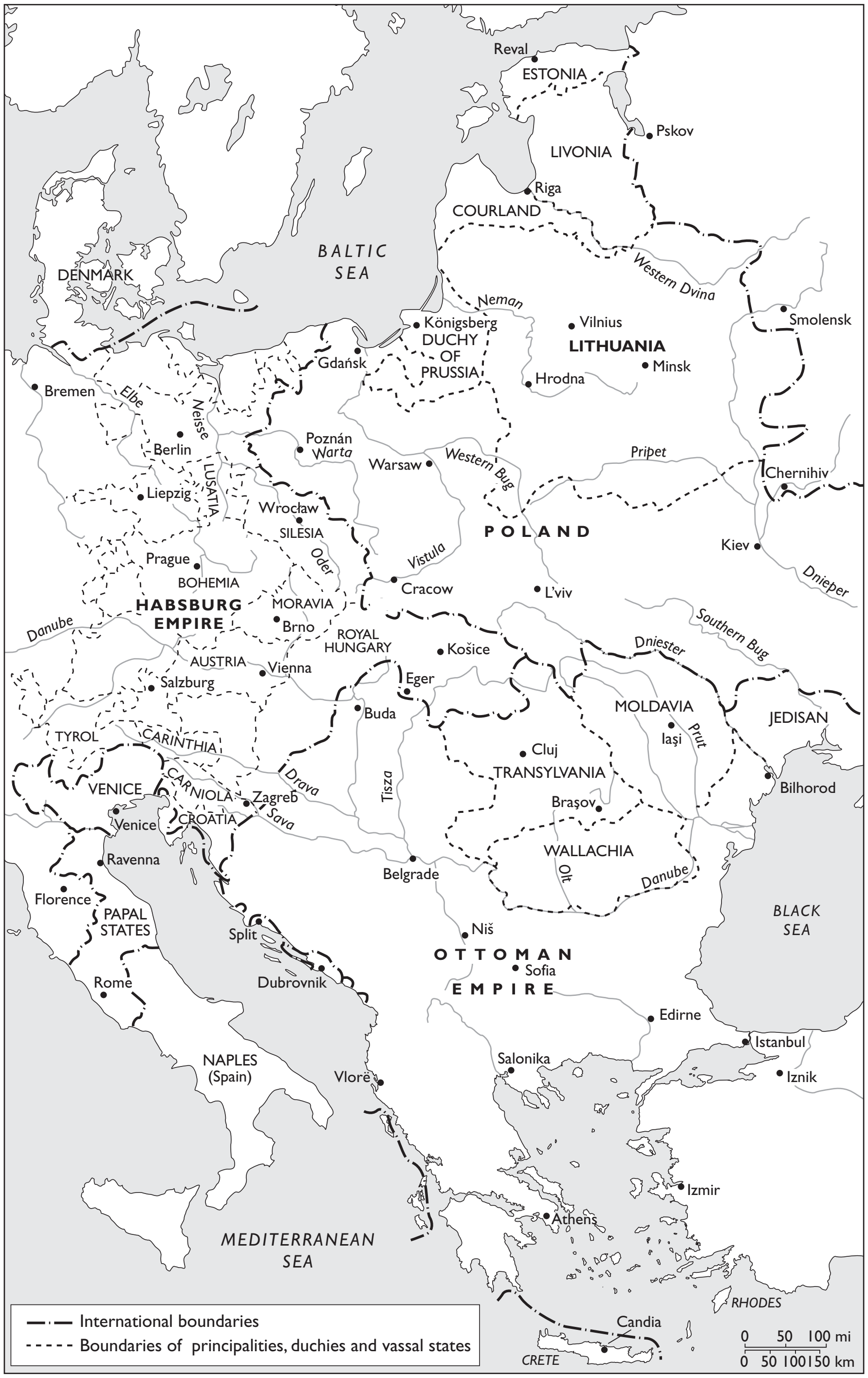
Territorial divisions in Eastern Europe in the thirteenth century (at the time of the Mongols).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Minsk
Gdańsk
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Warsaw
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Cracow
L'viv
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Košice
Southern Bug
Dniester
AUSTRIA
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CARNIOLA
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Tisza
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Venice
CROATIA
Sava
Ravenna
WALLACHIA
Belgrade
Olt
Danube
Florence
PAPAL STATES
BLACK SEA
Split
Niš
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Sofia
Rome
Dubrovnik
Edirne
Istanbul
NAPLES (Spain)
Salonika
Vlorë
Iznik
Izmir
Athens
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International boundaries
Boundaries of principalities, duchies and vassal states
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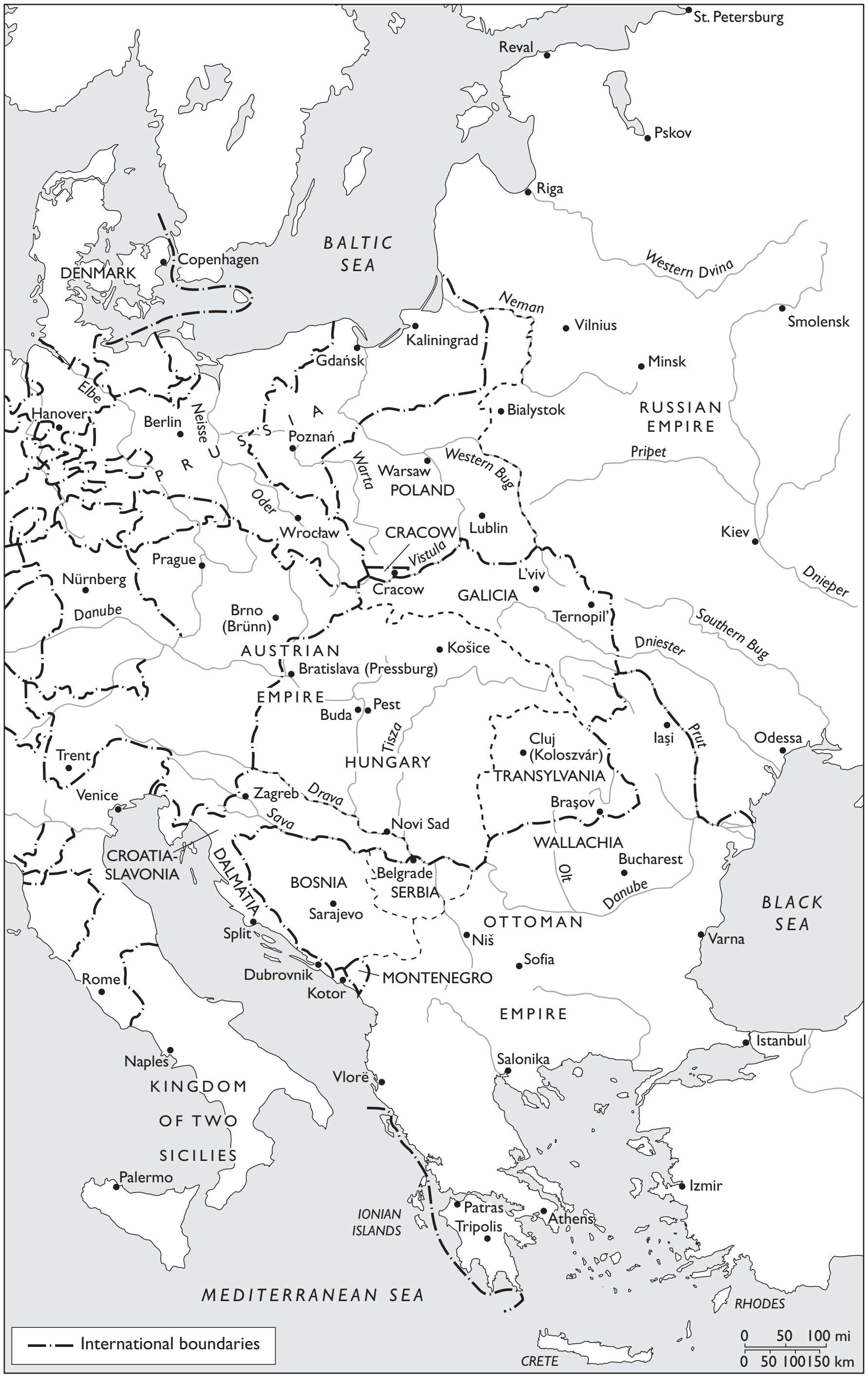
Eastern Europe in the late sixteenth century.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Gdańsk
Elbe
Bialystok
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Hanover
Berlin
Neisse
PRUSSIA
Poznań
Pripet
Western Bug
Warsaw
POLAND
Warta
Oder
Lublin
CRACOW
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Dnieper
Danube
Brno (Brünn)
Ternopil'
Southern Bug
Košice
Dniester
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Bratislava (Pressburg)
Pest
Buda
Tisza
Iași
Prut
Odessa
Trent
Cluj (Koloszvár)
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Venice
Zagreb
Drava
Brașov
Sava
Novi Sad
CROATIA-SLAVONIA
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Belgrade
SERBIA
Olt
Danube
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Niš
Varna
Sofia
Rome
Dubrovnik
MONTENEGRO
Kotor
Istanbul
Naples
Salonika
Vlorë
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
Izmir
Palermo
IONIAN ISLANDS
Patras
Tripolis
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RHODES
International boundaries
CRETE
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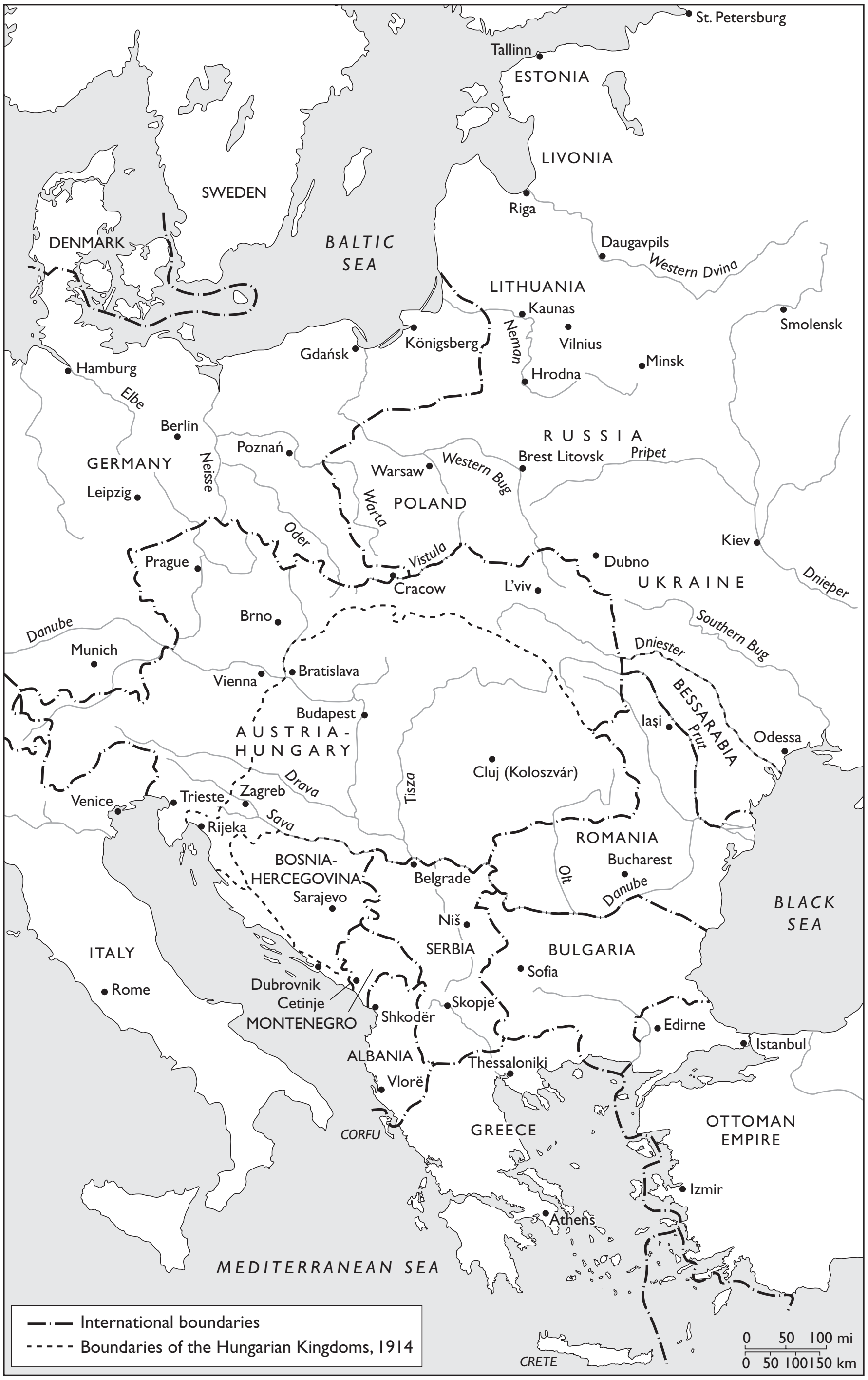
Eastern Europe after the Congress of Vienna (1815).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Rijeka
ROMANIA
BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA
Bucharest
Belgrade
Olt
Danube
Sarajevo
BLACK SEA
Niš
SERBIA
BULGARIA
ITALY
Sofia
Rome
Dubrovnik
Cetinje
MONTENEGRO
Shkodër
Skopje
Edirne
Istanbul
ALBANIA
Thessaloniki
Vlorë
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
CORFU
GREECE
Izmir
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of the Hungarian Kingdoms, 1914
CRETE
0 50 100 mi
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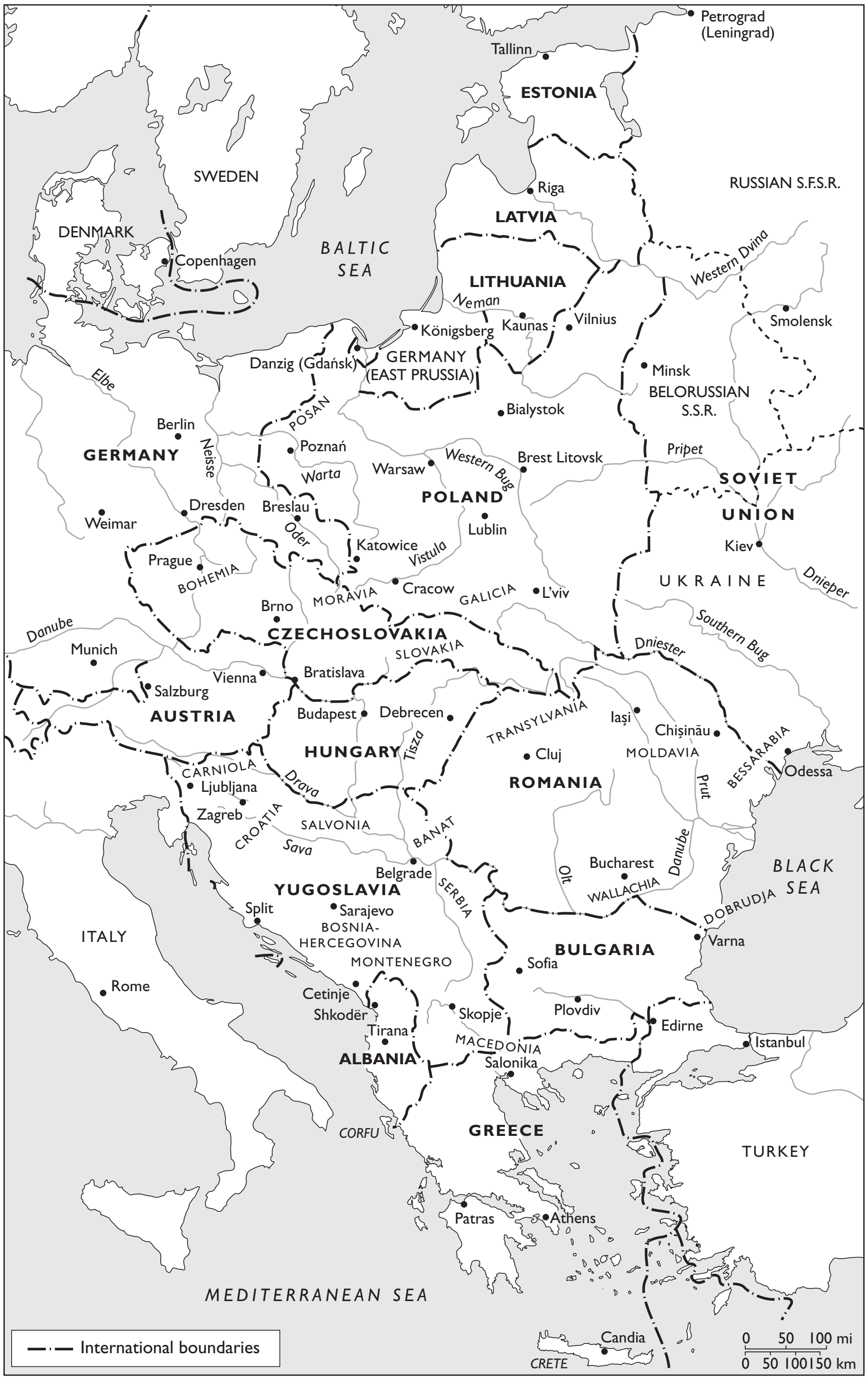
Eastern Europe in 1914.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DENMARK
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Copenhagen
LITHUANIA
Western Dvina
Neman
Kaunas
Vilnius
Smolensk
Königsberg
Danzig (Gdańsk)
GERMANY (EAST PRUSSIA)
Minsk
BELORUSSIAN S.S.R.
Elbe
POSAN
Bialystok
Berlin
Poznań
Brest Litovsk
Pripet
GERMANY
Neisse
Warsaw
Western Bug
SOVIET UNION
Warta
POLAND
Weimar
Dresden
Breslau
Lublin
Oder
Katowice
Kiev
Prague
Vistula
BOHEMIA
Cracow
GALICIA
L'viv
UKRAINE
Dnieper
MORAVIA
Brno
Danube
Southern Bug
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
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Vienna
Bratislava
Salzburg
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Tisza
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Belgrade
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SERBIA
DOBRUDJA
Split
Sarajevo
ITALY
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Rome
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Shkodër
Skopje
Plovdiv
Edirne
Tirana
MACEDONIA
Istanbul
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International boundaries
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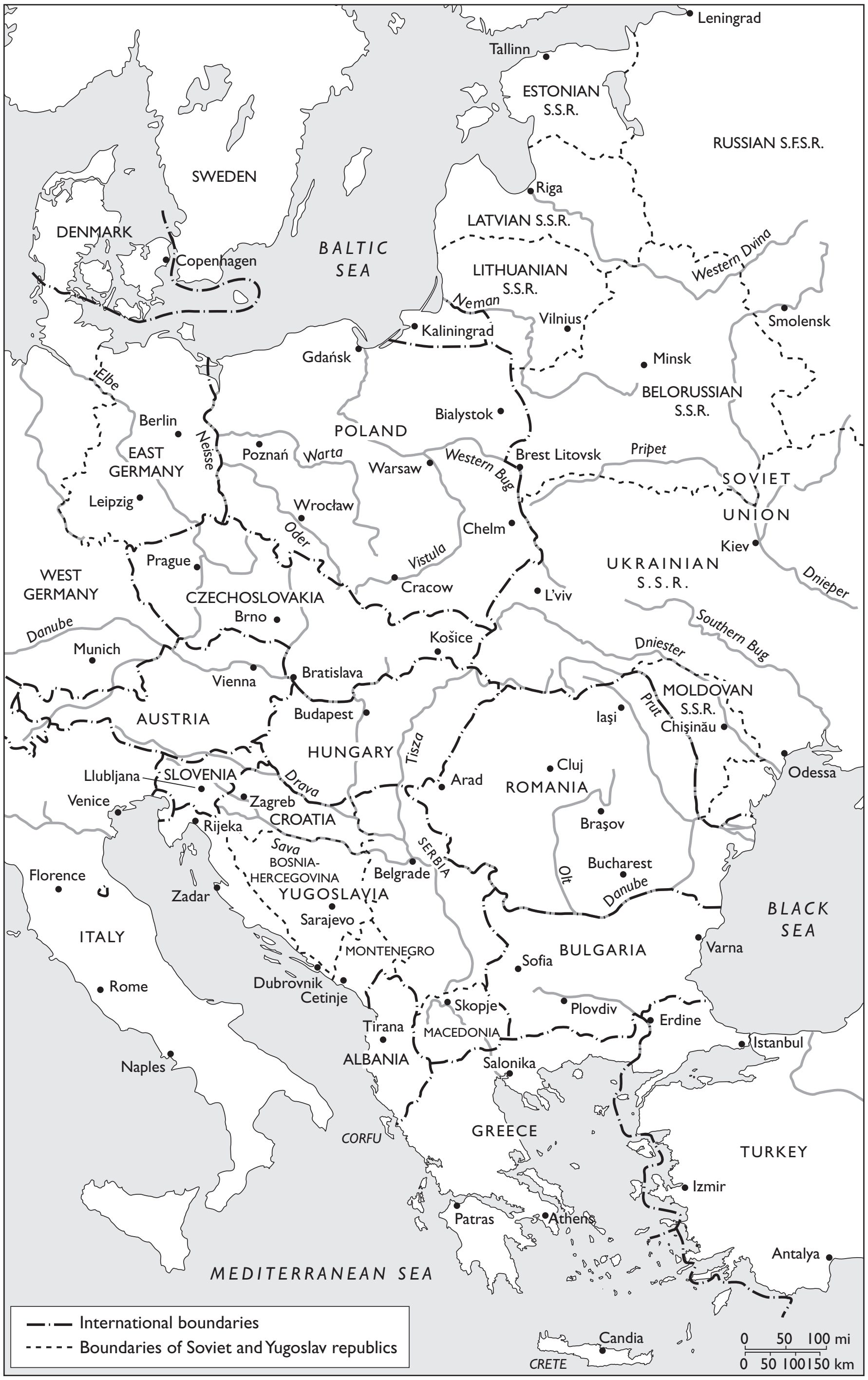
Eastern Europe between the World Wars.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Neisse
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Warta
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Brest Litovsk
Pripet
Warsaw
SOVIET UNION
Leipzig
Wrocław
Oder
Chelm
Kiev
WEST GERMANY
Prague
Vistula
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
Dnieper
Cracow
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA
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Bratislava
Vienna
MOLDOVAN S.S.R.
Prut
Iași
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Budapest
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CROATIA
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Belgrade
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Danube
Zadar
YUGOSLAVIA
BLACK SEA
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MACEDONIA
Erdine
Istanbul
ALBANIA
Naples
Salonika
CORFU
GREECE
TURKEY
Izmir
Patras
Athens
Antalya
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
International boundaries
Boundaries of Soviet and Yugoslav republics
Candia
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0 50 100 mi
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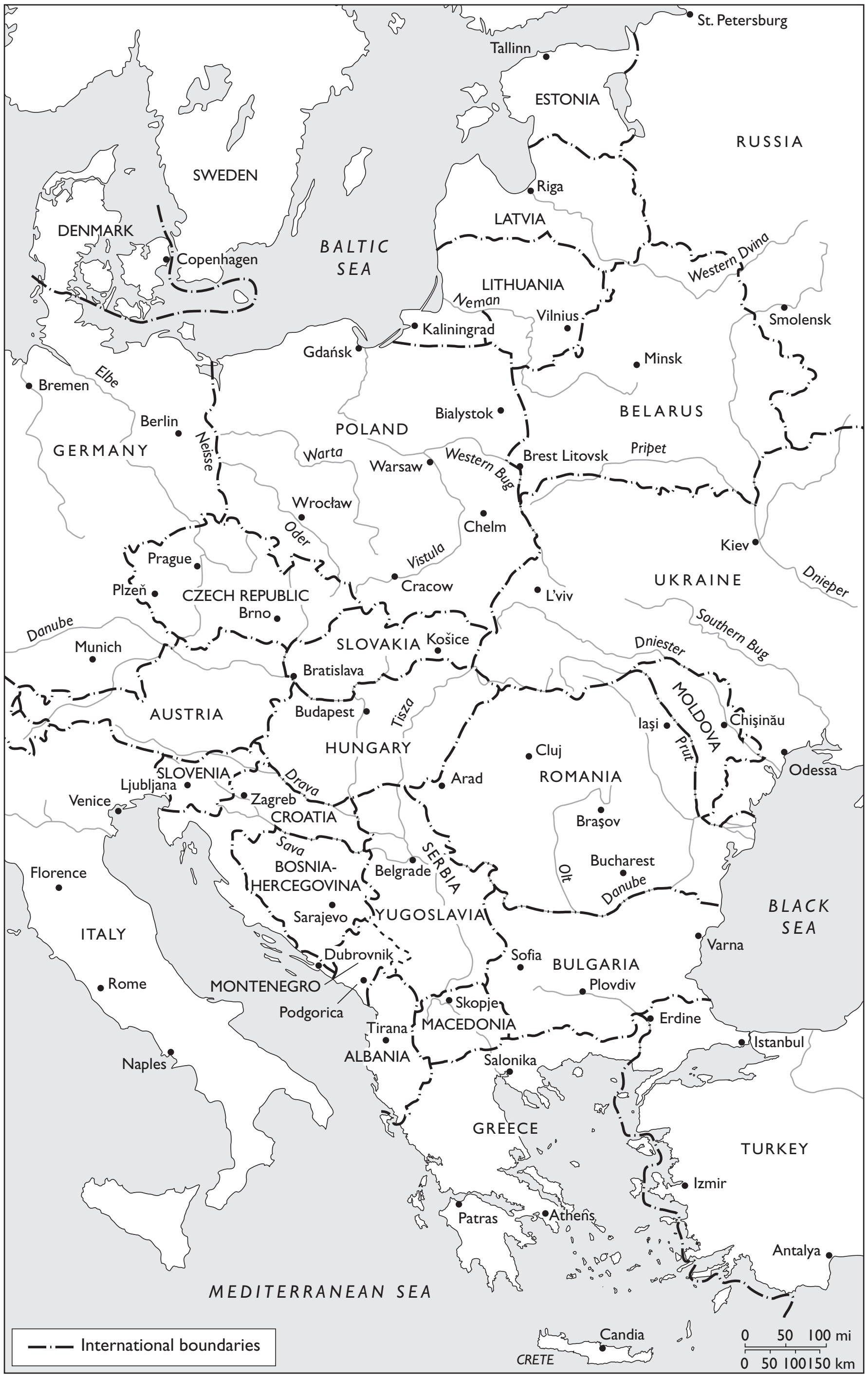
Eastern Europe after World War II.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Smolensk
Kaliningrad
Gdańsk
Minsk
Bremen
Elbe
Berlin
Bialystok
BELARUS
POLAND
GERMANY
Neisse
Warta
Warsaw
Western Bug
Brest Litovsk
Pripet
Wrocław
Oder
Chelm
Kiev
Prague
Vistula
Dnieper
Plzeň
CZECH REPUBLIC
Cracow
L'viv
UKRAINE
Brno
Danube
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SLOVAKIA
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Dniester
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MOLDOVA
AUSTRIA
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Istanbul
ALBANIA
Naples
Salonika
GREECE
TURKEY
Izmir
Patras
Athens
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MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Candia
CRETE
International boundaries
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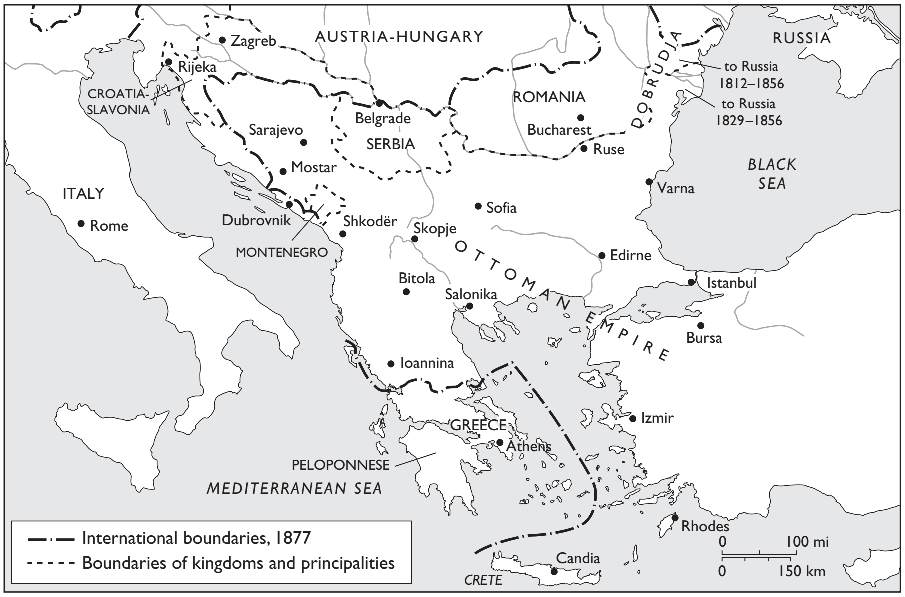
0 50 100 150 km

Eastern Europe in 2004.

1815–1877


AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
RUSSIA
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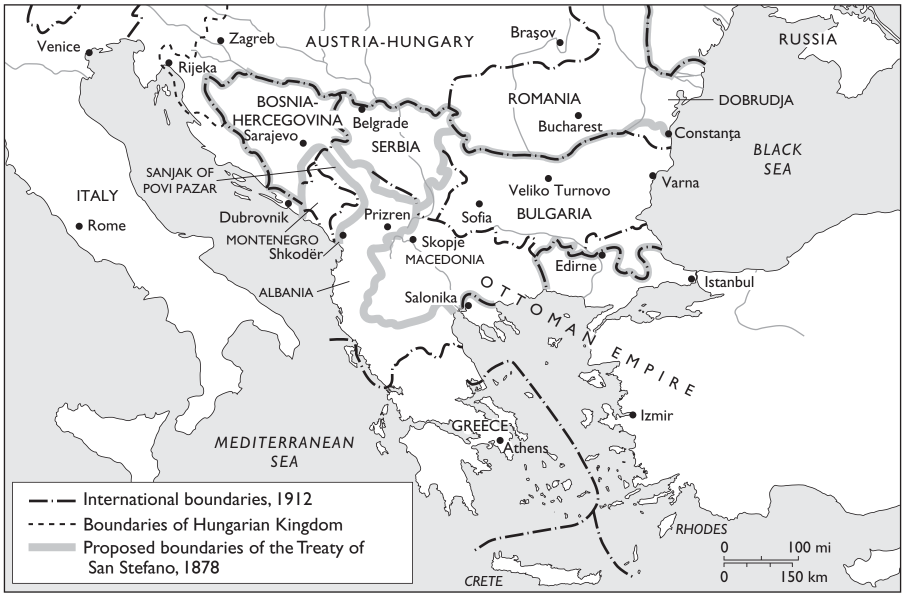
CROATIA-SLAVONIA
DOBRUDJA
to Russia 1812–1856
to Russia 1829–1856
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Ruse
Belgrade
SERBIA
Sarajevo
Mostar
BLACK SEA
Varna
ITALY
Rome
Dubrovnik
Shkodër
MONTENEGRO
Sofia
Skopje
Edirne
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Istanbul
Bitola
Salonika
Bursa
Ioannina
Izmir
GREECE
Athens
PELOPONNESE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Rhodes
Candia
CRETE
International boundaries, 1877
Boundaries of kingdoms and principalities
0 100 mi
0 150 km

1878–1912


Venice
Zagreb
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Braşov
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DOBRUDJA
Sarajevo
Belgrade
Bucharest
Constanţa
SERBIA
BLACK SEA
SANJAK OF POVI PAZAR
ITALY
Veliko Turnovo
Varna
Rome
Dubrovnik
Prizren
Sofia
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
Shkodër
Skopje
MACEDONIA
Edirne
Istanbul
ALBANIA
Salonika
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Izmir
GREECE
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RHODES
CRETE
International boundaries, 1912
Boundaries of Hungarian Kingdom
Proposed boundaries of the Treaty of San Stefano, 1878
0 100 mi
0 150 km

Territorial changes in Southeastern Europe, 1815–1912.

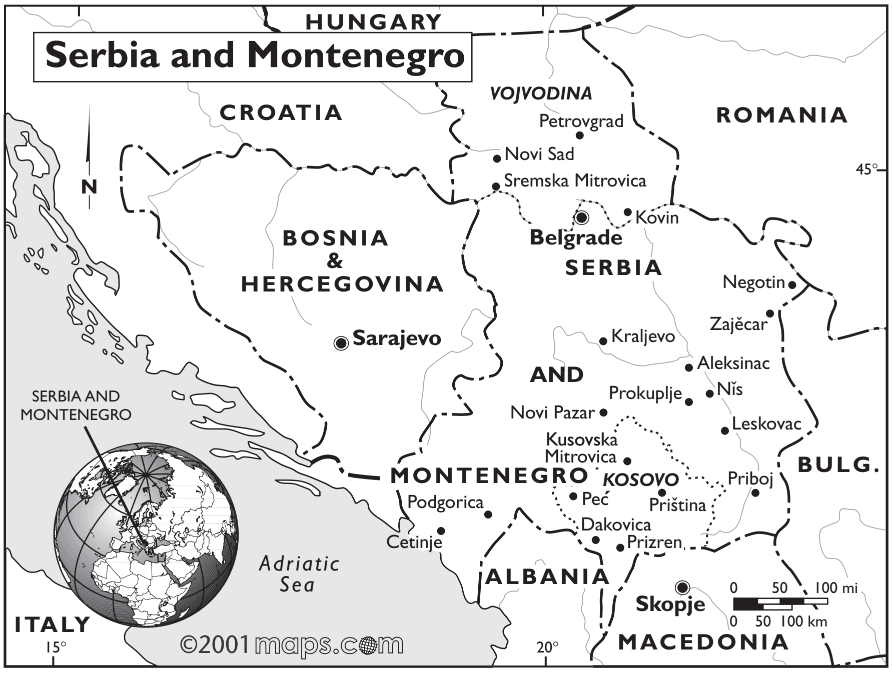
SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

NICHOLAS MILLER

LAND AND PEOPLE

The borders and political affiliations of Serbia and, to a much lesser extent, Montenegro have changed so often in history that one historian, Stevan Pavlowitch, recently titled his examination of the topic *Serbia: The History of an Idea.* From the eleventh to the fifteenth century, there was a Serbian kingdom. From 1453 to 1804, the lands inhabited by Serbs were controlled by the Ottoman Empire. During the nineteenth century, a Serbian state gradually emerged and grew at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. In 1918 Serbia merged with other lands from the Habsburg monarchy to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (known after 1929 as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). This state allegedly reflected the commitment of its inhabitants to a supranational Yugoslav (South Slavic) identity. In 1941 Serbia became a puppet state of Nazi Germany. It reemerged as a republic within the new communist Yugoslavia in 1945. Montenegro meanwhile had enjoyed virtual independence in the Ottoman Empire until 1918, when it too was included in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It also became a republic in communist Yugoslavia after 1945. In 1991 Yugoslavia collapsed, and Serbia and Montenegro were reconstituted in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), which lasted until 2003, when Serbia and Montenegro created a new constitution, and the official name of the country became the State Community of Serbia and Montenegro. With so many changes having occurred, Pavlowitch's title seemed to have been wise.

The standard definition of a Serb would be "an Orthodox Christian speaker of Serbo-Croatian." That strict definition has not always held true on an individual basis—there are plenty of Catholics and Muslims in former Yugoslavia who have considered themselves to be Serbs (such as Ivo Andrić and Meša Selimović, two important figures in Serbian culture)—but as a general rule, it works, with the religious component of the definition being more rigid than the inherently less manageable linguistic portion. To be Serbian has meant to be Orthodox Christian since the thirteenth century, with the founding of the church by Saint Sava. During the early modern period, the church became one of the foundations of Serbian identity, thanks in part to Ottoman administrative policies during the long era of Turkish occupation. Today, Serbs are not particularly religious, but they are nonetheless culturally Orthodox Christians. The church today has 3 metropolitan sees, 28 dioceses, 2,553 parishes, 2,019 ordained priests, and 179 monasteries. Of course, not all citizens of Serbia and Montenegro are Orthodox Christians; there is a Muslim Slavic population in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, and there are various Protestant groups, especially in the


Serbia and Montenegro
HUNGARY
VOJVODINA
CROATIA
ROMANIA
Petrovgrad
Novi Sad
Sremska Mitrovica
N
45°
Kovin
BOSNIA & HERCEGOVINA
Belgrade
SERBIA
Negotin
Zaječar
Sarajevo
Kraljevo
Aleksinac
AND
Prokuplje
Nis
SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO
Novi Pazar
Leskovac
Kusovska Mitrovica
MONTENEGRO
KOSOVO
Priboj
BULG.
Podgorica
Peć
Priština
Dakovica
Cetinje
Prizren
Adriatic Sea
ALBANIA
0 50 100 mi
Skopje
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ITALY
15°
20°
©2001maps.com
MACEDONIA

Saint Marco Church in downtown Belgrade. (Thomas Jouanneau/Corbis Sygma)

Vojvodina, where there are also Catholics (Croatian, Hungarian). The Albanian population of southern Serbia (outside of Kosovo) is also uniformly Muslim. Official figures state the following overall: Orthodox 65 percent, Muslim 19 percent, Roman Catholic 4 percent, Protestant 1 percent, and "other" 11 percent.

The language issue is more complicated, mostly because the modern language(s) spoken by Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, and Bosnians are concoctions based on a variety of regional dialects that have attained the status of national languages, in spite of the fact that they are geographically based. The languages that were spoken by medieval and early modern elites are no longer the languages spoken by the various peoples. There are some certainties: all Serbs speak the *štokavian* dialect. The other dialects—*kajkavian* and *čakavian*—are spoken by Croats in northern Croatia and in Dalmatia respectively. Most Croats today, however, speak štokavian. Thus, it is not a "Serbian" language, no matter what intellectual language reformers and creators such as Vuk Karadžić might have said in the nineteenth century. Štokavian has three variants, known as *ekavian, ijekavian,* and *ikavian.* Ekavian and ijekavian have been rather imprecisely considered the "Serbian" and "Croatian" variants of the language. This notion received a big boost in 1954, when Croatian and Serbian linguists and literary figures signed off on the Novi Sad Agreement, which proclaimed that the "Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian Language" had those two variants, one to be considered Serbian, the other Croatian. The issue remained contentious through the communist period. Today, in Serbia, ekavian reigns supreme. Serbs, though, speak both the ekavian and ijekavian variants.

The national anthem of Serbia and Montenegro is "Hej Slaveni," composed by Samuel Tomasik (lyrics) and Michal Kleofas Oginski (music) in the nineteenth century and written as a general Slavic anthem. The country's national holiday is 28 June, St. Vitus's Day. In November 2001 a working group in the Serbian justice ministry proposed that Serbia's coat of arms inaugurated in 1882 be reestablished, that the national anthem should once again be "Božje pravde," as it was before 1918, and that the pre-1918 red, blue, and white tricolor flag once again become the national flag. Those proposals are now in limbo, as some concerns were raised about the crown in the coat of arms, which would imply that Serbia is a kingdom rather than a republic.

The population of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 2000 was estimated at 10.6 million; the population growth rate in 2003 was 0.3 percent. The age structure of the Serbian and Montenegrin populations is as follows: 0–14 years: Serbia, 19.95 percent, and Montenegro, 22.05 percent;

The Serbian Language

Serbian is a Slavic language. It belongs to the South Slavic language group, along with Slovenian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Croatian, and Bosnian. It accompanied the first Slavic migrants to the Balkan peninsula. Today's Serbian language has had a rather complicated history in which politics has played as important a role as linguistics.

The Serbian language is a rather complicated beast. It is clearly related in some way to the Croatian language, but that relationship has been defined and redefined in a variety of ways since it was (or they were) standardized in the mid-nineteenth century. Vuk Karadžić first standardized a Serbian tongue and orthography (using a Hercegovinian dialect, *štokavian,* as the basis) after years of ethnographic and linguistic work in the countryside with those who spoke a variety of dialects of what was potentially a unified language. It was his legendary view that all who spoke the Serbian language were in fact Serbs; thus, he adopted the approach that language defined nationality. Of course this approach was fundamentally flawed. The fact that Karadžić chose to define his own product as the language of Serbs and the fact that many Croats spoke the language he identified as Serbian were the primary flaws. Nonetheless, thanks to the influence of the German romantic philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder and the German ethnographers, by the late nineteenth century language and nationality were seen as united by an almost sacred bond; thus language became a subject of great contention between nationalists of various stripes.

In the aftermath of World War II, the unveiling of "brotherhood and unity" as the mantra of Titoist Yugoslavism dictated that attention be paid to the language that the Serbian and Croatian "brothers" allegedly shared. (Slovenes and Macedonians spoke languages that were not considered kin to Serbian and Croatian.) The Novi Sad Agreement of 1954, negotiated by representatives of the Croatian and Serbian linguistic and literary communities, established an acceptable approach: the language would be referred to as Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian. Serbian and Croatian would be considered variants differentiated by the Croatian use of the *jat* and slightly different grammatical structures, and each variant would be used where appropriate. The language itself was the štokavian dialect of a broader language that included *kajkavian* and *čakavian* (both historically spoken by Croats).

The Novi Sad Agreement fell apart after 1967, when Croatian institutions and individuals protested the fact that in spite of the stipulations of the agreement, the Serbian variant was being used on Croatian soil. Thereafter, there was no official "guidance" on the subject. On the ground, as Yugoslavia collapsed, the situation remained as it had been since World War II: Croats primarily used the *ijekavian* form of štokavian, Serbs primarily used the *ekavian.* Nonetheless, there was plenty of crossover. Since the collapse of Yugoslavia, all of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia have been demonstrating just how powerful state intervention can be in recreating languages (the Croats are most active in this regard, as they have unsystematically been purging their press and educational systems of forms considered to be Serbian).

Today, Serbs speak štokavian in both the ijekavian and ekavian variants.

15–64 years: Serbia, 65.22 percent, and Montenegro, 66.16 percent; 65 years and over: Serbia, 14.83 percent, and Montenegro, 11.79 percent. The growth rates of the populations of the two republics are, for Serbia, 0.739 percent; for Montenegro, 12.22 percent. Their birthrates are, for Serbia, 12.20 births per one thousand inhabitants; Montenegro, 14.9 births per one thousand. Their death rates are, for Serbia, 11.08 deaths per one thousand; for Montenegro, 7.9 deaths per thousand (all 2000 estimates). The Serbian infant mortality rate is 20.13 deaths per thousand live births; the Montenegrin rate is 10.97 deaths per thousand live births. The life expectancy at birth for the total population of Serbia is 72.39 years; for Montenegro it is 75.46 years. For Serbian males, it is 69.31 years; for Serbian females, it is 75.72 years. For Montenegrin males, it is 71.45 years; for Montenegrin females it is 79.82 years (2000 est.)

Serbia encompasses 88,361 square kilometers. Serbia's border totals 2,397 kilometers. It shares borders in the east with Bulgaria, the north and east with Romania, the north with Hungary, the west with Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the southwest with Albania, and the south with Macedonia. It has a population of 10 million, of whom approximately 20 percent live in Vojvodina and 20 percent in Kosovo, two provinces of the Republic of Serbia. Its largest cities include Belgrade (population 1,602,226), Novi Sad (179,626), Niš (175,391), Kragujevac (147,305), Priština (108,083), Subotica (100,386), Čačak (71,550), Smederevo (63,884), and Leskovac (62,053). In addition, as of July 2001, there were 377,731 registered refugees in Serbia; 63 percent of those were from Croatia, and 36 percent from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Belgrade is the republican and federal capital, Priština is the capital of Kosovo, and Novi Sad is the

Arrival of the post in Cetinje, capital of Montenegro, ca. 1890. (Library of Congress)

capital of Vojvodina; Subotica is also in Vojvodina. The Republic of Serbia (including Vojvodina and Kosovo) is divided into twenty-nine counties.

Serbia's flatlands include the Pannonian Plain, Maćva, the Sava River valley, the Morava River valley, and parts of eastern Serbia. Serbia's mountainous districts are in the central and southern portions of the republic, including Kosovo. The republic is transected or bounded by several rivers: the Danube (588 kilometers), which runs through Vojvodina and divides Vojvodina from Serbia proper; the Zapadna Morava (308 kilometers) and the Južna Morava (295 kilometers) in central Serbia; the Ibar (272 kilometers) in Kosovo; the Drina (220 kilometers), bordering Bosnia; the Sava (206 kilometers), dividing western Serbia from Vojvodina; the Timok (202 kilometers) in eastern Serbia; the Velika Morava (185 kilometers) in central Serbia; the Tisa (168 kilometers) in Vojvodina; the Nišava (151 kilometers); the Tamis (118 kilometers); and the Begej (75 kilometers). Serbia has nine mountain peaks of over 2,400 meters in height: Deravica (2,656 meters), Crni vrh (2,585 meters), Gusam (2,539 meters), Bogdas (2,533 meters), Žuti kamen (2,522 meters), Ljuboten (2,498 meters), Veternik (2,461 meters), Crni krs (2,426 meters), and Hajla (2,403 meters). Serbia's land surface includes 46,746 square kilometers of arable land and 10,065 square kilometers of pasture. Fifty-five percent of Serbia is arable land, and 27 percent is forested. Those figures are further divided as follows: production of cereals, 24,534 square kilometers; meadows, 6,667 square kilometers; reed marshes and pond forage, 4,946 square kilometers; industrial herbs, 3,486 square kilometers; vegetables, 3,005 square kilometers; orchards, 2,569 square kilometers; vineyards, 858 square kilometers; uncultivated land, 647 square kilometers; forests, 869 square kilometers; and nursery gardens, 27 square kilometers. Serbia's railway network totals 3,619 kilometers, while its road network is 42,692 kilometers long (with 24,860 kilometers paved).

The Serbian industrial sector includes mining, the processing industry, the electric power industry, and the production and distribution of petroleum products and water. A breakdown of Serbian industry shows the following distribution: the processing industry (75.18 percent), production and distribution of electric power, petroleum products and water (19.69), ore and stone mining (5.31). Processing includes 23 areas: food and beverages (19.97 percent), tobacco (1.61), textiles (4.11), garment industry (3.00), tanning (1.23), wood industry (0.84), pulp and paper (2.68), printing and reproduction (0.97), production of coke and oil derivatives (1.14), chemicals (9.50), plastics and rubber

(3.63), nonmetal minerals (5.49), basic metals (5.74), metal manufacturing (3.20), machinery (3.11), office supplies (2.41), electronics (2.41), radio, television, and communications equipment (0.31), optical instruments (0.22), motor industry (3.10), transportation (0.76), furniture (0.02), recycling (0.011). There are 696,540 workers employed in industrial and mining companies, comprising 52 percent of the total active labor force in the Republic of Serbia. Small enterprises employ 82,273 workers. There are 146,972 in medium-size enterprises and 457,286 in large enterprises.

Vojvodina's area is 21,506 square kilometers. Its population was 2,013,889, according to the 1991 census, which is approximately 20 percent of Serbia's total population. The largest cities in Vojvodina are Novi Sad (estimated at 179,626 in 2001), Subotica (est. 100,386 in 2001), Zrenjanin (est. 81,316 in 2001), and Pančevo (a suburb of Belgrade, est. 72,793 in 2001). Serbs, with 1,143,723 (57 percent), make up a majority of the population of the province. Non-Serbs include Hungarians (339,491), Croats (74,808), Slovaks (63,545), Montenegrins (44,838), Romanians (38,809), Roma (24,366), Ruthenians (17,652), Macedonians (17,472), and others, including Ukrainians, Albanians, and Slovenians; furthermore, 174,225 people in Vojvodina declared themselves Yugoslavs (in other words, they chose to claim a supranationality rather than a specific one).

Kosovo's area is 10,849 square kilometers. The census of 1991 showed Kosovo with 1,956,196 inhabitants, which is, like Vojvodina, approximately 20 percent of the population of Serbia. Priština, Kosovo's capital, has an estimated 33,305 residents; other cities in Kosovo include Prizren (est. 24,617 in 2001), Kosovska Mitrovica (est. 18,595 in 2001), and Peć (est. 15,926 in 2001). Albanians are the dominant ethnic group, with approximately 90 percent of the population of the province, and (in 1991) 17 percent of the total population of Serbia. In 1991 Serbs (194,190), Muslim Slavs (66,189), Roma (45,745), Montenegrins (20,356), Turks (10,446), Croats (8,062) followed in numbers.

Montenegro's capital is Podgorica, while its cultural and historical center is Cetinje. Its area is 13,812 square kilometers, and its population as of the 1991 census was 650,575. It has 294 kilometers of coastline, and its borders (with Albania, Croatia, and Bosnia) total 614 kilometers. Montenegro is divided into twenty-one counties and has five urban areas: Podgorica (with 117,875 people); Nikšić (56,141), Pljevlja (20,187), Cetinje (15,946), and Kotor (5,620). The highest point in the republic is Mount Durmitor at 2,522 meters, and its biggest lake is Skadar, at 391 square kilometers. Montenegro has several national parks: Durmitor, Lovčen, Biogradska gora, and Lake Skadar. Montenegro has 5,227 kilometers of roads. Major roads total 1,720 kilometers; the rest are local and predominantly unsurfaced. There are 250 kilometers of railroad in the republic, and it has two airports, at Podgorica and Tivat. In Montenegro, five state holidays are celebrated (1 January, 27 April [celebrating the constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], 1 May, 13 July [celebrating the uprising in World War II], and 29 November [Republic Day]) and three religious holidays (Christmas, Easter, and Bairam). The mean January temperature is 5 degrees Celsius; July's is 25 degrees Celsius. Montenegro's official currency is the euro.

Forests cover 54 percent of Montenegro's land surface, or 7,200 square miles. In the communist era Montenegro began to industrialize. The steel, aluminum, and energy industries dominated this development, and the building of a transportation infrastructure contributed mightily to industrial growth. Today Montenegro still produces steel, bauxite, glinice, aluminum, sea salt, and coal on a large scale. Montenegro has the capacity to produce 3 billion kilowatt-hours of energy yearly via its hydroelectric plants at Perućica and Piva and its thermoelectric plant at Pljevlja. To this industrial base, Montenegro adds the ability to produce metalworks, machinery, wood products, textiles, chemicals, clothing, and food products. Agriculture in the republic is limited to the production of meat, milk products, and some fruit. Montenegro also produces some highly sought after wines, including the famous Vranac.

Serbia and Montenegro have approximately 333 regularly occurring bird species (214 in Montenegro alone, with 379 recorded in total) and three dozen internationally recognized birding areas. One Serbian birding organization listed the following ten species as good reasons to visit the country: pygmy cormorant, ferruginous duck, great bustard, long-legged buzzard, Saker falcon, Syrian woodpecker, red-rumped swallow, wallcreeper, nutcracker, and black-headed bunting. In Montenegro, Lake Skadar, Ulcinj, and Mount Durmitor are key birding destinations. In Serbia, the Danube River is an important wintering area for wildfowl, including more than twenty species of ducks recorded in the last fourteen years. Other important mountain sites include Uvac and Milesevka Griffon Vulture Sanctuary, Ovčar-Kablar Gorge, Mt. Tara, Mt. Kopaonik, Djerdap (Iron Gates) National Park, Rešava, Sičevo, Jerma Gorge, and the Pčinja River valley; lowland areas of interest include Koviljski, Obedska, Carska Bara, Dubovac Wetland, Bečej Fishpond, Apatin-Monostor Wetlands, and Slano Kopovo. Serbia and Montenegro also are home to over 100 species of fresh-water fish, with 14 subspecies that are endemic to the region, over 150 species of amphibians and reptiles, and 96 mammals. Serbia and Montenegro have 4,300 plant species, over 400 of which are endemic to the region.

HISTORY

MEDIEVAL SERBIA

Serbs first came to the Balkan Peninsula in the seventh century C.E., a century after the Slavic migrations into the region began. The Serbs created numerous small states spotted through modern Hercegovinian, Montenegrin, and southern Serbian territory, with names like Trebinje, Konavli, Zahumlje, and Duklja (later Zeta). By the tenth century, Duklja had consolidated control over the territory that eventually constituted modern Montenegro. Raška, which was the core of the medieval Serbian kingdom that emerged in the twelfth century, split from Duklja in the eleventh century and quickly became the strongest Serbian state in the region.

In 1168 the lands of Raška, which had been divided, were united under the leadership of one man, Stefan Nemanja. The origins of Stefan Nemanja, who emerged as the strongest of four brothers, are unknown. By the time of his abdication in 1196, Zeta (as Duklja had come to be known) had been incorporated into Raška. Upon his abdication, Stefan became an Orthodox monk and moved to Mount Athos, in northern Greece, to join his son Rastko, who had joined the church a few years earlier and taken the name Sava. Together, they convinced the Orthodox patriarchate to approve a Serbian monastery on Athos. This monastery, Hilandar, became the cultural center of Serbia in the medieval period. By 1219, Sava was able to win the grant of an autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church, which firmly established Serbia as an Orthodox kingdom and gave it a stable cultural identity.

Stefan and Sava thus established the two foundations of modern Serbia: the state itself, which later disappeared from the map of Europe but not from the memory of Serbs, and the faith that ensured the continuity of a Serbian people through the centuries that followed. At its greatest extent, under Stefan Dušan (r. 1331–1355), the Serbian kingdom extended from the Danube and Sava Rivers in the north to the Dalmatian coast in the west, through Epirus, Thessaly, and western Thrace. This kingdom became a powerful element in the fluid relations of the Balkan Peninsula, which included Bosnian, Byzantine, and Hungarian states. When Stefan Dušan died in 1355, however, the Serbian state fell into internal feuding such as had existed before Stefan Nemanja's consolidation of power. Stefan Dušan's son, Stefan Uroš V, lost to the invading Ottoman Empire in the Battle of Maritsa in 1371 and died in the same year, leaving no heirs. Between 1371 and 1389, the remaining Serbian aristocracy declared loyalty to Lazar Hrebeljanović, a Serbian notable, but they could not defeat the Ottomans at the historic Battle of Kosovo on 28 June 1389. Between 1389 and 1459, Serbia continued to exist as a vassal state of the Ottoman sultan. In the latter year, Ottoman armies finally brought Serbian statehood to an end at the Battle of Smederevo. Until the early nineteenth century, Serbia was extinguished as a state.

The Battle of Kosovo has become a key event in Serbian historical memory, thanks to two sources: the Serbian Orthodox Church and Serbian folk tradition. Modern Serbs' memory of the battle is that it was a critical defeat for Serbia, a defeat that spelled the end of medieval Serbian glory and the beginning of a centuries-long period of darkness for the Serbian people. Most historians today, however, agree that Serbia's medieval glory had already passed, that the Battle of Kosovo was neither a battle between Serbs and the Ottomans as such nor a military victory for either side. Memory, therefore, has transformed the event from a battle fought by multinational armies, which ended inconclusively, into an apocalyptic confrontation between good Serbs and evil Turks, which the good Serbs lost. That such a transformation could occur says much about what the Ottoman conquest did and did not bring to the lands of medieval Serbia.

SERBIA UNDER THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman conquest socially leveled Serbia. The Serbian aristocracy did in fact disappear; Serbian aristocrats converted to Islam, lost their lands and privileges, or were killed. The result was a society consisting of peasants, which is what Serbia remained until the mid-nineteenth century. Thus one-half of the Nemanja dynasty's great achievement of statehood and political and military power disappeared from Europe. The other half, however, did not: Saint Sava's Serbian Orthodox Church remained and, with general though varying success, continued to define the Serbian population culturally. Together with a folk culture that maintained and passed on a historical understanding that was part myth, part reality, the church, ministering to its peasant flock via its peasant clergy, nourished the continued existence of a Serbia not as a state, but as an identity. Thus it was that the portion of the Nemanja inheritance that was lost (power) was defined in historical memory by the portion of that inheritance that remained (the faith). The fact that a continuous memory of "Serbianness" and Serbian medieval power remained throughout the four centuries of "darkness" testifies to just how permeable that darkness really was.

As inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, Serbs both suffered and benefited. The classic accusation against the Ottomans is that they oppressed and discriminated against those who were not Muslim. There are various ways to evaluate the discrimination that non-Muslims suffered in the empire. One is to note that many Serbs, Bulgars, Albanians, Greeks, Romanians, and other originally non-Muslim people of the Ottoman Empire chose to convert, in which cases they instantly became members of the favored faith and thus part of the ruling class. On the other hand, those who chose not to convert became, by definition, peasants (thanks to the fact that Christians could not own land in the Ottoman Empire). Another is to note that while Orthodox Christian Serbs were subject to taxes and levies that Muslims did not pay, those burdens were balanced by the fact that Christians did not have to fight in Ottoman armies. Finally, the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire were administered via the millet system, according to which they were governed by their own church hierarchy.

The millet system reflected the Ottoman belief that one's identity is fundamentally religious. Thus, while one had the option to convert to Islam and enjoy the fruits of that conversion, one also had the right to maintain one's faith. Thus, the Ottomans administered their subjects as religious beings, and the Orthodox Church was given responsibility for the Orthodox Christians of the empire. The millet system was established in 1453 as a result of a decree by Sultan Mehmed II. For the Orthodox of the empire, the millet system meant that they were governed by the Orthodox patriarchate and its hierarchy. This hierarchy was not necessarily of the same ethnic group as those it governed: Bulgars, for instance, did not have their own church after 1394, and Serbs only had theirs from 1557 (with the reestablishment of the patriarchate at Peć) to 1766 (when its autonomy was removed as punishment for consorting with the Ottoman enemies Russia and the Habsburg monarchy.

Otherwise, the Orthodox of the Balkans were placed under the authority of the Greek patriarch in Istanbul (Constantinople). But on the local level, where contact between the believer and the church was most common, the parish priest was of the ethnicity of the flock. From the patriarch down to the parish priest, the church was made responsible for marriage, divorce, and the collection of dues to the church as well as the state. The Orthodox Church was one important face of the state for Orthodox subjects of the sultan. The millet system thus ameliorated some of the effects of the Ottoman conquest. Serbian statehood was gone, but a Serbian, Orthodox Christian identity was maintained through what many Serbs see as a dark age, thanks to a system that allowed a degree of self-administration.

Over the course of the Ottoman conquest and in subsequent centuries, many Orthodox Christians migrated northward and westward under the pressure of the Ottoman advance from the south and east. Thus, a large and important Serbian presence was established in the Habsburg monarchy from the fourteenth century onward. Population movements began in earnest after the Battle of Smederevo in 1459, and by 1483, up to two hundred thousand Orthodox Christians had moved into central Slavonia and Srijem (eastern Croatia). In the early sixteenth century Orthodox populations had also been established in western Croatia. Finally, in the 1520s and 1530s, waves of Orthodox immigrants made their way to the region known as Žumberak, which straddles the modern Croatian-Slovenian border. Thereafter, the Orthodox populations were supplemented following further Ottoman conquests, and existing Orthodox populations in Croatia and Hungary shifted with the flow of battles. The final major population shift occurred in the 1690s, following an Austro-Ottoman war, when at least 30,000 Orthodox Serbs, led by Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević, made their way from Kosovo north to southern Hungary. This "Great Migration of the Serbs" has become legendary, due to its size and to the fact that it signified the end of a Serbian presence in Kosovo. Furthermore, the center of authority in the Serbian Orthodox Church moved with the migrants; the patriarchate at Peć, which was finally extinguished by the Ottomans in 1766, was replaced for all intents and purposes by the metropolitan see of Sremski Karlovci, in Croatia.

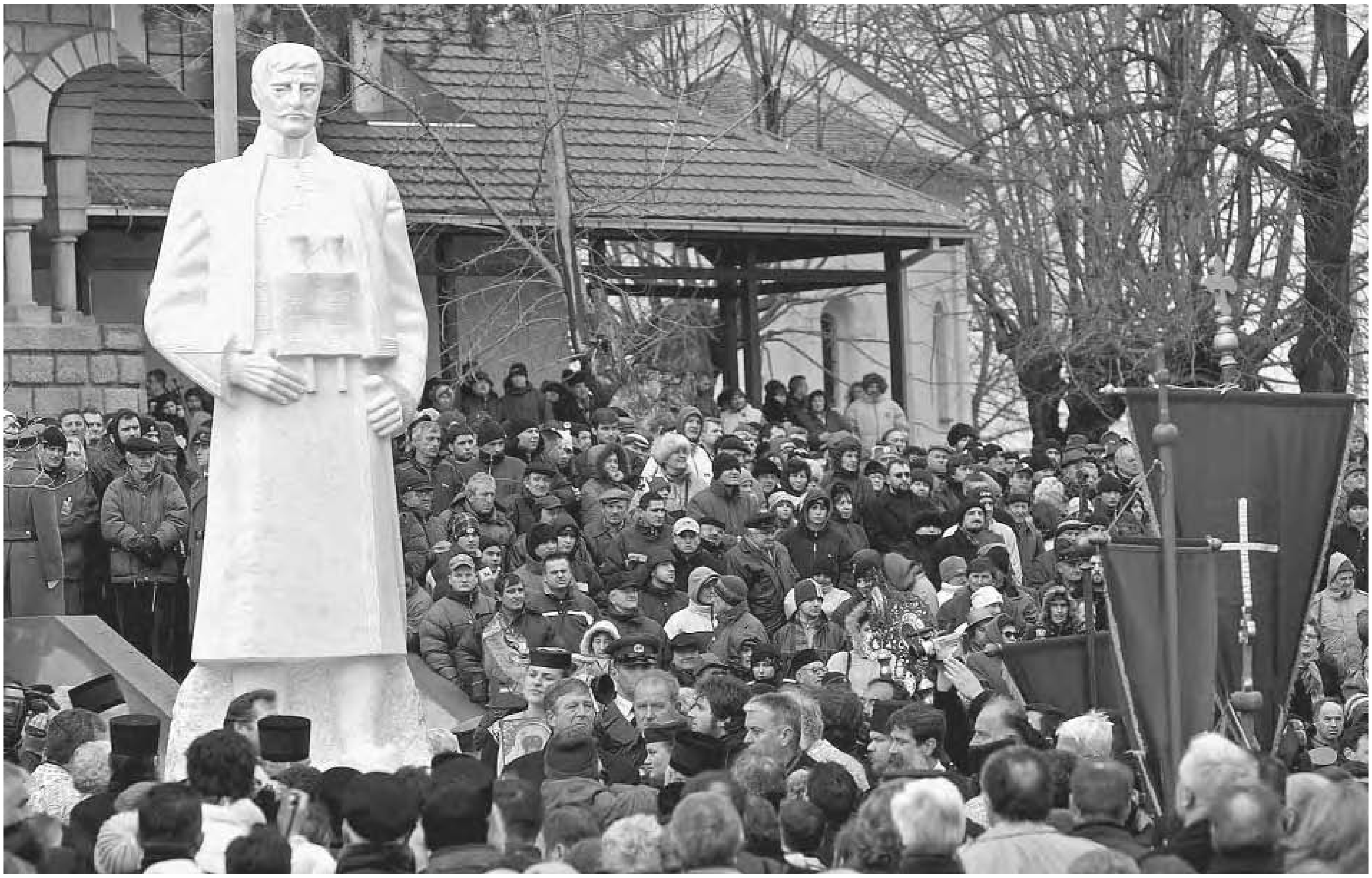
Through the late nineteenth century, two institutions, the military frontier and the metropolitan see, defined Serbian life in the Habsburg monarchy. The military frontier existed until 1881, when it was dismantled because it was no longer militarily necessary. During the centuries of its existence, however, it provided a framework for Serbian existence in the monarchy. The Orthodox Christians who had made their way from Ottoman territories to the Habsburg monarchy were given certain privileges; these tended to include a plot of land, freedom from taxation by the local aristocracy, and freedom of worship, paid for by military service in times of crisis. The most famous agreement of this kind was the Statuta Valachorum, issued in 1630 by Emperor Ferdinand II. Others were issued in the 1690s upon the arrival of the final large group of immigrants; this group of privileges included the right of the Serbian Orthodox Church to work among Serbs. Still other sets of local privileges were negotiated over the centuries. Settlement patterns, with Banija, Kordun, Lika in the west and parts of Slavonia in the east heavily populated by Serbs, were a result of these agreements.

These privileges gave the Serbian community the real sense that they were something apart from the monarchy itself, a corporate body that had negotiated its position vis-à-vis the authorities and could thus negotiate changes. The metropolitan see (the equivalent, in the Serbian Orthodox Church, of an archbishopric), a late arrival in the Habsburg lands, contributed to the sense of uniqueness that their privileges had encouraged among Serbs. The privileges themselves were negotiated by religious authorities, and when the church moved north, it inherited the authority to speak for its Orthodox flock in the Habsburg lands. By the nineteenth century, when political life began to expand under the impress of the ideology of nationalism and the striving for political democracy, Serbs in the monarchy tended to look to the strengthening of their church's position as a strengthening of their own. In other words, they remained wedded to the notion of corporate privilege, even in a time when others began to seek constitutional guarantees for democratic forms of government. The Serbian Orthodox Church offered a different sort of guarantee: its National-Church Congress acted as a pseudo-representative body for the Orthodox of the Habsburg lands and claimed to speak for the Serbs of the monarchy.

THE BIRTH OF MODERN SERBIA

The origins of a modern Serbian state can be traced to the late eighteenth century in the *pašalik* (an area governed by a *paša,* or pasha) of Belgrade. This region, south of the Danube and Sava Rivers and east of the Drina River, became the geographic core of modern Serbia. The first stirrings of rebellion among the Serbs of the region followed the Austro-Ottoman War of 1788–1791, during which Serbs had fought (as they had many times before) for the Habsburg monarchy. After the war, the Austrians, who had lost the war, left the Serbs of the region to their own devices. In spite of the Serbs' disloyalty to the sultan, both the Serbs (who had enjoyed some self-government under the Austrians earlier in the century) and the Ottomans desired peace and stability in the region. However, in the ever weaker Ottoman Empire, the borderlands had come under the sway of local janissaries (at this time only unruly remnants of the highly disciplined soldiers of earlier centuries), and the pašalik of Belgrade was no exception. The sultan and his Serbian subjects had a mutual interest in destroying the destabilizing influence of the janissaries, and the roots of the Serbian independence movement are thus paradoxically to be found in an alliance of local Serbian headmen with the Ottoman central government.

In January and February 1804, fearing a coordinated Serbian uprising, the janissary leaders in Belgrade began to systematically murder Serbian headmen throughout the pašalik. The Serbian uprising that immediately followed was the work of headmen who had escaped their death



Serbs attend the unveiling of a monument to Karadjordje, who was the leader of the first Serbian uprising against the Turks in the year 1804, in Orasac, 100 kilometers south of Belgrade, 15 February 2004. The ceremony was held on the occasion of Sretenje, the Serbian Statehood Day, marking its two hundredth anniversary. (Andrej Isakovi/AFP/Getty Images)

sentences and headed to the hills to resist the janissaries. Serbia at this point had about 400,000 people, 10 percent of whom were Muslim. Under the leadership of Djordje Petrović, known as Karadjordje ("Black George," a headman from western Serbia), the Serbs were able to overcome the warlords' forces by August of 1804 (when they captured and executed the four leading janissaries) and establish themselves as the political power in the region. What had begun as a rebellion with social and economic roots was quickly transformed into a potential national revolutionary movement, as the Serbs began to consolidate their influence in the region and to be tempted to expand their power.

Outsiders were essential to this transformation, as Russia in particular encouraged the Serbian movement as one that could benefit the Russian Empire as it fought in the Napoleonic Wars. Russia assisted the Serbian rebels sporadically through the summer of 1813, when Russia signed the Treaty of Bucharest with the Ottoman Empire, ending their hostilities as Russia made war on Napoleon's France. The Ottomans were then able to crush the Serbs, most of whose leaders fled into the Habsburg monarchy or beyond. In April 1815 those who had not fled, led by Miloš Obrenović (a headman from southwestern Serbia), rebelled anew, with the intent of negotiating a quick agreement allowing self-rule with the Ottoman authorities. Miloš accomplished this task and was able thereafter to incrementally add to his power (and that of a small Serbian principality). Miloš had Karadjordje murdered in 1817, when the latter returned to Serbia in order to attempt to link Serbs to a wider anti-Ottoman uprising.

After 1815, the core of an independent Serbia existed in the form of a tenuously autonomous principality, although that status was not formally bestowed until 1830. Miloš governed this small state as a Turkish paša might have: it was his domain, to be milked for as much personal gain as he could get. In this regard, the difference between Turks and Serbs was minimal, and in fact one could argue that over the centuries, Serbs had adapted to the ways of the Turks quite nicely. Nevertheless, this Serbia also represented the possibility of a revived, modern Serbian state, and even if Miloš tended to be venal, others invested the principality with more national content.

Miloš's actions as absolute ruler of this Serbia were generally self-interested, but they often had beneficial results. For instance, in his desire to clip the wings of rival headmen, he made it easier for peasants to own and prosper on the land. Miloš also welcomed the help of better-educated Serbs, which had the result of encouraging national goals. Both Vuk Karadžić and Dositej Obradović, for instance, worked during and after the revolution to see their vision of a Serbian culture and nation develop, Dositej as Karadjordje's advisor on education, Vuk in various posts in Miloš's bureaucracy. Miloš also welcomed in Habsburg Serbs, better educated and more experienced in modern administration. These outsiders were resented by the Serbs of Šumadija, but they were needed nonetheless.

Miloš ruled absolutely till 1838, when the Ottomans approved a sort of constitution for the pašalik of Belgrade, by which Miloš would govern along with a council of elders. The Turks wished to rein in Miloš; he could not bear the restraint, so he left Serbia in 1839.

With Miloš's departure, the office of prince was given by the council to his son Milan, who died within a month. Then it passed to Miloš's second son, Mihailo, who lasted until 1842, when he was replaced by Aleksandar Karadjordjević, son of the original Karadjordje. Karadjordjević ruled until 1858, when he was replaced by Mihailo Obrenović, in a return engagement that lasted until 1868. Mihailo was assassinated in 1868, to be replaced by his cousin Milan Obrenović, who governed as prince and then king until 1889, when his own son Aleksandar Obrenović took over until his own assassination in 1903. Between 1830 and 1878, Serbia was an autonomous principality of the Ottoman Empire. Several sets of tensions defined its existence in this period: one was the continuing struggle between the notables on the council of elders and the princes, both desirous of gaining more power. Miloš, for instance, was opposed by a council of elders; their competition simply carried on earlier competitions between Karadjordje and his elders. Until the 1860s, the tug of war between prince and notables continued; after that point, politics began to expand to represent, or at least strive to represent, the interests of the ordinary Serb. Another tension came with the importation of political ideas from outside the Balkans, which resulted in pressures for a real constitution and the democratization of political life in Serbia (reflected in the growth of political parties). The third major source of tension was the growth of Serbian nationalism, as well as Yugoslav nationalism, which placed new burdens on the young Serbian government and society.

SERBIA EXPANDS

In an era of nationalism such as that in which the Serbian state emerged, it was inevitable that Serbia would become the focus of expansionist dreams, dreams of Serbs but also of others. Yugoslavism was and remains an intellectual construct. As an active political ideology, it is a product of the nineteenth century, when the concept of the nation first entered the vocabulary of politics. "Yugoslav" means "South Slavic," which is in turn a linguistic category; thus, the Yugoslav idea would bring unity to the speakers of South Slavic languages. Yugoslavism was therefore an alternative identity formulated by intellectuals in order to bypass some of the vexing problems of other national movements that were thriving in the South Slavic regions of the Balkans, primarily Croatian and Serbian nationalism, but potentially also Slovenian, Bulgarian, Montenegrin, and Macedonian movements. In its first modern iteration, Yugoslavism took the form of "Illyrianism," in the Illyrian movement of the Croat Ljudevit Gaj. The Illyrian movement was an early, idealistic attempt to promote the unity of speakers of all of the dialects of Serbo-Croatian. It was also the most welcoming of national movements, as Gaj and his followers argued that the nation (which they called "Illyrian," from the term the Romans used for the region, because that name would help circumvent the competitiveness of Croats and Serbs) should adopt as its language the štokavian dialect of the language, which was not actually spoken by most educated, urban Croats (such as the followers of Gaj themselves), but was spoken by Serbs and a majority of Croats in general. The Illyrian movement was born in 1835 and survived until 1848, but did not succeed on its own terms. It did produce a newspaper, called *Danica* (The Dawn), which was written in the štokavian that it imagined as the new Illyrian tongue. But, in spite of Gaj's attempts to bring harmony to division, division won the day. Serbs, in particular, resented the suggestion that the extant national names (Serb and Croat) be jettisoned; they already had an identity, and it had been nurtured in fire over the Ottoman centuries.

While the Illyrian movement struggled for popularity and recognition, the development of a Serbian state south of the Danube and Sava Rivers continued. The principality had become the center of Serbian national aspirations. Until 1832, when he was expelled from the principality, Vuk Karadžić worked with Miloš Obrenović to nurture the new Serbian state as the core of a future expanded state. Karadžić was an intellectual child of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, who taught that a common language made a people a nation, and the founders of German philology, the brothers Grimm, and thus placed language at the center of his analysis. For him, as a Serb, then, all speakers of the language he spoke were by definition Serbs. In an article entitled "Serbs All and Everywhere" (1842), he developed this idea, presenting a new definition of Serbianness, which had in the past depended on religion rather than language. But it is easy enough to see what Karadžić's ideas did to the assertions of the Illyrians: metaphorically, Vuk told them that their graciousness was not appreciated; the speakers of štokavian were not Illyrians, they were Serbs. All of this is not meant to imply that national identities rose and fell with the intellectual and political capabilities of their authors; Vuk did not kill the Illyrian movement. Instead, we can say that Vuk's ideas better reflected the opinion of educated and influential Serbs than Gaj's did the opinions of educated and influential Serbs and Croats.

Croats too eventually gravitated to an exclusively Croatian national ideology, associated with Ante Starčević and his Croatian Party of Right. But the Yugoslav idea did not die; instead, it was adopted and nurtured in the 1860s by new forces, led by Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer. Strossmayer worked to build ties between Croatia's Croats and Serbs and the principality of Serbia to the south. He envisioned the creation of a large Yugoslav state, perhaps including Bulgaria, probably with its capital in Zagreb. Strossmayer worked with Ilija Garašanin in the late 1860s to create some sort of coalition between Serbia and Croatia.

This was an impractical goal, given the fact that Croatia was not a state at the time.

One Serbian "statement of purpose" regarding expansion and the nature of the Serbian nation has emerged from the period. It is entitled the *Načertanije* (Outline), and it was written by Garašanin, the Serbian minister of the interior, in 1844. One must be careful in assessing the importance of this document, since nobody outside of the Serbian government knew of its existence until 1906, and it is unclear how persuasive it was for any Serbian political figure other than Garašanin himself. It is probably best to consider the *Načertanije* to have been a general statement of aims that most Serbs could agree on regarding the future of the Serbian state. The *Načertanije* envisioned first the liberation of Serbs under Ottoman control in Bosnia; thereafter, Garašanin imagined the liberation of Kosovo and Macedonia. He was leery of antagonizing the Habsburg monarchy, so he described the unification of the Serbs of Croatia and Hungary with Serbia as a distant goal. The *Načertanije* has been the source of much debate over the century since it appeared: was it "Serbian" or "Yugoslav" in its orientation? On balance, however, it appears to have been a statement of Serbian aims: it never mentions unification with non-Serbs and assumes that Kosovo, Bosnia, and Macedonia are all Serbian lands (and, of course, that assertion was and remains absurd).

Garašanin composed the *Načertanije* at a time when Serbs had little interest in combining with other South Slavs. By 1860, however, when Mihailo Obrenović ascended the Serbian throne, the situation had changed. Prince Mihailo was Miloš's son and had grand plans for his Serbian state. His goal was to expel the Ottoman Empire from the Balkan Peninsula and create a large kingdom of South Slavs, including Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Bulgars, and his method would be to bring about a grand alliance of Balkan Christians to fight the Ottomans. Although Garašanin had been Mihailo's political enemy, Mihailo kept him as an advisor after coming to the throne. Thanks to the growth of Yugoslavism in Croatia, Garašanin by 1860 had come to see the potential of cooperation with the Croats, not just as allies (as with the other Balkan Christians) but as Yugoslavs, or members of the same nation.

Thus the 1860s saw a flurry of diplomatic activity initiated by Serbia. In 1860 Mihailo sent Vuk Karadžić to Cetinje to talk about alliance with the Montenegrin prince, Nikola; in the early 1860s he provided assistance to Bulgarian nationalist revolutionaries; in 1861, Garašanin went to Novi Sad to discuss collaboration with the Serbs and Hungarians of the Habsburg monarchy, and later that same year he went to Istanbul to discuss alliance with the Greek ambassador there. The problem generally with Mihailo's plans was that neither Serbia nor its prospective allies were strong enough to defeat the Ottomans. Nonetheless, in 1866 it seemed that the moment might be at hand. The Habsburg monarchy was defeated by Prussia in the Six Weeks War, and the Cretan Uprising forced the Ottomans to abandon their garrisons in Serbia. Garašanin concluded a formal alliance with Montenegro, and he entered negotiations with Strossmayer in Croatia on cooperation with the Croats. It all came to naught, however, when Prince Mihailo was assassinated on 9 June 1868 by opponents of his authoritarian domestic system. With his death, the alliances all dissolved, which was evidence of their tenuousness in the first place. The entire episode reinforced the fact that at this early stage in its modern history, Serbia could do little to liberate its brethren, however defined, without help from one or more of the great powers (Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and the Habsburg monarchy).

Until the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), Serbia required outside assistance, whether intended or not, to expand territorially. Between 1875 and 1878, the so-called Eastern Crisis offered just such assistance. With a modest contribution of its own, Serbia was able to add a bit of territory and achieve independence from the Ottoman Empire. The Eastern Crisis of 1875 began, as did so many other crises, with a peasant uprising, which began in July when Orthodox leaders in Hercegovina rebelled against Ottoman tax collectors. Prince Milan hoped to avoid war, but his people had become deeply involved in a romantic nationalism that would not tolerate inaction when fellow Serbs were rebelling against the Ottomans. The crisis spread to other districts of Bosnia, and the Ottomans stationed an army on Bosnia's border with Serbia. In December the great powers got involved when Austria's foreign minister, Gyula Andrassy, issued a demand that the Ottoman Empire reform its administration in Bosnia. The Russian government wished Serbia to remain out of the crisis, but as in Serbia, the Russian populace had come under the sway of Pan-Slavists (as those were called who looked to unite Slavs under some political or cultural association), who wished to push Russia into war with the Ottoman Empire.

While this complicated situation played out, the Bulgarians rose in rebellion in April of 1876, bringing a brutal Ottoman response. Public opinion in much of Europe became violently anti-Ottoman. In the spring of 1876 Russian general Mikhail G. Cherniaev, a decorated veteran of campaigns in Central Asia, showed up in Belgrade. Cherniaev, in the service of Pan-Slavists in Russia, let the Serbs believe that he represented official Russia; the Serbs fell for his ruse. He was made a citizen of Serbia and sent off to lead Serbia's troops against the Ottomans in a war that began in July 1876.

Serbia's four armies fought horribly, and there was no general Balkan uprising. The end came in November 1876, when Serbia, supported by an ultimatum from Russia, sued for peace. At the same time, the Russian government began to put pressure on the Ottomans, with the threat of war looming. But Serbia had lost its chance at Russian patronage; its war effort had been woeful, and after Russia saved Serbia from annihilation in November, the Serbs made territorial demands on Russia (that Bosnia and the Niš district should go to Serbia in the event of victory against the Turks that were bold enough to insult Russian leaders).

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 began in June with a Russian attack south across the Danube into Ottoman territory in Bulgaria. It ended in January 1878, with an armistice signed in Edirne. Throughout this war, Russia treated the Serbs as second-rate fighters; Russia now placed Serbian interests below Bulgarian needs. The Treaty of San Stefano, which ended this conflict in March 1878, was a bracing setback to the Serbs, who gained 388 square kilometers of almost meaningless territory around Niš and recognition of independence. This treaty also created an enormous Bulgaria that swallowed nearly half of the Balkan Peninsula. It offended everyone, however, but Russia and Bulgaria, so Russia was forced to submit to a European congress at Berlin, which convened in June and July 1878. Here, Serbia gained another 129 square kilometers of territory, but Bulgaria was partitioned into three separate units. Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania were declared independent states. Perhaps the most important results of the Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878 were that Serbia was now in the Austro-Hungarian sphere of influence, and that Bosnia and Hercegovina were occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary (as the Habsburg monarchy was now known). Serbia now had to proceed without the patronage of Russia, and without the possibility of uniting with its northern and western neighbors, who were part of the now-allied Habsburg monarchy.

Between 1878 and 1903, Serbia found itself in the unlikely position of being an Austro-Hungarian client. Russia, Serbia's Orthodox Christian patron for three-quarters of a century, had chosen to view Bulgaria as its ticket to the straits for one good reason: geographically, Bulgaria was right on the road to Istanbul, whereas Serbia was oriented to the western Balkans. It is true that, for Russia, Bulgaria was an unknown quantity, and the fact that it had been divided into three separate entities at Berlin in 1878 made it more likely to be an unstable client. Nonetheless, Serbia remained uncomfortably in Austria's sphere of influence. The relationship, understood after 1878, was formalized in 1881 with a trade treaty and a secret treaty of the same year. The trade treaty made Serbia a virtual colony of Austria-Hungary and stunted its industrial growth for years. The secret treaty placed Serbia in a completely subordinate position to its northern neighbor. Serbia could not negotiate or conclude a treaty with another state without Austria's permission; in return, Prince Milan could proclaim Serbia a kingdom, and himself king, whenever he wished. He did so in March 1882.

Serbia's political spectrum began to diversify after the Russo-Turkish war and its aftermath. A new Progressive Party, representing younger Serbs, often educated abroad, emerged before the war, and with the support of Prince Milan Obrenović, became the governing party in 1880. More importantly, though, the Radical Party was formed in the mid-1870s. Its original leaders, including Pera Todorović and Nikola Pašić, had been educated abroad and were close to Svetozar Marković's Serbian socialist movement. Eventually moving more to the center of the political spectrum, the Radicals were known for their advocacy of peasant interests and the notion of local self-government, a term that became their slogan and the name of the party newspaper: *Samouprava.* The party's 1881 program called for universal male suffrage, local self-government, free public education, support for Serbian unification, and freedom of the press and association. The party became a virulent critic of the reign of Milan Obrenović and his son Aleksandar, largely because of the corruption of their regimes and their complete failure to further Serbian national interests as the Radicals understood them (the unification of Serbs, in other words).

SERBIA'S GOLDEN AGE

In June 1903 a group of officers in the Serbian army conspired to murder the king and queen of Serbia, Aleksandar Obrenović and his wife Draga. The murders of the king and queen were motivated by two factors: the conspirators' belief that Aleksandar was an incompetent and a patsy of the Austrian government, and thus unable to fulfill Serbian national goals as they understood them; and the belief that the scandalous behavior of Aleksandar and Draga (Belgrade society believed her to be a "woman of ill repute") had rendered them embarrassments to Serbia on the European stage. The murders were carried out with great brutality, the king and queen being shot to death and then hacked into pieces, behavior that actually served temporarily to worsen the reputation of Serbia abroad. But eventually, after Petar (Peter) Karadjordjević, grandson of the original Karadjordje and member of the Obrenovićes' rival dynasty, ascended the Serbian throne with the death of Aleksandar, Serbia's fortunes began to take a turn for the better.

Historians have often termed the period from 1903 to 1914 a sort of golden age for Serbia, as the state more successfully defended Serbian national interests, projected Serbian power on the Balkan Peninsula, and perhaps enjoyed a period of true democracy. On the other hand, it all happened in the shadow of World War I, which was an enormous tragedy for the country. Petar Karadjordjević proved to be an uninvolved ruler; power was in the hands of the Radical Party, which benefited from the change in dynasties and became the most powerful political party in Serbia through the interwar period. Led by Nikola Pašić, the party had been founded in 1881 as an expression of peasant interests. By the end of his career, Pašić had been alternately revered and detested: revered for the expansion of Serbia that occurred on his watch and for his stewardship of Serbia through extremely violent times, detested for his stubbornness and his party's corruption, and his own insensitivity toward non-Serbs in interwar Yugoslavia. In the earlier era, however, Serbia was plagued by the conspirators who had murdered Aleksandar Obrenović and who continued to act as an extra-constitutional force in Serbian politics. In 1911 they formed an organization called Union or Death (colloquially, the Black Hand), which played a critical role in the origins of World War I.

The obstacles facing the Radicals and King Petar after June 1903 were sizable. Serbia's image had been tarnished by the brutality of the murders of royalty, and several of the European courts (most importantly, Great Britain) required a period of waiting before they would recognize the new king. Furthermore, the Karadjordjevićs and the Radicals alike were known to be Russophile, while Serbia under the Obrenovićs had had a special relationship with

Nikola Pašić

Nikola Pašić was born in 1845 in Zaječar, Serbia, and died in Belgrade in 1926. He was one of the original members of the Radical Party in Serbia, which he, Pera Todorović, and Adam Bogosavljević founded in 1880, and which was the dominant party in Serbia and Yugoslavia from 1903 through the Great Depression. Pašić was educated in Belgrade and in Zurich, Switzerland (from 1868 to 1872), where he received his degree in engineering. In Switzerland, he was influenced mightily by the ideas of Mikhail Bakunin, the Russian anarchist. His original circle included Svetozar Marković, who later became the first influential Serbian socialist. When Pašić returned to Serbia in 1873, he took a government job. By 1875, though, he had determined to go into politics. In 1878 he succeeded in being elected to the Skupština (the Serbian legislature). He, Todorović, and others soon (1880) officially formed the Radical Party, which at that point was perhaps not as radical as its leaders' résumés would suggest. In its first program in 1881, the party demanded universal male suffrage, self-government for local communes, the usual press and speech freedoms, a more effective banking system that would make money available locally, a modernized judicial system, and an assertive foreign policy with the unification of Serbs as its goal.

Pašić's glory years were between 1903 and 1918, when he served as prime minister of Serbia and the Radical Party governed essentially unchallenged. By that time, the party's socialist roots were virtually invisible; the party no longer filled its role as representative of the peasant landholder, having shifted its focus to carrying out its aggressive foreign policy. Coming to power on the heels of the assassination of King Aleksandar Obrenović and firmly tied to the Karadjordjević house and King Petar (Peter), the Radicals pursued a policy of the unification of Serbian communities throughout the Balkans and worked closely with Russia. The key events of this era included the so-called Pig War, a customs war with Austria-Hungary that lasted from 1905 to 1911 and served to sever Serbia's close ties with that empire; the two Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, which expanded Serbian territory to the south; and finally, Serbia's participation in World War I. All bore the signs of Pašić's uncompromising belief that Serbs should be unified and independent, no matter the cost.

During World War I, in Entente diplomacy and in relations with the Yugoslav Committee in London, the Pašić government steadfastly refused to concede that any other entity than Serbia should be responsible for the unification of the South Slavs. When the new country was formed and its government created between late 1918 and 1921, Pašić and Serbia were able to enforce their will on an extremely disparate variety of opposition forces. For better or for worse, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes could rightly be considered Pašić's gift to the South Slav peoples.

The last years of Pašić's life were spent managing his unstable creation. The Radical Party earned a reputation less for its consistent pursuit of Serbian interests (though it certainly continued that pursuit) than for its corruption and unwillingness to adapt to circumstances, which had changed radically since the prewar period. When Pašić died in 1926, the constitutional monarchy that he had helped found was only to last another two years.

the Habsburg monarchy. Petar Karadjordjević was crowned king in September 1904. Austria and Russia were the first to recognize the new situation, given their rivalry for influence in the kingdom. By 1906, relations with Great Britain had been reestablished. However, recognition did not mean stability: in fact, the Austro-Russian rivalry was only heightened after 1903, since Serbia's subservience to Austria had been called into question by the overthrow of the Obrenović line. Serbian attempts to act independently in economic and foreign affairs prompted punitive actions by the Austrian government, which wished to retain its predominance in Belgrade. The so-called Pig War was one result. Provoked by the Serbian government, which negotiated trade and political agreements with Bulgaria in 1904 and 1905 without Austrian consent, the Pig War was a customs war, by which Austria hoped to prove that Serbia could not go it alone internationally (it lasted from 1906 to 1911). But the new Radical government in Serbia wished to demonstrate that it could in fact act without Austrian support. Serbia survived the customs war, but its relationship with Austria was now destroyed (as the Serbian government had intended). Serbia's attachment to Russia and competition with Austria were now assured.

The period between 1908 and 1914 saw Serbia aggressively pursuing perceived national interests. Since the mid-nineteenth century, Serbian governments had considered two likely avenues of expansion: one to the west and north, into Bosnia and perhaps Croatia and Hungary, the other to the south, into Ottoman territories of Macedonia ("South Serbia") and Kosovo ("Old Serbia"). All of those regions were seen by Serbs as Serbian by virtue of their populations

Portrait of Nikola Pašić, prime minister of Serbia (1891–1892, 1904–1905, 1906–1908, 1909–1911,1912–1914, 1914–1918) and of Yugoslavia (1921–1926). (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

or histories (Bosnian, Croatian, and Hungarian territories were considered Serbian because of their demographics, Macedonia and Kosovo because of their historical ties to Serbian states of the past). The new, confident Radical government, along with an overconfident and overly influential military (parts of which had brought King Petar and the Radicals to power) saw themselves as eventual unifiers of the Serbs. Accordingly, when the Habsburg government announced the unilateral annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina (as it had come to be known) in October 1908, the Serbian government responded hostilely. Bosnia was populated by a mix of South Slavs: in 1879, 43 percent Orthodox Serbs, 39 percent Muslim Slavs, and 18 percent Catholic Croats. Most Serbs viewed Bosnia as an incontestable Serbian inheritance from the Ottoman Empire. When the Habsburg monarchy annexed the region, a negative Serbian response was inevitable.

Between October 1908 and March 1909, Serbia, joined by its Russian patron (which had its own reasons for hostility to the annexation), threatened war against Austria. After six months of posturing, Russia backed down when Germany issued an ultimatum in support of its Austrian ally. Serbia followed suit. But Serbian anger did not subside, and the attention of the Serbian government only turned away from Bosnia for the time being. Beginning in late 1909, the Pašić government began to court the Bulgarian government, with the goal of creating a military alliance that would push the Ottoman Empire out of Europe. Over the course of the next two and a half years, with the help of local Russian representatives (who were more aggressive than their superiors back home), an alliance was formed of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro. This "Balkan Alliance" was intended to provoke war with the Ottomans, defeat the Ottoman Empire, and then divide the territorial spoils. By late summer 1912, the alliance was prepared to go to war. When it did so in October, it took its Russian patron and the rest of Europe by surprise.

The Balkan Wars were accompanied by an outpouring of support for Serbia in Croatia and Bosnia, a reflection of the growth of the popularity of the idea that Serbia should serve as the South Slavic Piedmont (in reference to the role that the Piedmont played in the unification of Italy). Strossmayer's Yugoslavism was a Croatian movement, but the idea of Yugoslavism made advances among the Serbs of the Habsburg monarchy as well. The Serbian National Church Congress spoke for Serbs as members of a church rather than as individuals, and therefore came under fire in the late nineteenth century by Serbs who viewed such an identity as stale and retrograde. In the early twentieth century, powerful opponents of this corporatist inclination had emerged. Two political parties dominated Serbian life in Croatia and Hungary: the Serbian Radical Party and the Serbian Independent Party, the first of which remained loyal to the privileges that had been granted to the Serbs who had migrated into the Habsburg monarchy to escape Ottoman rule, starting in the fifteenth century, whereas the second sought security via a constitutional order within the monarchy. Both were devoted to the security of Serbs as such, although the Independents believed that such security could only be found in agreement rather than competition with Serbs' Croatian neighbors.

The Serbian Independent Party was the more dynamic of the two, thanks to its more modern political ideology and its more aggressive leadership, which included Svetozar Pribičević, who was to lead Croatia's Serbs through the 1930s. Pribičević was responsible for two innovations in Serbian politics within the Habsburg monarchy: he advanced the cause of constitutionalism over the politics of corporate privilege, and he was an adherent of the notion that South Slavs were all members of the same nation (Yugoslavism). His (and his party's) embrace of Yugoslavism breathed life into the concept, whose popularity had waned in Croatia in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Pribičević and the Serbian Independent Party in Croatia were largely responsible for building the Croato-Serbian Coalition, the most popular political organization in Croatia after 1905.

Until 1903, the notion that Serbia could provide the basis for an independent and unified South Slav state seemed laughable, but in the aftermath of the assassination of Aleksandar and Draga in that year, Serbia's reputation grew among South Slavs outside Serbia itself. The fact that Russia had replaced Austria-Hungary as Serbia's great power patron contributed; Russia could afford to be much more aggressive in Balkan diplomacy than the more conservative Habsburgs, who were wary of taking on new commitments to the south. The fact that Serbia had so valiantly (if futilely) opposed the annexation of Bosnia also brought some luster to the little state. But beyond those reasons, the fact was that Serbian intellectual, cultural, and political life had begun to embrace the glorious goals of the Yugoslav movement. By the time of the Balkan Wars, younger Croats and Serbs were even more militant proponents of the unity of Serbs and Croats. They viewed Serbia as the standard bearer of Yugoslavism, and the Balkan Wars as their wars.

The First Balkan War was a surprising success. Bulgarian armies were able to take Kirk Killisi by October 24 and threaten Istanbul thereafter. The Serbian military defeated the Ottomans at Kumanovo on October 24, and the Montenegrin and Greek armies besieged Skadar and Ionnina, respectively. A problem arose, however, when it came time to determine the fate of the conquered territories. Originally, the Serbs and Bulgars had agreed on a set of territorial dispositions that called for Bulgaria to receive a large portion of Macedonia and Serbia to receive Kosovo, with a contested zone in between whose fate would be decided by Russia. That agreement was wrecked by the fact that the Serbs did not gain access to the Adriatic, which had been envisioned by the original treaty of alliance; at the London Conference, which convened to negotiate an end to the war, the Habsburg monarchy had refused to allow Serbs access to the sea. The Serbs demanded compensation in Macedonia, which the Bulgars rejected. The key region, in Macedonia, had not been assigned to either state in the original treaty, instead being left to Russian mediation.

The result of the disagreement was the Second Balkan War, which began on 29 June 1913, as ally fought ally, meaning in this case all of the allies plus Romania, in for spoils, fighting Bulgaria. Of course Bulgaria lost this unequal struggle, and the result of the Treaty of Bucharest which ended the war was a radically enlarged Serbia and Greece. The territory that Serbia incorporated following the Second Balkan War included Kosovo and modern Macedonia. The demographic structure of these regions was complicated: the Sandžak, Kosovo, and Macedonia were all multiethnic regions. Serbia expanded from 48,300 square kilometers to 87,300; its population rose from 2.9 million to 4.4 million people. For the Serbian government, the annexed territories were a headache, as military and civilian authorities contested the right to administer them. This struggle, which reflected the power of the military in Serbian life and the uncertainty of constitutional authority, was not finished when World War I began, less than a year after the end of the Second Balkan War; historians often consider the two Balkan wars and World War I to be one long conflict, which makes perfect sense from the Serbian perspective.

SERBIA IN WORLD WAR I

The immediate cause of World War I could be found in Serbia, or at least among Serbs: on 28 June 1914, a young Serb named Gavrilo Princip assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, Sophie. Princip was one of several young conspirators who were armed in Belgrade by the organization Union or Death in order to carry out the assassination. The conspirators themselves were members of Young Bosnia, a nationalist organization that sought the creation of a Yugoslav state. In the aftermath of the assassination, the Austrian government placed an ultimatum before the Serbian government on 23 July 1914: the ultimatum made ten demands, all but one of which were deemed acceptable by the Serbian government. The rejected demand was that the Serbs allow Austrian investigators to come to Belgrade and examine government documents, which the Serbs deemed too grave a breach of Serbian sovereignty to allow. As a result, the Habsburg monarchy declared war on Serbia on 28 July 1914. This war, between Austria and Serbia, could easily have been foreseen as a result of the assassination. However, the war became a European affair quite quickly, as the Russian government jumped to the defense of Serbia, which brought Germany into the fray as well. France and then Britain followed, and a Balkan conspiracy became an extremely destructive war, in both human terms and for the damage it did to European stability in the long term.

Serbia was at war with Austria-Hungary from 28 July 1914. Most historians would probably agree that, according to the values and the logic of international affairs prevailing in 1914, Austria's war against Serbia was just. The Serbian government did not participate in the planning for the assassination, but members of the officer corps (involved in the organization Union or Death) of the Serbian army did. There is evidence that the Serbian government wished to avoid war in 1914 at all costs. At the very least, though, the crisis revealed that Serbia's constitutional order was unstable, and the persistent violence emanating from Serbia (or the work of Habsburg Serbs) had reached proportions that Austria could not and would not stand any longer.

Serbia disappeared as a state by November 1915, but not before some stunning victories. On 12 August 1914, Austro-Hungarian invaders pushed through Belgrade into northern and western Serbia, but were repulsed at the Battle of Kolubara on 15 December, which drove the Austrians out. In October 1915 the tide changed. Austrian armies were now under the command of the German general August von Mackensen, who attacked Serbia anew on 6 October. On 9 October, Bulgaria also attacked, and the result was a rout. On 28 November, the notorious "flight in winter" of Serbian troops and civilians over the Albanian mountains began; 240,000 Serbs died, while about 200,000 survivors made it to the coast and refuge on the island of Corfu, where the Serbian government set up shop for the duration of the war. From that point, Serbia's focus during the war was to be sure that its Russian, French, and British allies did not forget its sacrifices. This was essentially a diplomatic war, which only occasionally demanded a military effort.

Diplomatically, Serbia was caught between great power allies with agendas of their own, Habsburg South Slavs who were (at best) uncertain about unity with Serbia and a contingent of "Yugoslav" exiles from Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia who united to form a "Yugoslav Committee," whose purpose was to agitate among the British and French for the creation of an independent Yugoslav state. This was a predicament for the Serbian government, which, in the person of Nikola Pašić, attempted to act pragmatically and in the interests of Serbia rather than idealistically and in the interests of a visionary Yugoslavia. Pašić the pragmatist thus reacted to events as the war progressed. Until 1917 (when the United States entered and Russia withdrew from the war), Pašić understood that his Entente allies and protectors (Britain, France, and Russia) had no interest in destroying the Habsburg monarchy; instead, they wished to convince it to sign a separate peace and to sustain it as a force for stability in Central Europe.

In such conditions, the Serbian government could gain little by agitating for the creation of a Yugoslav state; instead, it could and should work, at most, toward the aggrandizement of Serbia. The Serbian government did so in the best tradition of nineteenth-century horse-trading. For instance, the Serbs gained the agreement of the British and French to the eventual annexation of Bosnia and parts of Dalmatia when the Entente was tempting Bulgaria with a promise of Serbian territory, but that deal died with Bulgaria's adherence to the Triple Alliance in 1915. The clearest example of this sort of diplomacy came with the Treaty of London in April of 1915, by which the Entente bought the entry of Italy into the war. The price: much of the Dalmatian coast, the homeland of some of the most idealistic and aggressive "Yugoslavs" among Croats. With no apparent support for the creation of a Yugoslav state, Serbia could comfortably seek limited, Serbian goals: the reestablishment of the Serbia of July 1914 and perhaps some pieces of territory at the expense of the Habsburgs at war's end.

There was always pressure to expand those goals, however, and from mid-1917 forward, more expansive goals made a bit more sense. Nicholas II, the tsar of Russia, always Serbia's best friend, abdicated in March 1917; the United States, with the idealistic Woodrow Wilson as president, entered the war; and, perhaps most importantly, separate peace negotiations with Austria-Hungary were finally broken off, which meant that the Entente could now consider the dismemberment of the monarchy. As early as November 1914, several influential Croats had gathered in Italy to begin agitating for the creation of a Yugoslav state; with the Treaty of London in April 1915, these émigrés began to work as the Yugoslav Committee.

The Yugoslav Committee was headed by Frano Supilo, a dynamic Croat from Rijeka (Fiume) whose Yugoslavism was unquestioned. Other members included Ante Trumbić, a Croat and convinced Yugoslav, Ivan Meštrović, the great sculptor, and other Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs. The committee feared most that the war would end with Italy incorporating South Slavic territory, especially Dalmatia. It operated from a position of great weakness from the outset, since it had no legal standing and the Entente really did not need to satisfy it. It was also not clear whether the committee represented the general opinion of the Habsburg South Slav populations. Nevertheless, with the change in composition of the Entente, and with the end of separate peace negotiations with the Habsburg monarchy, the British and French governments began to consider the Yugoslav Committee a useful tool. Pašić refused to consider the Yugoslav committee an official, legal representative of the Habsburg South Slavs, and in this he exemplified Serbian opinion in general. For Pašić, Serbian interests took precedence over the interests of a committee that represented people in an enemy state, people he knew were to be found fighting loyally for the Habsburgs against Serbia. But, given the attitudes of its allies, Serbia needed to come to some sort of agreement with the committee.

The Corfu Declaration of June 1917 was signed by Ante Trumbić for the committee and Nikola Pašić for the Serbian government. The assumption of the Corfu Declaration was that the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were all one people, an assertion that the Serbian government had endorsed as early as December 1914 in the Niš Declaration. The declaration proclaimed the goal of the creation of a Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under the Karadjordjević dynasty in a constitutional monarchy. The constitution would be promulgated by a constituent assembly to be elected at a later date. The symbols (flags, coats of arms) of each of the three named peoples of the new state would be respected by all; Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Islam would be equal; the scripts would be equal as well. The various peoples of the state would have "the opportunity to develop their individual energies in autonomous units" (Petrovich 645). So the Corfu Declaration endorsed the creation of a unified state for Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It also laid out fairly clearly how that state should be constructed once the war was over. What it could not do was predict the course the war would take; nor could it make the Serbian government (in the person of Pašić) respect the Yugoslav Committee as its legal equal.

Had the war ended without contention, with Habsburg, German, and Bulgarian armies withdrawing from the lands that the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes considered to be theirs, with a peaceful transition to power by (especially) Croats and Slovenes who wished to form a state with Serbia, the prescriptions of the Corfu Declaration might have been valid. What happened, however, was that the war ended chaotically; not all Croats and Slovenes wished to join Serbia in a Yugoslavia, and the enemies did not withdraw in an orderly fashion. A reconstituted Serbian army fought north through Macedonia via the Salonika front. There were those who did not wish for union with Serbia, and while the enemy was in no position to continue the war, Italy, an Entente ally, attempted to take territory in Dalmatia and Istria that most Croats felt to be Croatian. It was above all the fear of Italy that drove Croatia and Slovenia into the arms of Serbia, the one actor that had the military to defend South Slavic territory from Italy. In November 1918 there were numerous negotiations between various bodies and individuals representing a variety of interests. The most prominent players were the Serbian government of Nikola Pašić; the crown, in the person of Crown Prince Aleksandar; the National Council, which had proclaimed itself sovereign in Croatia and Slovenia; and the Yugoslav Committee, whose position was now in question, given the fact that the war was over.

The most concrete negotiations that took place produced the Geneva Declaration on 9 November; the Serbian government was displeased with this declaration because it placed Serbia in an equal or subordinate position to Habsburg South Slavs. On 1 December 1918, after the National Council in Zagreb, other regional bodies, and the Prince-Regent, Aleksandar, had agreed on terms for unification, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was proclaimed in Belgrade. The act of declaring unity papered over problems that continued to plague the new state throughout its existence. The key difficulty was to determine the relationship of Serbs to Croats, Slovenes, Muslims, and others, as well as the relationship of the various newly unified regions to Belgrade.

INTERWAR SERBIA

The prewar Kingdom of Serbia became the postwar Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The monarch (now King Aleksandar, the son of King Petar), the government, the military, the currency, the bureaucracy, all were simply expanded to envelop the territories that were now incorporated with Serbia into the new state. The constitution of the new state, known as the Vidovdan Constitution for the day on which it was approved by the Yugoslav parliament (28 June 1921, St. Vitus's Day, a Serbian holy day), was a centralizing constitution that passed by a bare majority of the representatives in the parliament, many of whom (primarily Stjepan Radić's Croatian Peasant Party representatives) abstained in opposition to the document. Such a document gave some assurance to Serbian interests that they would not be ignored but left many of the other nations of Yugoslavia feeling deeply aggrieved at the outset of the new state's existence. The Vidovdan Constitution was not designed to promote harmony between the disparate nations of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

From 1921 to 1928, the kingdom was governed as a parliamentary monarchy. Politics in the kingdom was dominated by the Radical Party and Nikola Pašić, but that party, always a plurality but incapable of gaining a majority of seats in the Yugoslav parliament, found it impossible to create stable coalition governments. Pašić tried to collaborate with Svetozar Pribičević, the leader of Croatia's Serbs, and then even with Stjepan Radić, the mercurial head of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, but in both cases the personalities and the overwhelming administrative and constitutional issues made it impossible to govern coherently. When Stjepan Radić was gunned down in the Yugoslav parliament on 20 June 1928 by Puniša Račić, an otherwise unremarkable Montenegrin deputy, the parliamentary experiment came to an end. Seven months later, King Aleksandar proclaimed a renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia and abolished the Vidovdan Constitution. Yugoslavia became a royal dictatorship for five years.

King Aleksandar initiated several flashy changes in Yugoslav administration. Aside from changing the name of the state, he also abolished all existing administrative districts and established nine *banovine,* or counties, each named after geographic features, mainly rivers. Of these new banovine, the Drava banovina resembled Slovenia, but the others were largely ahistorical. Serbs inhabited four banovine, and in each they were a majority. To this clear attempt to eliminate historical national consciousness from political discourse in Yugoslavia, Aleksandar added a new constitution in 1931 that had provisions designed to further degrade regional loyalties. Candidates running for the parliament needed to get signatures from voters in each of Yugoslavia's three hundred new electoral districts in order to be on the ballot. In an upper house, or senate, members would be split between royal appointees and those appointed by councils in each banovina. These were creative and perhaps admirable attempts to overcome national rivalries such as that which had resulted in Stjepan Radić's murder, but it was too little, and much too late. By 1934, forces devoted to the destruction of Yugoslavia had grown strong, including the Macedonian revolutionaries in the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO) and Croatian nationalists in the Ustaša. The Ustaša, formed in 1929 in Italy under the leadership of Ante Pavelić, became notorious during World War II as the leaders of the Independent State of Croatia. Now, though, in the 1930s the organization was marginal and quite weak, capable only of the occasional outrage. After three years of rather futile attempts to make the new constitution work, Aleksandar was assassinated in Marseilles by a Macedonian gunman in 1934.

In the summer of 1935 a regency headed by Aleksandar's cousin Prince Paul designated Milan Stojadinović to head the government. Stojadinović remained in that position until early 1939, the longest tenure of any interwar Yugoslav prime minister. He was able to maintain power by reaching out to Croats and by putting into effect successful economic policies that relied on trade with Germany. When he fell, it was thanks to an unexpected controversy over a concordat that he negotiated with the Vatican, regulating the Catholic Church's position in Yugoslavia. Opposition from Serbs, led by the Orthodox Church, destroyed Stojadinović's power base and led to his downfall.

By the time of Stojadinović's fall from power, the question of Croatia's place in Yugoslavia had become preeminent. Prince Paul arranged the formation of a government amenable to compromise with the Croats, and the result was the Cvetković-Maček *Sporazum* (Agreement) of 20 August 1939. This agreement gave Croatia autonomy within Yugoslavia, within historical Croatian borders, with some Bosnian territory added. The new Croatian banovina comprised 30 percent of Yugoslavia's territory and included a Serbian minority of nearly 20 percent. This agreement satisfied only Croats, and not all of them. Serbs wondered where their banovina was; Slovenes had the same concern. More extreme Croats demanded that more or all of Bosnia be included in the banovina. The Sporazum was an unstable first step in a solution to the national question in Yugoslavia. Further steps in that solution did not come before World War II broke out a little over a week later.

Yugoslavia remained out of the conflict until the spring of 1941. Prime Minister Cvetković relied on the hope that Germany did not really need Yugoslavia to prosecute its war; nonetheless, by March 1941, the Germans had determined that Yugoslavia must sign on to the Tripartite Pact, which the government did on 25 March. As a result, on 27 March, Serbian military officers led by General Dušan Simović, profoundly angered by an alliance with a traditional Serbian enemy, executed a coup d'état and declared underage Prince Peter the new king of Yugoslavia. As a result, German forces invaded Yugoslavia on 6 April.

SERBIA IN WORLD WAR II

Yugoslavia disintegrated in April 1941, and the parts went in disparate directions. In Serbia, a quisling regime was established; Bosnia and Croatia constituted the Independent State of Croatia, a fascist state whose leadership attempted to kill all of its Jews and Gypsies and kill, convert to Catholicism, or expel all of its Serbs; Macedonia became part of Bulgaria; and Slovenia was split between Italy and Germany. Serbian society was more fragmented than most. Territorially, parts of Serbia, as defined by most Serbs, went to Italian-occupied Albania (Kosovo), Italy (part of Montenegro), Hungary (western Vojvodina), Bulgaria (Macedonia), and the Independent State of Croatia (Serb-populated regions of Croatia and Bosnia). Politically, the destruction of Yugoslavia in April 1941 left several groups of Serbs: Serbians loyal to the government in exile (Prince Peter), who were loosely gathered under the leadership of former Royal Army colonel Dragoljub (Draža) Mihailović, known as Četniks; members of the fascist paramilitary group Zbor, led by Dimitrije Ljotić, whose allegiance was to the puppet Serbian state headed by Milan Nedić; others loyal to Nedić; those who fought with Tito's communist Partisans; and those who chose not to choose sides.

The Serbian experience of World War II was more tragic than that of any other Yugoslav people, but unfortunately there is not enough space available to go deeply into it here. The war in Yugoslavia is best described as a civil war, with three main forces contesting the outcome: the Četniks; the Partisans; and the Ustaša, the insurgent Croatian nationalist force that stood behind the Independent State of Croatia, which in turn consisted of prewar Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Of course, the German and Italian forces that invaded and occupied various portions of Yugoslavia remained in the country, the Italians until late 1943 and the Germans until the end of the war. But while the invaders provided the excuse for the hostilities, they were rarely the focus.

It would be a mistake to view the Četniks as a unified fighting force, for there were various focal points for the movement, with different leaders and different goals and methods. Nonetheless, there was one acknowledged leader, Draža Mihailović, whose Ravna Gora movement was the best known among Četniks. Mihailović was a standard-issue Serbian nationalist, one who believed that Serbs should have a state of their own and that the interwar Yugoslav state had been a mistake, and who was rabidly anticommunist. Mihailović and his Četniks were, until late 1943, the resistance movement recognized as "official" by the British and Americans, and Mihailović himself was minister of defense in the Yugoslav government in exile. Over the course of the war, his movement came under increasing suspicion of being less interested in resistance than in awaiting the end of the war in good position to take power. Certainly one important reason for this reluctance to fight was the overwhelming retaliations of the Germans. Nevertheless, with the Italian surrender of late 1943, the British and Americans switched their own support to the Partisans, who at least appeared to be more willing to engage the Germans.

The Partisans began their war in late summer 1941, following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, which freed up all European communists to begin open resistance. For the first year or so of the war, the Partisans approached the war as a social revolution, treating "liberated" territories to the full gamut of Stalinist measures. Soon they realized, however, that they could attract more support by shifting the focus of their efforts from social revolution to opposition to nationalism. The Četniks and the Ustaša had alienated or frightened enough Yugoslavs—and especially Serbs—that it became fruitful policy for the members of the Communist Party to position themselves as seekers of "brotherhood and unity" rather than as virulent communists. As such, the Partisans became ever more powerful and popular as the war progressed, at the expense of the national resistance and collaboration movements.

The Ustaša—the third major force that affected Serbs—did so in a negative way, which is to say that they never competed for the hearts and souls of Serbs. Instead, Serbs were the focus of the collective rage of this extremist, fringe Croatian nationalist group, which only had the opportunity to act because its leader, Ante Pavelić, was put in place by the Germans as Croatia's wartime collaborationist leader. The Ustaša was a crudely violent organization, which attempted to rid wartime Croatia of Serbs. They tried all available methods: forced emigration, conversion to Catholicism, and murder, to do so. They murdered Serbs on an individual and a collective basis, by slaughtering the inhabitants of Serbian towns and villages and by creating death camps like that at Jasenovac. They only appealed to Croats, and probably can be credited with making the Partisans a more viable option for Serbs than they otherwise would have been. Ultimately, the Ustaša have been credited with killing anywhere from 10,000 to 1.7 million Serbs (obviously, both these numbers are the absurd extremes). The most reasonable, and generally accepted, estimate is that a total of something less than 500,000 Serbs were killed during the war. The Ustaša are believed to have been responsible for several tens of thousands of those. This was not the Nazi killing machine, but it was nonetheless wholesale and mindless slaughter in the name of a racist variant of Croatian nationalism. It clouded Serbo-Croatian relations thereafter, for obvious reasons.

SERBIA IN TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA

The political configuration of Serbia in the new Yugoslavia was determined by a series of wartime and postwar decisions by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, KPJ). Serbia, a republic within the federation, had two autonomous units: Vojvodina, a province, and Kosovo and Metohija, a region, of lesser status than Vojvodina. The Party also decided to add to Vojvodina some territory that had belonged to Croatia and to create republics of Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia, all of which could conceivably have been added to Serbia or partitioned between Serbia and some other federal unit. Serbia was thus one of six Yugoslav republics in a fictitious federal system. The republics were intended as sops to the national feelings of their namesake nations. Only Bosnia did not fit that model, as at that point there was no nation calling itself Bosnian. Bosnia's fate, however, was contested by Serbs and Croats; its establishment as a republic reflected the instrumental nature of Yugoslavia's federal organization, as it was a compromise designed (ironically) to maintain stability in an extremely fractured society. As for the decision to make Kosovo and Metohija, which most Serbs considered a Serbian territory, an autonomous region of the Republic of Serbia, it clearly came at the expense of the Serbian republic, as did the designation of Vojvodina as an autonomous province (slightly higher in status than an autonomous "region"). In both cases, the intent was twofold: to satisfy a national minority (Albanians in Kosovo, Hungarians in Vojvodina) and to weaken Serbia. The Communist Party and then the Tito regime blamed Serbs for the failure of interwar Yugoslavia; keeping Serbia institutionally weak would work against a recurrence of the interwar situation.

Serbs in communist Yugoslavia were dispersed among all of the republics, with especially high concentrations in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina; Montenegro, nationally Montenegrin in the Titoist taxonomy, was nonetheless considered by many Serbs and Montenegrins alike to be a Serbian territory; and many Serbs found it difficult to acquiesce in the existence of a Macedonian republic and nationality (a Titoist construction, since Macedonia had never been a political unit but rather a geographical expression). Furthermore, Vojvodina and Kosovo-Metohija ("Kosmet" for short until 1963, when it was raised from autonomous region status to become the autonomous province of Kosovo) were now separate-from-but-part-of Serbia, which further atomized the Serbian community.

Unitl 1948, Tito and his colleagues governed Yugoslavia repressively, following the Stalinist model. In June 1948, however, Cominform (the Communist Information Bureau, the coordinating body of world communism, controlled of course by the Soviet Union) expelled Yugoslavia from its ranks. Stalin had grown weary of Tito's independence in foreign and domestic affairs, in spite of Tito's absolute adherence to the Stalinist precedent. Stalin's expectation was that the Yugoslav Communist Party would overthrow Tito and his leadership and install a more compliant one. The reverse occurred. In Yugoslavia, Tito and his regime became more popular, and loyalists to the Cominform were purged from the Party. The Tito regime survived under overwhelming pressure (both economic and military). By 1950, it had also begun its highly influential rethinking of Stalinism, which eventually resulted in the formulation of "self-management," a novel approach to the building of socialism by which workers were to control the workplace. Politically, the split with Stalin resulted in Yugoslavia moving closer to the West. In the realm of culture, the rethinking that followed the split with the Cominform resulted in the abandonment of socialist realism and a long period of relative cultural freedom.

The most important problem for the Tito regime remained the national question. New cultural norms were expected by most Serbian intellectual and cultural figures to contribute to the safety of their communities outside of Serbia proper. Titoism had to deal with certain antagonisms: non-Serbs wished to protect their cultures from assimilation, while Serbs wished to protect their diffused population. The combatants in this struggle utilized language drawn from past experience: Slovenes and Croats feared Serbian "centralism," "hegemonism," and the like, while Serbs would eventually discover words like "genocide" to characterize their fears of other nationalities. But Serbian fears were not kindled until the 1960s. During the first two decades of communism, it was the Serbs who engaged in the most substantive discussion of how to generate a new Yugoslav culture, because they needed one.

By 1961, economic performance in Yugoslavia had begun to slow noticeably. For the first time, the LCY (League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as the Yugoslav Communist Party was now called) reexamined the organization of the state, albeit from a purely economic perspective, and Serbia was in the end deeply affected. The debate on economic reform acted as a spur to camouflaged political debate. The conservative position found support among some, but not all, Serbian economists; many Serbian economists nonetheless gravitated to the conservative position out of a sense of national loyalty. Their logic held that centralization protected the Serbs of Yugoslavia, and central planning was integral to the centralized state. The fruits of this ongoing discussion included the 1963 constitution, which initiated a gradual devolution of economic decision-making power from the center to enterprises and local governments. The Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, held in December 1964 in Belgrade, placed the Party seal of approval on economic reforms supported by the liberals. The congress cleared the way for reforms of the economy that brought decentralizing political reforms with them. This decentralization came to make many Serbs doubt their own commitment to Yugoslavia and to Titoism.

An incoherent but growing Serbian opposition to Titoism began to be heard after 1966. There were a series of events that influenced and indicated the direction and character of that opposition: the demotion of Aleksandar Ranković in 1966, a language controversy in 1967, the student movement of June 1968, and the rebellion in Kosovo in November 1968. Those events were unrelated, but together they eventually provided the foundations of a relatively coherent Serbian critique of communism in Yugoslavia. That critique focused on Serbia's (and the Serbian people's) unequal position in the state. It argued that Serbs and Serbia, unfairly blamed for the failure of the interwar Yugoslav state and wrongly castigated for their na-

Aleksandar Ranković, Josip Broz "Tito," and Milovan Djilas during the Second World War. (Bettmann/Corbis) tionalist proclivities, had purposely been territorially and culturally divided by the Tito regime. That territorial and cultural division had resulted in the rewarding of the other peoples, republics, and provinces of Yugoslavia, primarily Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo. The reforms of the early 1960s, according to this view, had by their decentralizing tendencies exacerbated the fragmentation of the Serbian community of Yugoslavia.

In July 1966 Aleksandar Ranković, the ethnic Serb who was vice president of Yugoslavia and, until 1964, the head of state security in Yugoslavia (UDBa; uprava državne bezbednosti), was purged from his positions and eventually kicked out of the League of Communists. The first step in this process came on 1 July 1966, when the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia met on the island of Brioni (a meeting known as the Brioni Plenum). Here Ranković and his recent replacement as head of UDBa, Svetislav Stefanović, were condemned for a limited number of infractions. They boiled down to one critical accusation: that state security answered to only one man on the Central Committee of the League of Communists, Aleksandar Ranković, instead of the committee as a whole. Thus, in the words of Krste Crvenkovski, the Macedonian who chaired the commission, "Comrade Aleksandar Ranković became synonymous with the Central Committee" (Kesar and Simić 59).

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (CC LCS) set up its own commission to examine the evidence regarding UDBa a few days after Brioni; it presented its report on 5 September 1966 to the Central Committee; the Sixth Plenum of the CC LCS met on 14 and 15 September to hear the results. The League of Communists of Serbia moved beyond the limits set at Brioni, which had only asserted that under Ranković and Stefanović UDBa had abused its power. At the Sixth Plenum, a report of the Regional Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and Metohija was entered into the record. This report concluded that the security services in Kosovo actively persecuted those of Albanian nationality: "The ideological foundation of such policy under the competence of Serbia is nationalism and chauvinism" (Kesar and Simić, 92). Other than those accusations related to Kosovo, the Serbian conclusions mirrored the Yugoslav version. For a growing number of Serbs, however, the removal of Ranković came to be interpreted (especially after 1974) as an example of the latent anti-Serbianism of those in power in Yugoslavia; any Serbs who acquiesced in Ranković's removal were, from this point of view, traitors to Serbia.

If Ranković's dismissal betrayed the fact that the foundations of Titoism were changing on the party and state level, on the cultural plane Titoism's midlife crisis could be felt as well. In particular, a brouhaha regarding the nature of the Serbian and Croatian languages went public in the spring of 1967. The "Declaration on the Name and Position of the Croatian Literary Language" (*Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskoga književnog jezika,* henceforth "the Declaration") was issued by nineteen Croatian institutions and signed by 130 people (80 of them Party members, including Miroslav Krleža, Croatia's leading writer) on 15 March 1967, and sent to the federal parliament as a petition on the same day. The Declaration made two demands of the federal government. First, in place of the usual formulation that held that in Yugoslavia there were three official literary languages ("Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian," to give it its full name, Slovenian, and Macedonian), the constitution should be amended to read that there were four: Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian. Second, the Declaration demanded "the consistent use of the Croatian literary language in the schools, the press, the public and political forums, on radio and the television networks whenever the broadcasts are directed to a Croatian audience." Furthermore, "officials, teachers, and public workers, irrespective of their origin, should use in their official dealings the language of the milieu in which they live." This amounted to a unilateral revocation of the Novi Sad Agreement (1954), which had given the language a name, "Serbo-Croatian or [*odnosno*] Croato-Serbian," which was designated one language "with two pronunciations, *ijekavian* and *ekavian*" (Spalatin 6–9).

The response of the League of Communists was straightforward: it proclaimed the Declaration an attempt to destroy the brotherhood and unity of the Serbs and Croats. The Declaration, however, also moved many of Serbia's leading literary lights to action. The "Proposal for Consideration" (*Predlog za razmišljanje,* henceforth "the Proposal"), drawn up during a meeting of the Serbian Writers' Association, remains somewhat mysterious, largely because it was unofficial and less widely disseminated. Of some 300 writers present at the meeting of the Serbian Writers' Association on 19 March when the Proposal was presented, 42 apparently signed (the authors were known as "a group of writers"). Of these, 21 were members of the League of Communists. The group characterized the Declaration as a "significant and epoch-making document." It also concurred that the institutions that issued the Declaration were "competent ones in matters pertaining to the Croatian literary language"; these Serbs therefore declared the Novi Sad Agreement void (Spalatin 6–9).

The Proposal responded to the assertion that the Croatian language should become official on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia—in other words, the linkage of a national attribute to a piece of land. The tit-for-tat Serbian response hinted that the equation of nations with territory could establish a messy precedent. "Our Constitution guarantees to all our nationalities and minorities the right to an independent development of language and culture." Thus they demanded that the constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia add regulations guaranteeing to all Croatians and Serbs:

> the right to a scholastic education in their own languages and scripts according to their national programs, the right to use their national languages and scripts in their dealings with all authorities, the right to found their cultural societies, local museums, publishing houses and newspapers, in short, the right to cultivate unobstructedly and freely all aspects of their national culture. (Spalatin 6–9)

The group thus argued that if Croats wished to equate language with territory, Serbs would do the same, which would result in their linguistic secession from the Croatian republic. Never mind that the Serbs of Croatia largely used the same officially designated "literary language" *(ijekavian)* as the Croats; all Croats and all Serbs, after all, spoke what amounted to the same language (štokavian). The point that the "group of writers" wished to make was that once national rights were linked with territory in this Yugoslavia, the logic of secession (whether geopolitical or cultural) would leave the state a tattered patchwork of national sectors, or as they came to be called in actual practice twenty-five years later, cantons. Under growing evidence that the noble Yugoslav dream was being allowed to wither on the vine, many Serbs began a great withdrawal, from a form of Yugoslavism to a frantic attempt to rescue that which was Serbian from the wreckage.

To this day, a small but influential segment of the Serbian intellectual community remains convinced that the student demonstrations of 1968 were the last great chance for Yugoslav communism to fulfill its promise. The student movement began innocuously on the night of 2 June 1968, at around ten o'clock, when a number of students living in dormitories in New Belgrade tried to crash a concert put on for the benefit of a local workers' brigade. Members of the brigade fought with the party crashers, and the police were called in. The police separated the two groups, but the disturbance had already brought more students into the streets, where they milled peacefully if edgily. Shouting "Jobs for All," "Workers-Students," and "Tito-Party," students made their way to an underpass near the building housing the Federal Executive Council, where they came upon a cordon of riot police, who allegedly stoned and shot at them.

The nature of the student movement changed during the day on 3 June. Two factors propelled the movement forward: the behavior of the police, which was more brutal than the occasion had demanded, and the writing of the press, which gave the impression that the students were nothing more than a self-interested rabble. From a fairly unfocused series of protests and clashes with the police in the vicinity of the underpass, the students were able to pull together a more coherent and organized movement centered on the university buildings downtown. Students, under leaders drawn from the League of Students of Belgrade University, occupied the Law, Philosophy, and Philology Faculties, the Academy of Fine Arts, and other buildings and created "Action Committees," which coordinated the protests. Here, in the occupied university buildings, a disorganized series of demonstrations was transformed into a sophisticated protest against changes in the nature of Yugoslav socialism under the pressure of the economic reforms that had begun in 1963.

One of the first "resolutions" of the student movement appeared on 3 June in the student village in New Belgrade, signed by the "Action Committee of the Demonstrators." Its demands included a call for the government to work against corruption and the enrichment of the "red bourgeoisie," the demand that the student body of universities reflect the social structure of the country, and demands for the freedom to meet and demonstrate, the democratization of political and social organizations (including the League of Communists), and better material support for universities in Yugoslavia. The slogans that the students used included "We Fight for a Better Man, Not a Better Dinar," "The Revolution Is Not Yet Finished," "Against Enrichment at the Expense of the Worker," "We've Had Enough of the Red Bourgeoisie," "Self-Management From Bottom to Top," "Tell a Bureaucrat That He Is Incapable, and He Will Show You Just What He Is Capable Of" (Arsić and Marković, 86). On balance, if we can accept slogans chanted and displayed as reflecting ideology, the students were at least as upset by corruption in the Party as they were by their own lack of jobs.

On Belgrade television on 9 June, Tito gave a speech that brought the student movement to an end, to the initial joy but eventual chagrin of many of its participants. Tito was masterful and apologetic. The Presidency and the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists had been meeting since March, he said, to deal with the problems facing the state. Just as they were about to make public their responses, the student demonstrations broke out. "That was our mistake" (Arsić and Marković 117–122). They had met that very day to consider the student movement, and according to Tito, they agreed that there were problems to be addressed in Yugoslavia, especially relating to the "enrichment" of undeserving people. In the most famous portion of his speech, Tito paid homage to that portion of the student demonstrators who had acted out of the most loyal and consistent motives: "Thus I must say here today that I am happy that we have such a working class. And I can also say that I am happy that we have such a youth, which has proved itself mature. . . . Our youth is good, but we need to pay more attention to it" (Arsić and Marković 117–122). Tito's speech was greeted by the students as an affirmation of their position. A week later, the Central Committee of the LCY met to approve its "Guidelines," which amounted to a further acknowledgment of the failure of the League to adequately address issues of concern to the students.

The student movement did not occur in a vacuum: there were good reasons for the students' discontent. They were influenced by critical thinkers within Yugoslavia, and they had examples to follow. Problems with the universities were well publicized before the movement began, and they went beyond the question of employment into the realm of ideology. For instance, enrollment at Belgrade University grew between 1960 and 1965, but the percentage of students with stipends fell from 25.5 to 14.2. Furthermore, the percentage of working class and peasant children in the university fell from 15.1 to 12.4 between 1962 and 1967. The satirical magazine *Jež* constantly harped on the problems of unemployment, the development of a "red bourgeoisie," and the university. Indeed, it would have been a real dereliction of duty had the central committee and the presidency *not* been discussing these problems before the student movement began. Furthermore, critical thought about the nature of self-management and Yugoslavia's path to a socialist future had erupted in the mid-1960s in response to reform plans formulated on the party level. The so-called Praxis group had made it their business to attack corruptions in the real world of the Yugoslav administration and the economy, including the emergence of a new class of privileged communists and the persistence of Stalinist forms of authoritarianism in Yugoslavia.

March 1968 saw student demonstrations in Poland; the spring and summer of 1968 witnessed the Prague Spring and the short-lived period of openness in Czechoslovakia; and, finally, May 1968 saw the grandest student rebellion of that summer, in France, where millions of workers and students went on strike, entire factories and even one city were turned into workers' communes, small children struck their classes at school, the Left Bank burned, and revolution seemed a real possibility. The student rebellion of 1968 in Belgrade achieved nothing; perhaps, however, it was yet another example of the distance that was growing between the regime and the people of Serbia.

Finally, the tumultuous sixties were capped by events relating to Kosovo. In May 1968 Dobrica Ćosić, the most famous living novelist in Serbia, as well as an important nationalist leader, gave a speech to the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists that blasted the League for its treatment of Kosovo and Vojvodina. To be precise, he warned that the new order in Yugoslavia—the move to more substantive federalization, christened in Ćosić's view by the fall of Ranković—offered too prominent a place to the Albanians of Kosovo and the non-Serbs of Vojvodina. For Ćosić, these were fundamentally Serbian territories, in which national minorities lived by the grace of Serbs. The Tito regime, however, was allowing, even encouraging, these two autonomous provinces of Serbia to become more autonomous than ever. Serbs were being removed from important positions in the two provinces, and local minorities were taking control. For Ćosić, this portended not merely the end of Serbia as a republic, but the eventual ruin of Yugoslavia as a state. The Serbian League

Dobrica Ćosić. (Emil Vas/Archive Photos/Reuters) of Communists distanced itself quickly from the sentiments found in Ćosić's speech, because it was obvious that they were hostile to the direction that the Tito regime had taken. Ćosić was labeled a nationalist for his efforts. However, we need to understand that although Ćosić clearly was and remains a Serbian nationalist, the sentiments he expressed in his speech were relatively moderate and, most importantly, shared by many Serbs. When, in November 1968, an Albanian rebellion took place in Kosovo, Ćosić's warnings seemed timely indeed to many Serbs. The problem of the Serbs' attitude toward Kosovo would have to be addressed constructively if stability were to be maintained in Yugoslavia.

The events of the 1960s—from the beginnings of reform, through the fall of Ranković, the language crisis, the student rebellion, and the rebellion in Kosovo—resulted in the beginnings of a consensus that Serbia was consciously, purposely, being mistreated in Tito's Yugoslavia. Each of those events awakened a different opposition constituency, two of which eventually emerged clearly. One was nationalist, and built on the perceived threat of Croatian and Albanian nationalism and the sense that Tito encouraged those movements; the other was socialist, and was founded on the belief that Titoism had parted from its own stated goals and from a pure Marxism. The former strand of opposition coalesced around Ćosić and other outsiders to the Party. The latter was embodied in the Praxis group, named for the journal that it founded, in which it expressed its critique of Titoism.

In light of the events of the late 1960s, the Serbian League of Communists entered a tempestuous phase. In the aftermath of the student demonstrations, Tito is reported to have exclaimed that "all of them should go," referring to the leaders of the Serbian Party. With the ascent of Marko Nikezić and Latinka Perović to the top of the Serbian Party hierarchy, the era of the so-called liberals in Serbian politics commenced. Until 1968, Nikezić had devoted most of his public life to diplomacy, having served as ambassador to Egypt, Czechoslovakia, and the United States, and as the minister of foreign affairs in Yugoslavia. Perović had risen through the Party ranks as a member of the presidency of the Yugoslav Youth organization and of the Ideological Commission of the LCY. Together, they attempted to fundamentally alter the way politics was done in Serbia and Yugoslavia. The liberals have become the objects of a Serbian cult of "what might have been." They are credited with having tried to modernize the Serbian Party, with having been the best and the brightest of their generation, and with having been the tragic victims of Tito's jealous desire to remain the single arbiter in Yugoslav political life. Nikezić later identified five principles that guided them: a market economy, a modern Serbia, freeing Serbia from the "ballast of Serbian Yugoslavism," creating capable and expert cadres, and cooperation rather than confrontation with other republics.

Unfortunately for Nikezić and his colleagues, their arrival came at an inopportune time—not only were the student demonstrations fresh in the minds of Serbs and of Tito, but the Croatian mass movement was gaining momentum, and an Albanian national rebellion broke out in Kosovo on the third day after Nikezić and Perović were installed. Aside from those tangible crises, it also appears in hindsight that Tito was in the process of concluding that the Party needed to reassert control of political life in Yugoslavia, undoubtedly under the impress of those same events. And finally, while the liberals attempted to navigate those events and put their stamp on a new, economically sound communism in Serbia, a non-Party Serbian opposition to Titoism began to be heard, with Dobrica Ćosić as its alleged leader (although this opposition was not a coherent or consistent one). All in all, it is difficult to say whether Serbia lost a historic opportunity when the liberals fell, because Nikezić and Perović had little chance to pursue coherent policies aggressively.

They resigned their positions in November 1972, eleven months after the Croatian leadership of Savka Dabčević-Kučar, Mika Tripalo, and Pero Pirker, who fell from power in December 1971 when the Croatian Spring movement, which they had embraced, got out of hand. The comparison with the Croatian situation disturbed Serbs: Croatian Party leaders embraced a nationalist, in the end even separatist, movement; Serbian Party leaders wished to modernize Serbia and Yugoslavia, were not nationalists *or* centralists, yet lost their positions as well. The liberals could not overcome the complexity of their position; unlike Dabčević-Kučar and Tripalo, who are still revered by Croats for their efforts, the liberals were loved neither by Tito nor Serbs in general. Mijalko Todorović, a former Partisan who was an integral part of the liberal group in Serbia after the fall of Ranković in 1966, believed that the liberals "did not have enough support in Serbia itself, i.e., that they did not express the majority mood" (Inić 166). Instead, they were caught between two forces: Tito and a Serbian intelligentsia that was growing more and more restive.

When, in 1974, a new constitution was unveiled for Yugoslavia, the political and administrative changes initiated in the early 1960s reached their logical conclusion. The constitution institutionalized all of the changes that had prompted the antagonism of many Serbs from the mid-1960s through the early 1970s: republics gained initiative, while the central government in Belgrade became virtually powerless, and the autonomous provinces of Serbia achieved something akin to the status of republics, which, given the enhancement of republican status, was a double blow to those who feared the administrative parcelization of Serbia. Beyond those geopolitical structural changes, the widely held Serbian position on the constitution of 1974 is that it made centralized decision making virtually impossible, because in the federal parliament republican and provincial delegations voted as one, and any given delegation could veto legislation. Those republican and provincial delegations were elected by their own leagues of communists. Of particular concern to Serbs was the fact that the autonomous provinces were equal actors in this drama; beyond that, of course, the political will of the Serbs of Bosnia and Croatia was subsumed by the leaders of those republics. Because those leaderships had been purged in 1971/1972 by Tito, the republican delegations that were empowered by the

1974 constitution consisted of nonentities. Because the new constitution put a premium on the republic, or province, as the source of authority in the federation, and because both the Serbian and Croatian Leagues of Communists had been thoroughly purged of experienced, somewhat independent, competent people before the constitution was proclaimed, the space available to intellectuals to influence affairs in Yugoslavia had become as small as it had ever been.

SERBIA AFTER TITO

In April 1980 Tito died. Initially, it appeared that little had changed. Yugoslavs mourned the loss of their leader, who had sustained a cult of personality throughout his period in power, but the government did its best to act as though he still lived. "After Tito—Tito!" became the operative political slogan in Yugoslavia. The rotating presidency, established in 1970, now consisted of nine people, each of whom would act as president for a one-year term, beginning in the month of May. These people were not authoritative figures in Yugoslavia; they owed their positions to the system, which in turn owed its existence to Tito. Thus "After Tito—Tito" symbolized the death of initiative and creativity in a Yugoslavia that faced many obstacles upon the leader's passing. Serbia and Slovenia became the two primary centers of change in post-Titoist Yugoslavia, as each in its own way sought an escape from the zombie-like insistence that Tito had not really died; he lived on, in the system that he created.

In Serbia, the push for reform in Yugoslavia came from intellectuals, not from within the Party. Openness became one of the issues that galvanized a Serbian opposition to Titoism after the president's death. The post-Tito period in Yugoslavia could be dated from October of 1980 and the failed attempt to create a new "independent socialist" journal, to be entitled *Javnost* (The Public), after a journal founded by Svetozar Marković a century before. Dobrica Ćosić and Ljubomir Tadić, in the name of a committee of nine, appealed to 410 intellectuals across Yugoslavia to support such a journal. They claimed to have received 120 positive responses, with only 4 outright nays. In suitably vague language, the letter addressed the problem of responsibility and succession in Yugoslavia, so compromised by Tito's egoistic establishment of a weak rotating presidency and Party leadership. The government refused *Javnost*'s application to publish in November 1980.

The cause of openness gained strength in March 1981, when protests about bad food at the University of Priština grew over the course of several weeks into demonstrations of Albanians demanding that Kosovo be granted republic status by the Yugoslav government. Some demonstrators demanded union with Albania. By April the demonstrations had encompassed many cities and towns in Kosovo. On 2 April, the federal government declared a state of emergency, and the Yugoslav People's Army took to the streets of major cities, crushing the uprising. The army killed Albanians, although there is no number that all sources can accept (the government claimed, incredibly, that only nine demonstrators and one policeman were killed). The government lifted the state of emergency in July, but the political reckoning had only just begun. Immediately, over 1,000 Party members were expelled, and the Kosovo Party president, Mahmut Bakalli, lost his position. About 350 Albanians were immediately fired from their jobs (about half as educators). One credible estimate holds that over 4,000 Albanians were arrested and jailed in the aftermath of the demonstrations. In response, in November 1981 the LCY issued its "Political Platform for Action of the LCS in the Development of Socialistic Self-Mananagement, Brotherhood and Unity, and Togetherness in Kosovo." Then, in December 1981, the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists met to summarize the lessons of the demonstrations and propose measures to control the situation in the future. These meetings revealed, to the shock of many Serbs, that the demonstrations were no surprise to the Kosovo Party leadership and probably should not have been a surprise to those outside of Kosovo.

The cause of openness was served by revelations about Kosovo, but it was also served by the multitude of examples of the government crushing artistic freedom. *Javnost* had failed to get off the ground, but another underground initiative had an impact. The Committee for the Protection of Artistic Freedom (CPAF) was formed on 19 May 1982 at a meeting of the Belgrade section of the Serbian Writers' Association, at the urging of Dragoslav Mihailović, a survivor of Goli Otok and author of *When the Pumpkins Blossomed, Petra's Wreath,* and other novels. The most pressing reason for its formation was that a Serbian poet named Gojko Djogo had been arrested and was being tried for a crime against the state as the result of a book of poems that attacked the Titoist personality cult (the book was entitled *Woolen Times*). The committee's members included Desanka Maksimović, Borislav Mihajlović Mihiz, Stevan Raićković, Predrag Palavestra, Milovan Danojlić, Raša Livada, and Biljana Jovanović. The CPAF drafted an outline of its goals at its meeting of 20 September 1982. That draft included the following points: the CPAF would (a) nurture the protection of artistic freedom; (b) help expand support for artistic freedom in society; and (c) take it upon itself to inform the public when artistic freedom was violated. The committee also agreed that its votes would be taken by simple majority (although Mihiz later stated that every communiqué issued by the committee was supported unanimously).

By early 1983, the CPAF had issued several protests, addressing all of the known offenses against artistic and literary production to that point, including the cancellation of Jovan Radulović's play *Golubnjaći* (Pigeon Hole) and attacks on several notable books: Dobrica Ćosić's *Stvarno i moguće* (The Real and the Possible), Antonije Isaković's *Tren II* (Flash II), and Vuk Drašković's *Nož* (The Knife). On 28 March 1983, Gojko Djogo left for prison to serve a reduced one-year sentence. That night, the Serbian Writers' Association (UKS) held its first "protest Monday," as they would come to be called. Forty writers came to the UKS that night, including Ćosić and Mihiz (neither of whom was then a member). Other meetings followed, on 11 April, 18 April, and 25 April. Francuska 7 (the address of the Serbian Writers' Association) became from that point a symbol of democratic renewal in Serbia. The nature of that renewal changed over time, but in 1983 there can be little doubt that the Serbian Writers' Association was the single institution in Serbia that had decided, collectively, to attempt to come to grips with the country's subservient past.

They challenged Tito's legacy in some ways, but not others. Djogo's poetry clearly criticized Tito ("the rat from Dedinje"), but Djogo and his supporters argued that he had been misinterpreted, claiming that poetry cannot be understood literally—it has multiple meanings *(višeznačnost).* Why did they not just acknowledge the truth and send Djogo off to prison as a martyr to a petty regime? Apparently, they believed that the *višeznačnost* argument had more potential for universal application. From the freedom of speech "flows all political freedoms," as Mihiz put it in 1991 (Krivokapić). The regime's opponents believed more good could be accomplished by arguing that the government should simply stay away from artistic speech than by creating a one-time martyr. Unfortunately, however, the free speech movement defended the right to speech, but it did not successfully establish the necessity of criticizing that speech. The result was that Serbian intellectuals discovered the euphoria of speaking truth to power but paid no attention to the ideas contained in the free speech they defended. Serbian questioning of Tito's legacy and the nature of Yugoslav statehood went deeper than that of other Yugoslavs. Ironically, while the Serbian republican government persecuted Gojko Djogo, it also harbored the most revisionist members of any republic's communist hierarchy. Most importantly, the Serbian League of Communists, whose leaders included Dragoslav (Draža) Marković, Petar Stambolić, and Ivan Stambolić, wished, as did most aware Serbs, to revise the constitutional status of Kosovo and Vojvodina. But the glazed eyes and the droning rhetoric of the Serbian leadership's mediocrities ultimately failed to inspire confidence, and as survivors of the 1972 purge and proponents of the 1974 constitution, their credibility was shot in any case.

By 1984, the Yugoslav government's dedication to its own pathetic slogan, "After Tito—Tito," had prompted it to extremes of petty harassment and persecution. While the Party shrank in fear of action that might disrupt the stagnant equilibrium following Tito's death, intellectuals embraced the opportunity to shake up that equilibrium. The jailing of Djogo, the cancellation of two plays (*Golubnjača* and *Karamazovi* [The Karamazovs]), various less publicized abuses—all betrayed a frightened government that attempted to maintain the Yugoslavia that existed when Tito died. In 1983 and 1984, though, the sheer number of arrests, trials, imprisonments, and proscriptions drove the free-speech movement to a new, more open stage in its development, out of the UKS and into society at large, as it were. But, importantly, that movement remained chained to the UKS strategy of defending speech per se, without critiquing the content of that speech.

Then, in April 1984, Dr. Vojislav Šešelj, a lawyer from Sarajevo, was arrested in Sarajevo, and twenty-eight people, including Milovan Djilas, were arrested in Belgrade. Šešelj's crime was to have written a contribution to a poll in the Party organ *Komunist* on the subject "What Is to Be Done?" That contribution was confiscated, and Šešelj was arrested before the piece could be published. The twenty-eight people arrested in Belgrade were accused of engaging in enemy propaganda over a period of seven years as part of the "flying university," an underground institution that saw different apartments hosting lectures on various topics, it goes without saying subversive ones, on a regular basis. Djilas was far and away the most notable catch in this sweep. After the initial arrests, all were set free. But then, on 30 April 1984, several days after his release, Radomir Radović, one of the original twenty-eight, was found dead in his apartment. Understandable suspicions that Radović had been killed by the police fed public outrage. On 23 May, six of the original twenty-eight were rearrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activity. The Belgrade Six, as they came to be known, together with Šešelj, became powerful symbols of the intransigence and insecurity of the regime.

Under these tense conditions, a new, and ultimately far more influential committee, the Committee for the Defense of the Freedom of Thought and Expression, was formed in November 1984. It was the brainchild of Ćosić, Taras Kermauner, and Rudi Supek, who envisioned a broadly Yugoslav forum that would take on causes similar to those embraced by the Committee for the Protection of Artistic Freedom. The presence of Ćosić, in the eyes of the government the standard-bearer of Serbian nationalism, and Supek, one of the leading leftist critics of Yugoslav socialism, made this committee a much more high-profile undertaking. Ćosić was responsible for bringing critical Serbian intellectuals into the fold, while Kermauner and Supek worked in the Slovenian and Croatian communities. Kermauner and Supek failed to convince their colleagues to join the Serbs: the Slovenes, Kermauner found, wished to create such a committee composed just of Slovenes, while the Croatian response was resounding silence.

The eventual members, all Serbs, included a cross-section of Belgrade's intelligentsia, with members of the Praxis group (Mihailo Marković, Ljubomir Tadić), historians (Radovan Samardzić, Dimitrije Bogdanović), young but established critics (Kosta Ćavoški, Ivan Janković), painters (Mića Popović, Mladen Srbinović), writers known to be hostile to the regime (Matija Bećković, Dragoslav Mihailović), veterans of the CPAF (Nikola Milošević, Predrag Palavestra, Mihiz), of course Ćosić, and five others: Neca Jovanov, Tanasije Mladenović (a writer of Ćosić's generation), Gojko Nikoliš, Andrija Gams (an economist and strong critic of the constitution of 1974), and Dragoslav Srejović.

In their initial declaration, the committee noted that "trials of human thought, . . . [which are] ever more common in our country, [are] becoming an ideologically and legally legitimate method of political reckoning for the government with those who disagree with it" ("Saopštenje Odbora," no. 361). Noting particularly the case of the Belgrade Six and Vojislav Šešelj, as well as the application of the notion of moral-political suitability in the workplace, they proclaimed that "freedom of thought and expression are not

Milovan Djilas

Milovan Djilas was born in 1911 in Montenegro and died in 1997 in Belgrade, Serbia. He joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1932, while a student at Belgrade University. He served time in prison for his activities between 1933 and 1936 and was elected a member of the politburo of the party in 1940. During World War II, Djilas was acknowledged to be one of the top four communists in the Party as it led the Partisan resistance movement. His own area of expertise was ideology and propaganda. After the war, he was one of the leaders of the new regime's agitation and propaganda division. He later (1961) published his reminiscences of his meetings with Stalin, entitled *Conversations with Stalin,* a book that is still regularly (and justifiably) used in history courses. Djilas and Edvard Kardelj were the original architects of self-management, which became the signal innovation of a regime that needed desperately to find a new source of legitimacy once it was rejected by Stalin.

Djilas is best known, though, for his own falling-out with the Tito regime, which came in January 1954, when he was purged from the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The cause of his fall was his growing advocacy of political pluralism in Yugoslavia, coupled with his ever more open critiques of the behavior of members of the communist leadership in the country. He probably could have passed his enforced retirement peacefully had he not chosen to publish a series of books that served collectively as a profound critique of the Yugoslav regime and its leader, Tito, and that opened the party and the state to more scrutiny than it was willing to bear. *The New Class,* which was published in 1955, was Djilas's first major post-purge work. In it, he detailed the rise of a new power class in communist systems, which had been supposed to put an end to class structures. This book earned him a nine-year prison sentence (he served time until 1961). Then *Conversations with Stalin* landed him another four-year spell in prison. His four-volume memoir, published between 1972 and 1986, is a brilliant evocation of his times. The first volume, *Land without Justice,* is of high literary quality, but it is the remaining three volumes—*Memoir of a Revolutionary, Wartime,* and *Rise and Fall*—that seem most significant, serving as wonderful excursions into the complex and deeply intriguing recent past of Yugoslavia.

Djilas was unable to publish or speak publicly in Yugoslavia until the late 1980s. His own complicated history of intellectual engagement—first as a militant communist, then as a supporter of pluralism, never as a nationalist—rendered him an outsider until his death in 1997.

the possession, gift, or privilege of any class, social group, party, or power of state; that freedom and that right belong to all human beings, and their fulfillment or endangerment are the business and conscience of all of the citizens of the social community. On that assumption, the Committee for the Freedom of Thought and Expression is organized" (Djukić 265). The committee continued to operate through 1989, but its effect was minimal, even in the view of the notoriously self-congratulatory Ćosić: "No matter how much the petitions reflected honorable democratic resistance to the autocratic and bureaucratic regime, their political meaning was small" (Djukić 265).

Again, as with the Committee for the Protection of Artistic Freedom, having denied themselves the freedom to debate the ideological and practical content of those causes they chose to adopt, members of this new committee in essence blessed any persecuted idea, regardless of its meaning. Laudably, this included the ideas of non-Serbs, some of which were contentious from a Serbian nationalist viewpoint. The committee defended the speech of, and protested the arrest of, anyone who was tried on the basis of Article 133 of the Yugoslav constitution, which enunciated a broad definition of enemy propaganda. Thus the two committees not only tackled Serbian causes, but also condemned the persecution of Bosnian Muslims like Alija Izetbegović, Albanian nationalists like Adem Demaci, and assorted others, especially in Croatia and Slovenia.

By 1984, a full-blown opposition movement existed in Yugoslavia. Founded upon the principle of free expression, which the movement's leaders presented as a means of discovering the "truth," a counterbalance to the regime's manipulative lies, this movement retained its principled purity through 1985. At that point, it underwent a transition with fateful consequences for Yugoslavia. In 1985 and 1986 several things happened that turned the principled movement for free expression into a cathartic Serbian nationalist movement over the fate of Kosovo. On 1 May 1985, a Serbian farmer named Djordje Martinović was found injured, bleeding from his rectum, a mineral water bottle by his side, on his fields near Gnjilane, Kosovo. The farmer survived, but to this day there is no agreement on what happened to him. Serbs (and Martinović) argue that he was attacked by young Albanians who forced the bottle into his anus. Albanians respond that Martinović injured himself while masturbating. The truth will probably never be known, but it did not matter. The Martinović episode fed Serbian fears that Kosovo had been lost to them, handed over to a Titoist-Albanian bureaucracy that would never allow the truth, so long as it hurt Albanian interests, to be heard. In this case, the movement for truth found a new catalyst.

The linkage of free speech and openness with Kosovo received another stimulus in October 1985, when over two thousand Serbs from Kosovo presented a petition to various governmental bodies. The designers of the petition produced an aggressive, challenging document, which they sent to the presidencies, assemblies, governments, and central committees of the Serbian and Yugoslav parties and state governments, as well as to the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Serbian Writers' Association, four individuals, and a few other institutions in Yugoslavia. One suspects that the forcefulness of the petition might have come as a shock to the Serbian and Yugoslav public consciousness, had it not been for the Martinović episode, which was barely five months old. This petition gave more formal structure to the fears engendered by the Martinović incident:

> Exposed to violence unheard of in history . . . we the undersigned Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija undertake our final effort to protect our families' right to life using legal means. . . . The situation is in reality stunning: a part of Yugoslavia is occupied, the region of our historical and national essence, and genocide by fascists against us Serbs of Kosovo and Metohija has achieved the status of a civil right. (Zahtevi 2015 stanovnika Kosova" 3)

Two claims in this initial section of the petition became the ritualized basis for Serbian grievances regarding Kosovo: that Kosovo was the core of Serbs' historical "essence," and that the law of this Yugoslavia was—inexcusably and unjustly—on the side of the Albanians, who were committing genocide against the Serbian population. The petition finished off with fourteen demands, including the following: that Serbia be given the same status as the other republics of Yugoslavia (that is, that it be unified and the autonomous provinces eliminated); that the names of those responsible for the genocide of Serbs be publicly announced; that no more Albanians be allowed to immigrate from Albania; that all agreements to sell Serbian property to Albanians be nullified; that Serbian families be enabled to return to Kosovo; that Ballists (Albanian nationalists from World War II) be rooted out; that the ethnic key be eliminated in determining employment in the province; and that the parliament of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia be convened, with the petition's signatories present, to answer this petition by 30 October 1985.

When the federal and republican governments refused to consider the demands of the petitioners in the parliament and labeled them counterrevolutionaries, the transformation of Kosovo into the central grievance of the movement for free expression was complete. In January 1986 over two hundred influential Serbs forwarded a second petition to the federal parliament, demanding nothing specific of that body but announcing their hope that the Yugoslav public would rise in opposition to the government's collaboration in genocide, by Albanians, of Serbs in Kosovo. As the work of Serbia's intellectual elite, this document included a much more florid choice of words than the October petition:

> The methods [of persecution of Serbs] have remained the same: on old stakes there are again heads. The new Deacon Avakum is named Djordje Martinović, and the Mother of the Jugovićes is Danica Milinćić. Old women and nuns are raped, the feeble are beaten, cattle are blinded, stalls are built of grave stones, the church and its historic holy places are profaned and shamed, economic sabotage is tolerated, people are forced to sell their property for nothing. (Magaš 49–52)

Aside from wildly exaggerated claims expressed in lavish prose, the petitioners pointed out the duplicity of the government. "In 1981," the petition continued, "it was publicly acknowledged that the true situation in Kosovo had been hidden and falsified; the hope was stoked that it would not happen again. For five years already we have witnessed uninterrupted anarchy and the collapse of hope that social and national relations in Kosovo and Metohija could be changed" (Magaš 49–52). For these petitioners, the competition for Kosovo became a competition between public truths and governmental deception. The refusal of the government to receive the earlier Kosovo Serb petitioners became an attack on their right to speak. By cloaking the truth, the authorities became complicit in genocide, and thus did the movement for free expression come to focus primarily on Kosovo.

This second petition was signed by representatives of virtually all possible factions within the Serbian critical intelligentsia. Signatories included Dobrica Ćosić, Borislav Mihajlović Mihiz, Mića Popović, Vera Božičković-Popović, Vojislav Djurić, Mihailo Djurić, Bata Mihajlović, and Žika Stojković; Ljubomir Tadić, Mihailo Marković, and Zagorka Golubović-Pešić of the *Praxis* group; over thirty members of the Serbian academy; a number of retired military officers; several priests; and dozens of others. Particularly surprising were the contingent from *Praxis,* who were called to answer for their signatures on what appeared to be an outlandish petition based on a romantic understanding of historical processes, rather than the dispassionate socioeconomic analysis that might have been expected of them. To one commentator's attack on them for signing on to Serbian nationalism, three signatories responded that (a) there was nothing inconsistent in their support for an oppressed minority, be it Serbian or of some other nationality, and (b) that "all three of us are members of the *Committee for the defense of freedom of public expression* in Belgrade and raise our voices against all forms of repression in our country" (Magaš 57).

Their justification for their signatures was telling: Kosovo turned into just another occasion for the defense of freedom of expression, and the fight for the freedom of expression validated any interpretation of the roots of the crisis in Kosovo. Speech repressed became, by definition, good speech. The merging of two strands of opposition: the legalistic, reasoned, cerebral support for free expression, and the mystical, cathartic, visceral support for the Serbian minority in Kosovo, was now complete; they may have been intuitively incompatible, but in the progression of Serbian thought in the 1980s they were fully complementary.

The infamous Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts completed the transformation of the free speech movement into a movement of rage. On 23 May 1985, just after the Martinović episode and several months before the petitions of the Kosovo Serbs and the Belgrade intellectual elite were sent to the Federal Parliament, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts met in general session and decided to produce a document outlining the problems Yugoslavia faced. The academy apparently debated long and hard over whether it should assemble such a document in the first place, since its bylaws required it to remain out of politics. But the general assembly of the academy ultimately agreed that Yugoslavia's crisis demanded contributions from all of those resources at Yugoslavia's disposal. "No one has the right to shut his eyes to what is happening and to what might happen. And this particularly holds true for the most venerable institution of scientific and cultural achievement of this nation" (Mihailović and Krestić 94). It was intended that the document eventually be sent to the various governing bodies of the state. On 13 June 1985, the presidency of the academy appointed a committee to prepare the outline. Members of the committee wrote those sections that fell within their expertise. When a draft of a section was completed, Antonjije Isaković (the vice president of the academy and the informal chair of the committee) would convene meetings, which several additional academicians, including Dobrica Ćosić and Ljubomir Tadić, attended. By January 1986, the first full draft of the Memorandum was prepared. In late September, after several months of editing, as the document neared completion, the Belgrade newspaper *Večernje novosti* (Evening News) revealed that the academy was preparing it.

This synopsis of the origins of the Memorandum is included because it clarifies some areas of real and alleged confusion regarding the document. First, it was not prepared secretly as many critics claimed. The academy had acknowledged that it was working on such a project. Second, it was not written by Ćosić, although he has long been credited with authorship by non-Serbian commentators and he unquestionably had promoted such a project. This is not to say that his ideas did not find their way into the document. Third, it was not completed. This point, repeated ad nauseum by the academy, its members, and supporters, is accurate but ultimately beside the point, for none of the document's authors or admirers have ever disavowed its contents. In any case, the Memorandum, unfinished (and until 1989 unpublished), entered the realm of public and political discourse in September 1986. It also entered the realm of the mythology accompanying the collapse of Yugoslavia.

The Memorandum is formally divided into two parts: one on the "Crisis in the Yugoslav Economy and Society," the other on the "Status of Serbia and the Serbian Nation" (Mihailović and Krestić 94–140). That first portion can be further broken down for the sake of clarity into three subsections: one on the economy, one that considers Yugoslavia's constitutional order, and a third that treats cultural questions. Putting a strong emphasis on the economic crisis, which took up much of the Memorandum, the committee wrote that "a particular cause for anxiety is that official political circles are unwilling to acknowledge the true reasons for the economic crisis, making it impossible to take the steps necessary for economic recovery" (95). Aside from that, the Memorandum noted the Party's unwillingness to "acknowledge" the truth—as it had also failed to do in the 1981 Kosovo crisis. The Memorandum's complaints can be reduced to what the committee saw as the one fundamental problem: the confederalization of Yugoslavia, as enshrined in the 1974 constitution, whose antecedents it traced to the early 1960s. That constitution unfairly penalized Serbs. Underlying the great mistake of 1974 was an attitude that was born in the international communist movement: "The roots lie in the ideology propagated by the Comintern and in the CPY's national policy before the Second World War" (Mihailović and Krestić 137).

The second half of the Memorandum is the part that is most often quoted, for it includes the most inflammatory language and tenuous claims. Entitled "The Status of Serbia and the Serbian Nation," it foreshadowed many of the themes that dominated Serbian political and intellectual discourse in the following years, during which, among other things, "genocide" became an extremely elastic concept in Serbia. This section first identifies the three situations that the committee felt needed to be discussed: the "long-term lagging" of the Serbian economy, "unregulated legal relations with Yugoslavia and the provinces," and "the genocide in Kosovo"(Mihailović and Krestić 118).

Although much of the Memorandum retains a scholarly, or at least analytical, tone, the portions concerning Serbia's relations with its autonomous provinces, and the life of Serbs in those provinces, are quite extravagant. The Memorandum initiates its discussion of these topics by pronouncing them existential, rather than constitutional, issues.

> The relationships between Serbia and its provinces cannot be seen solely or even predominantly in terms of an interpretation of the two constitutions from a legal standpoint. The question concerns the Serbian nation and its state. A nation which after a long and bloody struggle regained its own state, which fought for and achieved a civil democracy, and which in the last two wars lost 2.5 million of its members, has lived to see the day when a Party committee of apparatchiks decrees that after four decades in the new Yugoslavia it alone is not allowed to have its own state. A worse historical defeat in peacetime cannot be imagined. (Mihailović and Krestić 126)

Serbia's relationship to its provinces was thus removed from the realm of administrative efficiency and legal consistency and raised to the level of a question of historical justice, as the Memorandum itself moved from the cerebral to the visceral. With regard to Kosovo, the Memorandum stated that "in the spring of 1981, open and total war was declared on the Serbian people." That war, which brought "the physical, political, legal, and cultural genocide of the Serbian population of Kosovo and Metohija," had now continued for five years. Fantastically, the authors of the Memorandum claimed that Kosovo was "worse than any defeat experienced in the liberation wars waged by Serbia from the First Serbian Uprising in 1804 to the uprising in 1941" (Mihailović and Krestić 126).

The Memorandum, which was never openly released (only leaked to the public), met with a predictably weak response from the Serbian Party leadership. Ivan Stambolić, the president of the Serbian Party, asserted that "we [Communist Party leaders] do not accept the Memorandum's call for Serbia to turn its back on its own future and the future of Yugoslavia, for it to arbitrarily accuse the proven leaders of the revolution and of socialist development, for Serbian communists to be seen as the illegitimate leaders of the working class and people of Serbia" ("Stambolić Criticizes Memorandum Authors"). The decline of the Party's legitimacy in the eyes of the Serbian public could only accelerate in the face of such a weak response.

Where the Party missed the point, others did not. Ćosić approved of the Memorandum and defended the integrity of the academy. The other half of the non-Party opposition consisted of members of the Praxis group. Their position outside of the Party had been long established. Yet their opposition to the Party had always been essentially Marxist. The fact that they now joined a nationalist consensus is thus intriguing and somewhat shocking. Four members of the group, Ljubomir Tadić, Zagorka Golubović, Mihailo Marković, and Milan Kangrga, had signed the January 1986 petition that first labeled Albanian behavior in Kosovo as genocidal. Their gravitation from Marxism to nationalism was abrupt. Their anti-Titoism was of long pedigree, and their democratic inclinations were well publicized. Their transition can be explained in two ways: their democracy, like that of other Serbs (and Croats, and the rest), was not rooted in a belief in individual liberties but founded on a collective conception of society and rights; and they found it easy to move from one homogenizing, collective ideology (class-based Marxism) to another (cultural-based nationalism).

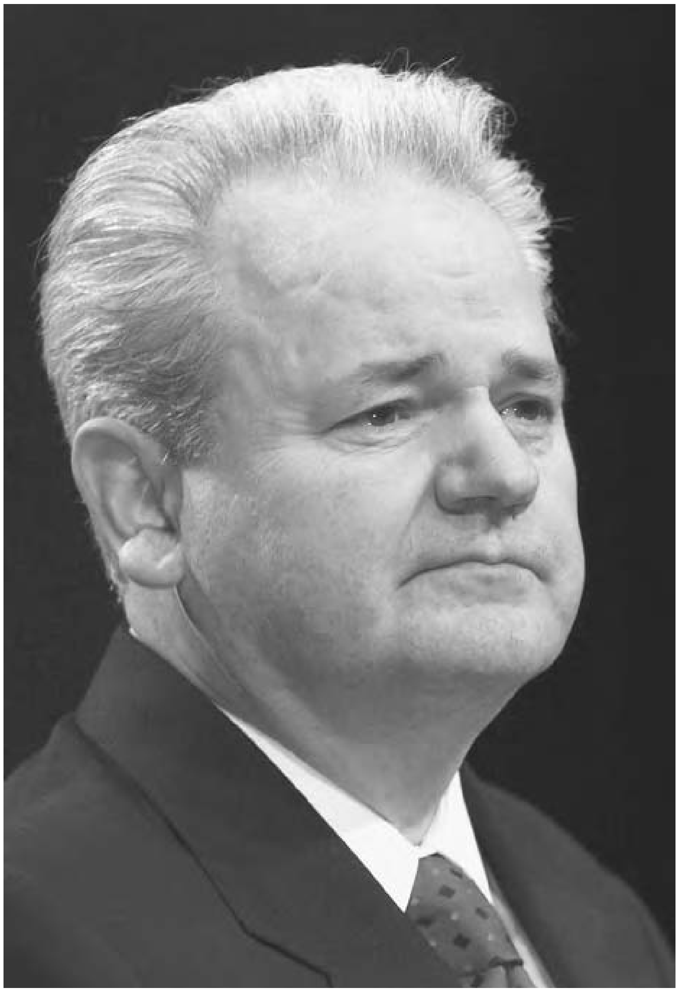
THE ARRIVAL OF SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ

Both general approaches reached their fullest development in Slobodan Milošević's so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution, which began in 1988, played on Serbs' hatred of the Titoist Party, and demanded a complete turnover in the Party elite. Milošević had been a rather unremarkable Party apparatchik until 1987, when he orchestrated the purge of his mentor in the Serbian League of Communists, Ivan Stambolić. To do so, Milošević harnessed the growing power of the alleged persecution of Serbs in Kosovo as an issue dear to the Serbian people. After 1987, when he became president of the Serbian League of Communists, Milošević became ever more popular as his control of the press grew and he was able to both feed and be fed by the hysteria over Kosovo. Milošević took advantage of the general Serbian belief that the Party did not have the capability to end the "terror" in Kosovo. Instead of droning on using Titoist phraseology about the ability of "self-management" to produce solutions, he took the old Ćosić idea of anti-bureaucracy and made it his own. This anti-bureaucratic revolution, by cleansing the Party, allowed Milošević to install his own men, who supported his new nationalist proclivities, whether cynically or not. Milošević thus achieved a historic fusion of the attitudes of the Party and of the non-Party oppositionists.

From late 1987 forward, the now "revolutionary" Party incorporated more and more of the ideas of the Serbian Academy nationalists and their non-Party allies. The fusion could best be seen in the celebrations of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in June 1989. With the backdrop of the "field of blackbirds," on which the Battle of Kosovo was fought and which is considered by Serbs one of their sacred places, Milošević pronounced his determination to redress the balance of history. The Battle of Kosovo was lost due to "lack of unity and betrayal." "Therefore," he continued, "words devoted to unity, solidarity, and cooperation among people have no greater significance anywhere on the soil of our motherland than they have here in the field of Kosovo, which is a symbol of disunity and treason" ("Milošević Delivers Speech"). By linking the fate of a disunited Serbia in 1389 with that of the allegedly disunited Serbia of 1989, Milošević linked the subtle revisionism of the Serbian Party with the overt nationalism of the Memorandum authors.

It was an unlikely combination, and an explanation of how it came about requires more discussion of the background. The opposition movement had inflamed Serbian public opinion over Kosovo. Its goals were to push the Serbian (and potentially the Yugoslav) League of Communists to address the unequal position of Serbia in Yugoslavia. Practically, their success would have meant reincorporating Kosovo and Vojvodina into Serbia proper, a position they had not occupied in the communist era. Neither the Serbian League of Communists nor the Party organizations of the other republics of Yugoslavia were receptive to the Serbs' position. It is easy now to forget that the Serbian Party actually had been quite critical of the division of Serbia, especially in light of the 1981 Albanian rebellion. Under the leadership of Ivan Stambolić, however, it insisted on going slow, seeking incremental change in alliance with other Yugoslavs. By 1987, though, the intellectual movement had reached a point where it could not be ignored. Typically, the Party and the Party press portrayed the movement as nationalistic and destructive of the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples. Both accusations were true, but they had become so much a part of the Titoist mantra that they were largely ignored by Serbs. Ultimately, it was probably inevitable that some person or group within the Party would try to harness the power of the opposition to their own ends.

In 1987 Slobodan Milošević did just that. In April of that year, Milošević had visited the town of Kosovo Polje to address the locals and to hear the grievances of a delegation of Serbs. Outside the building, Serbs were demonstrating and



Slobodan Milošević. (Petar Kujundzic/Reuters/Corbis)

struggling with the police, who were Albanians. When Milošević poked his head out the window and said to the Serbs, "No one dares beat you," he instantly became the hero of the Serbian movement in Kosovo. The entire episode had been scripted beforehand: Milošević understood that the Serbian movement in Kosovo was a powerful one, which he could use to gain and hold power in Serbia. Over the course of 1987, Milošević had built a strong relationship with the directors of *NIN* (*Nedeljne Informativne Novine* [Weekly Informative News], the leading Serbian newsweekly) and Radio-Television Belgrade. Using his media allies, he had been able to stoke the fears of ordinary Serbs over the fate of Serbs in Kosovo. By November of 1987, he had been able to bring about the fall of Ivan Stambolić, his best friend and political mentor, as president of Serbia. Thereafter, Milošević, feeding on the power of the Kosovo issue, was able to create and fund a massive organization (allegedy populist, but actually quite professional) of demonstrators who moved from city to city in the Serbian portions of Yugoslavia, demanding that the Parties of Montenegro, Vojvodina, and Kosovo reform, get rid of the dead wood, and embrace the anti-bureaucratic revolution of Slobodan Milošević. Frightened Party leaderships in Vojvodina and Montenegro resigned en masse in the fall of 1988. By the spring of 1989, Milošević had been able to proclaim a new constitution for Serbia, which reincorporated Vojvodina and Kosovo into the republic proper.

Milošević was now extremely popular among Serbs. He was able to portray himself as a true "people's revolutionary," one who understood that the Party had grown away from the people and needed to return to them. However, for the same reason that he became popular among Serbs, he was a frightening figure to most other Yugoslavs. Slovenes and Croats feared that Milošević would try to use the power of Serbian nationalism to take power in Yugoslavia; Albanians recognized that he had manipulated Serbian opinion to inflame racist hatred of Albanians among Serbs. The result of Milošević's takeover of power in Serbia was the growth of national movements in other republics. In Slovenia and Croatia, in particular, latent nationalism reemerged in the late 1980s.

Thus the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo was simply Milošević's coming-out party, if you will, which he and Serbia in general celebrated at Gazi Mestan, the scene of the battle. With all of the republican leaders from around Yugoslavia in attendance, he presided over a celebration that capped the Serbian revival of the 1980s, during which he announced the readiness of Serbs once again to defend themselves militarily, if necessary.

Milošević's popularity peaked that summer of 1989. Thereafter, as Serbian society became more fully politicized, as competitors and new political parties emerged, he necessarily lost some of his luster. Virtually all of the new parties embraced a Serbian nationalist platform that differed very little from that which made him so popular in the first place. As a result, differentiation among the parties tended to be ideological and historical—in other words, nationalist parties arrayed themselves from right to left. Milošević and his now renamed Socialist Party of Serbia suffered among many Serbs for being communist. Others who had once approved of his defense of Serbian interests soon became disillusioned by his willingness to use coercive measures to defend his power (a topic discussed more fully in "Serbian Politics and Political Evolution"). Milošević's ambiguous position came into full relief in March 1991, when a rally against his control of the media turned into a days-long movement against the regime's authoritarian methods. The army was called into Belgrade to quell the movement, and two people were killed (one student demonstrator, one policeman). The rally did not achieve much in the way of its goals, but it did become a touchstone for opponents of the Milošević regime thereafter. Since it came, however, a mere three months before the outbreak of war, opponents of the regime were unable to capitalize on its momentum.

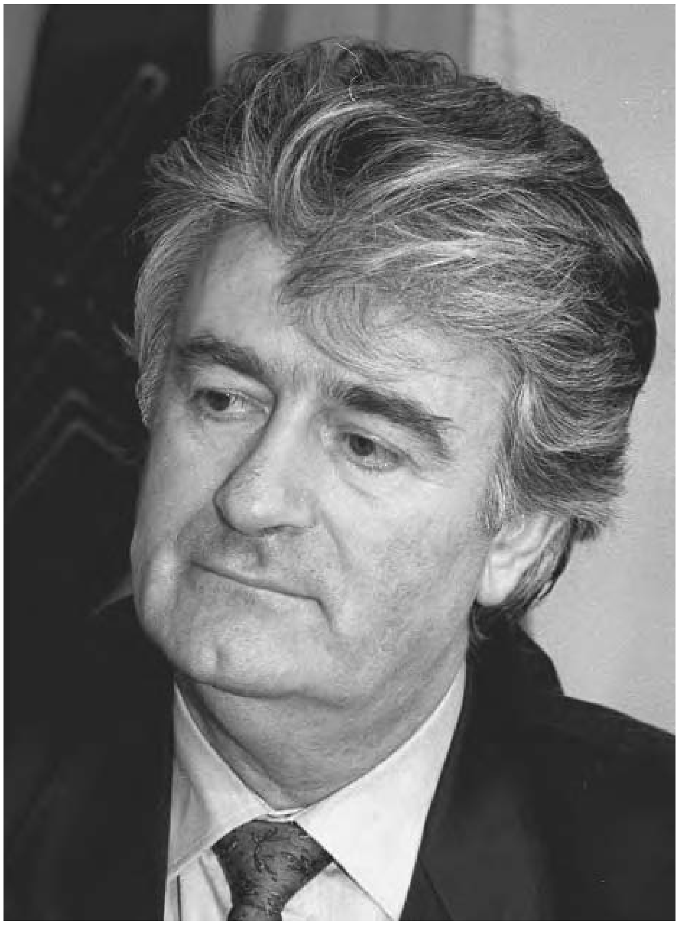
SERBIA AT WAR

The war of Yugoslav succession broke out when Croatia and Slovenia declared their secession from the state on 25 June 1991. Serbia, as such, was not at war at that point. But it was clear to all observers and participants—even when it was not openly acknowledged at the outset—that the Yugoslav

People's Army fought thereafter as a Serbian force, and it went without saying that many of the Serbian paramilitaries who were responsible for much of the Croatian fighting were being directed from Serbia. The war with Slovenia lasted a mere seventeen days; thereafter, a truce having been negotiated, the open war in Croatia began. For all intents and purposes, however, the war in Croatia had begun in the summer of 1990, when Serbian leaders in Knin and other towns openly resisted the imposition of certain new measures—largely symbolic—by the newly elected regime of Franjo Tudjman. In August 1990, under the leadership of Milan Babić, the "Autonomous Province of the Serbian Krajina" had been proclaimed, with Knin as its center in western Croatia. For another ten months, hostilities were local but often vicious. When the declared war began in July 1991, the most shocking fighting took place in eastern Croatia, around the cities of Vukovar and Osijek, which Serbs hoped to incorporate into a unified Serbian state. There, the "Serbia Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem" was formed and proclaimed in July 1991. By early 1992, Serbian forces controlled about 30 percent of the territory of the prewar Republic of Croatia, and they continued to do so until the summer of 1995.

In April 1992 the focus of the war shifted to Bosnia, which declared its own independence on 6 April. Sarajevo was immediately beseiged by Yugoslav People's Army forces, acting in essence as the military of the Serbian Democratic Party, the Bosnian Serb political party headed by Radovan Karadžić. Like the war in Croatia, the war in Bosnia was really several different struggles, whose nature was more local than general. Serbian forces attempted to clear eastern Bosnia (Goražde, Višegrad) and north central Bosnia (Banja Luka) of non-Serbs in order to complete an envisioned independent Serbia. As in Croatia, Serbian forces in Bosnia were quickly able to conquer and control a large part of the former republic—in Bosnia's case, well over 50 percent. And also as in Croatia, this conflict was not to end until the summer of 1995. The war in Croatia, quiet after January 1992, flared up again in the spring of 1995. Croatian forces had been upgraded—better armed (thanks to Germany), and trained by Western (especially American) advisors—and now went on the offensive to regain territory controlled by Serbs. In early May Croatian forces overran western Slavonia, centered on the town of Okučani. Then, in July and August 1995, Croatian forces overran the Krajina (western Croatia), liberating Knin and prompting a massive exodus of Serbian refugees, estimated to be as many as 200,000.

The story of the 1990s is a chronicle of wars; once Croatia and Bosnia were finished, Kosovo loomed. There, the Albanian population had hunkered down after 1990; by the mid-1990s, however, younger Albanians were no longer willing to tolerate the absence of political autonomy and any semblance of a cultural life in the region, and many of them opted for armed resistance to the Serbs. The result was that an armed insurgency began in 1996 and reached substantial proportions by late 1998. Serbian military and police forces used maximum force to put down the movement, which was led by the Kosovo Liberation Army. A NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) bombing campaign in March and April 1999 effectively drove the Serbs from Kosovo. At the end of the decade of wars, Serbia had thus lost all four areas: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo.



Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadžić. (Reuters/Corbis)

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POSTCOMMUNIST ERA

There are a couple of factors that are critical to any understanding of how Serbia's "democratization" in the 1990s proceeded. One is that by 1990, people across virtually the entire Serbian political, cultural, and intellectual spectrum agreed that Titoism—in other words, communism in Yugoslavia—had victimized Serbia; thus, all believed that Serbia needed to assert itself by protecting Serbs' interests and projecting Serbian power. In other words, virtually all political Serbs were nationalists. However, this unity was crosscut by a source of great disunity: the legacy of the Serbian past (especially World War II) lay heavily on Serbian political parties. Regardless of their shared nationalism, these parties fell across the spectrum from left to right and were often quite hostile to each other in ideological terms. Thus, for instance, the two parties that were initially most popular in Serbia were the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS, the party of Slobodan Milošević) and the Serbian Renewal Movement

(SRM, the party of Vuk Drašković). Both thrived on the growth of Serbian nationalism (the SPS was, arguably, not nationalist itself), but the SPS was communist and the SRM was royalist. One was the heir to the Partisans, the World War II group led by Tito; the other was the heir to the Četniks, the Serbian World War II fighters led by Colonel Dragoljub (Draža) Mihailović. The two leaders were rivals, and their constituencies loathed each other. Shared nationalism was not a guarantee of political harmony in Serbia.

The period under discussion here is often referred to as one of democratization, especially elsewhere in Eastern Europe, which began that process after the fall of the communist regimes in 1989. In Yugoslavia, though, the process followed a different logic. The year 1989 did have meaning for Yugoslavia, but not the same kind of meaning as for the rest of Eastern Europe. In Yugoslavia, 1989 was the year that Serbian nationalism reached its crescendo with the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. For Serbs, the celebration symbolized the unity of the Serbian people in the face of enemies far and wide. For other Yugoslavs, the celebration symbolized the fear that a unified Serbian people could provoke. The rise in Serbian nationalism actually resulted in pressure to democratize in two other Yugoslav republics, Slovenia and Croatia, each of which held democratic elections in the spring of 1990. The pressure to hold free elections in Serbia came from two parties formed in early 1990: the monarchists of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM) and the liberal democrats of the Democratic Party (DP), both of whom were intensely anticommunist. In June a large demonstration of the opposition parties was held in Belgrade, and soon thereafter, opposition parties were legalized. Aside from the SRM and the DP, several dozen parties registered, including the reformed and renamed League of Communists of Serbia, which called itself the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS).

These parties were to be the three major parties in Serbia during the transition phase. The SPS retained the resources and the pedigree of the League of Communists, but it also welcomed in many of the opposition figures of the past decade whose loyalties were to the Left (including, for instance, the Praxis philosopher Mihailo Marković and the novelist Antonije Isaković). The SRM was extremely nationalistic and bitterly anticommunist. Its leader was Vuk Drašković, who earned a reputation as a demagogic speaker, one who evoked links to the Četnik past in Serbia. The Democratic Party was the party of the urban intellectual elite, and thus found it difficult to appeal across the social spectrum in Serbia. Its parliamentary principles and somewhat muted nationalism made it the favorite party of Western observers of the Serbian political scene. This party underwemt a major split within a year, but its early leadership included Zoran Djindjić and Vojislav Koštunica, the premier and president of Yugoslavia following the October 2000 fall of the Milošević regime. The constituencies of all three parties described themselves as "nationalist"; a majority of the members of the SPS actually described themselves as "authoritarian," whereas the SRM was split between "authoritarian" and "antiauthoritarian" and the DS was heavily "antiauthoritarian." Other parties ranged the political spectrum, but none would compete with the three described above, until the emergence of the Serbian Radical Party of Vojislav Šešelj in 1992.

The most important issue preceding elections in Serbia was the decision whether to promulgate a new constitution before or after the vote. On 26 June 1990, the Serbian skupština (parliament) voted that the question should be decided by a referendum to be held a week later. The regime preferred to produce a constitution before the elections, and the opposition was unable to counter the regime's influence in the one-week window it was given. The regime announced that 97 percent of voters had favored promulgating a new constitution before holding elections (Miller, "A Failed Transition" 158–159). Accordingly, the SPS had the advantage of creating a political system in its own image. The result was a presidential system with a weak parliament. The constitution was designed to assure the power of Slobodan Milošević. In the same preelection period, the Serbian skupština passed electoral laws that established single-member constituencies. In such a system, representatives are chosen by constituency rather than being allotted according to the countrywide vote. Furthermore, any organization with 100 members and a program could be registered as a party. These laws made it more difficult for the serious opposition parties to get elected.

The elections of 1990 empowered the government that was to run Serbia for a decade. In these December elections, 71 percent of the citizens of Serbia (including Vojvodina and Kosovo) voted. The SPS won 78 percent of seats in the skupština. No other party received more than 8 percent of the seats (the percentage gained by the SRM). Parties representing minorities did win a few seats: the Hungarian, Muslim, and Croatian organizations each did so, whereas the Albanians of Kosovo boycotted the election and thus gained nothing but an unimportant moral triumph. With Slobodan Milošević's victory in the presidential election (in which he received 63 percent of the vote to Drašković's 16 percent), the parliamentary elections rewarded a party and a politician who were popular, but not all that popular in Serbia. Why? One answer is that Serbs had grown comfortable with authoritarian rule, and that the SPS had taken over the nationalist issues that Serbs found so compelling in the late 1980s. So, even if Drašković was more stridently nationalist, voters did not feel compelled to opt for him; he was an unknown quantity, after all. Another explanation is also convincing, however: the Milošević regime had resources that the opposition parties simply could not match, and thus could campaign more effectively. In any case, Slobodan Milošević retained power in an era in which communist parties throughout Eastern Europe—and Yugoslavia—were falling like flies. It seems ironic that he probably had nationalism to thank for his victory.

The Milošević regime thus had the aura of power and authority in Serbia. Nonetheless, it faced great hostility, especially in Belgrade, where the core support of the Democratic Party resided, and in other urban areas of Serbia. Street demonstrations in Belgrade in March 1991 illustrated the depth of the hostility to the regime in that city, especially from supporters of the SRM and the DP. Neverthe-

Zoran Djindjić (1952–2003)

Zoran Djindjić was born in Bosanski Šamac in 1952. He was murdered in Belgrade in February 2003. He graduated with a degree in philosophy from the University of Belgrade in 1974 and was jailed soon thereafter for attempting to form an independent student union. After his release, he moved to Germany, where he earned a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Frankfurt. In 1990 he was one of the founders of the Democratic Party, one of the three leading contenders for power in the first free postwar elections held in Serbia in that year. By 1994, he had taken over leadership of that party. Throughout the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, Djindjić maintained a somewhat ambiguous position in Serbian politics; he himself was not a radical nationalist, but it was difficult to appeal to a Serbian population that was deeply nationalist itself without playing to that extreme nationalism. When the war in Bosnia was over, Djindjić remained one of Slobodan Milošević's most aggressive opponents. In late 1996 Djindjić, along with Vuk Drašković, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, and the leaders of the Civic Alliance of Serbia, led demonstrations against the regime following clear election fraud in the elections of that fall. By early 1997, the demonstrations had wrested concessions from the Milošević regime and Djindjić was installed as the mayor of Belgrade. In the aftermath of this victory, he and Drašković sabotaged their own positions by fighting a bitter personal battle. As a result, the gains of early 1997 were lost soon thereafter.

During the NATO bombing campaign of 1999, Djindjić fled Belgrade for safe haven in Montenegro, whence he continued to criticize the Milošević regime. Branded a traitor for his choice of flight, he proved his political savvy by nonetheless emerging once again as one of Milošević's opponents. In 2000, recognizing that his own political baggage made him an unlikely victor in the presidential election of that year, he threw his party's support to Vojislav Koštunica, who won the election. After bitter street battles on 5 October 2000, the Milošević regime collapsed. Koštunica became president of Serbia, and in January 2001 Djindjić, as the leader of the party with the most representation in the Serbian parliament, became prime minister of Serbia.

As prime minister, Djindjić advocated doing all that was necessary to build a strong relationship with Western Europe and the United States. This necessitated his support for the handing over of those who had been indicted to the Hague, including Milošević himself. Unfortunately for Djindjić, political power in Serbia still required the support of factions within the security services, organized crime, and the extremely corrupt business community. When Djindjić made it clear he was seeking the arrest of many of those who had thrown him their support in 2000, he was assassinated in February 2003. The man responsible, Milorad Ulemek, known as "Legija," had been Djindjić's own man in the security services in October 2000—the man, in other words, who arguably assured the success of the demonstrations of 5 October.

less, the regime had little trouble ending the demonstrations with only cosmetic losses. When the wars in Croatia and Slovenia began in June 1991, Milošević was able to capitalize on the fact that virtually all Serbs, regardless of ideological persuasion, favored the aggressive defense of Serbs and projection of Serbian power in areas with large Serbian minorities (Croatia and Bosnia). The SRM and the DS could not compete with a Milošević who was aggressively prosecuting the war against (through 1991) a Croatian government that actively courted the legacy of the Ustaša, the Croatian ultranationalist organization.

Interestingly, as the war progressed, Drašković, one of the most vitriolic of Serbian nationalists before the war, began to express pacifist sentiments, which opened the door to another extreme nationalist, Vojislav Šešelj. Šešelj had been the founder of the Serbian Četnik movement. From the early 1980s, he had been a hero of the free speech movement in Serbia, as he had been persecuted by the government for the expression of the view that Yugoslavia's federation should be reorganized, with Serbia gaining territory at the expense of Bosnia and others. The Četnik movement was illegal in Serbia, but behind the scenes Šešelj and Milošević had contacts. Šešelj came in fifth in the presidential elections of 1990, and was actually elected to the skupština in a 1991 by-election in a Belgrade suburb. A latecomer to the political scene, Šešelj became one of Serbia's most important political actors in the mid-1990s, in spite of his ostentatious and even atavistic nationalism. His party, renamed the Serbian Radical Party (SRP) in memory of the Radical Party of Nikola Pašić in the early twentieth century, occupied an interesting niche in Serbian politics: its membership profile was almost identical to that of the SPS, with the exception of the fact that the SRP attracted anticommunists.

From the summer of 1991 on, Serbian political developments had a surreal air. Outsiders could note that there was a great degree of agreement in Serbia on the need to prosecute the war aggressively, while Serbs themselves undermined that apparent unanimity, as they continually fought among themselves. The key to this paradox is that while virtually all Serbian parties were nationalist, they were ideologically quite distinct from and hostile to each other. Inside Serbia, then, the years of the war saw constant attempts to combine and overthrow the Milošević regime. In May 1992, for instance, some opposition parties (SRM, an offshoot of the DP called the Democratic Party of Serbia, the Serbian Liberal Party, New Democracy, and the People's Peasant Party) formed a coalition called the Democratic Movement of Serbia (DEPOS). It pursued the overthrow of Milošević, sponsoring demonstrations during the summer of 1992. In July 1992, though, DEPOS found itself allied with a new federal prime minister, the Serbian-American Milan Panić, whose appointment Milošević had arranged in order to appease American opinion. In spite of American material and moral support for Panić, Milošević and the SPS won elections held in December 1992 with 40 percent of the seats in the skupština and 56 percent of the presidential vote. With the Radical Party of Šešelj, the SPS controlled 70 percent of the seats of the skupština. The results were demoralizing for the opposition. Elections in 1993 did not result in any real changes, except that the SRP lost support to the DP and to DEPOS. The most important change to occur during the war in Bosnia was that the Milošević regime lost its Radical allies when it allowed monitors to observe the Serbian-Bosnian border, an affront to the Radicals' nationalist sensibilities.

The Bosnian and Croatian wars ended in the summer of 1995. In the Croatian case, a motivated Croatian army, trained by the United States, overran the various Serbian communities that had achieved a level of independence in 1991. It appears that Milošević ordered the Serbian forces defending those Krajina communities to abandon the region to Croatia. The end of the Bosnian conflict came in August, after NATO bombing and an offensive by combined Croatian and Bosnian armies. Such a dismal end to a long war might have endangered the Milošević regime, which could only suffer from its failure to defend important Serbian territories. Unfortunately, it did not. With the Bosnian and Croatian wars concluded, Milošević's fate became the key issue in Serbian politics. And here there was an unpleasant fact that had to be faced by both Serbs and outsiders: many Serbs simply felt comfortable voting for Milošević. Pensioners, workers in state-owned enterprises, civil servants, people who saw themselves still on the Left, all voted for Milošević, albeit for different reasons. Furthermore, although Serbia had a democratic electoral system, the regime still possessed undeniable advantages, primarily in its control of the press, its control of the police, its ability to assure supplies of important goods like paper, and its general sophistication.

Except for one brief moment of hope in late 1996, when a coalition of the Democratic Party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, and the Civic Alliance (called *Zajedno,* or "together") won municipal elections in many of Serbia's cities, Milošević was unbeatable. In the case of Zajedno, internal squabbling ruined the coalition's victories within a year. Arguably responsible for the amazingly destructive wars of the 1990s, Milošević could not be beaten even after losing those wars.

Of course, today Milošević is out of power. The explanation cannot, however, be found in the Serbian electorate; instead, his removal from power was a result of developments in Kosovo. Beginning in 1989, with the promulgation of the new Serbian constitution, which reincorporated Kosovo into Serbia, the Kosovo Albanian community chose to respond to increased Serbian oppression in the province by withdrawing from public and political life. Albanians in Kosovo chose to create a parallel society, using the model of Solidarity and its associated organizations in Poland in the late 1970s and 1980s. Since the University of Priština had already been purged of its Albanian professors and turned into a Serbian university, and since the ethnically Albanian professionals in Kosovo's cities had been removed from their positions, the Albanian population chose to boycott Serbian elections and work as though they were free.

In December 1989 the Democratic League of Kosovo (DLK) was founded. In July 1990 approximately 90 percent of the Albanian members of the provincial parliament voted that Kosovo be proclaimed a republic in Yugoslavia. In September 1991 those deputies announced a referendum on Kosovo's independence. In October that referendum, illegal but not obstructed by the Serbs, saw an alleged 99.87 percent of those who voted choose independence. In underground elections for a parliament of this independent Kosovo, held in May 1992, the DLK won a solid victory. The DLK's leader, Ibrahim Rugova, was elected president. The Serbian authorities allowed all of this to happen, but did not allow the parliament to meet. There was a tacit understanding on both sides that the Albanians would lie low, and that Serbia, engaged elsewhere, would not react violently to the limited Albanian moves.

This truce lasted as long as the wars in Croatia and Bosnia. After the Dayton Accords ended the Bosnian conflict, however, younger, more combative Albanians began to question the tactics of the DLK. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was the result of this questioning. The first guerrilla actions of this new organization came in the spring of 1996; over the next two years, it acted sporadically, attacking police stations and provoking retaliation by the Serbs. In 1998 the KLA's activity took on greater proportions, although it was still an exceedingly small organization (perhaps 150 men in 1997). In March 1998 the first of several large-scale massacres of Albanians took place when the Serbian police encircled and destroyed the home of Adem Jashari, one of the leaders of the KLA. Fifty-eight people were killed in the compound, including twenty-eight women and children. The Serbian government had decided to attempt to wipe out the KLA at any cost. Because the cost turned out to be amazingly high, the Milošević government eventually brought on foreign intervention. The most important of these massacres came at Račak in January 1999. The administration of American president Bill Clinton decided at that point to issue an ultimatum to Milošević: pull out of Kosovo and allow a NATO occupa-

Serb soldiers display a Serbian flag as they depart Priština early on 14 June 1999 as NATO troops sought to establish control over the province of Kosovo. (Reuters/Corbis)

tion to begin, or be attacked by the NATO alliance. Milošević refused the ultimatum, and in late March 1999 NATO did in fact attack Serbia.

The DLK's authority had weakened in the mid-1990s, when many Albanians became frustrated with Rugova's pacifism. The KLA had emerged as a result of that frustration, with the ultimate result that the policies of the Milošević regime resulted in a month of heavy bombing by NATO forces in the spring of 1999. The key here, in this section of the study, is to understand how the Kosovo situation affected Milošević's ability to govern. It had in fact two opposite effects: first, in fighting NATO ultimatums and arms, he was defending a Serbia under attack by an enemy of overwhelming strength, and this was a positive role in Serbs' eyes; second, though, his policies could easily be blamed for having brought on that very bombing. In the end, the NATO bombing achieved its goal, which was to drive Serbian forces from Kosovo; however, all, inside and outside of Serbia, understood that the removal of Milošević from power and the destruction of Serbian military power were tacit goals of the bombing, and here NATO failed. When the bombing ceased, Milošević could claim to have successfully defended Serbia from aggression. This claim resonated with Serbs. However, once the enormity of the bombing's destruction was known, and once the political reality set in that Milošević had now fought and lost four wars—in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo—the president's position became more tenuous.

In August 2000 a new coalition called the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) emerged, which united all of the parties in opposition to Milošević, save one, the Serbian Renewal Movement of Vuk Drašković. Drašković may have been motivated by his strong dislike for Djindjić, he may have feared assassination (which had been tried at least twice), or he may have wanted to avoid offending Milošević and losing his power base in Belgrade. Regardless, the absence of his party was a blow to the coalition. Still, the key element turned out to be the choice of presidential candidate: Vojislav Koštunica, the head of the Democratic Party of Serbia, was unsullied by the politics of personal rivalry that had poisoned the relations of Djindjić and Drašković, which had doomed Zajedno in 1997. Koštunica's pedigree had the right components: he was both a sincere nationalist and a sincere democrat, who believed that Serbs would be best served by a parliamentary democracy and the rule of law, but who could not be accused of ever having sold out his nation. Perhaps most importantly, Koštunica condemned U.S. involvement in the Balkans. He could compete for the vote of sincere democrats, and his nationalism could pull voters away from people like Šešelj.

In the presidential elections of September 2000, Koštunica received approximately 52 percent of the vote to Milošević's 35 percent (government figures, of course, showed a closer race). When the government refused to acknowledge Koštunica's victory, instead insisting that a second round of voting occur, Serbia rebelled. Between 2 and 5 October, Serbs took to the streets, and miners in Kolubara went on strike; Milošević finally agreed to respect the results of the election. On 7 October, Koštunica was sworn in as president.

Koštunica remained president until the fall of 2002, and until his assassination in March 2003 Djindjić, as the leader of the most popular party in the parliament, was prime minister. The two men were not friends and only barely remained political allies. The divisions between them were clearest in foreign affairs: Djindjić believed that Serbia should cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) at the Hague, whereas Koštunica wished to see Serbia punish its own people for their crimes. The need for international economic support has made it very difficult for Koštunica to realize his vision. Since this problem is still very much alive at the time of this writing, it is discussed more thoroughly in "Contemporary Problems and Challenges."

No account of the political evolution of Serbia in the postcommunist period would be complete without a discussion of the troubled relationship between Serbia and Montenegro. According to the 1992 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the state was composed of two republics, Serbia and Montenegro. The constitution was promulgated after virtually no public debate, as an expedient to fill the vacuum left by the international recognition of Croatia and Slovenia and the secession of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia. For several years, there was little contention between Serbia and Montenegro, and certainly none of the sort that could be expected to lead to a Montenegrin independence movement. Nonetheless, historically the Serbo-Montenegrin relationship had not been without conflict. The best example of this came in the aftermath of World War I, when Montenegrin "greens" (supporters of independence) and "whites" (supporters of union with Serbia and Yugoslavia) had fought pitched battles. When an independence movement did arise in Montenegro, it was partly a continuation of older competitions and partly the result of the politics of personality, as Montenegro's president harnessed the strength of Montenegrin separatism to enhance his own popularity.

The crisis that has developed in recent years has its origins in the mid-1990s, after the Dayton Agreement ended the war in Bosnia. At that time, a faction of the Montenegrin leadership, led by Milo Djukanović, began to urge that Montenegro become more open to the international community, in order both to take advantage of economic development opportunities and to shed the pariah state status that Serbia had attained. Djukanović more and more openly criticized the Milošević regime in Serbia, which opened him up to criticism from the government-controlled media in Serbia and Montenegro alike. However, somewhat surprisingly, Djukanović survived the onslaught and saw his own popularity grow. In Montenegrin presidential elections in October 1997, Djukanović defeated Momir Bulatović, Milošević's ally in Montenegro, by a slim margin. In May 1998 parliamentary elections in Montenegro, Djukanović's party, the Democratic Party of Socialists, outpolled Bulatović's, the Socialist People's Party, gaining forty-two seats to the latter's twenty-nine. From that point on, Djukanović's challenge to federal authority gained strength.

The war in Kosovo exacerbated the situation. Djukanović kept Montenegro out of the conflict, assuring that NATO would not target Montenegrin territory and that Montenegro might receive favorable treatment from the West after the conflict ended in June 1999. In August the Djukanović government presented the Serbian government with a document entitled "The Basis for Defining the New Relationship between Montenegro and Serbia," in which Djukanović proposed an "asymmetric confederation," in which the republics would share only a currency and defense and foreign policy. Rebuffed by Serbia, Montenegro has begun to create a separate state, having divorced its economy from the federal economy by late 2000. With the fall of Milošević in October 2000, a pragmatic Serbian response came in the form of "the Platform," written by Vojislav Koštunica and Zoran Djindjić, president and prime minister respectively of the Republic of Serbia. The Platform suggests that Serbia and Montenegro form a commonwealth, following the German model. Djukanović responded that first Serbia and Montenegro should constitute themselves as sovereign states, and that when they joined, they should do so on the basis of confederation, retaining separate seats in the United Nations, and (as had been suggested before) sharing only defense policy, monetary policy, and foreign affairs.

In April 2001 parliamentary elections were held in Montenegro. Djukanović's "Victory for Montenegro" alliance won thirty-three seats, a plurality, but the victory was much narrower than expected, with pro-union parties receiving the same number (six seats were won by a Djukanović ally, the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro). The elections nevertheless demonstrated the strength of independence sentiment in Montenegro, which had been negligible only a few years before. It took the influence of European Union High Representative Javier Solana to push the Montenegrins to the bargaining table, where Djukanović, Djindjić, Koštunica, and others hammered out the Belgrade Agreement in March 2002. According to this agreement, a federal state called the Union of Serbia and Montenegro was to be formed. After three years the union was to become permanent. If Montenegro chose to leave the union at that time, Serbia would be the FRY's legal successor. Other than that, the agreement was extremely vague, presumably in order to allow the two republics to further work out their relationship. Since the problem of the nature of the new state, which did in fact officially come into existence on 4 February 2003, under the name State Community of Serbia and Montenegro, is an ongoing one, it is discussed more fully in "Contemporary Challenges."

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Their culture sustained the Serbs as a nation through several centuries of governance by the Ottoman Empire. Without

Milo Djukanović, Montenegrin president and leader of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and the pro-independence "Victory for Montenegro" coalition, casts his ballot at early parliamentary elections in Podgorica, 22 April 2001. On the left is his wife, Lidija Djukanović. (Reuters/Corbis)

the consolidation of a cultural identity over that time, Serbs as a people would likely have disappeared, assimilated by Ottoman Muslim culture. Furthermore, their cultural identity as Serbs developed in stark and purposeful contrast to that of the dominant empire. Thus, to be Serbian came to mean to be Orthodox Christian (not Muslim), and it came to involve opposition to the Turk as a foreign element in Europe, upon whom the Serb people had a special duty to avenge themselves. This identity developed under the special circumstances that existed in the Ottoman Empire, in which Orthodox Christians were governed on a day-to-day basis by their own church. Finally, a powerful oral folk tradition developed that eventually expressed in mythical terms what it meant to be Serbian.

In the nineteenth century, as the modern Serbian state emerged from the chaos of the collapsing Ottoman Empire, Serbs gained confidence from the achievement of renewed statehood; that achievement made them less inclined to imagine themselves anything but Serbian. Therefore, although Serbs were part of a cultural-linguistic complex that obviously included Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgarians, they nurtured a self-image of uniqueness that ultimately made it difficult for them to imagine themselves part of any larger cultural community. Ironically, others from that larger community were instead drawn to Serbian culture.

So, although one may be tempted to adopt an easy definition of Serbianness, as "Orthodox Christian, speaking Serbo-Croatian," shaped by the conditioning of centuries of oral folk culture embodied in the Kosovo cycle of songs, in fact Serbian culture has attracted people with different origins. For instance, novelist Ivo Andrić was born to Catholic parents in Bosnia, but felt himself to be a Serb.

Meša Selimović, another outstanding novelist, was a child of Muslims who chose to think of himself as a Serb. Emir Kusturica, the brilliant film director, also hails from a Muslim background but now considers himself to be a Serb. Danilo Kiš, the author of *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* and several other stunning novels, was the son of a Hungarian Jewish father and an Orthodox mother. Today's Serbs enjoy a rich and varied cultural heritage.

Serbian culture begins with the Serbs' oral folk tradition. By the end of the seventeenth century, in patriarchal peasant villages throughout the central Balkans, *deseterci* (songs with ten-syllable lines) were being sung. These songs—poems sung to a melody, words and melody handed down orally from generation to generation—fell into two general categories: love songs and heroic historical songs. When they were collected and catalogued in the nineteenth century by Vuk Karadžić, they were being sung (or recited without melody) by male and female singers who had learned them at the feet of their predecessors. Vuk's collection, entitled *Narodna srbska pjesnarica* (Serbian People's Songbook, Leipzig, 1823–1833) includes songs from the lyrical tradition and the heroic tradition. The heroic songs in this collection include those of the Kosovo cycle (which describe and mythologize the Battle of Kosovo, the devastating loss to the Turks in 1389), which are some of the most important and impressive of the entire opus, as well as other deservedly renowned songs such as "Banović Strahinje," "The Wedding of King Vukašin," and the various songs describing the feats of Kraljević Marko (an Ottoman vassal, one of the remarkable heroes of Serbian culture). In the end, according to Michael Petrovich, the songs "preserved and transmitted from generation to generation [the Serbs'] own idealized memory of their past, a chronicle of their present, and their hopes in future freedom, all in a spirit of folk democracy." The songs also taught Serbs to oppose oppressors violently if necessary, and that the Turk was that oppressor. The legacy was both uplifting and incendiary: Serbs were raised on mythical heroes and the promise of revenge in the future. These are the foundations of modern Serbian culture and identity.

The oral culture described above competed with a high culture that was dominated by the religious hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church and used a language, Old Church Slavonic, that bore little resemblance to the language of ordinary people. For an understanding of modern Serbian culture, two men, the aforementioned Vuk Karadžić and Petar Petrović Njegoš, are of critical importance, as they were the authors of the transition from an early modern culture that was divided between folk and

Yugoslavian novelist and poet Danilo Kiš (1935–1989) sits near a typewriter and a bookshelf in his writing room. (Sophie Bassouls/Corbis Sygma) high religious elements to a modern culture that became pervasively Serbian. Karadžić (1787–1864) was born in a small village in western Serbia. He took part in the Serbian revolution and become one of Prince Miloš Obrenović's civil servants in the first autonomous Serbian state. But Vuk's eminence stemmed from two other sources: his standardization of a modern Serbian language and his collection of folk songs. As discussed above, both tasks marked him as a child of Johann Gottfried Herder, a romantic, a member of the first generation of ethnographers, working in the spirit of national revival and consolidation, along with the brothers Grimm and others like them throughout Central and Southeastern Europe. Vuk's central premise was that the only true language was the language spoken by the people. His aphorism "write as you speak" *(piši kako govoriš)* became one of the most recognizable Serbian sayings. The results of Vuk's lifetime of work were a grammar (finished in 1814), a dictionary of the Serbian language (printed in 1818), a monumental collection of folk songs and proverbs (published over several decades), and a New Testament translation into Serbian.

Vuk's work brought him into conflict with more traditional authorities in Serbian life, primarily the Serbian Orthodox Church, which resisted his belief that the true language of the Serbs was that spoken by the Serbian peasant, favoring instead a Serbian more closely tied to Old Church Slavonic and thus Russian. Vuk also found himself in conflict with other national "awakeners" of his time, especially Croats, thanks to his belief that those who spoke the štokavijan dialect of the language that Serbs and Croats shared were, by definition, Serbs. This was an early example of the ideology of nationalism riding roughshod over facts on the ground; the fact in this case was that people who considered themselves Croats as well as those who considered themselves Serbs spoke this dialect of the language. Thus Vuk's gifts to nineteenth-century Serbs were a simplified orthography and a modern literary language; his gift to Serbian, and Yugoslav, posterity was his argument that all speakers of štokavijan were Serbs, an idea that competed with several other conceptions of the relationship between Serbian and Croatian and bore unpleasant fruit down the road.

The second critical figure in modern Serbian culture is Petar Petrović Njegoš, prince-bishop of Montenegro and author of *The Mountain Wreath*. Njegoš became the spiritual and political leader of Montenegro in 1830 at the age of seventeen. He had been educated in a monastery in Cetinje and then in a boarding school in Dalmatia, which was about the best a Montenegrin could hope for at that time. As the political leader of Montenegro, Njegoš was a modernizer who attempted to bring unity to the divisive Montenegrin tribes and progress to the extremely backward Montenegrin countryside. He worked to gain recognition of Montenegrin sovereignty, traveled through Central Europe and to Russia, and met and corresponded with Vuk Karadžić. Between 1833 and 1845, he wrote four books of poetry, which were modeled on Serbian folk poetry and betrayed his dedication to the goal of the liberation of Serbs from the Ottomans.

In 1845 Njegoš published *The Ray of the Microcosm,* and in 1847 *The Mountain Wreath,* his two greatest works. Called one of the greatest achievements in Serbian literature by Vasa Mihailovich (in his introduction to the 1997 edition of the work, page 15), *The Mountain Wreath* is a long, complex, and beautiful poem based loosely on a historical event. But it is not a historical analysis or interpretation at heart; instead, it is a meditation on freedom. Njegoš's final work was entitled *Stephen the Small, the Pretender* and was published in 1851. Mihailovich argues that Njegoš's importance to Serbian culture was in "his appearance at the time when Serbian literature was making its first unsure steps after centuries of dormancy. . . . Njegoš's use of the vernacular, which he patterned after folk poetry, assured the success of this all-important linguistic reform" (xxi).

After the two founding figures, the first prominent representative of modern Serbian literature was the critic Jovan Skerlić (1877–1914), who wrote in pre–World War I Belgrade and helped introduce Serbia and Serbian writers to literary modernism. He was an urbane, socially conscious presence in the small Belgrade literary scene, and his critical standards affected and informed all writing of the period. His books included *The Younger Generation and Its Literature* (1906), *Serbian Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (1909), and *The History of Modern Serbian Literature* (1914). He edited the *Srpski književni glasnik* (Serbian Literary Herald), which became the leading literary journal in Serbia and introduced Serbs to the work and criticism of other Europeans, especially the French, who thereafter became the role models and critical guides for generations of Serbian writers and artists. Skerlić was also a political Yugoslav, who helped open the eyes of his generation's educated and cultured Serbs to the vision of a Yugoslav future. He died young, in 1914, but his influence was felt for another thirty years and beyond in Serbian cultural life.

The main interwar Serbian writer whose reputation has lasted is Miloš Crnjanski, the author of *Migration* and a large body of fiction and poetry. Many Serbs would argue that Crnjanski is Serbia's most distinguished writer; the fact that other Serbs would not agree probably has something to do with politics, as Crnjanski was a monarchist who was for a time sympathetic to the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany. As a result, many of his interwar contemporaries who found a home in the communist Yugoslavia rejected him; he was unable to return to Yugoslavia until the 1970s. Nonetheless, *Migration* (1929) is regarded as one of the best novels written in the Serbian language. Its plot is rather unadorned; it concerns the movements of two Serbian brothers and soldiers as they fight for the Habsburg monarchy against France in the mid-eighteenth century. Its language, however, is beautiful, and its theme, migration, is one that is near and dear to Serbs' hearts.

After World War II, Serbia, like the rest of Yugoslavia, initially suffered under the strictures of the official Stalinist cultural orthodoxy of socialist realism. In Yugoslavia, the socialist realist period did not last long; the doctrine was discredited along with Stalinism not long after the 1948 Tito-Stalin split. Since socialist realism reflected nothing natural in Serbian culture, it left nothing of note behind.

Beneath the veneer of Stalinist orthodoxy, Serbian culture was thriving. From the late 1940s through the mid-1960s, Serbian letters were dominated by writers of the Partisan generation, men and women who did not question the Titoist order. Instead, the dominant theme in their writing was World War II, focusing on the Partisan experience in the struggle against the multiple enemies the Partisans faced during the war: Četniks, Ustaša, and Germans. In the late 1960s, for reasons developed in the history section of this article, many Serbs began to examine their place in Yugoslavia more critically. This development could be seen chiefly among playwrights, but also in a few novelists. The regime attacked critical writers effectively until the death of Tito. Thereafter, a flood of novels, plays, and stories critical of aspects of the communist era, including the Tito-Stalin split and its aftermath, poured out.

In a survey such as this, the most important figures to consider are those writers whose work is accessible to an English-speaking audience. Among these are several who are of unquestioned importance in Serbian literary history in general: Ivo Andrić, Meša Selimović, Dobrica Ćosić, and Danilo Kiš. Of the first postwar generation, Ivo Andrić (1892–1975) is unquestionably the most famous Serbian novelist. (The reader will also find him covered in "Bosnia-Hercegovina" as a Bosnian novelist.) Winner of the 1961 Nobel Prize for literature, he is best known for his historical novel *The Bridge on the Drina,* which was published in 1945. In that same year, two other novels, *The Woman from Sarajevo* and *The Bosnian Story* were also published; Andrić had written all three in Belgrade during World War II. Along with *The Devil's Yard,* published in 1954, these are Andrić's most famous works, although he also wrote short stories, essays, historical meditations, and poetry.

Andrić was born into a Catholic family in Travnik, Bosnia, in 1892; he lived for a brief time as an infant in Sarajevo and attended elementary school in Višegrad (the site of the actual bridge on the Drina). He was active in various nationalist and literary clubs and attended university in Zagreb, Vienna, and Cracow. After World War I (during which he spent some time in internment), he moved to Belgrade, where he entered the foreign service. In February 1939 he was named Yugoslav envoy to Germany, a position he occupied through the March 1941 adherence of Yugoslavia to the Tripartite Pact and the bombing of Belgrade two weeks later. He spent the war in an uncomfortable "retirement" in Belgrade, during which he wrote his best-known work. Although *The Bridge on the Drina* is occasionally cited as a novel that explains the allegedly violent history of Bosnia, it actually speaks of the binding power of place and the ability of shared lives and traditions to ameliorate conflict. The central character in this novel is actually the bridge itself. Beginning with its construction, Andrić takes the reader through four centuries of the history of Višegrad, focusing on the bridge's power to link rather than divide. With the bridge as a place where peaceful solutions are negotiated, Andrić's novel testifies to the ability of people to overcome what seem to be insurmountable cultural and political differences. It is a brilliant novel.

Another Bosnian, Meša Selimović (1910–1982), also belongs to the Serbian literary tradition, like Andrić by choice rather than by birth or religious faith. Selimović was born in Sarajevo. He would probably be considered rather run of the mill were it not for his final two novels, *Death and the Dervish* and *The Fortress. Death and the Dervish* is an examination of authoritarianism set in the distant Ottoman past in Bosnia. Its lead character, Sheikh Nuruddin, is caught in a web of deceit and uncertainty while trying to help his brother, who has disappeared into the shadows of Ottoman rule. The book is based on a personal experience for Selimović, whose brother, a Partisan, was arrested and executed by the communist regime for corruption just after World War II. *The Fortress* deals with similar themes, but in a more lighthearted manner and through a central character (Ahmet Shabo) who is more human and humorous than Naruddin.

Serbia's most celebrated living novelist is Dobrica Ćosić (b. 1921), who played such an important role in Serbian history as a nationalist. Ćosić was a Partisan during World War II and a member of the postwar Serbian Party leadership until 1968, when he resigned from the central committee of the Serbian League of Communists in protest of its policies toward Kosovo and Vojvodina. Ćosić's novels include *Far Away Is the Sun* (1951), *Roots* (1954), *Divisions* (1961), *Time of Death* (1972–1975), *Time of Evil* (1985–1990), and *Time of Power* (1996). He was self-taught as a writer, and one can sense Ćosić feeling his way through the various influences that affected him during his career. *Far Away Is the Sun* is a war novel, written in the aftermath of the Tito-Stalin split and reflecting Ćosić's (and Yugoslav society's) critical spirit toward Stalinism and the mythology of the Partisan war effort. It was not socialist realism, which was unique; but it was a formulaic and turgid first effort. *Roots* is set in a Serbian village and concerns the conflict between generations and between the village and the city in turn-of-the-century Serbia. It is clearly influenced by the writing of William Faulkner, right down to the creation of a fictional village, Prerovo, which was the center of most of the rest of Ćosić's literary output, just as Yoknapatawpha County was for Faulkner. *Divisions* is a long (three-volume) examination of the roots and dynamics of the Četnik movement in wartime Serbia; considered a critical analysis at the time it appeared, today it seems to demonize those Serbs who became Četniks more than it explains them.

Politics changed the nature of Ćosić's literature. In the early 1960s he became disillusioned with the status of Serbs in Tito's Yugoslavia. By 1968, he had withdrawn from active political life and become a spokesman for Serbian concerns in Yugoslavia. Over the next twenty-five years, he became the central figure in a Serbian opposition movement that wished to destroy the Titoist order of Yugoslavia and establish a unified Serbian community within the state. His novels reflected those commitments: *Time of Death* is a monotonous three-volume meditation on Serbia and the Serbs as the country is being overrun by Habsburg and Bulgarian armies in 1915; *Time of Evil* (also three volumes) and *Time of Power* consider the effects of Bolshevism on

Serbia. Ultimately, Ćosić's appeal—unlike that of Andrić, Selimović, or Danilo Kiš—does not extend beyond Serbs. His themes are so introspectively Serbian that they have no universal appeal. Ćosić remains popular (as a writer) in Serbia, but a provincial everywhere else. Contemporaries of Ćosić include Antonije Isaković, whose work has not been translated.

If there is a polar opposite to Ćosić to be found in Serbian letters, it is Danilo Kiš, whose themes are universal and who was only provincial when forced to be. Kiš (1935–1989) wrote some of the most impressive novels in modern Serbian letters, including *Garden, Ashes* (1965), *Early Sorrows* (1968), *Hourglass* (1972), and *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* (1976). Never formally an exile from Yugoslavia, Kiš nonetheless spent the majority of his time after the late 1960s in France, where he did most of his writing. *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich,* the second-to-last of Kiš's novels, was really the first to gain an audience in the West, and it did so by virtue of the uproar it caused in Yugoslavia itself. The novel is a series of vignettes that address the nature and effects of Stalinism; several of the chapters incorporate the writing of others, a literary collage method that should have raised no eyebrows. Nevertheless, Kiš was attacked as a plagiarist by Serbian literary critics. The issue was complicated by the fact that a literary critic from Zagreb, Croatia, rose to Kiš's defense, which further inflamed members

Danilo Kiš (1935–1989)

Danilo Kiš was born in 1935 in Subotica, Yugoslavia, and died in Paris in 1989. His father was Hungarian and Jewish, and his mother was Montenegrin. Kiš's parents had him baptized in the Orthodox church in 1939 in order to protect him from anti-Semitism. Kiš's family fled Novi Sad for Hungary proper in 1942, following anti-Semitic violence in Novi Sad. His father perished in Auschwitz in 1944; the rest of the family returned to Montenegro in 1947. Kiš's mother, Milica, died in 1951. Danilo Kiš's first poem was published in 1953. In 1954 he enrolled in Belgrade University, where he became one of the first graduates in its new History of World Literature program in 1958. His first two novels, *The Attic* and *Psalm 44,* were published in 1962. In 1965 the first installment in a three-volume autobiographical cycle, entitled *Garden, Ashes,* was published. *Early Sorrows* and *Hourglass* followed in 1969 and 1972, respectively. In 1973 *Hourglass* won the award for fiction given by *Nedeljne Informativne Novine,* the leading Serbian newsweekly.

Garden, Ashes, Early Sorrows, and *Hourglass* are all loosely autobiographical novels (although *Early Sorrows* is rather a collection of stories) of childhood and adolescence. The first two are unencumbered narratives that deal directly with the world through the eyes of a child; *Hourglass,* on the other hand, is a quite complex story of a man (Kiš's father) caught up in the Holocaust.

In 1976 *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* was published. It brought Kiš his greatest fame and enormous controversy. The novel, a collection of stories that examine the nature of totalitarianism, was criticized by an influential segment of the Belgrade literary community for having allegedly plagiarized other authors. In fact, Kiš used methods familiar to readers of the Argentine author Jorge Luis Borges and others when he incorporated fragments of other authors' prose in his own work. What was considered avant-garde elsewhere was ferociously attacked in Belgrade. The polemics that ensued eventually lapsed into the sort of frenzy that only Yugoslavia and its complicated ethnic situation could produce, as Croatian writers came to Kiš's defense and Serbian critics accused "outsiders" of meddling in a Serbian literary controversy. It is impossible not to conclude that Kiš was a victim of his own lack of interest in daily politics; many accused his attackers of anti-Semitism. Kiš responded to his critics with the book *The Anatomy Lesson,* in which he explained his own literary roots and influences in his typically combative way: labeling the controversy a witch-hunt, he noted that much of the so-called debate took place in literary salons and clubs, where only the officially acceptable writers were allowed to speak.

Ultimately, the controversy drove Kiš permanently out of the country of his birth. He spent the majority of his remaining years in France, where he had periodically taught and lived since the early 1960s. He published only one more book, *The Encyclopedia of the Dead,* in 1984.

Kiš is now remembered outside of Yugoslavia mostly for *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich;* in Yugoslavia, he was mourned universally after his death, as if he had not in fact been driven from the country by the provincialism that always repelled him. As Susan Sontag has written, we have an idea how he would have responded to the collapse of Yugoslavia, which came two years after his death: "An ardent foe of nationalist vanities, he would have loathed Serb ethnic fascism even more than he loathed the neo-Bolshevik official culture of the Second Yugoslavia it has replaced" (viii).

of the Serbian literary community, who believed that the Kiš affair should be the business of the Serbian milieu. So accusations of plagiarism became intertwined with a kind of nationalism that could only have reared its head in Tito's Yugoslavia, where republics were considered the possessions of nations, and the institutions of those republics were reflections of national prerogatives. Kiš defended himself admirably, and his detractors emerged as ridiculous figures. Still, the affair led many to wonder if Kiš, half Hungarian Jew, was being persecuted for his ethnic background.

The writers described above satisfy two demands: they are translated into English, and they are acknowledged literary stars in Serbia. But they certainly do not exhaust the list of outstanding Serbian writers. Aside from the experience of World War II, which produced some of the best literature of the postwar period, the most dynamic phase in modern Serbian literature undoubtedly came with the death of Tito and the outpouring of novels, short stories, and plays questioning his legacy and the events of his period in power. In particular, survivors of imprisonment on the island of Goli Otok, who were victims of the purge of "cominformists" after the Tito-Stalin split, stand out. Dragoslav Mihajlović, the author of *When the Pumpkins Blossomed, Petra's Wreath,* and other novels (several of which are devoted to Goli Otok directly), may be the best and best known of this group of writers. Antonije Isaković, otherwise a respected novelist and short story writer, wrote the pathbreaking novel *Tren II* (Flash II), though not himself a survivor of the island. Dušan Jovanović's play *Karamazovi* (The Karamazovs) questioned the nature of the split and the attack on cominformists that followed. Jovan Radulović's play *Golubnjača* (Pigeon Hole) brought up the suppressed memory of wartime slaughters in Dalmatia. Milan Martov's *Isterivanje Boga* (The Expulsion of God) dealt with the brutal nature of collectivization in Yugoslavia.

As for Serbian art, it has tended to follow trends set in Europe, with a lag of a few years. After World War II, Serbia's artistic community found itself more bound by the socialist realist faith than writers were. There were no true socialist realist painters in Serbia in 1944, although there were traditions in Serbian painting that lent themselves to the new form. The social painters of the 1930s had possessed a social conscience and chosen themes that they judged close to the people. Many of them were close to the Communist Party and became Partisan painters during the war. But those were the exceptions. Impressionism, which came late to Serbia (between approximately 1907 and 1920, in the work of Nadežda Petrović, Mališa Glišić, Kosta Miličević, and others) became the bête noire of the new communist elite in Yugoslavia. Impressionism's heirs (expressionism, abstract painting, surrealism) had also made inroads in Serbia. The new regime rejected them all. In the words of Oto Bihalji Merin, one of Yugoslavia's leading cultural figures in the early period of communism, the art of the interwar period left "a clear picture of the sickness and weakness of capitalism. It did not create a harmonious style, nor even a unified character. It is chaotic, restless, and far from its true calling: to create not an artistic work, but [one] for humanity, and that in the great, convincing, and universally understandable language of formation" (Trifunović 251).

The socialist realist critics demanded painting that reflected the unity of form, content, and the era in which it was produced. This demand for coherence and engagement led the critics to promote the painters of the Renaissance, the baroque, and the romantic eras. In Serbian painting, they reached for models beyond the impressionists to a slightly earlier period, when painters like Uroš Predić and Paja Jovanović produced their imposing testaments to romantic national revival. These paintings were complements to the romantic literary work of Njegoš. The goal of the proponents of socialist realism was not to turn painters into automatons who would replicate the work of old masters. Painters were, however, urged to replicate the synthesis of era and art that the ideologues of socialist realism believed those earlier periods reflected. Jovan Popović wrote in 1947 that "Socialist idealism must permeate the content and form of the work of art, it must be inseparable from the most intimate feelings and thoughts of the artist. . . . Thus work on ideological education is crucial" (Trifunović, 253). They sought to create a new yet authentic art for the proletariat of the new socialist society being created.

Its lofty goals aside, the new regime had to accept what it could find in Serbian art after 1944. The most likely candidates to initiate the development of Serbian socialist realism were the social artists of the 1930s, who painted the lives of the impoverished and the backward and who thus became weapons in the hands of the eft. These painters included Djordje Andrejević Kun (*Witness to Horror*) and Petar Lubarda, whom critics differentiate by noting that Kun became a true adherent of socialist realism, whereas for Lubarda it was just a passing wartime fancy. Their shortcomings magnified the need for a truly new painter, one raised, trained, and produced fully within the socialist realist school. That demand was answered with the arrival of Boža Ilić. Ilić, a Montenegrin who studied art during the war and was by 1947 a student of a leading Serbian painter, Milo Milunović, first exhibited his work in June 1947 in Belgrade, reaching his peak in late 1948 with the painting *Sounding the Terrain in New Belgrade.* His rapid rise, facilitated by the overwhelming approbation of regime critics and exhibition juries, was matched by his precipitous fall after 1950, when socialist realism was eclipsed by a *new* new order brought by the break with Stalinism.

The end of the socialist realist period came in 1950, with the death knell being sounded by Mića Popović, a young painter whose exhibition in that year featured 160 paintings that owed a clear debt to interwar painters. His catalog notes were written in consultation with representatives of the official organization, the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia (ULUS), and in them he attacked socialist realist precepts openly. From 1950 on, Serbian painting again followed the lead of French painting, going through various phases. First the dominant style was abstraction (represented by the December Group, with Miodrag Protić and Stojan Ćelić), and then, through the mid-1960s, came a particular emphasis on what was called *art informel* (art without form, unformed art), abstract expressionism inspired by the French model, which was deeply suspicious of power and order in art and society (represented by Lazar Vozarević and Mića Popović, among others). Then followed the "new figuration," a return to figural painting, which again found perhaps its most influential representative in Popović, whose *Scenes Painting* embodies a healthy critique of the Tito regime's social and economic policies (*Scenes* was inspired by the student rebellion of 1968 in Belgrade). While Popović returned to figuration in a traditional yet politicized form, others, such as Dragoš Kalajić, embraced Pop Art. Still others pursued the informal artists' use of materials in their painting. After 1970, Serbian art grew ever more experimental; by the 1980s, Serbian artists had begun to incorporate elements of the postmodern into their work.

Turning to film of the postwar period, Serbia produced the most sophisticated filmmaking in Yugoslavia during that time. The film industry went through predictable phases: the first years of Partisan films, designed to glorify the war effort and the building of the new socialist society (to 1950); a period in which the film industry broadened its horizons, treating historical, comedic, and classical themes drawn from literature (to 1960); the "new film" (also known as "black wave") period, which lasted to the early seventies and saw the emergence of a highly critical spirit with nihilistic tendencies, which came under harsh attack by the communist regime. Perhaps the most well-known films from this period were the works of Dušan Makavajev *(WR: Mysteries of the Organism, Sweet Movie, Man Is Not a Bird,* and *Love Affair)* and Zivojin Pavlović *(When I Am Dead and White, Ambush);* and finally, from the late 1970s, films from a new period of critical but less confrontational filmmaking, dominated by a new generation of filmmakers who continued to work throught the 1990s (these include Goran Paskaljević, Emir Kusturica, Srdjan Dragojević, and others). Many of the films of these incisive filmmakers are available in subtitled versions for an English-speaking audience, including Makavajev's *WR: The Mysteries of the Organism* and *Montenegro,* Paskaljević's recent *Cabaret Balkan,* Dragojević's *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame* and *Wounds,* and virtually all of Kusturica's opus.

The films of the black wave were a distinguished but very diverse lot. Makavejev made films that subtly undermined the orthodoxies of the one-party, scientifically socialist state. Pavlović's films were violent depictions of the underside of Yugoslav society. Mića Popović, better known as a painter, made two films that were part of the black wave. One was *Man from the Oak Forest,* which examined the irrational roots of communal violence, and the other was *Hoodlums,* which dealt with soldiers at the end of World War II. Živojin Pavlović's *When I Am Dead and White* and *Ambush* both aggressively question critical aspects of the Titoist myth. What united the black wave films was their irreverence toward the sacred myths of the Tito regime; they tended to use violence to make their points about the new communist order, which had promised such a peaceful future to the Yugoslav people.

Emir Kusturica, like Andrić and Selimović, is a Bosnian whose ethnic background is not Serbian (his family is Muslim) but who considers himself to be a Serb. His films are uniformly challenging, but also rewarding; they are not overtly political, which is refreshing given the heavily politicized output of Serbian writers who are Kusturica's contemporaries. Kusturica's films include *Do You Remember Dolly Bell, When Father Was Away on Business, Time of the Gypsies, Underground,* and *Black Cat, White Cat.* The first two are both set in Kusturica's native Sarajevo, and both concern events within families. *Dolly Bell* is a coming-of-age story set in a working-class family. *When Father Was Away on Business* examines the interrelationship of politics and private lives, using the effects of the Tito-Stalin split on one Sarajevo family as a prism. It is an extraordinarily rich film. *Underground* was savaged by some critics as a political apologia for Serbian aggression in the wars of the 1990s, but that is a ridiculous dismissal of this brilliant film, which, by narrating the story of a group of World War II resistance fighters who never find out the war has ended, presents a metaphor for the effects of communism on an entire society.

The wars of the 1990s led to the production of other outstanding Serbian films, including *Cabaret Balkan* and *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame.* Goran Paskaljević's *Cabaret Balkan* (1999) is a fascinating study of a society falling apart, with a series of vignettes that testify to the chaos and violence that have ripped Serbia and the rest of Yugoslavia apart (although this film is set almost entirely in Belgrade). The vignettes illustrate relationships destroyed by the mendacity of friends and lovers, petty and not so petty vengeance, and general moral breakdown, with the wars as an unmentioned backdrop. Paskaljević also made *Someone Else's America* (1996), depicting immigrants from Montenegro and their attempts to adapt to their new country. *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame* (1996), the work of Srdjan Dragojević, presents the story of two Bosnians, one Serb and the other Muslim, who grow up as friends but are divided by the war. The film has proved equally appealing to those who are interested in the destruction that the war brought to Yugoslav society and those who love a good war film (it made critics' lists on both counts). His other best-known film, *Wounds,* on the other hand, is a thoroughly chaotic but riveting account of the underbelly of Serbian society during the 1990s; it examines two teens who become leaders of Belgrade's criminal underground and the lawless amorality of their milieu.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Until the 1880s, Serbia was typical of Balkan peasant societies, with livestock raising and agriculture as the foundation and trading centers spotted along a couple of important trade routes. Montenegro was an extremely poor mountain region. Economic development in both countries was nevertheless quite similar, involving transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy; the process began in the late nineteenth century, with accelerated change occurring only after World War II.

In the medieval era, Serbia's consolidation as an independent kingdom was helped along by the increase in royal revenues brought by exploitation of mineral wealth, thanks to an influx of German mining talent from Transylvania. Dubrovnik also provided much needed artisans and traders, as well as a center for their economic activity. The Nemanjićes, founders of the first Serbian state, also benefited from the establishment of the Byzantine system of land grants in return for military service. In other words, Serbian monarchs followed a familiar path in consolidating their power. Serbia might well have continued down that path, had it not been for the Ottoman advance, which by the middle of the fifteenth century had fully incorporated the medieval Serbian state into the Ottoman Empire.

As a part of the Ottoman Empire, the Serbian economy changed greatly. Muslims benefited from a land grant system that rewarded those who did military service (*sipahis)* with land grants known as *timars* for their military service. Christians tended to move northward ahead of the Ottoman advance or into the mountains, leaving the more fertile lowlands to the Muslims who now moved in. In this way, Kosovo became the preserve of Muslim Albanians after the fifteenth century. The mining industry withered under Ottoman administration. Trade routes were dominated by Greeks and Jews, and towns that had begun to thrive as trade centers earlier now became military outposts, populated mostly by Muslims in Ottoman service.

At the time of the first uprising, in 1804, Serbia was a province distant from Istanbul that thus had a significant degree of self-administration. Wealthier Serbs in this underpopulated region maintained ties with the Habsburg monarchy, trading mostly pigs. Under Prince Miloš Obrenović, there was rapid growth within a limited framework. Miloš demanded and received full control of the autonomous Serbia's economy, and he put that control to good use: he encouraged land-ownership with a three-year tax break and gave away lands abandoned by Muslim landowners for nothing. In general, he promoted an influx of Serbs into the Serbian lowlands. He also encouraged immigration and land clearing and arranged for all payments for lands taken from Muslims to be part of the general tribute payment. Miloš controlled trade in autonomous Serbia through the issuance of trade permits, which the state sold. These steadily increased in number (from 56 in 1820 to 1,341 in 1829). Until the 1890s, this trade was mostly in pigs and other animal products. Serbia actually had to import grain on occasion. Capital was difficult to come by in Serbia; much came from the Serbs of the Habsburg monarchy, who had expertise, money, and markets. Another impediment to Serbian economic development was that the region was overwhelmed by oak forests, with only a couple of roads that could handle horses and carriages on a good day. The principality had about 450,000 inhabitants in 1815. Of the inhabitants, 90 percent were Serbs, and 80 percent of those were recent arrivals. In 1834 the first official census showed a population of 678,192.

In the second half of the nineteenth century land under grain cultivation doubled, a growth that was matched by the decline in animal husbandry. There were "more pigs than people" in 1866, according to the historian Michael Petrovich (526). By 1900, there were 2.5 million people in Serbia and a mere 1 million pigs. This was progress, of a sort, but Serbia's real problem was the lack of investment capital and any concomitant industrial growth. Foreign banks were not interested in promoting an industrial Serbia—they were more interested in maintaining Serbia as a captive source of raw materials for their own industrial economies. Before the chartering of the national bank in 1883, the state did lend money, but it required that collateral equal two-thirds of the loan amount, which was safe but tended to reward the wealthy and perpetuate the poverty of the peasantry. And Serbia was a land of peasants: 55 percent of the land was in the hands of smallholders (units of five hectares or less).

Serbia's only heavy industrial concern was an ironworks in Kragujevac, founded in 1847 in Belgrade. Otherwise, new industries were of the light variety, including mills and breweries, but nothing that promised to grow radically or to employ a large number of people. Independence brought new opportunities. In 1878 the government agreed to the minting of 6 million new silver dinars, the first Serbian currency. The first Serbian railroad, from Belgrade to Vranje, was approved by the Serbian parliament in 1880. It was to be one section of Serbia's portion of the Orient Express. Between 1884 and 1904, 1,664 kilometers of rails were laid, resulting in a relatively complete network around Serbia. The chartering of the National Bank in 1883 finally provoked some industrial growth in Serbia. In 1898 there were 28 industrial businesses in Serbia, and by 1903 the number had risen to 105. By 1910, following the chartering of several other banks, including the Export Bank, Belgrade Cooperative, Belgrade Merchant Bank, and the Commercial Bank, there were more than 400 enterprises.

World War I affected Serbia as much as it affected any state. Serbia's population loss in the war, as a percentage of its total population, was larger than that of any other European state, or 2.5 times that of France. Even if Serbia had emerged from the war within the same borders, its economy would have been staggered by the war. But Serbia emerged as a part of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, with all of the attendant economic complications of bringing together a new state virtually overnight. The story of this new kingdom was similar to that of Poland; in Yugoslavia's case, Slovenia, Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, and the Vojvodina were each a part of a different legal entity before the war (and Macedonia and Kosovo had only recently become part of Serbia). Their transportation systems were oriented differently, and their trading partners were not the same. Thus, Croatia found it easier to trade with Austria and Hungary than to supply other regions of Yugoslavia; Vojvodinian exports moved north as well. Serbian railroad tracks had been sabotaged during the war, and its power sources had been destroyed as well. The result was a difficult transition period, but one in which Serbia's dominant position in the new state's power structure guaranteed it some favorable treatment. For instance, the prewar Serbian currency was to be the basis for the new currency, and Serbs could exchange their currency at a 1:1 rate, while the Habsburg crown was exchanged at a 5:1 rate.

One pressing concern for most of Yugoslavia, but not Serbia, was land reform. Serbian holdings were already small. While a land reform law was passed by the parliament in 1919, it was inefficiently applied and indemnification was promised but not forthcoming. Furthermore, when the government established a colonization program for underpopulated or expropriated lands in Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Vojvodina, it was limited to Serbian war veterans. Still, in the end, Serbs only received about 8 percent of the redistributed land, which totalled 10 percent of the kingdom's arable land. According to those who have looked at the situation, such as historian John Lampe, the "balance sheet" on the reform looked "surprisingly good by the end of the 1920s." In the 1920s the Serbian economy lagged behind that of Croatia, in part because Zagreb survived the war with its superior trade connections intact, in part because it had a series of wealthier investment banks on hand. Overall, according to Lampe, Yugoslav economic growth was "in the upper ranks for interwar Eastern Europe," which was a result of the growth of manufacturing in the northwest and mining in the south and east, that is, in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Macedonia (148). Serbia gained some industry at Croatia's expense, thanks to its lower wages.

World War II interrupted what, for Yugoslavia as a whole, had been a fairly successful encounter with the Great Depression. After the war, until 1948, Yugoslavia was not only a communist country, but a communist country intent on replicating Stalinist norms at home. Thus, a combination of central planning and idealistic enthusiasm were counted on to help the devastated country rebuild. The war had thoroughly ruined the country's transportation network, and 40 percent of prewar industry had been damaged or destroyed. Yugoslavia, never a fully integrated country, now had several regions in which starvation threatened. United Nations assistance contributed mightily to the fact that the country pulled through that initial postwar period. UN programs not only provided food, but also machinery and help with rebuilding the transportation system. The assistance of the United Nations was needed but not necessarily loved by the Tito regime, which preferred to think that its own efforts were responsible.

Ideology drove economic policy through the late 1940s. Upon the liberation of Belgrade in October 1944, the new regime began to implement a series of nationalization decrees. These were never all-encompassing: Yugoslavia had privately owned businesses throughout the communist era. In agriculture, Yugoslav peasants were subjected to the now notorious *otkup,* according to which peasants were required to make a certain level of deliveries to the state (all the while keeping their land). Peasants who failed were subject to arrest as enemies of the state. The otkup was an utter failure. The first and only Yugoslav five-year plan (1947–1951) was overly complex, set unachievable industrial goals, and slighted agriculture to the point of near rebellion in the countryside. Collectivization was then tried, mostly in order to answer Soviet accusations after June 1948 that the Yugoslavs were not good Stalinists. This too was a failure, one that was acknowledged only later.

The struggle to redeem themselves as true Stalinists ended within a couple years of the break with the Cominform. According to Milovan Djilas, the Yugoslav communist and dissident, Edvard Kardelj, Boris Kidrič, and Djilas himself debated the merits of transferring control of enterprises from the state central planning apparatus to the enterprises themselves sometime in early 1950 (*Rise and Fall* 268-269). Convincing themselves that such a move would be more in line with Marx's Marxism than Stalinism was, the idea gestated and eventually—by that summer of 1950—emerged as "workers' self-management." Formally inaugurated with the passage of the "Law on the Management of State Economic Associations by Work Collectives," self-management was largely fictive in its first few years. But it served the Tito regime's need for ideological self-justification and differentiation from Stalinism. After 1952, self-management meant that workers' councils for each enterprise made certain limited decisions on investments, pricing, production levels, and wages; these councils were controlled by local committees with representation from the League of Communists, which assured a high degree of central control. At this point, self-management did not have any republican attributes.

Through the early 1960s, the Yugoslav economy grew at a pace typical for European communist states: industrial output increased markedly, but productivity rates did not. Unemployment grew to 7 percent by 1962, one signal of the need for reform. By the early 1960s, the less-developed republics in Yugoslavia had grown even weaker in comparison with the developed republics, and Serbia, formally a developed republic, had lost ground to Croatia and Slovenia. Demands for reform, which came from all corners, did not agree on the proper course for a reform to take.

For the first time, the LCY (the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) reexamined the organization of the state, albeit from a purely economic perspective. At this point one begins to hear of "liberal" and "conservative" approaches to economic reform. Liberals favored increased room in the economy for entrepreneurialism, which implied expanded civil liberties; conservatives wished to retain a centrally governed economy and saw no need to reduce the Party's monopoly on power. Tito's own impulse was to favor the conservatives, which he did publicly in a May 1962 speech at Split. But in December 1962 and January 1963 two conferences of economists produced reports that called into doubt the conservative position. The result of expanded dialogue about economic change was a series of proposals, ranging from the creation of a virtually free market to the return to central planning. The debate on economic reform acted as a spur to camouflaged political debate. The conservative position found support among some, but not all, Serbian economists; it has been suggested that in spite of the economic logic of the liberal (market reform) position, many Serbian economists gravitated to the conservative position out of a sense of national loyalty.

The fruits of this ongoing discussion included the 1963 constitution, which, while not empowering the republics as such, did initiate the gradual devolution of economic decision-making power from the center to enterprises and local governments. The Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, held in December 1964 in Belgrade, placed the Party seal of approval on economic reforms supported by the liberals. In his opening speech to the congress, Tito himself attacked nationalism of the "centralist" variety, obviously referring to Serbian nationalism, which he accused of looking forward to the elimination of nationalities and the creation of an "artificial" Yugoslav nation. The rhetorical thrust of Tito's speech was meant to clear the way for reforms of the economy that would bring decentralizing political reforms with them.

From the onset of the reform period of the 1960s forward, economic development became one of the most potent political issues in Yugoslavia. This was so primarily because the various republics of Yugoslavia saw their economic interests as in competition. Broadly speaking, two blocs emerged: the more developed and less-developed republics. Montenegro was a less-developed republic, whereas Serbia was labeled a more developed republic (although Kosovo clearly belonged in the former category). Specific issues, however, transcended the more or less developed categorization. In fact, a more telling division was between those who argued for devolution of economic decision-making authority to the republics (Croats and Slovenes), and those who favored centralization (Serbs).

In 1965 the first major reform of Yugoslavia's economy after the advent of self-management was announced. It reduced the number of banks in the country from nearly 400 to about 40, which were governed by regional authorities; a fund for the development of the underdeveloped republics and provinces was established; prices, still controlled, were raised to make them more comparable to those of the world market; and peasants were given access to bank credit to modernize their operations. The goals of these reforms were increased efficiency, competitiveness, and agricultural production. Only the third goal was approached. By 1970, the percentage of rural population throughout Yugoslavia had dropped from 64 percent (1950) to 38 percent (1970). Other indicators of socioeconomic advance were similarly positive, showing improved access to doctors, a lowered infant mortality rate, and increased autombile ownership. By the mid-1960s, Serbia's industrial employment had grown by a factor of five over its prewar numbers, to 1.25 million. Illiteracy still remained a real problem: 41 percent of Kosovo's population was illiterate in 1961. Many of the advances described, however, may have been attributable to the inauguration of a thirty-year period of labor exportation in the form of "guest workers."

The guest worker became an institution in Yugoslavia by the late 1960s; there would be so many of them that Yugoslavs would refer to them as a "seventh republic." The phenomenon began in the early 1960s, accompanying the economic reforms and political liberalization of that era. Whereas, before that point, working outside of Yugoslavia had been considered officially "in contradiction to social-political norms," afterwards it came "to be identified . . . as one of the key defining features, along with market socialism and self-management, of what was distinct and positive in the Yugoslav socialist variant" (Zimmerman 76). From the point of view of those more critical of the phenomenon, open borders were being allowed, not to increase freedom, but simply to alleviate some of the economic pressure brought by market reforms, which resulted in immediate unemployment inside Yugoslavia. Of course, it was normal for the Yugoslav communists to frame an economic (or cultural, or political) necessity as an ideological innovation and justification for their own power.

Regardless of the justification, the number of Yugoslav workers abroad soared between 1960 and 1979: 18,000 in the former, 680,000 in the latter year, with a peak of 860,000 in 1973. (These figures do not include family members who accompanied the workers, which one author estimates brings the total to 1,080,000 Yugoslavs abroad in 1979.) In the early years (1960–1969), the guest workers tended to be from Croatia: 56 percent of total workers abroad in 1960, down to 37.8 percent in 1969. The Serbian numbers rose significantly in the same period: from 10.6 percent in 1960 to 27.1 percent in 1969. Considering nationality rather than republic of origin, the numbers show that in 1971 guest workers of Croatian nationality were heavily over-represented (39 percent of workers, 22.2 percent of the population of Yugoslavia) and Serbs were quite under-represented (28.5 percent of workers, 39.9 percent of the population of Yugoslavia). Members of different Yugoslav nations tended toward different destinations: the Croats and Bosnians to Germany, the Serbs to Germany but also in higher proportions to France and Austria, the Macedonians to Australia.

Yugoslavia's post-Tito political crisis was fueled by an economic decline that began in 1979, when the effects of the second oil crisis began to be felt. Unemployment and inflation grew at extraordinary rates after that year (unemployment stood at over 16 percent in 1985), and real earnings fell by 25 percent between 1979 and 1985. The economic collapse did not lead to credible action: instead, the positions of the republican leaderships hardened on the question of whether Yugoslavia had become too decentralized or not, with the Serbian answer being a resounding "yes."

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The contemporary challenges facing Serbia and Montenegro are less prosaic than those of most countries. Having engaged in an intense political and social radicalization between 1989 and 1991, followed by four years of war, several years of an Albanian insurgency in Kosovo that ended with the NATO bombardment of 1999, and the overthrow of Slobodan Milošević in 2000, the country today needs to achieve political normalcy. "Normalcy" would mean the establishment of a government that rests on constitutional principles and responds to the will of the Serbian electorate; a government that can rebuild economic and cultural ties with the rest of Europe; and a society that has come to terms with its role in the destruction of the second Yugoslavia after 1991. These goals are not easy ones to achieve. Many obstacles stand in the way, most of them associated with the troubled history of Serbia in the 1990s.

The political rivalries that plagued the opposition from the time of the advent of a postcommunist multiparty system in Serbia in 1990 have certainly left an unhappy legacy. Usually, these rivalries resulted in polarization and occasionally violence between supporters of one or the other

Hundreds of thousands of mourners line the streets and walk in a funeral procession for assassinated Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjić, 15 March 2003, in Belgrade, Serbia. Djindjić was fatally shot by two sniper bullets on 12 March 2003 in downtown Belgrade as he stepped out of his armored car. Djindjić's body was laid to rest in Belgrade Cemetery's Alley of the Great Men. (Getty Images)

party; the intense rivalry between Milošević and Vuk Drašković in the early 1990s led to Drašković being beaten and jailed on occasion. Rivalries between members of individual parties weakened those parties. One thinks of the splits in the Democratic Party, which led to the ouster of Dragoljub Mićunović by Zoran Djindjić in 1991 and the defection of Vojislav Koštunica, who formed the Democratic Party of Serbia. At their worst, though, these rivalries could destroy promising opposition movements. Most critically, the opposition's gains in the 1996 elections were squandered over the course of 1997 by the antagonism between Vuk Drašković and Zoran Djindjić. Following the transition of October 2000, Djindjić was again at the center of the storm, this time as premier of Serbia, in competition with the new president of Yugoslavia, Vojislav Koštunica. Unlike the Drašković-Djindjić rivalry, which was almost entirely personal and which never had the chance to develop into a principled conflict, Djindjić and Koštunica not only did not like each other, they disagreed on some fundamental issues—*and* they both held power.

In October's aftermath, several sources of disagreement between Djindjić and Koštunica arose. Some were purely personal: Koštunica, according to many of his DOS partners, received too much credit for the transition; he was, after all, the head of a relatively minor party who had never been particularly popular until DOS made him its presidential candidate. President only by virtue of chance and the hard, decade-long spadework of others in the coalition, he should have allowed others to guide the transition to real democracy. Koštunica resisted, though. He demonstrated early on a conservative approach to change. He resisted the urge to revolutionary reckonings with members and institutions of the old regime. He insisted that in dealing with accused criminals, legal means be used. Koštunica feared that any other approach would lead to the establishment of a new criminal regime, one in which the business allies of his coalition partners would come to dominate in place of Milošević's cronies. He is also a virulent anticommunist, who believed that revolutionary justice smacked too much of Tito's violent consolidation of power after late 1944.

In practical matters, the Djindjić-Koštunica rivalry made consensus and cooperation on several vital matters virtually impossible. The most glaring example concerned the potential arrest and extradition of alleged war criminals, including most prominently Slobodan Milošević himself. After Milošević's fall from power in October 2000, his potential extradition became one of the hottest of hot topics in Serbia. Koštunica argued that the prosecution of alleged war criminals was a Serbian domestic task and that those indicted should not be turned over to The Hague. Here he probably reflected the beliefs of most Serbs, who saw the trial of Serbs as a domestic concern, not least because of their perception that Serbs had been unfairly singled out by the prosecutors of the Hague Tribunal. Djindjić, however, probably recognizing the importance of cooperation to Serbia's future, argued that the indicted should be transferred to The Hague. In June 2001 the Serbian government unilaterally issued a law mandating cooperation with The Hague, under the pressure of deadlines imposed by the international community.The difficulties in extraditing Milošević did not help with the normalization of Serbia's relationship with the rest of Europe, and the problem did not end when he was finally extradited to The Hague in June of 2001. He has been indicted for war crimes in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Kosovo, and his trial began in February 2002. With one break (the result of health problems), his trial has lasted since then. Milošević has acted as his own defense lawyer, which has made the trial somewhat more chaotic—and much longer—than expected originally, since Milošević has been a vigorous cross-examiner and has relied on information he gets from Belgrade sources about some of the witnesses against him.

Although Milošević is the best known among the indicted, he is not the only one by a long shot. Ratko Mladić, the commander of the Bosnian Serb army, is believed to be living in Serbia, and three Serbian military figures indicted for actions taken during and after the siege of Vukovar in 1991 are also on the list, as are several who served in government, security, and military positions before and during the bombing of Kosovo in 1999, including Milan Milutinović, Yugoslav army chief General Dragoljub Ojdanić, and Milošević's former aide for Kosovo, Nikola Šainović. Several of those, including Milutinović (former president of Serbia, who surrendered in January 2003) and also Vojislav Šešelj (indicted for crimes in Croatia and Bosnia) have gone to the Hague voluntarily. The danger and difficulty for any Serbian government in arresting an indictee of, say, Mladić's stature is that authorities would court violence. It is obvious that such problems make it difficult for Serbia to rebuild ties with the rest of Europe. Certainly, until they are resolved, Serbia will have no hope of joining the European Union.

The interrelationship of crime, business, and politics in Serbia has been of more profound real significance for ordinary Serbs and their economic and political fate. The Milošević regime was never a legitimate expression of the political desires of most Serbs; it was, from the outset, a criminal enterprise that manipulated the perceived interests of Serbs in order to remain in power and enrich its members. Thus, from its inception, it spawned a series of laughably obvious but nonetheless effective pilferings of the pocketbooks of ordinary Serbs. From Jezdimir Vasiljević and his Jugoskandik Bank, which collapsed in early 1993, to Dafina Milanović's Dafiment Bank, which failed at the same time, pyramid schemes left Serbs without long-saved hard currency. Other bank schemes included that of the brothers Karić, who founded a bank using Serbian state funds and kept it afloat by lining the pockets of the SPS. Having switched loyalties to Djindjić after October 2000, the bank still exists, the core of a brothers Karić empire that may continue to act as a conduit for the transfer of funds to offshore accounts. One of Milošević's early cronies, Mihalj Kertes, who served the Dafiment Bank as security chief, later became the director of the customs administration, from which position he stole up to 4 billion dollars for Milošević.

Milosević's wife, Mirjana Marković, founded the political party Yugoslav United Left (JUL) in 1994. That party brought together financial interests and became, after its founding, the primary link between the regime and organized crime, although there was also competition between JUL and the SPS in this regard. Infamous paramilitaries like Željko Raznatović, known as "Arkan," were less military figures or patriots than they were organized criminals who enriched themselves and their followers with a combination of war booty and special grants in return for military favors.

The variety and complexity of the relationship of crime and politics in Serbia has been staggering. The result for the present and future of Serbia is that it has become an extremely violent society where the rule of law is meaningless. Assassinations have been a constant curse since the early 1990s, but their pace has picked up since the end of the Bosnian war in November 1995. The list of victims is astounding: Željko Raznatović, Miroslav Bizić (JUL), Žika Petrović (director of JAT airline), Pavle Bulatović (Yugoslav defense minister), Boško Perošević (SPS), Radovan Stojičić (deputy interior minister of Serbia), Zoran Todorović (JUL), Vlada Kovačević (JUL), Vladimir Bokan (businessman ally of Milošević), Zoran Sokolović (former Yugoslav interior minister), and former Belgrade police chief Boško Buha have been among the well-known who have been murdered since 1997. Hundreds of smaller fish have also been murdered in that period.

When Zoran Djindjić was assassinated on 12 March 2003, he became the latest in a long line, a victim of his own ambivalent relationship to organized crime in Serbia. Police immediately ascertained that Djindjić had been murdered by members of the so-called Zemun Clan, the organized crime family headed by Miroslav Luković, known as "Legija." One possible immediate cause for the assassination was that Djindjić had in previous days applied for warrants to arrest many Serbian organized crime figures, among whom may have been Luković. There is also, however, an important deeper history between the two men. Luković worked for state security under Milošević and has been accused of crimes committed in Srebrenica, Bosnia, in 1995 and in Kosovo in 1998 and 1999.

In October 2000 Luković, recognizing that the Milošević regime was about to fall, offered his services to Djindjić in return for unknown concessions. Djindjić, then, apparently owed his position to Luković and others like him. By early 2003, however, Djindjić had come under intense pressure to rein in organized crime and was known to have begun playing the Zemun Clan off against its rival organization, the Surčin Clan. Djindjić may have simply played too closely with fire. But did Djindjić have a choice? One of the great dilemmas faced by anyone hoping to lead Serbia out of the morass created by Milošević's relationship with the military and organized crime is the existence of people like Luković, who are able to place conditions on political change thanks to their ruthlessness and to resources that cross borders between the legitimate and the illegitimate.

In the aftermath of Djindjić's assassination, there are more mundane matters than war crimes and organized crime for Serbs to be concerned with. For instance, in late 2002 Serbs tried twice to elect a new president, and both times they failed to reach the 50 percent threshold of voter turnout necessary to validate the elections. What had been a reasonably principled campaign in September 2002 between two men with serious platforms (Koštunica, who attempted to move from the presidency of Yugoslavia to the presidency of Serbia, and Miroljub Labus, an economist) turned into farce as a result of voter apathy. The turnout issue is complex and points to the continued strange legacy of the Milošević era: the voter rolls in Serbia contain up to 600,000 names of those who are somehow ineligible to vote (they are either dead or have emigrated). Thus experts argue that to achieve the 50 percent threshold, something like 65 percent of actual voters would have had to turn out. Labus refused to run in the second election in December, which suffered the same lack of turnout. The result was that until 2004 Serbia did not have a president. At that point, Boris Tadić of the Democratic Party was elected, which served as a sign that Serbs are more interested now in political and economic reform than they are in supporting overt nationalists who thumb their noses at the international community. Koštunica's position as president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia disappeared with the country of that name in February 2003, and then Djindjić's murder put another position of power into doubt. Since his murder, a succession of ineffective premiers has occupied the office without much effect.

The reorganization of what was the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) now overshadows the more substantial problem of the deep involvement of organized crime in politics and political rivalries, detailed above. On 4 February 2003, the FRY disappeared, renamed the State Community of Serbia and Montenegro. Designed to head off a Montenegrin independence referendum (which was postponed for three years under the current agreement), the new arrangement gives Serbia and Montenegro some autonomy within a confederal framework. Serbia and Montenegro were supposed to adopt new constitutions by June of 2003. Serbia and Montenegro will share defense and foreign policy. They will enjoy autonomy in economic, trade, and customs spheres. The military and current government assets are to be divided between the two. A federal parliament will be appointed by the governments of Montenegro and Serbia, which means that Milo Djukanović and the Serbian premier effectively control the federal government. Critics of the plan, who are in the vast majority, believe that it will stultify economic reforms and result inevitably in independence for the two units. Djukanović does not hide the fact that independence for Montenegro is his goal.

The issue of Montenegro's potential independence from (former) Yugoslavia is only part of the Serbian geopolitical uncertainty. The status of Kosovo is still formally undetermined, although for the time being it is an international protectorate still formally under Serbian sovereignty. Where will it be in a few years? How will Serbs respond in the short, medium, and long term to the loss of Kosovo? Also, experts and pundits predict on occasion that even the Serbian portions of Bosnia-Hercegovina, known as the Republika Srpska, will (or should) someday become part of a larger Serbian state. These are speculations that will not go away.

The question that may overshadow all others is whether Serbs can individually and collectively come to terms with their recent past. This issue is broader than it might seem at first glance. It is not only that in some intangible way Serbs should feel guilty about this past; it is also that Serbs need to be able to ascertain what they should keep from that past and what is better discarded. For instance, since all of the current political parties and political leaders appeared before or during the nine years of war in the region, should some sort of litmus test be applied? Who is too tainted by activities in the 1990s, and what should constitute the test of that taint. Beyond those relatively basic questions, there is the question of how to rebuild a sense of Serbian citizenship in a society fragmented brutally by ideology and attitudes toward the war.

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CHRONOLOGY

Seventh century	Serbs first arrive on the Balkan Peninsula.
Tenth century	Duklja consolidates control over territory that will eventually constitute modern Montenegro.
Eleventh century	Raška, the core of the medieval Serbian kingdom, splits from Duklja.
1168	The lands of Raška, which had been divided, are united under the leadership of one man, Stefan Nemanja.
1219	Sava (later Saint Sava) gains the grant of an autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church.
1331–1355	Stefan Dušan governs the most powerful medieval Serbian state.
28 June 1389	The Battle of Kosovo, traditionally considered a defeat by the Turks and the end of Serbian independence.
1389–1459	Serbia continues to exist as a vassal state of the Ottoman sultan.
1459	Battle of Smederevo ends Serbian statehood.
1557	Serbian Patriarchate established in Peč.
1630	Statuta Valachorum issued by Emperor Ferdinand II.
1690s	At least 30,000 Orthodox Serbs, led by Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević, make their way from Kosovo north to the Habsburg monarchy (the Great Migration).
1766	Serbian Patriarchate dismantled by Ottoman authorities.
1787	Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) is born in a small village in western Serbia.
January and February 1804	Janissary leaders in Belgrade systematically murder Serbian headmen throughout the *pašalik* of Belgrade.
August 1804	Serbian insurgents under Karadjordje establish themselves as the political power in the region.
1813	Russia signs the Treaty of Bucharest with the Ottoman Empire, effectively ending the Serbian insurrection.
1814	Vuk's grammar of the Serbian language completed.
April 1815	Miloš Obrenović leads the second Serbian insurrection.
1817	Miloš has Karadjordje murdered.
1818	Vuk's dictionary of the Serbian language published.
1822–1833	Vuk's collection entitled *Narodna srbska pjesnarica* (Serbian People's Songbook) published.
1830	Serbia's autonomy proclaimed.
1830	Njegoš becomes the spiritual and political leader of Montenegro at the age of seventeen.
1838	The Ottomans approve a constitution for the pašalik of Belgrade, by which Miloš is to govern along with a council of elders.
1839	Miloš leaves Serbia.
1839	Miloš replaced by his second son, Mihailo.
1842	Publication of Vuk Karadžić's "Serbs All and Everywhere."
1842	Aleksandar (Alexander) Karadjordjević, son of the original Karadjordje, begins his period in power in Serbia.

1844	The *Načertanije* (Outline) is written by Ilija Garašanin, the Serbian minister of the interior.
1845	Njegoš's *The Ray of the Microcosm* published.
1847	Njegoš's *The Mountain Wreath* published.
1858	Aleksandar Karadjordjević is replaced by Mihailo Obrenović, in a return engagement as prince of Serbia.
1868	Prince Mihailo assassinated. Milan Obrenović becomes prince of Serbia.
1869	A second constitution proclaimed in Serbia.
1876	Russian general Mikhail G. Cherniaev arrives in Serbia to lead its troops against the Ottomans.
July 1876	War begins.
November 1876	Serbia sues for peace in its war with the Ottoman Empire.
March 1878	The Treaty of San Stefano ends the conflict.
June 1878	The Congress of Berlin meets. It revises the Treaty of San Stefano.
1881	The Radical party founded.
1889	Milan Obrenović abdicates; his son Aleksandar Obrenović becomes king of Serbia.
June 1903	A group of officers in the Serbian army murder the king and queen of Serbia.
September 1904	Petar (Peter) Karadjordjević is crowned king.
March 1905	The Croato-Serbian Coalition founded in Croatia.
1906–1911	The customs war with Austria.
October 1908	The Habsburg monarchy annexes Bosnia and Hercegovina.
1911	Union or Death (The Black Hand) founded.
1912	The First Balkan War begins in October.
29 June 1913	The Second Balkan War begins.
28 June 1914	Gavrilo Princip assassinates the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie.
23 July 1914	The Habsburg government presents Serbia with an ultimatum.
28 July 1914	Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia.
December 1914	Niš Declaration.
15 December 1914	The Battle of Kolubara.
April 1915	Treaty of London.
9 October 1915	Bulgaria attacks Serbia.
28 November 1915	The notorious flight in winter of Serbian troops and civilians over the Albanian mountains begins.
June 1917	The Corfu Declaration.
9 November 1918	The Geneva Declaration.
1 December 1918	The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is proclaimed in Belgrade.
28 June 1921	Vidovdan Constitution promulgated.
20 June 1928	Stjepan Radić gunned down in the Yugoslav parliament by Puniša Račić.
January 1929	King Aleksandar (Alexander) proclaims a renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia and abolishes the Vidovdan Constitution.
1931	Aleksandar announces a new constitution.
1934	Aleksandar is assassinated in Marseilles by a Macedonian gunman.
20 August 1939	"Sporazum," also known as the Cvetković-Maček Agreement, signed.
25 March 1941	Yugoslavia signs the Tripartite Pact.
27 March 1941	Serbian military officers, led by General Dušan Simović, execute a coup d'état and declare underage Prince Peter the new king of Yugoslavia.
6 April 1941	German forces invade Yugoslavia.
20 October 1944	Liberation of Belgrade.
1945	Three novels by Ivo Andrić (*The Bridge on the Drina, The Woman from Sarajevo,* and *The Bosnian Story*) are published.
28 June 1948	The Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) expels Yugoslavia.
1954	The Novi Sad Agreement signed.
1 July 1966	The Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia meets on the island of Brioni (the Brioni Plenum) to condemn Aleksandar Ranković.
19 March 1967	The Proposal for Consideration signed.
28–29 May 1968	Dobrica Ćosić gives a speech to the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists in which he blasts the League for its treatment of Kosovo and Vojvodina.
2 June 1968	The student movement at Belgrade University begins.
November 1968	Albanian rebellion takes place in Kosovo.
1974	A new constitution is unveiled for Yugoslavia.
April 1980	Tito dies.
March 1981	Rebellion in Kosovo begins.
19 May 1982	The Committee for the Protection of Artistic Freedom is formed.
April 1984	Dr. Vojislav Šešelj is arrested in Sarajevo, and twenty-eight people, including Milovan Djilas, are arrested in Belgrade for antistate activity.
November 1984	The Committee for the Defense of the Freedom of Thought and Expression is formed.
1 May 1985	A Serbian farmer named Djordje Martinović is found injured, bleeding from his rectum, a mineral water bottle by his side, on his fields near Gnjilane, Kosovo.
13 June 1985	The presidency of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences appoints a committee to prepare a document that will address Serbian concerns about Yugoslavia.

October 1985	Over two thousand Serbs from Kosovo present a petition to various governmental bodies.
September 1986	After several months of editing, as the document nears completion, the Belgrade newspaper *Večernje novosti* reveals the existence of what comes to be called the Memorandum.
April 1987	Slobodan Milošević visits the town of Kosovo Polje and gives his famous declaration that the Serbs of Kosovo should not be "beaten."
November 1987	Milošević is able to bring about the fall of Ivan Stambolić as president of Serbia.
1988	Frightened party leaderships in Vojvodina and Montenegro resign en masse in the fall.
1989	Milošević is able to proclaim a new constitution for Serbia, which reincorporates Vojvodina and Kosovo into the republic proper.
28 June 1989	The 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo celebrated.
December 1989	The Democratic League of Kosovo is founded.
1990	Two opposition parties are formed, the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party.
July 1990	Approximately 90 percent of the Albanian members of the provincial parliament vote that Kosovo be proclaimed a republic in Yugoslavia.
August 1990	Under the leadership of Milan Babić, the Autonomous Province of the Serbian Krajina is proclaimed in Croatia.
December 1990	First free postwar elections in Serbia give victory to Milošević's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS).
9 March 1991	A rally against Milošević's control of the media turns into a days-long movement against the regime's authoritarian methods.
25 June 1991	Croatia and Slovenia declare their secession from Yugoslavia.
July 1991	The Serbia Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem is formed and proclaimed in Croatia.
September 1991	Referendum on Kosovo's independence announced.
October 1991	The referendum results in affirmative vote.
6 April 1992	The focus of the war shifts to Bosnia, which declares its own independence on this day.
December 1992	Milošević and the SPS win elections.
1993	Elections do not result in any real changes, except that the Serbian Radical Party (SRP) loses support to the Democratic Party (DP) and to the Democratic Movement of Serbia (DEPOS).
1995	The war in Croatia, quiet after January 1992, flares up again in the spring.
December 1996	A coalition of the Democratic Party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, and the Civic Alliance (called *Zajedno,* "Together") wins municipal elections in many of Serbia's cities. Demonstrations compel the government to respect the outcome of the elections.
October 1997	In Montenegrin presidential elections, Djukanovic defeats Momir Bulatović, Milošević's ally in Montenegro.
1998	The Kosovo Liberation Army becomes active.
March 1998	The first of several large-scale massacres of Albanians by Serbian security forces.
January 1999	The Račak massacre.
March–April 1999	NATO bombing campaign in Kosovo.
August 2000	A new coalition called the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) is formed.
September 2000	Vojislav Koštunica receives approximately 52 percent of the vote to Milošević's 35 percent in the presidential election.
2–5 October 2000	Serbs take to the streets, and miners in Kolubara go on strike; Milošević finally agrees to respect the results of the election.
7 October 2000	Koštunica is sworn in as president of Serbia.
April 2001	Parliamentary elections are held in Montenegro.
March 2002	Djukanović, Djindjić, Koštunica, and others hammer out the Belgrade Agreement.
4 February 2003	The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia disappears, renamed the State Community of Serbia and Montenegro.
March 2003	Zoran Djindjić is assassinated.

MACEDONIA

ALEKSANDAR PANEV

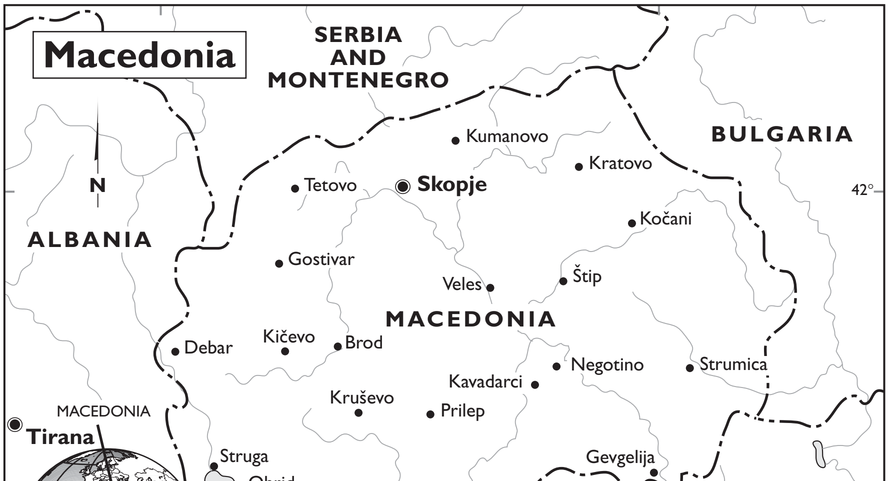
LAND AND PEOPLE

The name "Macedonia" refers to what is probably the most contested geographical entity in Southeastern Europe. The Republic of Macedonia's territorial integrity, language, name, symbols, nationality, and history are challenged either openly or covertly by its neighbors, as well as by various internal and external lobby groups and organizations.

Recent internal interethnic clashes, greatly exacerbated by the situation in Kosovo, call into question the very survival of the Macedonian state. Many in Bulgaria assert that the Macedonian language is a dialect of Bulgarian and that Macedonian nationality is only a recent communist invention. A similar and often much better-developed campaign of the Greek state challenges the validity of giving the name Macedonia to the newly established independent Macedonian republic. The inexperienced and self-centered Macedonian leaders (often accused of corruption and nepotism), together with an inefficient and untrained state bureaucracy, have produced a mixed and ambiguous impact on the internal development and external position of the country. Despite the odds, however, the new state has succeeded in surviving for more than a decade.

At present, the term "Macedonia" can refer not only to the territory of the independent Republic of Macedonia, which is in greater part positioned around the River Vardar, but also to two other adjacent regions. One of those regions is the central northern part of Greece, bounded to the south by the Aegean coast, Mount Olympus, and the Pindus Mountains; to the west by the Haliakmon (Bistritsa) River; and to the east by the lower Nestos (Mesta) River. The other is a region in southeastern Bulgaria around the Pirin Mountains. Based on the main geographic characteristics of each region, students of the region often employ the terms *Vardar, Aegean,* and *Pirin* Macedonia to distinguish these three different parts. In the early twenty-first century, however, the international community uses the name Macedonia predominantly to refer to the independent Republic of Macedonia, strongly as that usage has been challenged by Greece. Only a full account of the troubled history of the region can explain adequately the current debates over the name and status of Macedonia, but some preliminary account of the origins of the name and the various ways it has been used may be helpful.

Macedonia traces its name to an ethnic group that lived mainly on the territory situated around the Haliakmon (Bistritsa) River and its tributary Moglenitsa in present northwestern Greece. In the period between the seventh and second centuries B.C.E., the ancient Macedonians established a kingdom that at times had as its boundaries the Danube, the Black Sea, the Peloponnesus, and the Adriatic. In the centuries that followed, Macedonia was a Roman



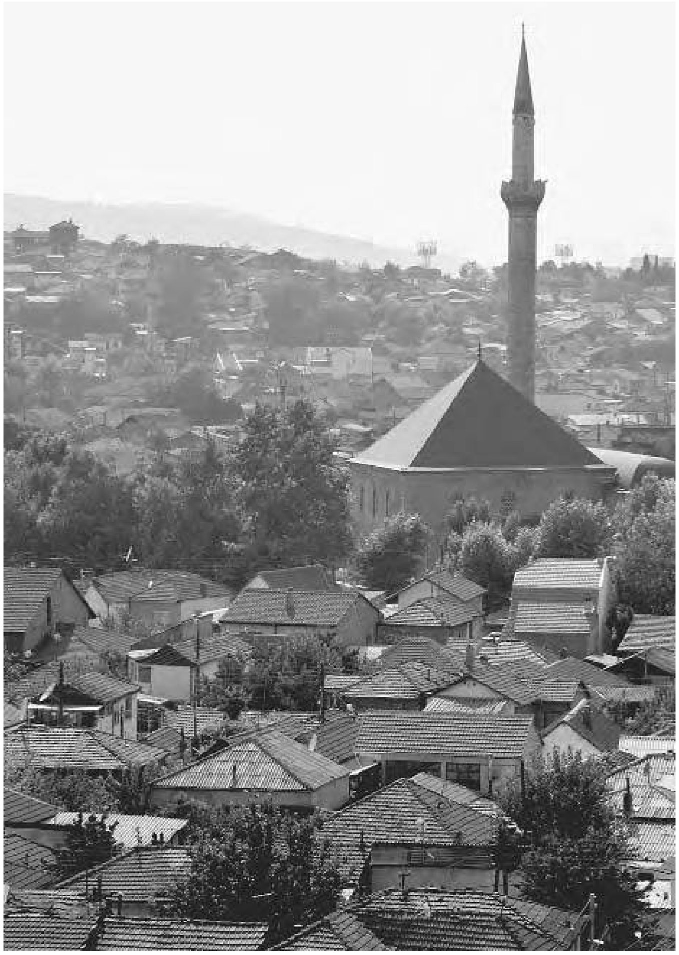
and then a Byzantine province whose boundaries frequently and radically changed, but generally encompassed the greater part of Southeastern Europe.

At the turn of the ninth century, the Byzantine Empire lost effective control over the greater part of Southeastern Europe. It then established a province for which it used the name Macedonia on the territory of present-day southern Bulgaria and northeastern Greece, and that province harbored refugees from Macedonia proper. The Ottoman Empire, which had conquered the Balkans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, did not identify either officially or unofficially any area in its holdings by the name Macedonia. For centuries, only Western geographers, certain historians and travelers, and Eastern Orthodox Church officials used this name to denote a geographical space in the Balkans. However, the interpretation of the boundaries and exact location of the geographic area called Macedonia varied greatly from author to author. That clash of interpretations has been the source of much of the friction over the region.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the modern geographical definition of the term "Macedonia" began to emerge. This occurred as a result of Western influences, closely interwoven with the attempts of several indigenous and mutually exclusive national movements to use the aura of ancient Macedonia (and its most famous hero, Alexander the Great) in order to foster the emergence of national consciousness among the local population. By the 1890s, local inhabitants, ruling elites of the neighboring states, and the representatives of the great powers clearly understood that the present-day territories of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as the aforementioned regions in Greece and Bulgaria (Aegean and Pirin Macedonia), denoted a region called Macedonia. At the time when this name gained widespread use, these three areas represented a whole and unbroken unit of the Ottoman Empire.

Then Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria conquered and partitioned this part of the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). It was at this time that the terms Vardar, Aegean, and Pirin Macedonia were introduced to designate respectively the Serbian, Greek, and Bulgarian territorial gains. The Republic of Macedonia was established mainly on the territory of Vardar Macedonia, first in 1944 as an integral part of the Yugoslav federation, and finally as an independent state in 1991.

The Republic of Macedonia, which comprises approximately 26,000 square kilometers, or 39 percent of the territory of Macedonia as it came to be defined in the nineteenth century, is a landlocked state in the heart of Southeastern Europe. It is slightly smaller than Belgium or the state of Vermont in the United States. Pastures (encompassing 6,700 square kilometers) and meadows (530 square kilometers) form approximately one-quarter of the Republic of Macedonia. Arable land (6,650 square kilometers), which includes vineyards and orchards, makes up another quarter of the territory. Forests are present on roughly 37 percent of the land, and the remainder of the territory of the Republic of Macedonia is comprised of barren terrain (8 percent), lakes (2 percent), and cities (3 percent). The average altitude of the country is 850 meters, a result of the fact that approximately 80 percent of Macedonian territory is mountainous and hilly.



General view of a Muslim part of the city of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. (AFP/Getty Images)

Through the valleys of the Rivers Vardar and Strumitsa as well as the Pelagonia plain, Macedonia is open to the Mediterranean in the south. To the north, the low and easily passable Kumanovo-Preševo hills form the watershed between the Vardar and the Danube tributary Morava, while the Kačanik pass connects the upland basin of Kosovo with the Vardar Valley. In this way, the Republic of Macedonia provides longitudinally the shortest land connection between Central Europe and the Near East. The Skopje plain provides the key access to all the routes that interconnect Kosovo, Bosnia, Serbia, Greece, Albania, and Bulgaria. The famous ancient Roman road Via Ignatia, a main communication line between the western and eastern Balkans, passed through the Pelagonia plain in the southern part of today's Macedonian state.

The principal geographic features of the Republic of Macedonia consist of large and massive mountains with fertile basins and terraces. The Republic of Macedonia represents a transition between the Dinaro-Pindus range and the Rhodope massif. The Dinaro-Pindus massif, which is situated around the western and northern basins of the country, is wide and generally high. Its main mountains (Šar Planina, Stogovo, Baba, Nidže, Galičitsa, Korab, and Kožuv) are cut by the upper Vardar, Treska, and Crna Reka Rivers. Its highest peak is Golem Korab, which reaches 2,764 meters. Osogovo, Maleševo, Ogražden, Belasitsa, and Plačkovitsa represent the main mountains of the Rhodope massif in eastern Macedonia. They consist mainly of crystalline and granite rocks. In general, most of the republic is mountainous and hilly.

The principal basins of the Republic of Macedonia were filled with water in the Pliocene era (approximately 10 million years ago, about the same time that the North American landmass was uplifted). With the sinking of the Aegean Sea region in the geological periods that followed, these basins started to drain toward the Thermaic Gulf in present-day Greece. The result was the formation of the ravines and passes in the region that stand today. These movements created not only lakes and valleys that are mutually connected by deep, ravine-like passages and saddles, but also a number of riverbed terraces. While the Polog, Pelagonia, Ohrid, and Skopje basins developed in western and northern Macedonia, the Ovče Pole, Kočani, and Tikveš are the main valleys in eastern Macedonia.

These basins, which contain the sediment of early lakes and present-day rivers, have a variety of extremely fertile soils. Some basins are covered with black soil, while others have clays and sands of earlier lakes or volcanic deposits. The arable lands that were formed by the nearby rivers are suitable for cultivation of grain, garden plants, poppy seeds, and even rice. The edges of the basins, which were formed through accumulation of early lakes' sediments, are suitable for cultivating grapes and tobacco, and when irrigated, for various types of fruits. The existence of salty soils in certain parts of the Skopje and Ovče Pole valleys provides an opportunity for the development of pastures, as well as for cultivation of livestock plants. The higher mountain regions and terraces, which contain mainly rocky and shallow grounds of dark brown hue, are used for potatoes, rye, and barley.

Lakes Ohrid, Prespa, and Dojran represent the main standing waters of the republic. Lake Ohrid, which occupies an area of 348 square kilometers, is located in the far southwestern part of the state. Over 229.9 square kilometers is found in the Republic of Macedonia, while the rest is part of Albania. It is 30.35 kilometers long and 14.5 kilometers wide. The surface of the lake is at an elevation of 695 meters above sea level. The lake is 287 meters deep, while the transparency of the water is 21.5 meters. The lake has an average temperature of 23 degrees Celsius. Lake Ohrid, with its scenic features and clear waters, is a well-known resort, visited by thousands of local and international tourists every year.

Over half of Lake Prespa (approximately 174 square kilometers out of a total surface area of 274 square kilometers) is contained inside the boundaries of the Republic of Macedonia; it is situated west of the Vardar River, on the border with Greece and Albania. The surface of the lake is at 853 meters above sea level. It is 28.6 kilometers long, 16.9 kilometers wide, and 54 meters deep. Its average temperature in August is 24 degrees Celsius, while its transparency is 7.20 meters. Lake Dojran, situated 148 meters above sea level in the southeastern part of the republic, covers an area of 43.1 square kilometers. It is divided between the Republic of Macedonia (27.3 square kilometers) and the Republic of Greece (15.8 square kilometers). It is 9 kilometers long, 7 kilometers wide, and 10 meters deep. Because of its small size and shallowness, its water warms up to 28 degrees Celsius. Several small glacial lakes exist in the high ranges of the Šar, Pelister, Jablanitsa, Jakupitsa, Korab, and Stogovo Mountains. Mavrovo, Globočica, Debar, Tikveš, Matka, Kalimantsi, Streževo (on the river Šemnica), Glažnje, Lipkovo, and Mantovo are lakes that are artificially constructed for energy and irrigation purposes.

The Vardar River and its tributaries irrigate more than 80 percent of the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. From its spring on the edge of Šar Planina, where it flows at 1.5 cubic meters per second, the Vardar's flow increases to an average of 174 cubic meters at Gevgelija (which is situated on the border between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece). Its main tributaries from the western part of Macedonia are the Treska, Markova Reka, Topolka, Babuna, Tsrna, and Bošava, while from the eastern part come the Lepenets, Pčinja, and Bregalnitsa. Tsrn Drim and its tributary, the Radika, in southwestern Macedonia, belong to the Adriatic river-system. This river, together with Lakes Ohrid and Prespa, irrigate 13 percent of the territory of the country. Waters from the spring well of the Binečka Morava belong to the Black Sea basin.

The territory contains various minerals. Traces of gold are found in the Kratovo and Zletovo region in the eastern parts of the Republic. Silver, copper, zinc, and iron are also found in these areas. Tin is mined northeast of Ohrid at Velomej. There are chrome mines north and west of Skopje and in Pelagonia south of Prilep. Asbestos appears near Skopje and Gevgelija, while bauxite is found in eastern parts of Macedonia. Lignite is present in the vicinity of Skopje and in Pelagonia near Bitola. There are iron ores in the basins of Skopje, Kičevo, and Demir Hisar. Mica appears in Pelagonia near Prilep, while manganese ore, arsenic, and antimony are present in the Stogovo Mountains and the Mariovo-Moglena region. Serpentine, carnelian, travertine, and fine marble occur in several places throughout Macedonia. There are sulphurous mineral springs in Katlanovo and Štip in northeastern and eastern Macedonia.

The Republic of Macedonia, which is situated between 40° 51´ and 42° 30´ north latitude, is in a transitional zone between the continental and Mediterranean climates. The basin of the Vardar, which reaches the Aegean Sea, acts as a funnel, endowing the region with Mediterranean influences. The low hills between the Morava and Vardar Valleys expose Macedonia to continental climate features. As a result, this region has hot, torrid, and dry summers, as well as snowy and cold winters. The average annual temperature is 11.5 degrees Celsius. July is the warmest month with an average of 22, while January is the coldest with an average of minus 3 degrees Celsius. The precipitation in the Republic of Macedonia, which equals approximately 680 millimeters per square meter per year, is extremely low.

Moreover, it is significantly irregular: the mountainous part of western Macedonia gets over 1,000 millimeters, while the Vardar Valley receives under 500 millimeters precipitation. The most frequent winds in Macedonia, known under the names of Vardarets and Jugo, are characteristic of the Vardar Valley.

The location of the country at one of Europe's geographical crossroads and the topographic features dictate the type of flora and fauna present in Macedonia. There are over 3,500 species of plants, as well as 55 known species of fish and 78 species of mammals. Approximately 330 species of birds are also known to appear in the area. Reptile and invertebrate species are insufficiently studied. It also has a number of endemic plant species, some of which are very rare, such as *Atrolagus cerjavski, Tulipa marianae, Ferulago macedonia,* and *Sambucus deborensis.* The lynx, the rarest of the cat family in Europe, can be found in the western parts of the country.

The predominant deciduous tree types, which spread over the greater part of the wooded area, are drought-resistant oaks and beeches, while the most frequent evergreen trees are the white and the black pine. Low forests, mainly represented by the hornbeam, ash, and hazel trees, are present in the dry regions. The annual growth of wood mass is small: only 202 cubic meters per square kilometer, compared to 700–1,000 per square kilometer in the rest of Europe.

The territory of the Republic of Macedonia is subject to frequent and violent earthquakes, which result from the tectonic movements in a zone that extends from the Mediterranean and Caspian seas to the Himalayas. Within this zone, the movement of the continental landmasses produces quakes, which occur at relatively shallow depths. The impact of these tectonic disturbances is often devastating for certain parts of Macedonia, especially the Skopje valley. In 1963 more than a thousand citizens were killed in an earthquake that destroyed the city.

In 2002 the Macedonian GNP (gross national product) per capita was approximately $1,859, or approximately twenty times lower than the GNP per capita in the United States, a fact that clearly reveals that the country's economy is underdeveloped and characterized by a low industrial output. This situation is a result of a long historical development, communist management in the Yugoslav federation, and problems of transition from a planned to a free economy in the period from 1990 to 2000, as well as political instability, corruption, and the recent ethnic conflict. The unemployment rate in 2004 has soared to over 36 percent, while the average monthly salary for those who remained employed has been less than $160. Only 12 percent of the population make their living directly from agriculture (which produces over 20 percent of the GDP). The industrial sector provides employment for approximately 36 percent of the workforce.

Agriculture, which never was compelled to build large collective farms on the model of the Soviet Union, is characterized by small and barely productive landholdings, while industry is based on outdated technologies that do not comply with the European Union's standards and requirements. The backward nature of both sectors combines to hinder the country's overall economic development.

The major agricultural products of the country are wheat, barley, corn, rice, and tobacco, as well as sheep and some cattle. The mining of minerals, iron ore, lead, zinc, and nickel provides additional sources of revenue and employment for the inhabitants. The industrial sector mainly produces steel, chemicals, and textiles.

Environmental conditions are comparable to those found in many other Eastern European and former Soviet countries. According to the communist ideology that guided Macedonian society in the period from the end of World War II until the collapse of Yugoslavia, development was measured through increased production of industrial goods and energy. This approach led to overexploitation of natural resources, lack of interest in environmental issues, and significant environmental degradation.

The most important environmental challenge facing Macedonia is that of air pollution, which is caused by various industries such as metallurgical and thermal power plants, as well as unregulated emissions from numerous old and unchecked vehicles used on the roads. As a result of environmental problems, half of the urban population of Macedonia is often exposed to unhealthy concentrations of gasses such as sulfur dioxide, carbon oxides, and hydrocarbons, as well as heavy metals such as lead, zinc, and cadmium. Various studies clearly demonstrate that, especially in Veles and Skopje, a large number of children suffer from respiratory diseases associated with poor air quality.

Water pollution and inadequate solid waste management are endemic for Third World countries. Macedonia is not an exception. Only one official wastewater treatment plant operates properly, while none of the approximately twenty-five known landfills possess environmental safety features. In addition, numerous unregulated casual disposal waste sites exist in the rural areas. Major cities and various industrial sites in most cases do not possess any waste treatment equipment; they dispose of their waste in the rivers and in the existing landfill sites. This approach to dealing with wastewater and solid waste leads to heavy pollution of the environment and a negative effect on biodiversity in the country. Numerous governmental and nongovernmental institutions monitor and allegedly work on the improvement of the environmental situation in Macedonia. In 1996 the Macedonian parliament adopted a special Act on Environment and Nature Protection and Promotion, which requires creation of an ecological plan both on the national and municipal level, as well as its full implementation. The act itself and the policies specified in it are in compliance with the European Union standards and requirements in order for Macedonia to gain access to Western markets. The existing institutions, however, including a specially created Ministry of Environment, have failed to implement this legislation. The actual indolence of the state organizations is a result of the extremely precarious financial situation in the country, political infighting, the recent armed conflict that began in Kosovo and spread to Macedonia, and the inability of post-communist governments to establish professional, effective, efficient, and responsible administration.

Macedonians make up the majority of the population of the country; the minority ethnic groups are composed of Albanians, Turks, Roma (Romany, Gypsies), Serbs, Vlachs, and Bulgarians. The country and its major cities are divided along ethnic lines. Most of the Albanian and Turkish population live in compact settlements in the northwestern part of Macedonia and along the border with Albania, as well as in the towns of Skopje and Kumanovo. The Roma, who are dispersed throughout the country, very often live in isolated and secluded areas.

The 1994 Macedonian census, conducted under international supervision, was marred by political problems and confrontations. In contrast to the censuses in developed countries, where the interest and the impetus is predominantly on economic, gender, and social issues, in Macedonia the conflict revolved around the number of members of the various ethnic groups in the country. In order to procure more rights, privileges, and financing for their followers (usually at the expense of others), the political leaders of the various nationalities deliberately inflated the numbers within their particular ethnic group. When the figures claimed by the political leaders of the ethnic groups were added together, the country found that it had at least twice as many inhabitants as actually existed.

The international community accepted the complaints of the Macedonian Albanians that the previous census was deliberately inaccurate and unjust. The European Union (EU) and the Council of Europe decided to monitor the 1994 population census closely and even finance it. Despite this heavy international involvement, the Albanians remained at odds with the government, and even abstained in certain counties from taking part in the census. The Kosovo crisis in 1999, which led to a rise in terrorist activities on the part of Albanian militant groups inside Macedonia, and continued interethnic conflict in Macedonia during the greater part of 2001, delayed the implementation of a new census until 2002 and the reporting of results until December 2003.

According to the 2002 census, Macedonia had 2,022,546 inhabitants. Of those, 64.18 percent were Macedonians, 25.17 percent were Albanians, 3.85 percent were Turks, 2.66 percent were Roma, 1.78 percent were Serbs, 0.84 percent were Muslims, 0.48 percent were Vlachs, and 1.04 percent belonged to "other" nationalities.

The figures for the Macedonians remained consistent throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In 1953 they represented 66 percent of the population. In contrast, the Albanians constituted only 12.4 percent of the inhabitants of the country. The people who declared themselves to be Turks represented approximately 16 percent of the population in 1953; many of them either left for Turkey or declared themselves Albanians in the years that followed. The other two main reasons for the rise in the Albanian population were natural increase and migrations. On the one hand, Albanians have a significantly higher birthrate than Macedonians. On the other hand, the breakdown of the former Yugoslavia left Macedonian borders open to uncontrolled immigration of Albanians from Albania proper, who in the wake of the 1997 state meltdown were looking for a more stable and prosperous environment. The uncontrolled influx of Kosovar Albanians into Macedonia resulted from the actions of the Yugoslav government of Slobodan Milošević, a nationalistic and overtly anti-Albanian regime in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s.

The Macedonian population is relatively young: 25 percent of the inhabitants are less than fourteen years of age, while approximately 65 percent are over fourteen and younger than sixty-five, according to the 2002 census. The increasingly higher number of births among the Albanians, which makes its population the youngest in Europe, produces fear among the Macedonians that they will eventually become a minority within their own country. This situation only fuels the existing conflict between Macedonians and Albanians. The annual 1 percent population increase among ethnic Macedonians is quite low in comparison to North American and European standards, due to the high (though still not precisely measured) rate of permanent emigration of predominantly Macedonians to North America, Australia, and Europe. The infant mortality of approximately 16 percent is substantially lower than that found in many countries of the former Soviet Union; the relatively small number of fifty divorces per thousand marriages reveals that the patriarchal outlook and approach to family and social life present in Macedonia for centuries remains. The relatively low life expectancy—68 years for men and 72.5 years for women—reflects the relatively underdeveloped and overburdened health care system, as well as suggesting that the environmental and industrial problems in the country take a heavy toll on the lives of the people in the region.

HISTORY

The Republic of Macedonia has a lengthy historical and cultural heritage. Several archaeological sites confirm that the area has been inhabited from late Neolithic times. During the Bronze Age (1900–1200 B.C.E.), the Indo-European people settled in the area and gradually assimilated the existing population of the region. This period also witnessed a closer connection with the Mycenaean and Aegean societies in the Greek lands (which had developed earlier). The latter initiated a lucrative trade with the people living in Macedonia.

The principal inhabitants of the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia were the Paeonians, with their capital in Astibo (present-day Štip in eastern Macedonia), who are mentioned in Homer's *Iliad* as allies of the Trojans. Other tribes are mentioned in early sources, such as Dardanians in the northwest, some Illyrian tribes in the southwest, and some Thracians in the eastern parts of the present state. The fact that these groups, some of them organized in kingdoms, did not develop a literacy of their own, leaves the question of their ethnic affiliation, interrelationship, and origin subject to diverse interpretations. Some present-day nationalist movements in the Republic of Macedonia, as well as its neighbors, have attempted and indeed still make an effort to interpret the origins of these groups in accordance with their political and nationalistic agendas.

The Macedonian Language

Macedonian is the official language of the Republic of Macedonia. In addition, parts of the population in western Bulgaria and in Aegean Macedonia, the inhabitants of a number of villages in Albania and Serbia, and numerous immigrants in Canada, Australia, the United States, and Europe speak the Macedonian language.

Greece has prohibited the use of the Macedonian language both in private and public use, denying its existence and the existence of a Macedonian nationality. Parts of Bulgarian officialdom, some Bulgarian scholars, and part of the Bulgarian public still approach the Macedonian vernacular as a dialect of their own language. On the other hand, Greece published a primer for the Macedonian language in 1924, and Bulgaria allowed Macedonian to be taught in the schools of Pirin Macedonia in the period from 1946 to 1948. It has to be asserted therefore that Macedonian is a separate language, one that is spoken by approximately 2.5 million people.

Macedonian belongs to the group of South Slavic languages, which also includes Slovene, Serbian, Croatian, and Bulgarian. The spoken language of the Slavic tribes who settled in geographic Macedonia during the sixth and the seventh centuries provided the basis for the formation of the modern Macedonian literary language. Although Macedonia is a relatively small country, in the period before World War II the extremely difficult communication lines and outdated roads infested with gangs of robbers facilitated the isolation of the various localities, which were left alone to speak their local vernaculars. As a result, several dialect areas emerged, of which the most notable are the western and the eastern, as well as the northern, which cuts across the major east-west division. As a result of consistent governmental actions aimed at suppressing the Macedonian language, the distinctive dialects of the Macedonians in Greece and Bulgaria have not been much studied.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Macedonians attempted to codify their language and win its recognition, though, as a result of the specific political and social circumstances, they did not succeed. Partenija Zografski (1818–1876), Gjorgija Pulevski (1838–1894), and Krste Petkov Misirkov (1874–1926) were the most prominent representatives of this movement. Only with the formation of Macedonia as a federal unit of Yugoslavia in 1944 did Macedonians gain the right to use their language freely. Macedonian scholars developed the modern Macedonian literary language based on the dialects used in the central and southwestern parts of the Republic. Its official orthography is a modified Cyrillic alphabet that meets the phonetic needs of the language.

Macedonian shares with the other Slavonic languages a rich morphological system in which nouns are divided into three genders. As in the Bulgarian language, the case system has been entirely lost. In addition, Macedonian has been influenced by Turkish, Greek, and Albanian and contains sounds that are unique to literary Macedonian.

The name Macedonia comes from the Macedonians, who mainly inhabited Aegean Macedonia (now in northern Greece) and during the fourth century B.C.E. expanded their power over the tribes living on the territory of Vardar Macedonia, the present-day Republic of Macedonia. The court used Greek as its medium for keeping records and written communication. Their political, cultural, and social organization, however, was different enough from Greek ways that the Greeks labeled them barbarians, aliens, and intruders. The Macedonian kingdom, which reached its apogee during the reign of Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.E.), gradually weakened, and finally became a province of the Roman Empire in 148 B.C.E. When the Roman Empire broke into its eastern and western parts in the fourth century C.E., Macedonia remained under the control of the eastern half of the empire (later known as the Byzantine Empire). The Byzantine emperors succeeded in controlling this province only until the seventh century, when numerous Slavic tribes started to move from the territory beyond the Carpathian Mountains in Eastern Europe into Central and Southeastern Europe.

In order to clarify what the Slavic tribes found when they arrived, it is necessary to look again at the period just covered. As mentioned above, the ethnic makeup of the ancient Macedonians is unclear. What is clear is that during the time of the domination of the Macedonian kings (the fourth to second centuries B.C.E.), the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia and its population, along with the population of Macedonia as a whole, came under the influence of Hellenistic culture. During the long period of Roman rule (from the second century B.C.E. until the fourth century C.E.) this region, bisected as it is by the important north-south Morava-Vardar passage from the Danubian lands to Thessaloniki, as well as by east-west routes between Asia Minor and Italy, experienced population migrations and the settlement of various ethnic groups in the area, including Romans and Greeks. Moreover, when the Macedonian Empire collapsed in 148 B.C.E., the Roman conquerors enslaved and displaced more than 40,000 local inhabitants. Macedonia truly became cosmopolitan and intermixed, as evidenced by the extremely diverse tombstones (*stella*s) of its inhabitants.

Cathedral of Stobi: Baptistery from the late fourth century C.E. *Stobi, Republic of Macedonia. (Vanni Archive/Corbis)*

The South Slavic tribes that settled in Macedonia during the seventh century initiated numerous ethnic, demographic, social, and economic changes. The Slavs became the dominant ethnic group, but they also came under the cultural, economic, and social influence of the native population. Some of the native population were assimilated by the Slavs; others immigrated to cities and areas that remained under Byzantine rule. Many towns ceased to exist, money was replaced with barter, the slaveholding system disappeared, and the agricultural system underwent significant changes. At the same time, the influence of the Byzantine Empire remained, as evidenced by the fact that the Great Church of Constantinople began to make inroads among the Macedonian Slavs, which eventually resulted in their conversion to Christianity of the Byzantine rite, the establishment of a Slavic alphabet, and the emergence of a rudimentary literacy among the population.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Slavs who lived in Macedonia were organized in loose tribal alliances, which gradually became dependent on a newly emerging Bulgarian state. During this period, a classical feudal order of the Byzantine type emerged in Macedonia. Its main characteristic, as in Western Europe, was the presence of strong feudal lords who controlled large territories and often claimed their independence from the central power. From the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth century, the Byzantine Empire succeeded in checking the power of the Bulgarians and reasserting its control over Macedonia. In the times that followed, Bulgaria fought a number of successful wars against the Byzantine Empire and expanded into the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula. By the beginning of the last quarter of the tenth century, however, the Byzantine Empire had crushed the Bulgarians and temporarily become the undisputed ruler of Southeastern Europe. Several years later, the uprising of the young prince Samuel and his brothers in southwestern Macedonia fundamentally changed the situation in the Balkans.

The differences in the various historical accounts of Samuel, who ruled a short-lived kingdom centered in Prespa and Ohrid from 976 to 1014, reflect recent nationalistic controversies and scholarly discourses that have emerged in the scholarly literature of modern Macedonia and Bulgaria. The dispute focuses on Samuel's ethnic affiliation and the alleged nationality of his subjects. On one hand, scholars from the Republic of Macedonia tend to emphasize the cultural, social, and even linguistic distinctiveness of Samuel's kingdom. On the other, Bulgarian scholars emphasize the fact that Samuel used the Bulgarian name for himself and his kingdom and the beginnings of his career in southwestern Macedonia are rarely mentioned. Both approaches clearly aim to support present-day nationalistic claims and agendas. The Macedonians need

The so-called fortress of Emperor Samuel (ruled 976–1014) stands on a hill above the city of Ohrid, Republic of Macedonia. (Arthur Thévenart/Corbis)

this approach in order to demonstrate that they have long been a separate nationality with their own language and history; the Bulgarian interpretation, on the other hand, supports the claim that Macedonians are essentially Bulgarians by ethnic origin, as well as by cultural and linguistic characteristics. Both approaches are anachronistic. It is indeed difficult to speak about the national consciousness of a short-lived medieval ruler and his subjects and to discuss his impact on national development at a time when the majority of the population was illiterate and boundaries were fluid. Moreover, the only primary source that discusses the ethnic affiliation of Samuel asserts that he was an Armenian by origin. Bulgarian and Macedonian ethnic groups only began to acquire national consciousness in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Only during the past century and a half have Southeastern European Slavs gradually begun to assert their nationality and unify around several urban centers. Thus, the national affiliation of Samuel can neither be determined nor could it be relevant to today's situation in the region.

In many aspects, Samuel was a typical medieval ruler who was primarily interested in maintaining and expanding his power. As such, he executed his only surviving brother and entered on a long period of expansion and conquest. It is most likely that Samuel perceived and proclaimed his state as the heir to the recently defeated Bulgarian empire (enabling him to establish a degree of international recognition and respect). He successfully expanded his rule over the entire territory of Macedonia (except for the town and immediate vicinity of Thessaloniki). Moreover, Samuel gradually took over the formerly Bulgarian territory between the Danube River and the Balkan Mountains (Stara Planina), Thessaly, Epirus, present-day Kosovo, and southern Serbia, as well as parts of Albania. After the death of the previously captured Bulgarian emperor in a Byzantine prison, Samuel proclaimed himself emperor and probably received some confirmation of a princely title from the Church of Rome. His kingdom, however, was short-lived. In 1014 the Byzantine emperor Basil II defeated Samuel's forces at Belasitsa and inflicted a terrible punishment on the 14,000 captured soldiers. He blinded almost all and released them from his custody. The story is that Samuel died of a stroke caused by grief after the arrival of his blinded and defeated army at Prilep. By 1018, Basil II defeated Samuel's successors, triumphantly entered into the capital, Ohrid, and reasserted Byzantine control over Macedonia.

Overall, Samuel and his kingdom established an important legacy. Although it is clear that Samuel used the Bulgarian name for political purposes, he never sought to expand into Bulgaria proper, or transferred his state capital to the former Bulgarian capital, Preslav. His political interests instead focused on Macedonia, Albania, and northern Greece. In this regard, the Macedonian territories and Slav population around Ohrid and Prespa represented the core of Samuel's kingdom. Therefore, the social, cultural, and ethnic composition of this newly established state, as well as the political and territorial aspirations of its leader, significantly differed from similar political units established earlier in the region. In addition, Samuel's legacy was important in one more respect: the establishment of an independent (autocephalous) Christian ecclesiastical unit with its center in Ohrid.

Christianity played an important role in the development of South Slavic culture and society. The Byzantine rulers and their main partner, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, succeeded in converting the Macedonian Slavs to the Orthodox branch of Christianity. In contrast to the Church of Rome, which used only Latin throughout Western Europe, the patriarchate did not preach its doctrines and beliefs exclusively in Greek. The Byzantine clerics realized that the use of the local vernaculars would bring much better results among the illiterate Slavic tribes. To this end, in the middle of the ninth century, on the basis of the southern Macedonian Slav vernaculars, the Byzantine cleric Cyril and his brother Methodius invented the first Slavic alphabet, called Glagolitic. In honor of its founder, the simplified version of Glagolitic used later received and has retained the name Cyrillic.

While Cyril and Methodius worked in Moravia, several of their disciples went to Macedonia to evade the persecution of the Roman Church, which did not approve of the ecclesiastical use of non-Latin vernaculars. The most famous of them were Clement and Naum, who worked in Ohrid in the second half of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries. They not only translated into Old Church Slavonic (the language of the Orthodox Church in the region, based upon the local Slav dialect around Thessaloniki and sometimes referred to as Old Bulgarian) numerous religious texts and composed homilies for ecclesiastical use, but they also established a school in which they taught basic literacy and theology in the local Slav vernacular. As a result, the population accepted Christianity relatively quickly and easily, and the religious roots of Christianity established in this way have run deep, withstanding the challenges of time and religious pressures. In contrast, the Albanian tribes, which lived in the area west of the Ohrid region, accepted Islam more easily, in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It should be noted here that at this point there was no differentiation in the written vernacular among the South Slavic tribes, whether they lived on the territory of Macedonia, Bulgaria proper, Kosovo, or Moravia. Clement and Naum worked under the auspices of the Bulgarian autonomous and later autocephalous church, which was essentially a Slavic ecclesiastical institution.

The Ohrid archbishopric survived its founder Samuel for more than seven centuries, consistently enjoying a large measure of autonomy and independence. In 1767, however, the Ottoman government abolished it under pressure from the Great Church of Constantinople, which wanted to increase its revenues and establish better control over the Christian Orthodox population in the Balkans.

Macedonian Orthodox Christian believers light candles in front of the Saint Mother of God church, one of the many old churches and monasteries dotting the shores of Lake Matka near the Macedonian capital, Skopje. Thousands of Macedonians celebrate the Orthodox holiday Saint Mother of God. (AFP/Getty Images)

In contrast to the situation in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, Byzantine and later Slavic ecclesiastical institutions were heavily dependent on the secular rulers and their decisions. Therefore, the establishment of an independent state was necessarily followed by the founding of independent, self-governing (autocephalous) churches, most often called patriarchates, metropolitan sees, archbishoprics, or exarchates. With the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these churches, or the memory of them in areas in which they had previously been abolished, served to rally popular support for national movements.

Despite numerous external and internal challenges, in the period after Samuel's death, the Byzantine Empire succeeded in retaining control over Macedonia until the end of the twelfth century, increasing the taxes and exploiting the population to meet the demands of frequent wars. During the thirteenth century, the power of the Byzantine Empire started to dwindle; as a result, various independent feudal

The Macedonian Orthodox Church

In 2003 the Serbian Orthodox Church renewed its opposition to the Macedonian Orthodox Church, thereby negating Macedonian national identity through anti-Macedonian propaganda. The issue was whether Macedonians, who are predominantly Orthodox, have the right to have their own independent ecclesiastical organization. The archbishopric of Ohrid had had periods of independence, starting in the eleventh century, but otherwise the church in Macedonia was considered to be under the authority of other jurisdictions, especially the Serbian Patriarchate. The government of Yugoslavia insisted on the creation of the Orthodox Church of Macedonia after World War II, but only in 1967 did the governing body of that church formally (and unilaterally) separate from the Serbian Orthodox Church and become autocephalous (independent). In this way the Macedonian Orthodox population came to be led by their own indigenous prelates, who in turn were not subject to any kind of external power. The Orthodox Church in Macedonia acquired the right to choose its own bishops, as well as the head of the church, without any obligatory expression of dependence to another external body. Moreover, the Macedonian Orthodox Church gained the right to resolve all its internal disputes on its own authority.

Macedonian ecclesiastical independence is still not widely accepted; the Serbian Patriarchate has declared that the proceedings by which the Macedonian Orthodox Church asserted its full independence were against canon law, and the patriarch of Constantinople has agreed. The Serbian Patriarchate has always been opposed to any kind of independence for the church in Macedonia, but in 1959, under pressure as some say from the communist government of Yugoslavia, which wished to strengthen Macedonia and weaken Serbia, the Serbian church's governing body recognized a separate Macedonian Orthodox Church, autonomous, but not autocephalous. The Serbian patriarch was still the head of both churches. Serbian bishops consecrated Macedonian bishops, and the Macedonian Orthodox Church began to function. When the new church petitioned the Serbian Patriarchate for autocephalous status in 1966, the request was rejected, and when the new church went ahead and unilaterally proclaimed its own autocephaly, the governing body of the Serbian church declared it schismatic and broke all ties.

Those who criticize the actions of the Macedonian Orthodox Church accuse it of not following Orthodox canon law and of being influenced by political motives. Those who take the other side argue that in fact the church is really following Orthodox tradition. Every independent Orthodox nation has had its own autocephalous ecclesiastical entity. In this way, the Orthodox people have had the opportunity to shake off external cultural and political attempts aimed at assimilation. The process of granting autocephaly has always involved the interference of the secular authorities (in the beginning, the Byzantine emperor) and has followed the establishment of new borders. The medieval Serbian church (and later the Serbian Patriarchate) in the thirteenth and then again in the fourteenth century unilaterally declared its own autocephaly. During the nineteenth century, state and national leaders used the Orthodox Church in the Balkans for their political and national goals. Thus it can be argued that the Serbian refusal to grant autocephaly to the Macedonian church is more against the accepted practices and rules of Orthodox Christianity than anything the Macedonian Orthodox Church has done.

The clash between the Macedonian and the Serbian church was exacerbated in 2003. The Serbian church offered to recognize the Macedonian church if it would accept autonomous status, but Macedonians refused to accept a widened autonomy in the framework of the Serbian church; rather, they perceived the Serbian approach as a denial of Macedonian nationality and a return to the nightmare of the nineteenth-century struggle for the partition of Macedonia and the attempts to impart a Serbian national identity to the Christian population of Macedonia. As a countermeasure to the Macedonian refusal, the Serbian church appointed a parallel, pro-Serbian set of prelates, who were young and devoted to the Serbian cause in Macedonia; the Serbian ecclesiastical organization empowered these prelates and their supporters to Macedonia to convert the population to its agenda. For Macedonians, the actions of the Serbian church have tarnished the reputation of Orthodox Christianity in the area, and as a result an increasing number of people have converted to other forms of Christian worship. The friction, which seemed to contradict the very essence of Orthodox virtues, such as patience, understanding, and compassion, is another sign that relations in the region can be frayed, even by that which should bring people together.

lords, the Crusaders, the second medieval Bulgarian empire, and the newly emerging Serbian Nemanjić dynasty fought for control over Macedonia. The frequent wars over the territory exhausted the population and its wealth. The situation somewhat stabilized during the first three-quarters of the fourteenth century, when Serbia and its feudal lords ruled the area. Then, with the defeat of the Serbians at Maritsa in 1371 and Kosovo in 1389, Macedonia came under direct Ottoman rule.

The Ottoman Empire governed Macedonia for over five centuries, a period in which the social, ethnic, and cultural situation in the region fundamentally changed. The major impact of Ottoman rule on Macedonia was that the area became much more ethnically and religiously diverse, in a way that was greatly influenced by the establishment of a special type of government called the *millet* system.

In order to establish better control over its new territory, the Ottoman government encouraged Turkish settlers to come to Macedonia. As a result of the constant influx of settlers, governmental officials, and army soldiers, Muslims of diverse ethnic origin came to outnumber Orthodox Slavs in the towns, though not in the countryside. There was also a steady immigration of Jews and Roma (Gypsies) into the area. In addition, the authorities encouraged (although not forcibly) the process of conversion of the indigenous Macedonian Slav population to Islam. Many nobles, as well as peasants, accepted the new religion in order to retain or improve their social and economic standing; for example, taxes were lower on Muslims than they were for Christians. For all practical purposes, the Slav population that converted to Islam identified itself with the ruling classes and did not acquire a national consciousness until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (The attempts by the present-day Macedonian governments to discourage the identification of the Slavic-speaking Muslims with the Turks, or in some cases, the Albanians, has had an adverse effect on the country and has even led to the emigration of some of the affected population.) By the end of the nineteenth century, Macedonia had approximately 1,715,000 people, including 746,000 Muslims, 929,000 Christians, and 40,000 Jews. Moreover, in addition to modern Macedonian, part of the Christian population had developed Greek, Bulgarian, or even Serbian national consciousness.

To return to the Ottoman Empire and the position of the Slav population under its authority, it is important to emphasize that the framework within which Orthodox Christians functioned under Ottoman rule was called the millet system. This term refers to a specific political, sociocultural, and communal institution based on religion. The millet system was based on the Islamic belief that Roman Catholics, Orthodox Christians, members of the Armenian Apostolic Church, and Jews are People of the Book. As a result, the Ottomans granted them protection in return for the acceptance of a subordinate status and payment of a poll tax. In legal terms, the Ottoman state made a perpetual contract with these various non-Muslim groups, which was automatically revoked when the contract was breached. The religious institutions, with their hierarchies, functioned as the representatives of their faithful before the state. Ottoman sultans granted its Orthodox subjects extensive cultural self-rule in perpetuity without being subject to renewal or limitation. After the abolition of the Orthodox Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1767, the Patriarchate of Constantinople established direct and undisputed jurisdiction over the entire Orthodox population in Macedonia.

The millet system had a profound impact on Macedonian communities. The isolated localities were the main units of this type of organization; they acted at the same time as a religious congregation, social community, and administrative entity. Moreover, the extremely difficult communication lines, outdated roads that were infested with gangs of robbers, and often ineffective bureaucracy further contributed to the isolation of the villages, which were left to exist on their own, according to their own customs.

Life for Orthodox Christians was most difficult during the eighteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire experienced a weak central government and a rise in lawlessness. Rural brigands and robbers posed a constant threat for the population and in some cases jeopardized major centers like Bitola and Ohrid. The local rulers governed and taxed the population at will. Under these circumstances, inhabitants had to rely on their internal community's unity to safeguard their lives and property. Although the central government in Istanbul (Constantinople) began to reassert its power in the provinces in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, many of the old attitudes and habits remained. Even in the early twenty-first century, small gangs of robbers still operate in the countryside, especially in the western part of the independent Republic of Macedonia. Consequently, one could argue that the particular organization of the millets could be credited with the preservation of the cultural, religious, ethnic, and linguistic identity of the various Christian groups, even up to the present.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was clearly the Orthodox Church that governed the social and religious life of its followers in Macedonia. Its clergy was sharply segregated into several categories. Real power was in the hands of the prelates, who were most often Greek by origin and who constituted an integral part of the Ottoman bureaucratic and revenue system. The hierarchs, also primarily of Greek ethnic background, enjoyed the right to appoint, dismiss, tax, and punish the clergy in their eparchies. The metropolitans and bishops, who also enjoyed the right freely to tax the population, focused their activities on collecting the revenues they needed for repaying the levies to the Ottoman state, for repaying debts encountered in the process of ascension in the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (bribery was endemic in the church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and for a comfortable living. Ottoman officials and certain local lay notables, guided by financial interests, assisted them in this process. The parish priests and monks, on whom the state did not bestow any administrative or representative rights, originated mainly from the localities in which they served. By their lifestyle, dress, and education, this stratum of the clergy was virtually indistinguishable from the lay inhabitants, and it shared their fortunes. The prominent local lay members, and not the lower clergy, managed the greater part of the church possessions in their communities. The local churches and monasteries served as savings and credit unions and generated profits. The prelates received a part of the profits from the ecclesiastical establishments, and the remaining part was channeled toward various communal and social endeavors.

During the first centuries of Ottoman rule, the peasants made their living by working on their small plots of land, or on the holdings of the cavalrymen *(sipahi)* and their descendants who held fiefs. The Ottoman government undertook land reforms beginning in 1831, in which the landowners lost control over the process of tax collection, the main source of their income. In the wake of the new state ordinances and actions, the fief holders had to derive their main revenues from the core holdings, called *čiftliks,* which were primarily cultivated by landless peasants. The čiftliks, for their part, being small and having been long neglected, furnished little profit. The Ottoman government imposed further restrictions on sipahis' exercise of power over their tenants by prescribing a 10 percent maximum for the tithe on the peasants who worked on sipahis' land. As a result of these changes, in addition to the decrease in grain prices after the Crimean War (1853–1856) and a series of bad harvests, the Muslim owners started to leave their landholdings, selling them to the peasants and local Christian notables.

The socioeconomic changes that took place in the course of the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century disrupted the traditional way of life and distribution of power. The early stages of national awakening among the Macedonian Slavs were related to the general process of cultural and economic modernization in the Ottoman Empire, as well as to the specific Macedonian communities themselves. The enactment of new land laws, a tariff system, and export and import conventions, along with the gradual tightening of state control over isolated and self-contained communities, resulted in the gradual disappearance of the influential craftsman class and in the decline of the influence of the Muslim landowners and the local Christian notables.

At the same time, a modernized entrepreneurial class emerged, winning substantial wealth through the export-import trade, tax farming, and extending money on credit; it was organized into factions held together by commercial and family ties. Certain financial cliques, comprised of merchants of Slav origin whose profits depended on trade with the Slav peasant population, came under the economic sway of the far more developed Bulgarian commercial and national groups from Istanbul and Bulgaria proper. The local commercial competitors of these entrepreneurs were the Hellenic cliques, composed mainly of ethnic Greeks, as well as Hellenized Vlachs and Albanians. The Hellenic factions controlled far greater wealth, relied closely on the Greek commercial circles in Europe, Athens, and Constantinople, and formed stable financial relations with the prelates, with whom they shared a common language and culture. As social and economic modernization progressed, the financial factions composed of merchants of Slav origin who used the Slav vernacular in their homes and commerce, and who depended economically on the Bulgarian entrepreneurs, started to perceive the Byzantine Greek used in the ecclesiastical services and the Greek language and culture of their commercial competitors as parts of an alien and hostile element in their midst.

The local Slav businessmen attempted to create an alternative public realm, which would correspond to Western European bourgeois developments. They needed this public sphere in order to voice their individual political, economic, and social perceptions and concerns, to form a clear public opinion on various issues, and to represent these opinions to officials for their own benefit and for the benefit of the state. In contrast to the Western European experience, however, the public sphere in Macedonia was first created in the ecclesiastical domain, through the transformation of the existing legally recognized ecclesiastical bodies and the formation of affiliated organizations. The church-building process mobilized the Slav Orthodox public, fostered communal self-organization, established a feeling of self-respect and local identity, and facilitated the formation of viable, responsible, and democratically organized parish committees in almost every urban and village community. These informal bodies, controlled by the entrepreneurs, worked toward the formation of a literate public, which in turn was one of the main prerequisites for the formation of public institutions. By the beginning of the 1870s, almost every Slavic-speaking community had a modern secular primary and in many cases secondary school for boys and girls. At the same time, reading and social clubs, as well as charitable organizations, appeared in the main urban centers. Yet the revenues from ecclesiastical property and the donations of the local wealthy merchants were insufficient to sustain the newly formed Slav educational and cultural institutions. Moreover, the local Slav businessmen did not have the resources to establish the printing presses that would provide the pupils with textbooks and the general public with newspapers, journals, and monographs.

Therefore, in order to complete the process of establishing a viable Slav public life, and to open new avenues for fostering social modernization, local entrepreneurs attempted to take full control of the property and rights of the church and to manage the election of the prelates. In the period before 1878, almost every Macedonian community attempted to take over the local church establishment. In this way, all the resources available through the church could have been used toward the development of schools, cultural institutions, and various social organizations and endeavors. Moreover, the hierarchs would have become sincere advocates of local social and economic interests before Ottoman officials. The Great Church of Constantinople, however, unable to adjust to the changes in the communities, attempted to preserve its medieval social rights by suppressing by force any modernizing tendencies.

The members of the Ottoman bureaucracy, who originated from a different culture and ideology, possessed neither the power nor the will to support the prelates effectively against the population. Therefore, in order to retain their fiscal and social powers, the prelates sought the assistance of the members of the Hellenic factions. These factions, in turn, came under the influence of the Greek national movement, which sought to incorporate the Slavs into its national entity and the territory of Macedonia into its national state. Both sides therefore found a common cause in suppressing the emerging elements of a Slavic public life and discourse. As a result of the lack of a medieval, pre-Ottoman historical heritage bearing any specific Macedonian name, the Orthodox Slavs of Macedonia instead used the Bulgarian and Serbian national labels to safeguard their local vernacular as well as their way of life, while at the same time distancing themselves from the Greek language and culture propagated by the prelates and the members of the Hellenic factions.

As a result of strong opposition from the prelates and the Hellenic faction, the economic weakness of the emerging entrepreneurial class, the small numbers of intellectuals, and an insufficiently organized and mobilized public, the Slav residents of Macedonia were unable to take over the ecclesiastical domain and to complete the process of public sphere formation. In addition, Macedonia did not have an economically, socially, and intellectually powerful Slav center that could organize, unify, and channel the actions of the Macedonian localities. Moreover, Macedonia occupied a central position in European Turkey, being left without direct contact with Western, Central, and Eastern Europe. Consequently, all the relevant foreign influences came to the area through Serbian, Bulgarian, and Greek channels. In order to produce the desired change, the Macedonian Slavs had to turn toward these external factors for assistance, and beyond that, toward the Catholic Church.

During the 1850s and 1860s, Serbian institutions, as well as Bulgarian organizations from Constantinople and Bulgaria proper, responded to the pleas of Macedonian residents and began to dispatch the required printed materials, financial support, and teachers to the region. In contrast to the objective of the Macedonian Slavs, who wanted to foster the process of public sphere formation, Serbian organizations and the Bulgarian National Circle aimed at bringing a Serbian or Bulgarian national consciousness to the Macedonian Slavs. Because Macedonian entrepreneurs depended economically and commercially on the far wealthier and more nationally conscious Bulgarian businessmen from Bulgaria proper and Constantinople, Bulgarian organizations and activities gained greater influence among the residents of Macedonia. Meanwhile, France, and later Austria, with the intention of exercising influence in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire, supported attempts by certain Macedonian communities to enter into church union with Rome, as a counterforce to Greek influence through the office of the patriarch. In the early 1870s the Macedonian communities hoped that through the Bulgarian Exarchate, which was a product of the Bulgarian national and social movement, they would accomplish their goal.

It became clear by the mid-1870s, however, that these external entities—the Bulgarian national movement, the Bulgarian Exarchate, the Serbian Principality, and the Catholic Church—were failing to assist the Macedonian Slavs in the process of taking over the ecclesiastical establishment and creating a viable public sphere. As a result, the Macedonian residents attempted to create that sphere in their communities by using entirely their own resources. As had Orthodox Slavs from Bulgaria proper, Macedonian notables and intellectuals attempted to form a distinct Macedonian church, independent from both the patriarchate of Constantinople and the Bulgarian Exarchate. In the mid-1870s, for the first time, a separate Macedonian movement organized by Macedonian communities, with its center in Veles, attempted to beat the odds and produce the desired change and formation of a distinct Macedonian church.

This movement built on the ideas and actions of a small group of indigenous intellectuals, who noticed the linguistic and cultural differences between the areas of their origin and activity and those of the populace of Serbia and Bulgaria. They promoted the vernacular and culture of the Macedonian Slav communities, and even came up with a theory of the separate historical development and identity of the Macedonian Slavs. For example, in 1868 Kuzman Šapkarev asserted that among the inhabitants of western Macedonia "nobody, from the youngest to the oldest," knew the Bulgarian vernacular that originated in eastern Bulgaria (Šapkapev 3). What is more, according to Šapkarev, many inhabitants, because of local patriotism and self-respect, refused to learn and use the Bulgarian vernacular. Approximately a decade later, Giorgija Pulevski stressed that "a nationality are the people *(luge)* with the same ethnic origin, who speak the same language. . . . In this regard, Macedonians are a nationality *(narod)* and their place is Macedonia." Pulevski further declared that "our fatherland is called Macedonia, and we are named Macedonians" (Pulevski 81–97). For him, the language of this area was Macedonian, which belonged to the family of the Slav languages and had equal standing with Russian, Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian, Polish, and Bulgarian.

Thus, in the process of attempting to complete the formation of a viable public sphere, a number of Macedonian Slavs became more and more aware of their linguistic and historical distinctiveness. They voiced the idea that they were a separate national entity, which should bear the name Macedonian. Although the advocates of a separate Macedonian church and Macedonian nationality were few, and although they failed to accomplish their program, they did show that the idea of Macedonian distinctiveness could appeal to the population; and thus they planted the seeds for future national developments.

Moreover, in the period of the late 1870s, the Macedonian population and its leaders started to combine political, cultural, and military struggle in order to improve its situation. Several insurrectionist movements paralleled the Russian military advance into European Turkey in 1877 and 1878 (during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878). The Razlog (1876) and Kresna (1878–1879) rebellions, which took place in eastern Macedonia, followed the pattern of a series of revolutionary movements in the Balkans against Turkish rule. The 1875 insurrection in Bosnia-Hercegovina precipitated the Serbian-Turkish war of 1876, and the April 1876 uprising in Bulgaria paved the way for Russian intervention in the Balkans. The intervention of the great powers in Balkan affairs resulted in the rise to arms and demands for independence of a significant portion of the Macedonian Slav population; however, Macedonia in its entirety remained under Ottoman control, while Bulgaria proper gained limited independence in 1878. During these rebellions, many of the leaders came to a clear understanding of the complexity and unity of the Macedonian ethno-geographic territory, the concept of an autonomous Macedonia, and elements of a separate national consciousness. Moreover, they recognized Macedonia as an area with an ethnically mixed population, in which different beliefs and cultures should be equally appreciated and respected. Accordingly, the manifestos and proclamations of the leaders of these insurrections addressed all ethnic communities and emphasized common goals of modernization, justice, and equality.

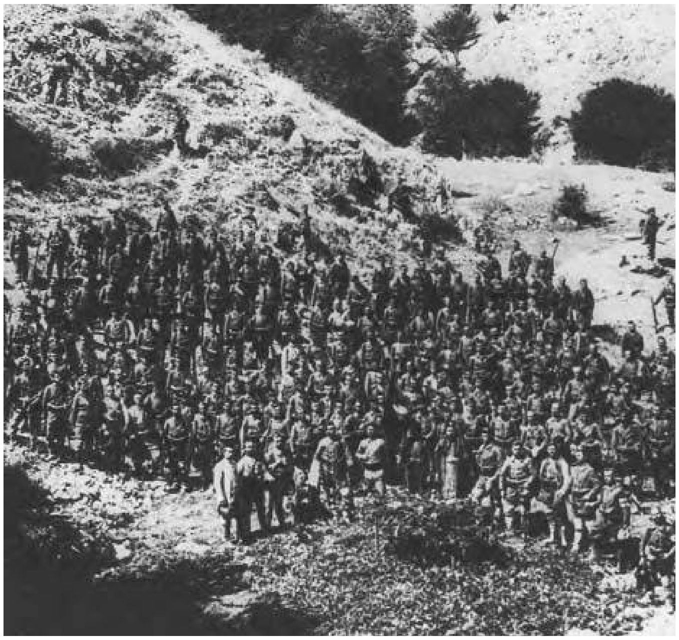
The national awakening of the Macedonian Slav populace, which had started in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, took a divergent path following the economic turmoil in the Ottoman Empire in the 1870s, the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878, and the formation of the autonomous Bulgarian Principality in 1878. During the 1870s, fiscal crisis, government bankruptcy, and the Russo-Turkish war produced famine and hindered international trade in the Ottoman Empire. The 1892–1896 economic depression and fall of industrial output in Europe diminished the West's need for raw materials and agricultural products. Moreover, after 1870, the increased involvement of Western capital in the Ottoman Empire brought into being various credit unions and banks, including the state-funded Agricultural Bank, which started to extend loans. This situation undermined the financial standing of the Macedonian local entrepreneurs, who based their wealth on the export of agricultural goods and money lending. As a result, the social stratum that had facilitated change in the local communities began to disappear. At the same time, the main political goal, indeed the obsession, of the new Bulgarian principality established in 1878 became the incorporation of Macedonia and Thrace into its national and state framework. This policy marked the beginning of the "Macedonian struggle," since Greece, Serbia, and even Romania also had expansionist ambitions in this area.

At the same time, the Slav Macedonian intelligentsia began to leave Macedonia on a huge scale. This was the result of direct pressure from the Ottoman authorities, who perceived the members of the Macedonian intelligentsia as potential dissenters and instigators of popular revolt. This process was further facilitated by the lack of any prospects for advancement, change, and better conditions of life in this part of the Ottoman Empire. As recent research has indicated, out of the 959 people in Macedonia who could be identified as intellectuals, only 111 remained after 1878 (and of these, only 7 had some level of higher education). The others left their homeland for good. In the years that followed, their places were taken by people sent and paid for by the Bulgarian principality, the independent kingdoms of Greece and Serbia, or in some cases even Romania. The main task of these newcomers was to encourage the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the Macedonian Slavs. These occurrences in the early to mid-1870s marked the end of the early stages of the national awakening process of the Macedonian Orthodox Slavs.

However, it did not mark the end of the process. The members of the Macedonian intelligentsia who lived and worked outside Macedonia came under the influence of diverse national ideas and movements. Some of its members not only developed Macedonian national consciousness, but also started to propagate their ideas among other Macedonian immigrants and the representatives of the great powers. They formed a number of cultural societies, which contained in their name the term Macedonia. These organizations, mainly centered in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Russia (but also in other European capitals), argued for the liberation of Macedonia and canvassed economic, political, and social support for this cause. This process included the formation of the Macedonian Scholarly and Literary Society in St. Petersburg in 1902 as the kernel of Macedonian national endeavors; it formulated a succinct strategy for national liberation. Moreover, in the period from 1903 to 1905, the first book and the first journal in the modern Macedonian language and orthography emerged, as well as the first textbooks for the projected Macedonian schools.

Meanwhile, within Macedonia, the formation of a secret national liberation organization, known as the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), or by the generic name of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (MRO), introduced a more radical approach in the national struggle. Formed in 1893, this organization, at its congress in 1896, clearly defined its goal of full political autonomy or independence of Macedonia, to be acquired through a revolution of the people in Macedonia. The Christian Slav population formed IMRO's principal membership base. Like all secret organizations, IMRO established a clear hierarchical structure and started to collect the necessary military and economic means for the achievement of its task. At the same time, Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian organizations that started to operate in Macedonia with the ultimate goal of annexing this Ottoman territory for their prospective states greatly hindered and influenced IMRO's activities.

In effect, the Greeks feared the possible connections of an autonomous Macedonia with Bulgaria and worked against IMRO and the rebellion. As a result, the August 1903 Ilinden-Preobraženski Uprising was not only badly prepared and premature, but was also left without any external help. Although the insurgents were poorly equipped, untrained, and outnumbered, they scored a number of initial successes in the Bitola, Adrianople, and Salonika regions. Despite those successes, the Bulgarian state and church were unable to support the uprising, the Greeks fought against it, and the great powers were not willing to interfere in the internal affairs of the Turkish state. As a result, the Ottoman regular army, despite its own weaknesses, swiftly and easily crushed the rebellion and enacted a set of humiliating reprisals that victimized especially women, children, and the property of the Christian Slavs. More than 5,000 people were killed, and 70,000 were left homeless.



Macedonian insurgents, ca. 1912. From the late 1800s through the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), such groups as the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization fought against the Ottoman rule. (Library of Congress)

After the rebellion, the great powers, especially Russia and Austria-Hungary, came under pressure to push the Ottoman state to initiate a number of reforms in Macedonia. The Mürzsteg reforms, which called for foreign control over the Ottoman police, internal administrative delineation along ethnic lines, and financial support to the victims of the rebellion in Macedonia, were never fully enacted. Instead, Macedonia became the playground of Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbian efforts, each nation hoping to achieve decisive influence among the Christian Slav population and prepare the grounds for future annexation.

The problem remained that there were too many parties interested in the partitioning of Macedonia; the territorial appetites of the interested parties were too large to allow all of them to be accommodated. At first there was an agreement among Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece to attack Turkey and partition its remaining European territories, among which the greatest part was Macedonia. In the first Balkan War (1912), this coalition was very successful: Turkey was pushed almost entirely out of Europe. However, the division of the spoils was not as easy a task. In the summer of 1913, the inability of the partners to resolve their differences led to the breakdown of their comradeship and to another war, this time with Bulgaria against Greece, Serbia, Romania, and even Turkey. This second Balkan War ended swiftly with the defeat of Bulgaria (sanctioned at the Treaty of Bucharest in August 1913). The treaty clearly outlined the partitioning of Macedonia; the greatest part, Aegean Macedonia (which constituted 50 percent of the whole), was allotted to Greece. Bulgaria, as the defeated party, gained only 10 percent of the land, the so-called Pirin Macedonia. Serbia gained, in addition to Kosovo, the Sandjak, and numerous territories in present-day southern Serbia, the remaining part of Macedonia, Vardar Macedonia.

In this period, as the Macedonian scholar Blaže Ristovski has asserted, an authentic Macedonian movement, plagued by a so-called dualism, started to take clear shape. The encroachment of foreign nationalistic propagandas resulted in a split among the Macedonians. Some of them began to express their individuality by labeling their language a "dialect" of the Bulgarian vernacular, and their national denomination became "Macedonian Bulgarians." In the same way, Greek and Serbian cultural, political, and social actions in Macedonia produced the birth of similar labels among other indigenous intellectuals. Yet some leaders of the Macedonian movement always envisaged and continued to argue for the establishment of a separate, independent Macedonian entity, which would exist in a federal or confederation framework. The most prominent Macedonian leaders continued to harbor the idea of the distinctiveness of the Macedonian people, for which they were branded "separatists."

In March and June 1913 two Memorandums for the Independence of Macedonia were submitted to the Russian government; these asserted that "Macedonia should remain a single, indivisible, and independent Balkan state within its geographical, ethnic, historical, economic and cultural borders." During World War I, similar efforts on the part of Macedonian societies and organizations continued to mount. In 1917, in Russia, the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee produced a democratic program that advocated the formation of a Balkan federation that would include not only Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, but also Macedonia as a separate and equal political and territorial entity. Macedonians approached not only the Russians for help, but also the representatives of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 with the same pleas. Unfortunately, attempts by the Macedonian immigrants to influence the European and Balkan powers in their decision-making process did not produce the desired results.

Instead, the Paris Peace Conferences sealed the partition of Macedonia among Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria. In this regard, the pro-Bulgarian branch of IMRO, which supported the inclusion of Macedonia in "Greater Bulgaria," continued to play an increasingly important role in the Vardar and Pirin part of the territory. Its leaders initially declared that the aim of the organization remained the same as before: winning freedom, in the form of autonomy or independence, for Macedonia within its ethnic and economic borders. Using Pirin Macedonia as a base, IMRO became a powerful armed force that initiated a number of incursions into Vardar Macedonia and even Aegean Macedonia. The results were disastrous—the population in Macedonia found itself not only subject to the terror of IMRO but also oppressed by the Serbian and Greek authorities, who cracked down on the region.

At the same time, the Serbian and Bulgarian governments began a forced colonization of their newly acquired territories. In Vardar Macedonia, thousands of Serbian agricultural colonists received lucrative plots of arable land, while the population of Macedonia was left without adequate sustenance. The Serbian government allotted farms to its colonists by appropriating the land of the Turkish population (which gradually started to leave the country due to a rising fear of oppression). The Serbian language was introduced into the schools, and the Macedonian name, vernacular, and culture were banned and suppressed. In the interwar Yugoslav Kingdom, Slav Macedonians were destined to become "South Serbians." The Serbian state employed all possible means to implement its goal.

In the period from 1919 to 1941, Greece adopted several approaches aimed at eradicating the presence of the Slav population from its newly acquired territories. In 1922 Greece compelled the defeated Bulgarian state (Bulgaria had been an ally of the Central Powers in World War I) to sign a Convention for the Exchange of Population. In other words, as there was not a significant number of Greeks in Bulgaria, ethnic cleansing was implemented in Greek Macedonia. Greece simply expelled the Slav population from its new territorial acquisitions in the Balkans. The Western allies, looking to forget the horrors of the war and move on, turned a blind eye to Greek actions. As a result, more than 100,000 Slav Macedonians were forcefully relocated to Bulgaria; their property was confiscated, and they left their ancestral homes as refugees. Greece initially toyed with the idea of providing certain rights to the Slav minority. To this end, a primer in the Macedonian language was printed for the needs of the Macedonian children in Aegean Macedonia. But the Greek government rejected the idea and withdrew the primer before it reached the schools. In addition, Athens resettled more than half a million ethnic Greeks who had fled from Turkey in Macedonian lands. The remaining Slav Macedonians were declared Slavophone Greeks who had to learn again their paternal Greek language and culture, forgotten in the times of Slavic "occupation" of the area (a policy that remained in force in Greece for decades).

The only international organization that accepted the Macedonians as an independent, separate, and distinct national entity was the Communist International (Comintern). In 1934 its Executive Committee approved a motion that recognized Macedonians as a separate nationality with their own language and distinct culture. This document furthermore charged that the partitioning powers were determined to suppress and eradicate any expression of Macedonian national individuality in order to carry out their expansionistic plans. It asserted the continuity of Macedonian national development and provided the Macedonian national movement with a new international dimension, which in turn led to the codification of the Macedonian vernacular and the establishment of an indigenous literature.

The full circle of the Macedonian national development and affirmation was completed at the First Session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) on 2 August 1944. But first, following German expansion into the Balkans in April 1941, Vardar Macedonia was divided between Bulgaria and Italy, with the former occupying four-fifths and the latter one-fifth of the territory. In fact, however, the armed struggle of the Macedonian people against the fascist regimes took place on the entire Macedonian territory, namely in Pirin, Vardar, and Aegean Macedonia. During 1941, a number of Partisan detachments were established as a part of the Macedonian National Liberation Army. By 1943, certain free territories had been created, mainly on the territories occupied by Italy. In October 1943 the first Allied (British) Military Mission visited the liberated territories in western Macedonia, which represented the first international recognition of the Macedonian national liberation movement. By the end of the war, the Macedonian National Liberation Army numbered over 56,000 soldiers. More than 25,000 Macedonian recruits were killed during the war. A complete system of government was created on the liberated and semi-liberated territory, which together with the Liberation Army represented the foundations of the modern Macedonian state.

On the basis of the inviolable, permanent, and inalienable right of the people to self-determination, the establishment of the modern Macedonian state was proclaimed at the First Session of ASNOM, held on 2 August 1944. The Macedonian state was established only on the territory of Vardar Macedonia; Aegean and Pirin Macedonia remained integral parts of Greece and Bulgaria respectively. The assembly passed a number of resolutions in which ASNOM was proclaimed the supreme legislative and executive national representative body; the Macedonian language was proclaimed the official language of the Macedonian state; and the citizens of Macedonia, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, were guaranteed all civil rights, as well as the right to their mother tongue and faith.

ASNOM actually marked the beginning of the legal and constitutional existence of Macedonia as a constituent and integral part of the Yugoslav federation. At the outset, the Macedonian state bore the name Democratic Federate Macedonia. After the proclamation of Yugoslavia as a Federal People's Republic at the session of the Constitutional Assembly of Yugoslavia on 29 November 1945, the Macedonian state adopted the name People's Republic of Macedonia. This name was also established in its first constitution, adopted by the Constitutional Assembly of the People's Republic of Macedonia on 31 December 1946. In accordance with the constitution of 7 April 1963, the name was changed to the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. On 7 June 1991, the Macedonian National Assembly passed a constitutional amendment deleting the designation "Socialist" from the state's name and thus created the present name of the country: the Republic of Macedonia. During this period, the Macedonian people further strengthened their national identity, and the Republic of Macedonia obtained broad international affirmation and recognition. The modern world accepted the reality of the existence of the Macedonian people and its state within the framework of the Yugoslav federal community. However, this situation existed only in Vardar Macedonia.

The situation was markedly different in Aegean Macedonia, which remained under Greek control. By the end of 1944, at the moment of the liberation from the German occupation, Greece stood in need of a new constitutional, social, and national order. The factions that vied for political influence over the state promoted their particular agendas with an exclusiveness and mistrust that destroyed any chance for genuine compromise and reconciliation. The Partisan movement, which had gained significant respect among the population for its guerrilla actions against the German occupiers during the war, was to a great extent controlled by the Communist Party (KKE). It was, however, effectively disarmed, pursuant to the Varkiza agreement of February 1945. This enabled the right-wing forces to gain the upper hand, bring the king back to the throne, and start a political persecution of the pro-Soviet elements. The dissatisfaction on the part of the leftist Partisan leaders, a part of the population, and the repressed Slav Macedonian minority, resulted in an insurrection that led Greece into a bloody and lengthy civil war. By the end of the summer of 1949, the hostilities had ended with the defeat of the communists. During the conflict, and especially during its last stages, tens of thousands of people fled from Greece, ending up as refugees in Yugoslavia, Albania, and the countries of the former Soviet bloc. A unique phenomenon occurred during the exile of the population: over 25,000 children were separated from their families and transported across the borders into the neighboring countries, many of them later scattered throughout other Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. In the aftermath of the Greek Civil War, many others emigrated to Western Europe, North America, and Australia.

Mass evacuation, as a deliberate part of military strategy during the conflict, was used first by the monarchist side. Its purpose was to cut off the insurrectionists, led by their military organization, ELAS (People's Liberation Army), from its sources of food and to make recruiting more difficult for them. This policy was feasible because the monarchists controlled enough relatively safe areas in which the refugees could be temporarily housed. They also started forcibly to gather children under the guise of saving them. These children were then sent to various regions in Greece (particularly the Greek islands). By April 1947, approximately 14,500 children had been separated from their parents. The details of the actions of the monarchist government and the fate of the children taken into its custody are mostly unknown; the Greeks withheld all information, and the United Nations never investigated the matter.

By late 1947, the civil war in Greece had entered its most intense phase. Incessant Greek monarchist army attacks focused heavily in the frontier region where the Slav Macedonian minority lived. Scores of children died of malnutrition, disease, and injuries. However, ELAS did not control an area within the frontiers of Greece where any large number of refugees could be accommodated. The extreme difficulty in providing adequate supplies for the soldiers as well as for the general population was a powerful argument for evacuating the most vulnerable and least useful individuals. In this regard, some action was called for to save the children in the war zone from its hardships.

Toward the end of 1947, ELAS made an appeal to the governments of the people's republics in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to offer refuge, at least on a temporary basis, to the children from the increasingly exposed areas of Aegean Macedonia. A commission was established for this purpose, composed of cultural and educational officers from the resistance organizations. Not surprisingly, a Slav Macedonian, Lazo Angelovski, was its director. The members of this body visited the villages under the control of the ELAS and acquainted the population with its mission. Parents were asked to volunteer for the program of evacuation of minors. It was agreed that children under the age of three years should stay with their mothers, while the rest should be moved from the war zone to the countries of East Central Europe and the Soviet Union. Parents who agreed to be separated from their offspring confirmed their participation by signing formal agreements.

According to statistics published by the United Nations, which relied on documents prepared by the United Nations' Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB), between 25,000 and 28,000 children left Northern Greece in 1948–1949 and were resettled in various Eastern European countries. And children were not the only ones who sought safety in the countries controlled by communist regimes. The total number of refugees from Greece that fled into the Soviet bloc surpassed 100,000. As a result, both the parents and their children ended up as displaced persons, though often in different camps and countries. The UNSCOB report confirms that the villages with a Slav Macedonian population were in general far more willing to let their children be evacuated. Their decision was guided by the experiences of the past, when various Greek governments attempted to assimilate them, employing brutal police force to accomplish this task. At the same time, the willingness of ELAS to recognize the national rights of the Slav Macedonian population, establish schools in their Slav Macedonian vernacular, and provide a certain level of local self-government caused the members of this ethnic group to join the ranks of the Liberation Army. In addition, ELAS effectively controlled only parts of northern Greece, where the Slav Macedonians represented a clear majority. Therefore, the majority of children sent to the countries of the Soviet bloc had a Slav Macedonian origin and spoke their native Slav vernacular.

The Greek Civil War and its effect upon the Macedonian Slav population in many ways represent a microcosm of the political and ideological clashes that after World War II marked not only Greek and Balkan history, but the history of the Cold War world as well. Children affected in different ways by the war found themselves in the center of the ideological struggle. They became the victims of the complex conflict in Greece and remained the most vulnerable long after the cessation of military operations in 1949.

Yugoslavia, which strongly supported the attempts by the communist-led ELAS to overthrow the monarchy, was instrumental in the process of evacuating the children to the countries of the Soviet bloc. Only Yugoslavia and Albania had an effective territorial contact with the areas in Greece controlled by the Liberation Army. As a way of fulfilling humanitarian and internationalist obligations, Yugoslavia accepted children who were transported to its territory from the rebel areas. It accepted around 11,000 children, 2,000 of which were placed in homes specially established for this occasion. Of the ten special homes, most were in Serbia (primarily in Vojvodina), Croatia, and Slovenia. The Yugoslav Red Cross managed these institutions, which in the early postwar years (which were accompanied by frequent famines and political instability) barely met the most basic living standards. The remaining 9,000 children were placed in families in Macedonia. At the same time, over 14,000 children were transported through Yugoslav territory to the various East Central European countries. In addition to the 11,000 individuals who remained in Yugoslavia, Albania harbored 2,000, Bulgaria 2,660, Hungary 3,000, Poland 3,000, Romania 3,801, and Czechoslovakia 2,235.

It is extremely difficult to trace the destinies of the refugees in all these countries. Part of the problem in the past was the closed archives, both in the former members of the Soviet bloc and in Greece, as well as the animosities between the various players. The United Nations, in October 1948, called for the reunification of the displaced victims with their parents. As frequently happens with the decisions of this organization, the practical results of the UN declaration were few and insufficient, because the problem was not purely humanitarian or nonpolitical. In addition, the lists of the refugee children were assembled in haste and were often mixed and misplaced during the transport, while their ages caused difficulties in the process of finding reliable information about the parents. Greece, which most vehemently insisted on the repatriation, often supplied misleading data. Consequently, the repatriation process, which was strongly supported by Yugoslavia in the early 1950s as a result of its break with the Soviet bloc in 1948, had meager effects: less than six hundred children were reunited with their families in Greece by the end of 1952, though the process did continue in the following years.

The overwhelming majority of these minors remained in exile. In the light of existing political tensions, even today it is almost impossible to track their lives and wanderings. The destiny of the ones who remained in Yugoslavia was at first influenced by the Tito-Stalin split. The children who stayed in the foster homes controlled by Belgrade were exposed to an ideology in which the principle of "socialist pedagogy" was applied. They were drawn into the conflict about their nationality and language. Their teachers, influenced by the decisions of the Greek Communist Party, accepted the Stalinist arguments during the breakdown in relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union in 1948. As a result, Yugoslavia expelled them, replacing them with ideologically and politically loyal instructors. The existing division between the refugees of Slav and Greek ethnic background, the removal of their former instructors, the abysmal living conditions, youthful frustration, and disappointment with their position now produced a wave of revolts in the foster homes. The children demanded to be transferred to other Eastern European countries loyal to the Soviet Union, expressing support for the communist cause in its Stalinist form. The Yugoslav State Security Police (UDB) suppressed these insurrections.

With the improvement in relations between the countries of the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia in the mid-1950s, several hundred of these refugees, who had by now come of age, started to move, curiously enough, toward the colonies of Greek expatriates in Tashkent and Alma Ata in the Soviet Union, as well as to Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. It seems, however, that many of them continued to live in their new countries, graduated from various schools, found jobs, married, and fitted in more or less successfully to their new surroundings.

Some of them, it is known, continued their emigrant odyssey. By the 1970s, hundreds of individuals from the countries of the Soviet bloc had moved into the Republic of Macedonia, a federal unit of the Yugoslav federation; the more relaxed political climate in Yugoslavia proved to be an attractive magnet for the refugees. Disillusioned by the Soviet experience, a number of young adults who had earlier moved to Tashkent now came to Macedonia. Many of them used this opportunity as a first step to move to the West. For example, more than 550 child refugees of Slav Macedonian descent moved to Australia. Still, the question remains why the majority of the displaced persons went to the Republic of Macedonia and did not return to Greece, even after the latter declared and enacted full amnesty in the early 1980s. The problem was that the Greek state denied repatriation of the ethnic Slav Macedonians to their homes and the right to reclaim their citizenship and property. (In 1982 and again in 1985, the Greek parliament passed several laws that allowed only political émigrés who were "Greek by origin," that is, ethnic Greeks, to return and regain their possessions.) This official attitude of Athens mobilized the émigrés to demand the recognition of their ethnic and minority rights by the Greek government.

The plight of the Macedonian refugees in many respects is a metaphor for the struggle for Macedonian independence. If World War II began the process of the end of colonialism and the development of national self-determination, for Macedonians this development required the end of another conflict, the Cold War. Only then could an independent Macedonian political entity become a reality. Until then, "Macedonia" remained divided between Yugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria, with no completely independent state bearing the name. Only in Yugoslavia did a Macedonian political unit exist (as one of the republics in the Yugoslav federation), but, fittingly, it was one of the least important and most overlooked regions in the Yugoslav state. It was not until the 1990s that a national anthem, composed in 1943 by Vlado Maleski, a poet from Struga, and later adopted as the anthem of the Yugoslav Macedonian republic, truly proclaimed Macedonia's independence.

Denes nad Makedonija se ragja	Today over Macedonia
Novo sonce na slobodata,	A new sun of freedom rises,
Makedoncite se borat	Macedonians fight
Za svoite pravdini,	For their rights,
Makedoncite se borat	Macedonians fight
Za svoite pravdini!	For their rights!
Odnovo sega znameto se vee	Now once again flies

Na Kruševskata Republika
Goce Delčev, Pitu Guli,
Dame Gruev, Sandanski.
Goce Delčev, Pitu Guli,
Dame Gruev, Sandanski!
Gorite Makedonski šumno peat
Novi pesni, novi vesnici,
Makedonija slobodna
Slobodna živee!

The flag of the Kruševo Republic,
Goce Delèev, Pitu Guli,
Dame Gruev, Sandanski.
Goce Delèev, Pitu Guli,
Dame Gruev, Sandanski!
The Macedonian
woodlands sing brightly
New songs, new awakenings.
Free Macedonia
Lives free.
Free Macedonia lives free.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The gradual collapse of SKJ (Communist Union of Yugoslavia) and the slow and painful disintegration of Yugoslavia, along with the rapid democratization process in Slovenia and Croatia, influenced the democratic processes in the Republic of Macedonia. The SKM (Communist Union of Macedonia) simply had no choice but to step down voluntarily and to agree not to be the sole politically organized force in Macedonia. In less than six months, from March to September 1990, more than thirty political parties and movements were established in Macedonia. Their membership, with rare exceptions, consisted of Macedonians only. However, it was quite obvious that most of the thirty political parties in the upcoming first free elections in 1990 would just be part of the decor. It furthermore became apparent that ethnic Macedonian votes would be divided among three political parties: SKM (Communist Union of Macedonia); SRS (Union of Reform Forces), a pro-Yugoslav party led by the last and most popular Yugoslav prime minister, Ante Marković; and VMRO-DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization–Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity). The only question was how many votes each of these parties was going to win.

It seemed clear that these Macedonian parties would win the first parliamentary elections in Macedonia, but they were scarcely united among themselves. The majority membership of VMRO advocated an independent Macedonia throughout the whole period of the campaign. The basis of their election program was the constant emphasis on their cause of making the Republic of Macedonia the state of the Macedonian people. SKM took the opposite side on the issue, advocating the preservation of the Yugoslav federation, but with serious amendments to the Federal Constitution in favor of the republics (with special attention given to democratization of foreign policy). The members of the sole Yugoslav party in Macedonia, SRS, also advocated the preservation of the Yugoslav federation, with special attention given to strengthening the market economy in Yugoslavia and canceling barriers between the republics.

The Albanian portion of the population established two political parties (the Democratic Prosperity Party and the National Democratic Party). The National Democratic Party never managed to develop into a serious political force; it created a coalition with PDP (the Democratic Prosperity Party). This coalition sent a clear and serious message that the Albanian sector, through political homogenization, would make an attempt to achieve a significant presence in the first Macedonian parliament in order to achieve its program objectives.

The behavior of the leadership of PDP should be seen within the context of the overall relations in the Albanian political movement within the territory of federal Yugoslavia. Kosovo, whose population was preponderantly Albanian, and which had for a time experienced a degree of autonomy within the Yugoslav federation, was until 1998 controlled by a Serbian state that implemented repressive methods against Albanians. The clash between Serb and Croat interests in Bosnia-Hercegovina, together with the oppression of Bosnian Muslims, seemed to suggest that the Serbs would not allow any rights to its minorities. These two developments, along with the long-standing Serb desire to control the Vardar Valley, made Macedonian Albanians feel that if Macedonia remained in a Serb-controlled Yugoslavia they would be discriminated against. They also feared that the Macedonian majority would oppress them. Therefore, Albanian politicians in Macedonia chose to advocate a separate political identity in Macedonia; this new Albanian state would be called "Illyrida." This advocacy was interpreted by part of the Macedonian population as a sign of disloyalty toward the Republic of Macedonia.

The verbal political propaganda and the terminology used in the pre-election period, as well as the events that took place in the other Yugoslav republics, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, had a direct impact not only on Macedonian-Albanian relations in the Republic of Macedonia, but also on the relations within the Macedonian political parties. The closer the time came for voting, the more obvious it became that the Albanians would only vote for the coalition of PDP and NDP. While the Albanians experienced a growing unity, the division and degree of mutual animosity within the Macedonian ethnic block, between SKM and SRS (which advocated a federalist option) and VMRO (which advocated full separation), gradually increased.

Given that a majority vote was required to win in these elections, the results of the first round of voting were not surprising. In the predominantly Albanian areas, the unified Albanian party was able to win a majority and gain seats. In many of the predominantly ethnic Macedonian areas, no candidate won a majority. The result was that in the first round, the Albanian party, the PDP-NDP, actually won a majority of the seats that were decided in that round.

Where no one won a majority (that is, in the ethnic Macedonian areas), generally either SKM or SRS candidates came in first, with VMRO either second or third. It thus seemed obvious that even VMRO's powerful rhetoric had not resulted in serious inroads in city and rural areas. At the same time, it is clear that it was not only party affiliation that influenced voters in the first round; the personalities and roles of the candidates were also very significant. SRS and SKM selected candidates who were prominent doctors and directors of the biggest enterprises in the districts in which they stood for election. Due to the structure of its membership, which mainly consisted of people left on the margins of society and repressed throughout the whole communist period, VMRO did not have candidates who could stand on an equal footing with the candidates from the other two leading ethnic Macedonian parties. That contrast also suggests the serious economic interests that lay behind the political struggle. The idea of an independent Macedonia implied restructuring the communist class structure, which the ruling elites wanted to avoid doing. Still, in ethnically mixed environments such as Macedonia, economic and social interests often have less impact on citizens and their voting practices than other factors. The results from the second round were an indication of this.

What had the most impact on the voting in the second round was the victory of the Albanian coalition in the first round. The arrival of an Albanian on a white horse celebrating the victory of the PDP in the streets of Tetovo in predominantly Albanian western Macedonia brought Macedonia to the brink of civil war. Ethnic Macedonians were horrified by the power that seemed about to be won by what they saw as a separatist party and were almost ready to join in a war to defeat this threat to the unity of their state. Moreover, the results from the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where the national parties had won and the SRS party and the Communist Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina had been defeated, influenced the outcome of the elections in Macedonia by greatly strengthening the cause of independence. After the second round, VMRO acquired a plurality of the seats in the parliament, a total of thirty-eight. In addition, SKM acquired thirty-one, PDP-NDP twenty-three, and SRS twenty-five.

Despite this marked increase in votes for VMRO, the results of the election indicated very clearly that the majority of ethnic Macedonians still saw membership in the Yugoslav federation as the most secure way of balancing interethnic relations and maintaining acquired benefits. Regardless of how hard VMRO-DPMNE tried to create the illusion that it was the sole protector of the interests of the Macedonian ethnic group, still many did not hold it to be very reliable. VMRO-DPMNE's occasional use of warrior rhetoric could not compensate for its disadvantages, such as the lack of human resources for handling (even with violence) the impending Albanian danger (as they typically referred to it).

Even with strong factors in their favor, the allocation of seats in the first free multiparty parliament indicated clearly that the pro-Yugoslav forces were not in a position to impose their political will, although together they had a plurality of seats in the unicameral parliament (56 out of 120). They not only had to form a coalition between themselves, but they then had to form another coalition, either with the Albanian political block or with VMRO-DPMNE, in order to form a government. At the same time, VMRO-DPMNE found itself in a situation where the only suitable partner for creating a coalition was the former Communist Party (SKM), whose members were less inclined to keep Macedonia in the Yugoslav federation than SRS. For VMRO-DPMNE, any coalition relationship with the Albanian political block or with SRS would have meant abandoning their own political platform completely. As a result, the difficulty of forming workable coalitions was such that a situation was created in which it seemed that all relevant political forces had to forge a minimum mutual understanding in the interest of the stability of the Republic of Macedonia and the security of its citizens.

After the presidential elections, all political parties supported the idea of forming an "expert" government. The idea was a failure, as this government was supported by everybody and nobody; it did not survive the passing of the new constitution a few months later. Moreover, the main issue was not settled: whether Macedonia would declare its independence or remain in the Yugoslav federation.

The proclamation of independence on the part of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia in 1991, in addition to the resulting military conflicts in the northern and western parts of the former Yugoslav state, pushed the Republic of Macedonia toward declaring independence. The federalists (SKM and SRS) in the Macedonian parliament, the largest political bloc, had no more arguments at their disposal to confront the pressures from the separatist VMRO-DPMNE. The delay in coming to a decision to hold a referendum on independence was simply a tactic for winning time to define the contents of the referendum question in order to preserve political positions. By peaceful and democratic means, Macedonia asserted its independence from the Yugoslav federation during the period between January and November 1991. This process may be seen as having occurred in three stages: the promulgation of the Sovereignty Declaration in January 1991 by the newly constituted and democratically elected parliament; the holding of a referendum on independence in September 1991; and the establishment of a new constitution in November 1991.

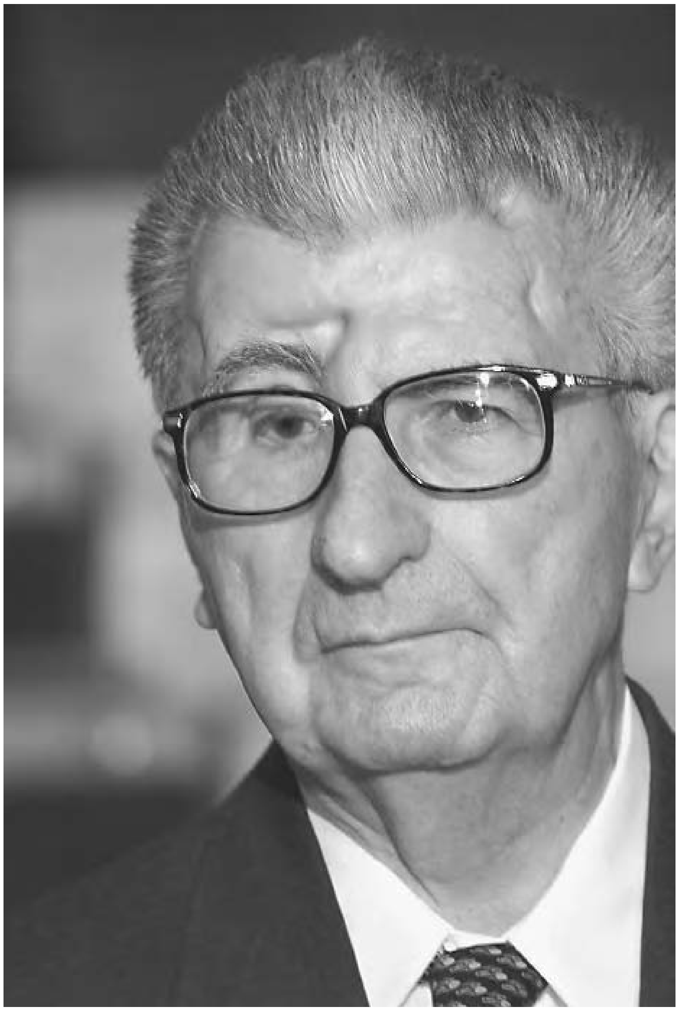
The January declaration generally stipulated that in case the problematic issues among the six republics in the Yugoslav federation remained unresolved and were further aggravated, or the sovereignty of Macedonia was jeopardized, the republic would declare independence. During the September referendum, attended by 75.74 percent of the electorate, 95.26 percent supported this decision. The results from the September 1991 referendum clearly indicated that most of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia saw their future in an independent state. The fifty-year political (and at times repressive) conflict between the federalists and the separatists was finally concluded with victory for the latter. Attention was then directed toward the constitutional regulation of the Republic of Macedonia. Due to the ethnic structure of the population, this issue was even more significant for the internal stability of the country.

The Albanian political parties, both in the parliament and on the referendum, refused to support the independence of the Republic of Macedonia. Their rationale was very simple: they would not support an independent Republic of Macedonia without guarantees that in the new state they would not be second-class citizens. Their stance led to new, even harsher political struggles. It was very obvious that VMRO-DPMNE would make the Macedonian language and culture dominant and exclusive in the new state, while minority rights would be suppressed. On the other hand, the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia (SDSM, as the formerly communist SKM was now known) and SRS, in accordance with their own objectives, advocated a nonnationalistic constitution. This position did not attract much support from ethnic Macedonians. It also was not enough for the Albanian political bloc in the coalition, which was demanding that the Republic of Macedonia be defined as the State of the Macedonian and Albanian Peoples and calling for the use of both languages at all levels in the Republic of Macedonia.

As the Macedonian parties were unable to meet the Albanian requirements for support, there was no chance of concluding an agreement between SDSM, SRS, and PDP-NDP and obtaining the necessary two-thirds majority for passing the new constitution (as the existing laws required). As a result, the Macedonian political parties, one way or another, had to find a way to cooperate with each other in order to adopt a constitution that would reflect a compromise; and they did. The Albanian political parties simply were given the choice of either accepting or refusing the compromise that resulted. In essence, the compromise brought a modern civic constitution that asserted the dominant role of the Macedonian language and culture in society. Unlike VMRO-DPMNE (which accepted the compromise with a sinking heart), PDP-NDP did not participate in the voting.

Regardless of how much justification there was for such a decision, this move did not improve the interethnic relations in the Republic of Macedonia. Moreover, it was an act that was remembered and brought forward in any subsequent dispute between the Macedonians and Albanians. It also provided the Albanians with political fodder and justification for their armed insurrection in 2001. In effect, the refusal on the part of the PDP to support the referendum and the constitution initiated the process of political erosion that erupted in a violent conflict ten years later.

The adoption of the first democratic constitution that defined the Republic of Macedonia as a state of its citizens marked the third step in the nonviolent political transformation of the country. The road to establishing the first political government was open, especially since in the phase of adopting the constitution it became apparent that both SDSM and SRS had gradually developed a closer relationship with each other, as well as with the leading Albanian party. Another important factor in making it possible to establish a government was the nature of the man who held the position of president. Seasoned former federal Yugoslav politician Kiro Gligorov was able to acquire the personal support of the parliamentary groups of the former federalists, as well as the favor of most of the members of the Albanian parliamentary group, and so to arbitrate the establishment of the first political government. His shaping of a political parliamentary majority composed of SDSM, the former SRS (now renamed the Liberal Party), and the small socialist party, as well as the Albanian political parties, assured a politically stable government and gave additional power to the personal position of the president vis-à-vis the parliament. Thus the role of President Gligorov was crucial in the political development in the country; he continued to play a crucial role during the second multiparty elections in 1994.



Portrait of Macedonian president Kiro Gligorov, in Skopje. (AFP/Getty Images)

In the 1994 elections, the coalition built by Gligorov was in the end completely victorious, and the opposition parties, especially VMRO-DPMNE, contributed to the coalition's victory by boycotting the second round of elections. International observers did not support the opposition's claim that the ruling parties had tampered with the results of the first round. Accordingly, the results from the elections were validated, and the second parliament of the Republic of Macedonia was formed without an opposition. The consequences of this situation have continued to be difficult to overcome. The absence of the opposition from the parliament enabled concentration of power in the hands of a small party elite composed of the former federalists. Constitutional violations, bribery and corruption, and numerous financial scandals, along with the already established system of patronage and blatant nepotism, made it more difficult for the Republic of Macedonia to move on with the critical process of becoming integrated into Europe. Even more

Kiro Gligorov

Just as Krste Petkov Misirkov's life illustrates the wanderings of Macedonian intellectuals and the challenges that they met at the turn of the twentieth century, the life of Kiro Gligorov, the first president of the independent Republic of Macedonia, embodies the national and ideological pressures that the Macedonian people had to endure through the course of the twentieth century.

Gligorov was born in 1917 in Štip in Vardar Macedonia, a territory controlled by the Bulgarian military at the height of World War I. In 1918 his town became a part of the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later renamed Yugoslavia). Gligorov finished high school in Skopje and university in Belgrade. After graduation, he returned to Skopje to work as an attorney for a bank. With the outbreak of World War II, he found himself again in territory annexed by Bulgaria.

His star began to rise with the fall of the Bulgarian fascist regime and the communist takeover of Yugoslavia. He participated in the antifascist struggle during World War II, as well as in the most important meeting in modern Macedonian history: the antifascist Assembly of the National Liberation Movement of Macedonia (ASNOM). In 1944–1945 he became a member of its Presidium in charge of finances. Gligorov further elevated his status by becoming a member of the antifascist Assembly of the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), the governing body of the communist-controlled federal state. In the years that followed, he was assistant general secretary of the federal Yugoslav government (1945–1947), assistant minister of finance (1952–1953), and federal secretary of finance (1962–1967). At the beginning of the 1970s, he was elected as a member of the Yugoslav presidency (1974–1978), and as president of the Yugoslav federal parliament. In 1978 his signature sealed the last Yugoslav constitution, which led to decentralization of the federal state, to the transfer of power to the hands of local communist bosses and leaders, and finally to the dissolution of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). He then gracefully retired for the next twelve years.

As elected president of the Macedonian state in the period from 1991 to 1999, Kiro Gligorov masterfully orchestrated the peaceful separation of the republic from the crumbling Yugoslav federation. He is to be credited with the fact that Macedonia became the only part of the former federation to acquire full independence without bloodshed, without conflict with the Serbian-controlled army. Moreover, his cunning diplomatic skills brought international recognition of the new republic and its admission to the United Nations, despite the Greek campaign aimed at undermining and isolating the new Macedonian state. He also steered Macedonia away from the internal conflict that plagued much of the former Yugoslav state. In October 1995 an assassination attempt was made on his life with the aim of destabilizing Macedonia. The bomb killed his chauffeur, but the seventy-eight-year-old president survived the attack (although he lost an eye as a result of the blast). He resumed his functions, then withdrew from political life in 1999. He recently published his memoirs. In many polls, he is still the most popular politician in the country.

The importance of Kiro Gligorov in maintaining stability in Macedonia seems underscored by the troubles that have befallen the country since he retired in 1999—although perhaps he cannot escape all responsibility, since he did not use his power to address the underlying problems when he was in office.

importantly, these problems prevented any significant foreign investment of the kind that was instrumental in the development of many Eastern European countries. Moreover, the coalition government utterly failed to resolve the ethnic tension between the Macedonians and Albanians.

As a consequence, the conflicts between the government and the Albanians multiplied and intensified. The main Albanian parties were participating in the government as equal coalition partners, but a separate Albanian party emerged that advocated the resolution of the main unresolved grievances. The pro-government media portrayed this party as a radical anti-Macedonian warmongering party, a counterpart of VMRO-DPMNE, which was going to push the country into a civil war. The third free multi-party elections were fast approaching, and the government's propaganda machinery intended to send a message to the electorate that the only way to prevent the events of Bosnia from spreading to the Republic of Macedonia was to keep in power the former communists and federalists.

Several months before the third parliamentary elections, a new political party formed, led by the last Macedonian representative of the former Yugoslav presidency, Vasil Tupurkovski. Members of the old communist apparatus who had not participated actively in the political life of the country since 1990 became Tupurkovski's closest political collaborators. Because Tupurkovski was associated with the former Yugoslav federation, this new political creation was acceptable to an electorate that had traditionally supported the former federalists. VMRO-DPMNE joined Tupurkovski, and in this way softened its image as a radical party, making it also more acceptable to the electorate. For the first time, the Macedonian public had strong coalitions that presented two political options: former communists and new nationalists. An even greater pre-election surprise was the public announcement by VMRO-DPMNE that it would not try to impose ethnic Macedonian nationalism.In their official party programs, as well as in the campaigns of the party leaders, the new coalition members expressed agreement with a liberal approach to individual and collective human rights. As the electorate was tired of the nepotism and corruption of the government parties, it accepted the Tupurkovski–VMRO-DPMNE coalition with a renewed hope for change. As a result, in the third parliamentary elections, the ruling parties were ousted from power; most importantly, the new Albanian party joined Tupurkovski and VMRO-DPMNE in forming the new cabinet. This peaceful transition, especially given the presence of the new Albanian party in the victorious coalition, was a very clear sign that the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia had managed to win three big victories in less than ten years of peaceful transformation. They had resolved the conflict between those who wanted to remain part of a larger Yugoslavia and those who wanted independence, and they had embraced peaceful, legal means of interethnic conflict resolution.

Despite the people's high hopes, however, the new coalition failed to keep its promises; the new leaders started to rule the country like a medieval fiefdom. The new coalition partners' pursuit of fast financial enrichment, together with the de facto division of Macedonia into an Albanian and a Macedonian part, ruled by the governmental Albanian and Macedonian parties respectively, disillusioned an electorate that had overwhelmingly expected positive changes and an end to corruption. Despite this division of the country, interethnic tensions did not improve. Rather they became so serious that an actual civil war resulted in Macedonia. These tensions remain the most serious problem faced by the Republic; accordingly, the war and its causes and results will be discussed in the final section, "Contemporary Challenges." The result of the failures of the Tupurkovski–VMRO-DPMNE coalition, which consistently blamed the former communists for all its problems, was their total defeat in the fourth parliamentary elections in 2002. Tupurkovski's party vanished from the political scene, and VMRO-DPMNE received less than two dozen seats in the 120-member parliament. Their Albanian coalition partner shared their fate. After the election, SDSM came back with a vengeance, imprisoning and persecuting the leading figures of the defeated opposition parties.

At the same time that the difficult internal process of shaping a democratic political future for the state unfolded, the matter of Macedonian independence became an international issue that threatened stability in the region. In the midst of the crisis in Southeastern Europe, under exceptionally difficult circumstances, Macedonia was the only republic from the former Yugoslav federation to have gained independence without bloodshed. Yet the country immediately found itself in the unenviable position of having failed to gain full international recognition, even though its independence was widely acknowledged and its borders were not disputed. After a protracted period of diplomatic struggle, described in what follows, Macedonia was accepted as a member of the world community. However, a number of foreign relations issues remained unresolved, which still render the international standing of this newly independent state fragile and problematic.

To understand this international aspect of Macedonia's problems, it is essential to go back to the first stages of international involvement. The inability of the members of the Yugoslav federation to find a peaceful solution to their problems was recognized by the European Community (EC) Council, which on 16 December 1991 in Brussels declared that the European Community and its members agree "to recognize the independence of all Yugoslav Republics" (Türk 73). The Council further appointed a special commission, under the presidency of Robert Badinter, which had to examine the claims of the Yugoslav republics to independence and present an assessment before 15 January 1992. On the basis of the ruling of this commission, the EC committed itself to recognizing the "successful applicants" from the former Yugoslav federation. For its part, the Macedonian assembly, with its Declaration of 19 December 1991, asked for full international recognition. On 6 January 1992, the assembly also promulgated two constitutional amendments that explicitly renounced any future territorial aspirations. These amendments were aimed at reassuring Greece that Macedonia had no intention of creating problems among Greece's Slav population. Moreover, after the signing of the February Agreement between the Macedonian government and the former Yugoslav army, Yugoslav troops had left the republic by 15 March 1992. On the basis of the political, social, ethnic, and juridical situation in the republic, the Badinter Commission declared on 11 January 1991 that Macedonia met the requirements for full international recognition.

In its meeting on 15 January 1992, however, the EC, despite its solemn declarations and commitment to the rule of law, did not follow the recommendation of the commission; it failed to recognize Macedonia as an independent state. Greece, a member of the European Union (EU), represented the main impediment to the recognition of the republic, claiming that this state had usurped the name Macedonia, which rightly belonged to Greek heritage and could not therefore be used by other countries. This southern neighbor of Macedonia demanded as a condition for its recognition of the new state that the republic refrain from using the name Macedonia, either internally or externally.

The part Greece has played in the controversy over what the Republic of Macedonia should be called has its origins in both foreign and domestic considerations. In Greece, where economic decline has rendered people generally more receptive to intensified chauvinistic rhetoric, nationalists, curiously enough led by the foreign minister, Andonis Samaras, decried the adoption of the name "Republic of Macedonia" by the new state to the north. A groundswell of popular anger grew in Greece, and the prime minister, Constantine Mitsotakis, faced a political crisis in 1991 as a result. He evidently chose to adopt the nationalist line in order to preserve the government. Gradually he became more moderate, a change in orientation that was probably given impetus by adverse world reaction to the Greek position, and perhaps the realization that a confrontation on this issue could have devastating consequences not only for Macedonia, but for Greece and the Balkans as a whole.

For the Macedonians in the republic, the question of the country's name was directly tied to national identity. In the heat of their nationalist and anti-Greek fervor, the Macedonians adopted signs and symbols that the Greeks associated with their national heritage. Among them was the emblem that in 1992 formed the centerpiece of the Macedonian republic's flag: a motif from a casket found at the site of Philip of Macedon's grave in Vergina. Moreover, a number of articles in the Macedonian press asserted that the modern Macedonians were in fact descendants of the ancient Macedonians, and thus Alexander the Great.

Greeks feared that the next step in such an argument would be the claim that what was Alexander's—namely, northern Greece—should belong to today's Macedonians. The government of Macedonia, however, stood firm in its repudiation of any irredentist design on Greece. Greeks also feared Macedonia's potential for stirring up irredentist yearnings among the Slavic-speaking minority in northern Greece, whom the Greek government officially called Slavophone Greeks, and whose ethnic, national, and human rights had been violated in the aftermath of the Greek Civil War. The Greeks' fears were puzzling, both to Macedonians and to a number of foreign political scientists. How, they asked, could a landlocked country with an ethnically and linguistically mixed population of approximately 2 million people, which at the same time was economically impoverished and without an army and military equipment, jeopardize the ethnically homogeneous Greek state of 10 million people, a member of the EU and NATO?

Nevertheless, Athens successfully lobbied against recognition of Macedonia by the European Community and the United States. No EU member challenged Greece on the Macedonian issue, thus preserving an aura of solidarity in the Western alliance. Under strong Greek pressure, the EU position was officially laid out in the Lisbon Declaration on 27 July 1992, when the EU foreign ministers declined to recognize Macedonia until Greek demands were met. Denial of recognition left Macedonia, the poorest of the former Yugoslav republics, ineligible for critically needed financial assistance from world organizations, including the International Monetary Fund, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the World Bank. Moreover, the economic embargo imposed by Greece's unilateral closure of its border with Macedonia, as well as the UN sanctions on rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), left Macedonia, a landlocked state, on the brink of total economic, social, and political collapse. Furthermore, the Lisbon Declaration brought despair and disorientation to the Macedonian politicians and people. In those circumstances, the center of power in the republic, and especially foreign relations, gradually shifted toward the president, Kiro Gligorov. It was he who guided the country along the sometimes tortuous path to international recognition. Gligorov actually became the central figure who managed to keep the ship of state afloat, without serious internal upheavals.

Fearing the total breakdown of the country in the aftermath of the Lisbon Declaration, Gligorov became extremely adept at his pursuit of recognition and needed international aid. His recurring theme was that Macedonia had gained its independence peacefully and legally, had stayed out of the wars of Yugoslav succession, had secured interethnic peace, had carried out democratic and economic reforms, and had fulfilled the conditions for recognition laid down by the EU and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He repeatedly pointed out that Macedonia renounced territorial claims on other states, proclaiming that the Republic did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbors. Gligorov also stated that he was willing to enter into a bilateral agreement with Greece, guaranteeing the inviolability of borders and establishing friendship and cooperation. At the same time, he shifted the country's external efforts toward the admission of Macedonia into the United Nations, an organization that did not function in the same unsympathetic manner as the EU and where the Western European supporters of Macedonian recognition had more space for diplomatic maneuvers.

The conciliatory assertions of the president and, even more importantly, the mounting instability in Southeastern Europe placed the Western European countries in a difficult position. They realized that an unstable Macedonia could open the door to old irredentist territorial aspirations on the part of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia. The Western European countries needed to decide whether withholding recognition of Macedonia would create another Bosnia, or worse, and whether granting recognition would begin a process of Balkan healing by enabling the nascent country to receive financial aid and thus have an opportunity to establish some degree of economic stability. Having been scarred by the Bosnian example, European and U.S. politicians were understandably worried. As a result of the peaceful and pragmatic diplomacy of the Macedonian president and the concern about peace in the region, France, the United Kingdom, and Spain decided to break the deadlock between Greece and Macedonia by finding a temporary solution with a compromise name.

On 8 April 1993 Macedonia was finally admitted to the United Nations under the temporary name "the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" (FYROM). After its recognition by the United Nations and subsequent incorporation into a number of international financial institutions, Macedonia began to show signs of cautious optimism. Moreover, with the outbreak of civil war in Bosnia and Croatia, Macedonian diplomacy succeeded in convincing the UN that an international protective force, which would prevent the spillover of the Yugoslav war, needed to be positioned in Macedonia. In the winter of 1993, 700 international peacekeepers and 300 U.S. soldiers, under the auspices of the UN, were assigned to the Macedonian border with Serbia and Albania. This deployment of troops further strengthened the international acceptance of the republic.

Still, the main barrier to Macedonian recognition remained: Macedonia's dispute over its name with Greece. The Greek position significantly influenced the EU as well as the UN and NATO countries in their dealings with the Republic of Macedonia throughout most of 1993. In November of that year, however, the patience of the Western European democracies ran out. Germany and the UK broke ranks and lobbied EU members to grant Macedonia full recognition before Greece was to take over the rotating EU presidency on 1 January 1994. Greece was enraged, and diplomatic relations among EU members became strained. On 1 December 1993, Greece again voted against Macedonia's membership in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Two weeks later, on 16 December, Germany, the UK, Denmark, and the Netherlands announced that they had initiated a process to grant Macedonia full recognition. France and other EU countries followed their lead. Macedonia and Greece were now under pressure to find a workable solution to the issue.

During the following twenty months, Macedonian diplomacy was focused on finding some kind of solution with Greece, which was still blocking the attempts of the republic to obtain wider incorporation in international political and financial organizations. At the same time, the Macedonian president actively lobbied the world community for the recognition of his country. As a result of complex international factors, especially after the admittance of Macedonia into the UN, a number of countries, including Russia and China, extended formal recognition to the Republic and established diplomatic relations with it under its constitutional name. Furthermore, some Western states tried to help Macedonia and Greece find a solution to their dispute. Especially important was the increased involvement of the United States in this process, which led to the appointment of the U.S. diplomat Cyrus Vance as the principal negotiator. The United States henceforth became increasingly involved in the internal and external affairs of the republic.

As a result, Greece found itself under mounting international pressure to soften its approach toward the new Balkan state. On 13 September 1995, a temporary solution of the dispute between Greece and Macedonia was finally reached. According to the complex agreement, entitled "Interim Accord" and signed in New York by the Greek foreign minister, Carolos Papoulias, representing the unnamed "First Side," and the Macedonian foreign minister, Stevo Crvenkovski, representing the "Second Side," the First Side recognized the sovereignty of the Second Side. The First Side guaranteed not to impede the other's incorporation into international institutions and to allow transit of goods through its border. For its part, the Second Side had to refrain from any use of symbols offensive to the First Side and to change its flag. The two sides agreed to proceed with their negotiations over the name of the Second Side under the auspices of the UN and open representative offices in their respective capitals. As could be expected, at this writing the negotiations are still under way in the UN, under a veil of secrecy. Occasionally both sides leak information and speculate on the name issue for internal political purposes. Most importantly, both sides now possess a formula for addressing each other and concluding various bilateral agreements. In the aftermath of the agreement, Macedonia was admitted into various European institutions, including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe. Moreover, by the end of 1998, Macedonia had diplomatic relations with approximately a hundred countries, more than half of them being established under its constitutional name, the Republic of Macedonia.

In the period following its declaration of independence, Macedonia attempted to join the European Union and NATO. Already in December 1993, the Macedonian parliament decided to ask for full incorporation into NATO. In October 1995 it was admitted into the Partnership for Peace program, hosting on its territory a number of military exercises of NATO and allied countries. In regard to Macedonia's attempts to become a member of the EU, the situation seems even more bleak. The European Union has put Macedonia in the "third circle" of applicants, together with Albania, Bosnia, and Serbia.

Macedonia has already succeeded in concluding a cooperation agreement with the EU, which was implemented on 1 January 1999. The agreement has successfully been put into practice since then, as shown by the positive trend in Macedonian foreign trade. In fact, the EU has offered Macedonia a new kind of contractual relationship as an intermediary stage before granting this Balkan country an associative membership. Macedonia, which has showed significant progress in the political, economic, and juridical arenas, would have to implement the necessary reforms fully in order to be able to cope with the competitive pressure it will encounter when it enters the European Union. Moreover, the EU requires further administrative reform in the republic. In order to help Macedonia with these reforms, the European Commission has entered into a continuous political dialogue with the republic at every level.

After the declaration of its independence, Macedonia's relations with its neighboring countries, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania, varied between extremely problematic and flourishing. The Macedonian president defined the foreign policy of his country as one of "maintaining equidistance," which meant nonpreferential treatment for any of its neighbors. Yet the republic's foreign relations depended on the actual circumstances in the region. Although Bulgaria was one of the first countries to recognize Macedonia in 1992, it continued to withhold recognition of a Macedonian nationality and language; this position resulted in a diplomatic deadlock between Skopje and Sofia, as well as an inability to conclude economic bilateral agreements that lasted until 1999. The problem between the two countries was as bizarre as the one between Greece and Macedonia: Bulgaria, which in 1992 and 1993 signed eight bilateral agreements with Macedonia, later on refused to sign any, since their official versions were written in the "Macedonian and Bulgarian languages." The Bulgarian government argued that the "Macedonian language" was a nonexistent communist fabrication, being simply a dialect of Bulgarian. The underlying Bulgarian thesis was that the Bulgarians and Macedonians belong to the same people, though they live in two different countries. The deadlock was resolved in early 1999, when again a curious formula was found to please both states. The agreements were signed in the "official languages" of both parties.

Relations between Macedonia and "rump" Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) remained strained as a result of a border dispute and the problem of the disposition of the assets of the former federation. The border between the two countries when they were members of the Yugoslav federation was never fully delineated. After the Macedonian declaration of independence, the Serbian side began to assert that a number of fertile fields and strategic posts should enter into its possession. A committee composed of representatives of the two countries was convened.

Only after losing Kosovo did Serbia actually agree to resolve the border dispute. Still, the Serbian-Montenegrin state claimed to be the sole successor to the former Yugoslavia, declaring that Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia had seceded unilaterally. Only after the downfall of the Milošević regime did the Serbian-Montenegrin state start to participate more constructively in the negotiations; this new attitude has led to a solution to the question. Macedonia and rump Yugoslavia had already established agreements in the sphere of commerce, as a result of the compatibility of the two economies (which had operated jointly for fifty years in the former Yugoslav Federation). Moreover, they concluded a free trade agreement, which has worked successfully for a number of years.

As for Albania, the main dispute between the two countries had to do with the ethnic Albanian minority in Macedonia. As this minority started to campaign for greater rights and more autonomy within the republic, the Albanian government began to press the Macedonian government to accede to their demands. At the same time, however, the Albanian president, Sali Berisha, cautioned Macedonian Albanians to be prudent in their quest for greater rights and to seek these rights by legal, peaceful means. Some of the progress made in bilateral relations suffered setbacks due to the shooting of Albanian smugglers and border guards. With the breakdown of the Albanian civil government as a result of the collapse of the pyramid schemes in 1997, which devastated the Albanian economy, Albania became increasingly unable to control its territory and border, thus losing its prestige and its ability to develop better economic and diplomatic relations with its eastern neighbor.

An important supporter of Macedonian independence was Turkey. During the struggle for recognition, Macedonia depended on the economic and political aid provided by Ankara, which established diplomatic relations with the republic almost immediately after its declaration of independence. Moreover, on 7 September 1999 the two countries concluded a free trade agreement. Turkey was, and still is, interested in Macedonia because of the latter's Turkish minority, as well as its location, which allows Turkey to have an ally on Greece's northern border.

Three important factors influenced the international standing of the republic in the period from 1998 to January 2000: the victory of the opposition parties in the parliamentary elections, the Kosovo crisis, and the Albanian insurrection, which ended with the signing of the so-called Framework Agreement. The new Tupurkovski–VMRO-DPMNE government, composed of right-wing and centrist parties, recognized Taiwan immediately after its ascension to power in 1998. This move produced a harsh diplomatic reaction in Beijing. As a result, China immediately suspended its diplomatic relations with Macedonia and vetoed the extension of the presence of the UN peacekeepers in this Balkan country. UN forces then left Macedonia, and with the increasing tension between the Western powers and Serbia over Kosovo, NATO troops began to pour into the republic, reaching a total of almost 30,000 soldiers at the peak of the Kosovo crisis. (By comparison, Macedonia has a standing army of approximately 15,000 soldiers.)

The recognition of Taiwan by the new Macedonian government was perceived by certain foreign relations specialists as a U.S.-orchestrated move for gaining full control over the military and security situation in the region. The official U.S. State Department position, however, is that the United States supports a one-China policy and did not favor this act in Macedonian foreign relations. Whether that is true or not, the recognition of Taiwan certainly damaged the diplomatic standing of the republic, which had not been able to honor its previously concluded international agreements with a world power that was among the first to recognize and support Macedonian independence.

The Kosovo crisis highlighted the importance of Macedonia in the world. Macedonia hosted almost 300,000 refugees from Kosovo. In proportion to the population of the republic, this influx of refugees is equivalent to 40 million refugees in the United States. Furthermore, most of the financial costs of hosting the refugees were covered by the Macedonian government. The international community, which pledged full diplomatic and political support for the republic, promised certain help, but that help was slow to come. As a result of the crisis, Macedonian indebtedness to international financial institutions skyrocketed, increasing the international vulnerability of the country. On the other hand, during the NATO war against Serbia many Western politicians and high-ranking diplomats visited Macedonia, including U.S. president Bill Clinton. Macedonian diplomats were reassured of the inviolability of their country's integrity by almost every Western capital. As explained by the U.S. president, the Kosovo war was partially conducted for the protection of Macedonia, which might have suffered from the spillover of hostilities from Kosovo. All of a sudden, Macedonia appeared in the news, and stories around the globe referred to the country simply as Macedonia, and not the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Thus, although the Kosovo crisis led to the insurrection of the Albanian minority in Macedonia in the summer of 2000 and lingering problems since (all covered in the final section), at least the war in the former Yugoslavia resulted in Macedonia being acknowledged by most people around the world as a distinct entity.

Kosovo Albanian refugees in Macedonia. The refugees reach Macedonia by following the rail tracks. (Yannis Kontos/Corbis Sygma)

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The most important element in the cultural development of modern Macedonia was the establishment of a distinct Macedonian language and the appearance of a distinctive Macedonian literature. One crucial factor that influenced the development of a Macedonian literature was the fact that this area did not have any direct contact with the independent states of Western, Eastern, and Central Europe. This part of the Ottoman Empire was surrounded by the Serbs to the north, Bulgarians to the east, Greeks to the south, and Albanians to the west. By comparison, the Bulgarian national movement, centered in the central and eastern parts of the Ottoman European provinces close to Constantinople, benefited from the printing presses and activities of Slav inhabitants in neighboring Wallachia, Moldavia, and Russia. The Habsburg Empire, with its bureaucratic apparatus, its effective officialdom, its large numbers of organized Serbian settlers, and its burgeoning national movements, had a significant impact on the Serb population in the Ottoman Empire. This situation, together with access to the financial resources provided by a flourishing bourgeoisie, fostered the development of the Serbian and Bulgarian national movements much earlier than in Macedonia. These movements, due to the claims of the Serbs and Bulgarians (as well as the Greeks) upon Macedonian territory, in turn had a major impact on the Macedonian lands, influencing the development of the indigenous members of the Macedonian intelligentsia by providing textbooks, newspapers, and journals. In many cases, the Serbian and Bulgarian national organizations even financed the education of Slavs from Macedonia in their centers.

Nineteenth-century Macedonian literati can be divided into several generations, which were interdependent and closely interconnected with each other. The first generation of public activists who initiated the national awakening of the Orthodox Slavs in Macedonia was made up of members of the clerical estate. They published their religious texts in a church language heavily influenced by the local Slav vernacular, realizing that only numerous printed copies of a book could produce wider popular interest in the written word and a well-informed public able to voice its opinion. In the period from 1814 to 1819, Joakim Krčovski, a member of the local clergy, who most probably came from western Macedonia and who lived and worked in eastern Macedonia in the towns of Kratovo and Kriva Palanka, published five religious books in his native vernacular in Budapest. In 1816 Kiril Pejčinovik, who served as a monk in the monastery Prečista near Kičevo, as priest-monk at St. Mark's monastery near Skopje, and as an abbot of the monastery of Lešok in the same area, published his book *Ogledalo* (Mirror) in Budapest. In 1840 his work *Utešenije Grešnim* (Consolation for Sinners) was published by Teodosij Sinaitski's press in Thessaloniki, thus bringing his total printed output to approximately two hundred pages. In 1838 Anatolij Zografski, a prominent member of the Zograf monastic brotherhood, who spent much of his career in the Russian capital, published a small, simplified primer at the same printing press.

St. Panteleimon church near Skopje. (Courtesy Turistkomerc)

The last literary endeavor of Pejčinovik establishes the link of the first generation of activists in the Slav cultural and linguistic sphere with the next generation, which appeared in the 1840s. The main representatives of this second generation were Jordan Hadži Konstantinov Džinot and Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinov. Jordan Hadži Konstantinov Džinot was born in Veles—one of the most economically and socially developed Slav communities in Macedonia at the time—into the family of a craftsman. Džinot spent all his life teaching in the local Slav schools in Veles, Skopje, and Prilep. Dimitar Miladinov and his brother Konstantin were well-known public activists who made a significant impact on cultural and social life in the Macedonian communities. Born to a family of a petty pottery craftsman of Slav origin in Struga, Dimitar Miladinov completed his studies at a three-year Greek school in Jannina. After working as a teacher in Greek educational institutions in the area, he served as a secretary to the patriarchal prelate in Mostar for less than a year. From 1857 to 1861, Dimitar Miladinov asserted himself as a capable organizer of education in the local Slav vernacular, an advocate of the Slav ethnic identity and ideas, and a compiler of folk materials. His charismatic personality and teaching skills made a favorable impression on the inhabitants of Kukuš, where he held the position of instructor from 1857 to 1859. From April to September 1860 he raised donations for the construction of the Bulgarian church in Constantinople. Konstantin Miladinov provided assistance to his brother, taught a short period of time in the schools of western Macedonia, and went to study in Moscow.

The remaining intellectuals from this generation were laymen who focused their activities on improving the educational and cultural conditions of the local communities. Grigor Prličev, a native of Ohrid and a pupil of Dimitar Miladinov, gained his fame as the winner of a poetry contest in Athens, where he started his studies in medicine. His poem, written in Greek, was widely acclaimed in Athens in 1860. Although Prličev had an opportunity to make a career in Greek circles, he dismissed this option and returned to his homeland to work on educating the general public. Kuzman Šapkarev, from Ohrid, was schooled entirely in the Greek urban schools of western Macedonia. In 1850 he began teaching in the Greek schools. Between 1861 and 1865, under the auspices of the Greek prelate Venedict, he was a teacher in Prilep. The Slav inhabitants there distanced themselves from Šapkarev suspecting he was an agent of Hellenization, the promotion of Greek culture and language. Šapkarev's activity in the field of education in the Slav vernacular began when he started teaching in the Kukuš schools in 1865; he remained there until 1872, moving afterwards to continue his teaching career in Prilep, Bitola, and Ohrid. Gjorgi Dinkov-Dinkata, from Thessaloniki, attended the Greek schools in his native town, and in Athens, as well as the patriarchal seminary in Halki. Moreover, he completed several courses at a gymnasium in Moscow. He taught in the Slav schools in Salonica, Prilep, Bitola, and the Kostur village of Zagoričani.

These intellectuals noticed that the books printed in distant Belgrade, in the Bulgarian communities of the Danube *vilayet* (the Ottoman administrative unit), and in the Bulgarian presses in Constantinople were not easily compatible with their local vernacular, customs, and perceptions, producing difficulties for the local population in the educational process. Moreover, the Serbian principality used a language significantly different in its grammatical structure from the western Macedonian vernacular, while the Bulgarian intelligentsia was moving toward codifying its language by basing it firmly on the dialects from the central and eastern parts of the Danube vilayet, which was geographically and linguistically the most distant area from western Macedonia. Consequently, the third generation of Slav intellectuals saw the language used in the Serbian and Bulgarian textbooks as alien, difficult to use in the primary schools, and not readily acceptable to the local communities. Writing for the Bulgarian newspaper *Pravo* (Law) in 1870, Venijamin Mačukovski clearly defined the problems that the intellectuals from western Macedonia faced: "Learning Bulgarian grammar in Macedonian schools represents one of the most difficult subjects for the pupils . . . [it] takes them a long time [and] without any result. This situation arises from the existing differences between the grammatical forms in the already published Bulgarian grammars and the Macedonian vernacular" (Koneski, 84-85).

The principal contribution of the first Macedonian intellectuals to the formation of a distinct Slav educational and cultural realm was the publishing of simple religious texts using the local vernacular and aimed at providing basic instruction in Christianity. However, the situation changed when the new generation of activists appeared. The members of the second and third generations of intelligentsia advocated Western democratic models of accountability by officials and the introduction of the elements of a viable bourgeois public sphere.

The most active members of the intelligentsia that advocated local interests originated from the area west of the Tetovo-Veles-Salonika line. The Slavic-speaking inhabitants in this part of Macedonia were linguistically and culturally most distant from the Serbian principality, as well as from the central and eastern parts of the Danube vilayet, which represented the most active region of the Bulgarian national movement. At the same time, because of the isolation imposed by geographical, social, and economic factors, these people developed a strong feeling of local identity. The Macedonian intellectuals from these areas noticed clear linguistic differences between the language used in the regions of their origin and activity and the Serbian and Bulgarian literary languages. On the other hand, these indigenous intellectuals from western Macedonia were a relatively small, insufficiently educated, and noncohesive group. As a result, they were unable to produce a consistent national ideology and transform their Slavic-speaking ethnic group into a separate nationality. Nevertheless, they clearly voiced a demand for the establishment of a literary language, which would correspond to the linguistic situation in Macedonia. Also, as was the case with numerous movements in Central and Southeastern Europe, they did develop an intellectual construct that asserted the separate historical development and identity of Macedonian Slavs.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Gjorgija Pulevski in Sofia formed the Slavonic-Macedonian Literary Group, to revive popular Macedonian literature. He also published numerous textbooks that asserted the independence and distinctiveness of the Macedonian ethnic group and its language. Three years later and again in Sofia, Kosta Šahov, a publicist and a publisher from Ohrid, launched the Young Macedonian Literary Group. In 1892 this group began the publication of the journal *Loza* (Vine). The ideas propagated by this journal (published from 1890 to 1894) played a paramount role in the formation of a modern Macedonian language and literature.

It was Krste Petkov Misirkov who most succinctly summarized and brought the ideas of his literary predecessors to fruition, in his work *On Macedonian Matters* (1903). This work became the most important scholarly and literary work in modern Macedonian cultural and national history. First and foremost, it was written in the contemporary Macedonian language. Moreover, *On Macedonian Matters* made the key assertions that formed the basis of the Macedonian national emergence: Macedonians constitute a separate Slav nation that has its own history, language, and culture; in order to win their national liberty, the Macedonian population should first reject any Bulgarian, Serbian, and Greek connections and denominations, start to use the Macedonian name for itself, and work for its acceptance by the Ottoman state; the Ohrid archbishopric should be reestablished as an independent Macedonian national church, which would serve to counteract foreign propaganda that sought to deny Macedonian identity; the central Macedonian Veles-Bitola-Prilep dialect should be accepted as the literary language of the whole of Macedonia, and this language should be taught at schools; and a full Macedonian national movement should be brought into being by intensified national and cultural agitation.

In the period before the end of World War II, Misirkov's ideas were embraced by several Macedonian authors, who presented their works in the popular vernacular. The most important among them were Vojdan Černodrinski and Nikola Kirov Majski, as well as the playwrights Risto Krle, Vasil Iljoski, and Anton Panov. The appearance of the poetry collection *White Dawns* by Kosta Racin in 1939 further led to the formation of modern Macedonian literature. The poems of Venko Markovski and Mite Bogoevski contributed to the development of verse expression in the Macedonian language.

This first generation of twentieth-century Macedonian writers was soon joined by the novelists Stale Popov and Jordan Leov, as well as poets Lazo Karovski and Vasil Kunoski. In the 1950s the new generation of Macedonian

Krste Petkov Misirkov

Krste Petkov Misirkov (1874–1926) is the first modern Macedonian intellectual and political activist who clearly and succinctly argued in a scholarly manner that Macedonians are a separate nation, with their own history, language, and culture. Most importantly, he not only declared that a distinct Macedonian vernacular does exist, but also established the scholarly principles for its evolution into a literary language. As a result, he wrote the book *On Macedonian Matters,* the first book written in modern Macedonian.

Misirkov's life, ideas, and approaches depict the challenges that Macedonian intellectuals encountered at the turn of the twentieth century. Born in a village near Pella, the capital of the ancient Macedonian kingdom, he finished primary school in Greek. In 1889 he received a scholarship to study in the Serbian capital, Belgrade; it was provided by a Serbian cultural and political organization in charge of spreading Serbian propaganda in Macedonia (which was still under Ottoman rule). However, Bulgarian propaganda and promises of a better life convinced Misirkov to declare himself a Bulgarian, leave Belgrade, and start to study in Sofia. However, once in Sofia, he realized that the true intentions of the Bulgarians were the same as the Serbians': educating young people from Macedonia as Bulgarians so that, once indoctrinated, they would return to their homes and teach children to be Bulgarian in the local schools. Deeply disappointed with this attitude, the young Misirkov again declared himself to be Serbian and returned to his former Belgrade school. Consequently, by the age of twenty-one, when he finished his schooling in Belgrade, he had experienced three official national identities, one of them more than once: Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian. He went to Russia, where after a dramatic struggle to keep body and soul together, he finished his studies at the Faculty of History and Philology. It is important to note that he consistently declared on his university forms that he was a Macedonian.

His most significant legacy in the Russian capital was the establishment of the Macedonian Literary and Scholarly Society. His intention to help his unhappy homeland led him to a teaching post in Bitola, the most important administrative center in Macedonia; he started his work in the year of the Ilinden Uprising, the unsuccessful 1903 revolt initiated by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) aimed at gaining Macedonian autonomy. As a witness to the assassination of the Russian consul, who was intensely disliked by the Ottoman government (which very likely approved of the murder), he had to leave Macedonia. Later that same year, he published his seminal work, and he continued his struggle for the affirmation of the Macedonian language and culture until his death in 1926.

writers (Srbo Ivanovski, Gane Todorvoski, Mateja Matevski, Cane Andreevski, Cvetko Martinovski, Simon Drakul, Blagoj Ivanov, Dimitar Solev, Ante Popovski, Branko Pendovski, Georgi Stalev, Tome Arsovski, Aleksandar Spasov, Milan Gurčinov, Aleksandar Aleksiev, and Georgi Stardelov, among others) explored new literary dimensions and established new trends. The third generation of Macedonian writers (Živko Čingo, Petar Boškovski, Jovan Kotevski, Petre M. Andreevski, Petar Širilov, Metodija Fotev, Ljuben Taškovski, Taško Georgievski, Vlada Urošević, and Radovan and Jovan Pavlovski) was in closer contact with world literary trends. In the 1960s and 1970s the fourth generation, with its representatives Bogomil Gjuzel, Atanas Vangelov, Eftim Kletnikov, Sande Stojčeski, Katica Kiulafkova, and Goran Stefanovski, developed individual and uniquely Macedonian styles.

Numerous writers in Macedonia express themselves in Albanian and Turkish as well. Among the most distinguished Albanian-language authors are Murteza Peza, Ljutvi Rusi, Murat Isaku, Abdulazis Islami, Sefedin Suleymani, and Adem Gaytani. Turkish language works include those of Shukri Ramo, Nedzhati Zekiriya, Mustafa Karahasan, Fahri Kaya, Ilhami Emin, Esad Bayram, Nusret Dishu Ulku, Suad Engulu, and Alaetin Tahir.

Contemporary Macedonian poets and authors have the opportunity to meet their international counterparts in two well-known international meetings held annually in Struga and Veles. Local and national events are also held in Macedonia during the course of the year, such as the Days Below Kozyak, the Vevčani Meetings, the Little Messenger Meetings in Kičevo, the Feast in Podgorci, the Galičnik Meetings, the Bigorski Meetings, and the Shaking Hands in Dojran.

Cultural development in Macedonia is not confined to literature. At the end of the last century, the first choirs and groups devoted to modern, Western-style European music emerged in Macedonia. They were gradually complemented by small bands using folk instruments. These groups introduced oriental elements to Macedonian music. In 1934 the first music school was established in Skopje; its most prominent contributors were Trajko Prokopiev and Todor Skalovski, who continued their work in independent Macedonia. After the end of World War II, a creative upsurge of Macedonian artists resulted in the creation of Macedonian opera and ballet.

Macedonia is well known for its medieval ecclesiastical architectural and visual arts heritage, which was first seen during the days of the Byzantine Empire and which displayed a distinctly Byzantine influence. One of the architectural masterpieces of Macedonia, which dates from the early period of Slavic culture, is the Church of St. Sophia in Ohrid, renovated by Archbishop Leo between 1037 and 1056. Its size and the arrangement of the frescoes in the sanctuary seem to suggest that it was constructed as a cathedral.

Other important ecclesiastical buildings erected in the period before the Ottoman conquest of the area at the end of the fourteenth century that are preserved in their entirety include the Churches of St. Clement and St. Naum near Ohrid, St. Panteleimon near Skopje, and the churches in Matejče and Staro Nagoričane near Kumanovo. The frescoes in the preserved churches were the equal of the greatest and most beautiful works of the Byzantine Empire. It should be noted here that the territory of the Republic of Macedonia represents one of the richest regions in terms of medieval wall paintings, both in the Balkans and in Europe as a whole.

The coming of the Ottomans led to a substantial change in architectural patterns. The church was replaced by the mosque as the focus of religious architecture, while inns and baths started to occupy a central place in the urban settlements. The most famous Islamic places of worship that are still preserved are to be found in Skopje: the Mosque of Isaac Bey built in 1438; the Mosque of Murad Hainukyar, built in 1436; the Mosque of Kodja-Mustapha Pasha, built in 1491; and the Mosque of Yahya Pasha, built in 1504 (which includes a fifty-meter-high minaret). In Bitola can be found the Isac Mosque, finished in 1509; the Yeni Mosque, built in 1559; and the Mosque of Jahdar-Kadi, built in 1562 by Kodja Sinan, the most prominent Ottoman architect of the time. Secular architecture dating from the early Ottoman period includes the Kuršumli and Suli Inns in Skopje. In addition, several exceptional baths, which today serve as museums and art galleries, survived centuries of wars and natural disasters. Another typical trait of Turkish architecture present in Macedonia includes burial chambers *(turbeh)* of notable Ottomans, as well as dervish dwellings *(tekeh)*. Particularly fine architectural examples of burial chambers are the Mustapha Pasha and the open Kral K'zi turbeh in Skopje. In addition, the Sultan Emir Tekeh in Skopje and the Arabati-baba Tekeh in Tetovo represent exceptional historical and cultural monuments.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During the last century of Turkish rule, Macedonia was economically an agricultural country. The economy of the

The Church of St. Sophia (Ohrid)

The church of St. Sofia is one of the largest medieval churches in the region. It was probably built in the tenth or eleventh centuries and served as the cathedral church (Great Church) of the medieval autocephalous Archbishopric of Ohrid. The original church had only one main dome; in the fourteenth century, however, a luxurious external part was added. With the arrival of the Ottoman Turks, the church of St. Sofia was converted into a mosque. The new masters modified the interior of the church; the frescoes were whitewashed; the ornamented plates from the iconostasis were used for constructing the internal staircase; and a minaret was built above the northwest dome.

During the period between 1950 and 1957, extensive restoration took place. Many fresco paintings, which date from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, again saw the light of day. They are indeed among the highest achievements in medieval painting in the region. The oldest are eleventh-century frescoes, situated primarily in the altar section and at the ground level. They depict the early saints of the church, as well as the most prominent patriarchs, archbishops, and clergy. Among the most important portraits are those that represent St. Basil, known as Basil the Great, fourth-century church father and reformer of monasticism; St. John Chrysostom, fourth-century Syrian bishop and renowned preacher; and St. Gregory of Nazianzus, the great fourth-century theologian.

Portraits of six Roman popes and representatives of the Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch patriarchates are painted on the side section of the altarspace. Among all these eminent figures, the portraits of the two most important saints of Slavic origin were painted: St. Cyril (after whom the Cyrillic alphabet was named) and his disciple St. Clement of Ohrid. Both were prominent cult figures in eleventh-century Ohrid. A number of important frescoes dating from the twelfth century have also been preserved. The most significant among them are the portrait of the Holy Mother and the scenes depicting the sufferings of the Apostles. The last painted in the church of St. Sofia was the fourteenth-century Gregorius gallery, which contains a heterogeneous composition of more than a hundred scenes and portraits. The portrait of St. Naum, another disciple of St. Cyril, already known in the Middle Ages as the healer of the mentally challenged, is among the numerous portraits of healers and martyrs painted in the western section.

Turkish province of Macedonia was characterized by primitive and backward production. The landmark events in Ottoman economic, social, political, and juridical history that propelled the appearance of new entrepreneurial strata and local intelligentsia include the destruction of the janissary corps (the former elite military units of the empire, which had by the seventeenth century become more of a political force than a military one) in 1826 and the reform edicts of 1839 and 1856 (the so-called Tanzimat, "reform," period in Ottoman history). As a result of the sultan's destruction of the janissaries, who were leaders of the urban craftsmen and the most powerful advocates of commercial protectionism, the local guilds, including the ones in Macedonia, lost their most important defenders. After the elimination of the janissaries, these professional organizations began to disintegrate, while their prominent members gradually lost wealth and social status. The reforms of 1839 and 1856 were significant because they publicly endorsed the new Westernizing process in the Ottoman Empire; in this case, Westernization meant implementation of administrative policies and means of social, economic, and fiscal control characteristic of France, Britain, Prussia, and Austria. The new governmental edicts committed the Ottoman state to a policy of modernization and equal justice for all subjects, whatever their religious affiliation.

The transformation of Ottoman economic life after the abolition of the janissaries was further advanced by the conclusion of the Anglo-Turkish convention of 1838. While the sultan signed it under duress to gain support for the struggle with the Egyptian rebel Muhammad Ali, Britain endorsed this agreement to utilize the Ottoman economy for importing cheap raw material and agricultural products and as an export market for its vastly expanding industries. This treaty abolished the remaining Ottoman monopolies that were protecting the local guilds and removed obstacles for European merchants. The convention allowed foreign businessmen to trade anywhere in the Ottoman Empire, liable only to a number of specifically prescribed duties. Consequently, with the 1838 accord, the Ottoman economy became far more open, perhaps more than any state in the world, but it was at the expense of its domestic industries and producers. As a result of this laissez-faire policy, the Macedonian lands were reduced to the role of a minor exporter of agricultural goods, while the initial attempts at promoting greater industrialization in the region were destroyed by a flood of cheap Western products.

The main exports of Macedonia continued to be wheat, rough unprocessed skins and hides, wool, and tobacco. The export of cotton flourished only during the period of the American Civil War, when the Northern blockade of the South choked off exports of high-quality American cotton to the mills of Europe. In the early 1800s 40 percent of the annual cotton crop was woven locally in the homes of the inhabitants, and not only sold to internal markets, but also exported beyond the area. However, after 1830, British cottons overflowed Macedonian markets and replaced local products. Even this domestic industry, then, gradually vanished from Macedonian towns and villages as a result of increasing imports. As a result, industrial enterprises that employed larger numbers of workers did not emerge in Macedonia during nineteenth-century Ottoman rule.

Furthermore, Macedonian fields continued to be tilled in an outdated and unproductive fashion. Their owners did not bother to expand their holdings by farming abandoned or unused land. This situation in many respects resulted from the attitude of landlords toward production as well as their ethnic composition. Turkish and Albanian soldiers and local officials owned most of the land during the period before 1850. Their approach had little in common with Western ideas about investment and improvement of farming methods. Their main concern was how to raise enough money to secure a comfortable living in the towns where they resided. In the end, the system functioned in such a way that the large landowners sold their share of the crop at fairs or directly to the grain merchants, while the free services of their tenants reduced their expenses.

As a result of this neglect by landowners and the negligent attitude of the government toward agriculture, cereals remained the principal crops during the period until 1944, although Macedonia had proven potential for the production of silk, cotton, rice, tobacco, and other industrial cultures. Thus the crops harvested served mainly to meet the basic subsistence needs of the population. Consequently, domestic consumption remained a greater concern than possible lucrative exports. In the early 1860s wheat, maize, barley, rye, and millet fields covered almost 90 percent of the cultivable land in the district of Thessaloniki. Contrary to the assertion of a number of scholars, industrial agricultural cultivation remained extremely marginal. For example, cotton was grown on only 3 percent of the land.

The ineffective transportation system further contributed to the retarded nature of industrial and agricultural development. Routes were often available only to animal-back transport, in caravans usually composed of twenty to fifty pack animals with twenty to eighty men. The price for transporting agricultural goods on packhorses represented at least half of the market value. The attempts by the Ottoman central government to improve the road structure and security usually ended in embezzlement of funds, increased labor pressure on peasants, and greater local taxation. For example, in the late 1850s the only visible results of months and months of toil and financial constraint of the population in the process of building a road from Salonika to Bitola were two small ramshackle wooden bridges.

The period between the two world wars, with its economic crises, centralized and exploitative Serbian (Yugoslav) government, as well as inherent hostilities in the region, did not contribute to any significant economic development in Macedonia. Only with the formation of a federal state in Vardar Macedonia at the end of 1944 did some economic changes take place. Macedonia entered the new federal Yugoslavia not only as a region devastated by war, but as an extremely underdeveloped region that based its economy on primitive agricultural practices. After 1944, investments in the economy helped the region of Macedonia gradually develop an industrial standing. In accordance with the policy on equal regional development, Macedonia received significant economic support from the Yugoslav federation. In about thirty years this undeveloped area in the Balkans acquired a standard of living higher than that of any neighboring countries with the exception of Greece.

In the 1990s, with the collapse of the former Yugoslav state, Macedonian independence did not bring a spurt of economic growth, or even increased development. On the contrary, this period witnessed the closure of the otherwise protected market of the former Yugoslav republics. Macedonian products now had to fight their own way amidst fierce international competition. Moreover, the transformation of the economic system brought many industrial enterprises to a standstill. In the transition era, state managers needed to diminish the value of state property in order to afford to buy it. As a result, many Macedonian enterprises were intentionally run down, brought to bankruptcy, and then sold for a token of their real value. Some previously flourishing industries (the best example is the textile industry) were never able to gain a new momentum in the changed economic, social, and political environment, suffering as they did from the internal mismanagement, loss of markets, and lack of investment.

It is worth noting that there has been a noticeable decrease of foreign investment in the Republic of Macedonia in recent years. According to the State Statistical Office of Macedonia, in 1990 foreign investments amounted to 15,140,000 U.S. dollars, but three years later, in 1993, they were almost halved to $811,700. After an initial rise in investment and production characteristic of the mid to late 1990s, the situation significantly worsened during and after the 1999 NATO intervention in Kosovo. The subsequent insurrection of the Albanian population in the northwestern parts of the republic only further exacerbated the situation. One of the main legacies of the decade of the 1990s, marred by wars, instability, and insecurity in the Balkans generally and the republic specifically, was the rise in corruption and the fall of economic output. Three hundred thousand unemployed, a downtrodden industry, and Macedonian-Albanian hostilities do not bode well for future economic development. Foreign investment, on which Macedonian economic recovery depends, will only increase if it is possible to transform an economic climate that now appears corrupt, insecure, and burdened by political instability.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The 2000 Albanian insurrection in Macedonia heavily affected the social, economic, and political situation, not only in the country itself but also in the region. With the outbreak of that war, this part of the western Balkans seems to have returned to the era of the uncertainties of the early 1990s. Moreover, the entire security situation in Macedonia has started to resemble that of the early nineteenth century, when groups of outlaws jeopardized the security of large urban centers like Bitola and Ohrid. The grievances found on both sides of the conflict—Macedonian and Albanian—have been debated, not only internally but also internationally.

To deal first with the causes that led to civil war, within the Republic of Macedonia, Albanians were paying a price for their support nearly a half-century earlier of the idea of Greater Albania (during World War II). Their support for this Italian creation, as well as their nostalgia for the idea of a larger Albanian state during the postwar period, contributed to Albanian exclusion from social life in the Republic of Macedonia during the communist period. Their attitudes and their exclusion had repercussions on the social level as well. The Albanian population remained mainly rural, living in traditional village and tribal communities. As a result of this general isolation of the Albanian minority, women received few rights, and generations of younger Albanians were left undereducated.

An imbalance in the birthrate in Macedonia also played a role. That imbalance developed between the most often urban ethnic Macedonians and the rural Albanian population. According to census figures, the latter rose from 12.5 percent of the total number of inhabitants in the country in 1953 to 25.17 percent in 2002. The reasons for this increase were many; the effect was a dramatic shift in existing demographic patterns. The most important impact of the demographic shift has been the building of compact blocks of mono-ethnic Albanian population groupings. The imbalance between the rural, undereducated, and rapidly growing Albanian population and the Macedonian population, which moved to the city and started to staff the oversized and ever growing bureaucracy, had an impact, not only on the overall development of the Republic of Macedonia, but on interethnic relations within the fledgling nation.

The main external factor at work was the autonomy of Kosovo. The establishment of a university there in 1970 based on Albanian language instruction and the creation of an Albanian Academy of Sciences in 1976 made Priština (the capital of Kosovo) and not Skopje (the capital of Macedonia) the cultural, educational, and intellectual center for Macedonian Albanians. Every action of the Albanian Kosovo elite aimed at further improvement of the situation of the Albanians within Kosovo in turn directly impacted interethnic relations in Macedonia.

Important as the role of these recent developments was, conflict between Macedonians and Albanians is not simply a recent development, as has already been mentioned. Interethnic tensions, dating in part from the Middle Ages, frayed internal Macedonian-Albanian relations during the time of the Yugoslav federation. Moreover, the educational system has never acquainted ethnic Macedonians with Albanian history and culture, thus contributing to a situation in which the majority population sees all developments only from its own point of view. Seen from this perspective, it is no surprise that the irredentist and separatist movements and actions in Kosovo and western Macedonia during the 1980s and 1990s increased mutual distrust. The most surprising development, however, was the severity with which the central government in Belgrade and Skopje responded. A series of repressive actions took place against the Albanian minority, including depriving them of the opportunity to be educated in their mother tongue in the secondary schools. The number of Albanians in civil administration, the police, and the army, as well as in the university, was quite low. For example, according to the

1994 census, the number of Albanian students in the 1993–1994 school year represented only 2.8 percent, almost a 2 percent decrease from 1983–1984. Thus, agriculture, cattle-breeding, and small private businesses became the essential means of income for ethnic Albanians deprived of opportunities elsewhere.

While the Macedonian ethnic group, in most cases, depended economically on the state, the Albanians thus started to learn the tools of a market economy. This situation, on the one hand, and the cash inflow from the Albanian emigration in Western Europe, on the other hand, increased the economic power of the Albanian minority in Macedonia. This increased economic power, coupled with the apparent discrepancy in the birthrate (which created among the Macedonians a belief that they would eventually become a minority, due to the high birthrate among Albanians in comparison to their own), strengthened the perception that the Albanians were a national threat to the Macedonians. Since the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia in that period were on the side of the Albanians from Kosovo, the Macedonian statesmen in the 1980s and even the early 1990s turned for support to the Republic of Serbia and the Serbs.

The outbreak of the civil war in Macedonia was a natural result of the removal of Serbian control over Kosovo as well as the inability of the Georgievski-Tupurkovski-Xhaferi government to control the territory of the republic effectively and to fully address the grievances of the Albanians in Macedonia. In March 2001 the so-called National Liberation Army (NLA) proclaimed itself a protector of the Albanian population in Macedonia. Its leader was Ali Ahmeti, who created and commanded the Kosovo Liberation Army in its fight against the Serbian state. The NLA was successful in expanding the conflict and gaining control over Macedonian territory. In the period between March and June 2001 the confrontations between Macedonian government forces and the NLA spread from Tetovo (which had a 90 percent Albanian population) to the outskirts of Kumanovo and Skopje. By June 2001, Ahmeti's insurrectionists captured Aračinovo, a village less than ten kilometers from the capital and in the vicinity of the international airport. The rebels were now effectively within rocket-firing range of the parliament building.

The precarious national unity government—a coalition of the four major political parties which was formed at the beginning of the crisis—effectively collapsed when the leaders of the two Albanian parties who were included in it signed a joint declaration of support with NLA leader Ahmeti in Priština on 22 May 2001. It was clear that the Macedonian army and police were unable to suppress the revolt. As a result, the EU and NATO decided to play a more decisive role and impose pressure on the fighting parties. On 5 July 2001, NATO mediated a cease-fire between Albanian rebels and Macedonian government forces, which became permanent with the signing of the Framework Agreement. Ali Ahmeti was elevated from the status of terrorist and rebel to the prestigious post of a political leader. In 2002 he was elected to the Macedonian parliament. It is difficult to establish the list of casualties on the both sides, but it is clear that several hundred people were killed during the hostilities. There is still an extensive list of missing and displaced persons.

Special forces bombard Albanian rebels in the area northwest of Tetovo, 23 March 2001. (Yannis Kontos/Corbis Sygma)

The outbreak of civil war in Macedonia was a natural result of the fact that the grievances of Albanians had not been seriously addressed. As discussed above, the governing party at the time of the civil war was a coalition between Vasil Tupurkovski, VMRO-DPMNE, and a recently formed Albanian party. Even though that party had come into being to work for resolution of Albanian grievances, in practice its politicians were content to settle for local power. VMRO-DPMNE, meanwhile, which held the most power in the coalition, continued to play on strong nationalistic and even chauvinistic Macedonian feelings; the result was the division of the republic into medieval fiefdoms in which local politicians ruled over the population. In such a context, laws on the books that reflected advanced, modern European ideas of equal rights for all in a multi-ethnic state remained dead letters, reflecting wishful thinking, an almost utopian ideal. The problem was not legal discrimination against the Albanian minority, but rather the practical exclusion of the Albanians from public life. In essence, the Macedonian government and its institutions were corrupt, ineffective, and inappropriate.

During the conflict in Macedonia, the international community at first denounced the insurrection and encouraged a quick suppression of the revolt; with the passage of time, however, it realized that the Macedonian government could not produce a military solution to the problem. Despite attempts by the Macedonian government to suggest that the international community was mistreating Macedonia, it is evident that it was in the interest of the EU to maintain a stable and undivided Macedonian state. It also seems clear that, despite accusations by the Macedonian government, NATO did not support militarily or politically any incursions of armed Albanian gangs into Macedonia. What does seem to be true is that, given their concern with maintaining the fragile peace in Kosovo, the United States and the EU lacked the political and military will to prevent the logistical and military support given by Kosovo paramilitary groups to the Albanian insurrectionists in Macedonia. It is also true that, when the Macedonian government revealed itself to be corrupt and ineffective, the Western powers tried to find a peaceful solution to the crisis, and so shifted into a new role. It is clearly Macedonian politicians, who put their own economic pursuits before the interests of the state, who must bear the responsibility for the loss of life in the country and, perhaps more damaging in the long run, national humiliation. It was only the activities of the Western negotiators that prevented a much more devastating conflict from erupting.

The ruling VMRO-DPMNE actually wanted to persuade the Macedonian population that the government was forced to avoid using full military power against the terrorists and to open a dialogue with them. If the government had used the military as they intended, the results would have been catastrophic. Widespread carnage would have led to a widespread civil war, along the lines of that which had occurred in the early 1990s in Bosnia. Nevertheless, the result of the internal anti-Western propaganda was that the Macedonian population attacked the U.S. embassy. The Macedonians wanted to interpret their inability to control the situation as due to pressure imposed by the international community. It was the Framework Agreement, imposed by threats and cajoling on the fighting parties by the EU and the United States, that actually saved Macedonia from a Bosnian scenario. This agreement, concluded in Ohrid in August 2001, cut short a rapidly evolving civil war.

The real causes of the conflict, however, have not yet been eliminated. The viability of the agreement depends on the development of democratic institutions and a market economy. The Framework Agreement again and again improves the situation on paper, but the social, popular, and to a certain extent political support and will is still missing. The main objective of the Framework Agreement is to preserve the unitary character of the Republic of Macedonia, to promote the peaceful and harmonious development of civic society, to respect the ethnic identity and the interests of all citizens, and to ensure that the constitution fully meets the needs of all citizens. The Framework Agreement calls for a number of important constitutional amendments and structural reforms, primarily in the use of Albanian and other minority languages in government bodies, municipalities, and the courts. It calls for the decentralization of the government and development of local self-government, as well as improvement in the representation of the minorities in the composition and distribution of police forces. In addition, this document stipulates the institution of the office of ombudsman, access to primary and secondary education for all minorities in the students' native languages, and reform of the public administration to assure equitable representation of minorities.

The actual situation makes the carrying out of the agreement virtually impossible. Macedonia, especially in certain areas in which there is a clear ethnic majority, is now more than ever divided into fiefdoms run by what amounts to local warlords. Albanian and Macedonian taxi drivers, policemen, state officials, and ordinary citizens do not dare to enter certain parts of the republic. Murders are up by a third over three years, and a series of bombings, kidnappings, and shootings have added to the sense of lawlessness. Poor communication on security matters often stokes the flames of ethnic tensions within the government and between communities; this, rather than any organized "pan-Albanian violence," is the greatest current threat to stability. The corruption that eats away at the country is in many ways a cross-community, shared enterprise. At a minimum, it is highly damaging to the economy and increases the chances for social instability. At the same time, it invites outright collusion between ethnic leaders to heighten tensions and plays a substantial role in making the country ripe for conflict.In light of recent developments, Macedonia could be viewed as one of the failures for multicultural society in the Balkans. In contrast to the enthusiasm and high hopes of the early 1990s, the dawn of the new millennium brings disillusionment, poverty, increased ethnic tensions, and an uncertain future. According to a recent UN survey, two-thirds of Macedonians and Albanians expect more conflict amid growing concerns over a stagnant economy. It is true that the Albanian minority has gained more rights and continues to become more powerful, but it has also lost the trust of Macedonians completely, and Albanians inevitably feel that in daily life. Society has already split more than ever into two opposing camps. Living together has become less realistic in Macedonia; if there is a possibility for a united, multicultural Macedonia, then it lies in the distant future. Aid workers continue to describe ethnic polarization in the former crisis areas, as minorities continue to face multiple pressures. Bitter disputes over schools defy mediation. Unemployment remains high and has created the potential for ambitious labor leaders to spark unrest. The prospect of yet more instability keeps foreign investment low and the economy almost paralyzed, a factor that only increases the internal tensions, perpetuating a vicious cycle.

What appears most likely is that the situation will remain unstable. Europe will have to take care of its unofficial protectorate; as the question remains as to what is to be done with Afghanistan, or U.S.-controlled Iraq, or Kosovo, or Bosnia, the question that imposes itself in the Macedonian case is whether any other option than an independent and unified Macedonia exists. The only other option that seems even remotely possible is that Macedonia will split into virtually independent cantons, one Albanian, one Macedonian, and that the federal state will follow the Canadian and Swiss political model.

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CHRONOLOGY

808 B.C.E.	The geographic term "Macedonia" emerges, with the establishment of an independent kingdom of that name in present-day Northern Greece.
359–336 B.C.E.	Philip II enhances the prestige of his country by conquering Greece.
336–323 B.C.E.	Philip's son, Alexander III (the Great), defeats and conquers the Persian Empire. The name "Macedonia" becomes well known throughout the ancient world, and the exploits of Alexander the Great will provide an endless source for literary and political imagination up to the present day. After the death of its most famous king, the Macedonian kingdom dissipates into smaller political entities.
146 B.C.E.	Macedonia proper becomes a Roman province.
51–63 C.E.	The Apostle Paul and his followers come to Macedonia to preach Christianity.
500–600	Various Slavic tribes settle in Macedonia, Greece, Illyria, and Thrace.
855–886	The brothers Cyril and Methodius from Salonika create the first Slavonic alphabet (called Glagolitic) and promote Christianity among the Slavic peoples. Their disciples simplify it and rename it the Cyrillic alphabet in honor of Cyril. Cyril and Methodius's disciples, Clement and Naum, settle in Ohrid, spread

	Christianity in the Slavic language in this area, and establish a school in Ohrid.
976–1018	Samuel establishes his short-lived kingdom in Macedonia.
1371–1389	The Ottoman Empire overruns and conquers Macedonia.
1689	The uprising of Karpoš in northern Macedonia.
1767	Under pressure from the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople, the Turks abolish the Archdiocese of Ohrid, which had become a church that held its services in the local vernacular.
1822	The unsuccessful Neguš Uprising against Ottoman rule.
1828–1878	Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria gain broad autonomy or independence from Turkish rule and display territorial aspirations for Macedonian territory, thus beginning the story of the so-called Macedonian Question.
1876	The failed Razlovtzi Uprising in eastern Macedonia against Ottoman rule.
1878–1879	The Macedonians rebel, again unsuccessfully, in eastern Macedonia.
1893	The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) is founded in Salonika. Its objectives are national freedom and establishment of an independent Macedonian state. Goce Delčev becomes its leader.
1903	On 2 August 1903, IMRO launches the Ilinden Uprising against the Ottoman Empire. Although the revolutionaries briefly hold the small town of Kruševo and establish a republic with a government, the uprising is crushed by the Turks. Krste Petkov Misirkov publishes his work, *On Macedonian Matters.*
1912–1913	Balkan Wars. Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria join forces to defeat the Ottoman army and conquer Macedonia in the First Balkan War. Bulgaria, angry over its share of the spoils, subsequently attacks its allies and in the Second Balkan War is defeated. Macedonia is denied independence, and in the Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913), it is partitioned.
1915–1918	Macedonia is occupied by the Germans and afterwards annexed to Bulgaria, which sides with the Central Powers.
1919	At the Paris Peace conference, the demands of the Macedonians for an independent and united Macedonia are ignored. The peacemakers instead sanction the partition of Macedonia.
1922	The exchange of population between Greece and Bulgaria. Thousands of Macedonians have to leave their ancestral homes in Aegean Macedonia.
1924	The Communist Party of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes issues the May Manifesto, which emphasizes the right of the Macedonian people to self-determination.
1934	The Resolution of the Communist International (Comintern), which provides the Macedonian language and nationality with international recognition.
1936	The Macedonian Literary Society is founded in Sofia by outstanding Macedonian writers.
1940	The Fifth Conference of the Communist Party of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia passes a resolution on the equality and right to self-determination of the Macedonian people.
1941	Bulgaria, as an ally of Hitler's Germany, annexes almost the entire territory of Macedonia (both Vardar and Aegean). On 11 October 1941, the Macedonians launch a war for liberation of Macedonia from the Bulgarian occupation.
2 August 1944	On the forty-first anniversary of the Ilinden Uprising, the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) proclaims a Macedonian state.
16 April 1945	The first government of the People's Republic of Macedonia is founded, with Lazar Koliševski as its president.
1946	The first constitution of the People's Republic of Macedonia is adopted. Bulgaria, under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov, officially recognizes the existence of the Macedonian nation and of a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria.
1946–1949	In the Greek Civil War that follows World War II, an overwhelming majority of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia support the Greek Communist Party (KKE), which promises them their rights after the war. After the communists are defeated, all national and minority rights of the Macedonians in Greece are denied.
1956	In the Bulgarian census of 1956, the majority of the population of Pirin Macedonia again declares itself as Macedonian. Bulgaria, however, under Todor Zhivkov, reverses its decision of recognizing the Macedonian nation and once again forbids free expression of Macedonian nationality and language in Bulgaria.

1958	The Archdiocese of Ohrid, abolished in 1767 by the Ottoman Turks under Greek pressure, is restored with an autonomous status.
1967	The Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences is founded. The autocephaly (independent status) of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is proclaimed.
1990	First multiparty elections in Macedonia. The nationalist party VMRO-DPMNE wins the greatest number of seats, but it is not able to form a majority government. The former communists (SDSM) forge a coalition government with the Albanian parties and SDS.
1991	Federal Yugoslavia disintegrates, as Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia declare independence. In a referendum on 8 September, the Macedonians proclaim independence. Kiro Gligorov is elected first president of independent Macedonia. A new constitution is adopted, declaring the Republic of Macedonia to be a sovereign, independent, civic, and democratic state, and recognizing complete equality of the Macedonians and the ethnic minorities in the country.
1993	Macedonia is admitted to the United Nations.
1994	Afraid that Macedonia might put forward a historical, cultural, and linguistic claim over Aegean Macedonia, Greece insists that there is no Macedonian nation and that the Macedonians have no right to use the name "Macedonia." Greece imposes a trade embargo on Macedonia because of the Macedonian refusal to rename the country, the nation, and the language. In the second free elections in Macedonia, SDSM wins and forms a coalition government, again with the Albanian parties.
1995	Macedonia becomes a member of the Council of Europe. Human Rights Watch condemns Greece for the oppression of its large ethnic Macedonian minority, which Greece denies exists. Both Amnesty International and the European Parliament also urge Greece to recognize the existence of the Macedonian language and stop the oppression of ethnic Macedonians on the territory it appropriated in 1913.
1998	Opposition parties win the third free elections in Macedonia and oust the former communists (SDSM) and their Albanian allies from power.
1999	NATO intervention in Kosovo. More than 300,000 Albanian refugees come to Macedonia.
2001	Albanian insurrection in Macedonia. Short and violent war, which ends with the signing of the Framework Agreement.
2002	SDSM again comes to power and forms a coalition government with the former leader of the 2000 Albanian insurrection, Ali Ahmeti, who is granted amnesty. The country strives to implement the stipulations of the Framework Agreement, which grant Albanians equal rights and representation in the institutions of the system.
2004	The second president of the Republic, Boris Trajkovski, dies in a plane crash. Former SDSM leader Branko Crvenkovski is elected president.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

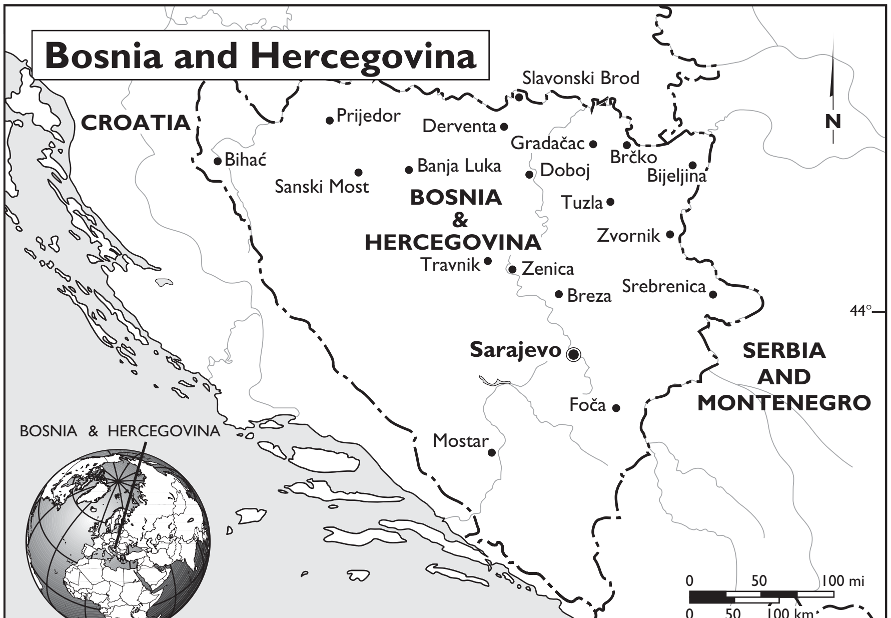
KATHERINE MCCARTHY

LAND AND PEOPLE

The Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina declared its independence in 1991 and was recognized by the United Nations in 1992. Following a bloody war with Serbia and Montenegro (and sometimes Croatia), the American-brokered Dayton Peace Accords (negotiated in Dayton, Ohio) recognized the outlines of the new Bosnian state in 1995. The republic is a parliamentary democracy with universal suffrage at eighteen, but voting rights for employed citizens at sixteen. The Dayton Accords created a weak federal state and one of the most complicated constitutions in the world. Its three-member rotating presidency (representing each of the three main ethnic groups) is subordinate to a non-Bosnian UN High Representative, who may dismiss any member of the presidency. The republic consists of two entities: the Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina (referred to as the Federation) and Republika Srpska (RS), both of which maintain their own armies and may negotiate binding treaties with other countries. The Federation (51 percent of the territory) is primarily Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) and Croat. It includes the important cities of Tuzla, Maglaj, Bihać, Goražde, and Mostar. Republika Srpska (the remaining 49 percent of the country) is now principally Serb and includes the cities of Srebrenica, Banja Luka, Žepa, and Pale. Sarajevo, the capital of the republic, and Brčko have a special federal status. Strongly contested during the war, Brčko lies in the Posavina corridor, a 5-kilometer wide strip of land along the Sava River that connects the eastern and western portions of RS. It is also the Federation's only access to the Sava River, with its vital trade and communication links to the Danube and the rest of Europe. Its designation as a federal district means that Brčko remains outside of Federation and RS authority. As the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Sarajevo also makes up its own district and is not subject to control by either entity.

Bosnia-Hercegovina covers 51,129 square kilometers, an area slightly smaller than West Virginia. According to the 1991 census, the prewar population was 4.4 million people. Current population estimates vary from 2.9 to 3.9 million, due to unreliable statistics stemming from the widespread fatalities and displacements during the 1992–1995 war. The Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is bordered to the north by Croatia and the Sava and Una Rivers, to the east by the Drina River and Serbia, to the west by the Dinaric mountain ranges and the Primorje region of Croatia, and by Montenegrin mountains to the southwest. Its coastline consists of one 20-kilometer stretch of land on the Adriatic Sea near the Croatian island of Pelješac, which provides no port facility. The republic has been using the Croatian port of Ploče near the mouth of the Neretva River for access to the sea.

Historically, the country is composed of two regions, Bosnia and Hercegovina, which are characterized by their mountain and river systems. Most of the country's cities grew up next to its 2,200 kilometers of river. In Bosnia, the major



Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, 1983. (Dean Conger/Corbis)

rivers (and their cities) are the Una (Bihać, Bosanski Dubica), the Sana (Sanski Most, Prijedor), the Vrbas (Jajce, Banja Luka), the Bosna (Zenica, Doboj, Sarajevo), and the Drina (Goražde, Zvornik). These rivers flow north into Bosnia's largest river, the Sava (Brčko, Bosanski Brod, Bosanska Gradiška), itself a tributary of the Danube that empties into the Black Sea. Bosnia derives its name from the Bosna River, which flows from the Sarajevo-Zenica basin into the Sava River. With no coastal facilities, the republic maintains four inland waterway ports on the Sava River at Bosanska Gradiška, Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Samac, and Brčko. Hercegovina accounts for 10 percent of the population and 20 percent of the area in the state. This region was called Hum until 1448, when Stefan Vukčić declared himself *herceg* (duke) of the region. Ever since, it has been identified as Hercegovina. The core of Hercegovina surrounds the slender Neretva River valley, where Mostar, Hercegovina's principal city, is located. The Neretva River is the country's only navigable river that flows into the Adriatic Sea. However, the Neretva meets the Adriatic through a narrow strip of Croatia.

The four traditional geographic regions of Bosnia-Hercegovina (North Bosnia, Central Bosnia, the High Karst, the Hercegovinian lowlands) do not correspond to the Dayton Peace Accords' entity divisions. North Bosnia, Central Bosnia, and most of the High Karst lie in historic Bosnia, while the southern stretch of the High Karst and Hercegovinian lowlands form the smaller area of historic Hercegovina). North Bosnia, an area oriented to the Sava River, made up of lowlands and hills, is the largest and most densely populated of the four. With its major cities of Banja Luka in the west and Tuzla in the east, North Bosnia incorporates 40 percent of the country and 55 percent of the pre-1992 population. Central Bosnia, the core of the medieval Bosnian state, is a mountainous region. Centered in the Sarajevo-Zenica basin, Central Bosnia covers 27 percent of the state and includes 32 percent of its population. The two remaining regions are sparsely populated, with little industrial development. The High Karst, covering 21 percent of the country, consists of high mountain ridges *(bilo)* and sunken valleys *(polje)* in western Bosnia and Hercegovina. It contains no major cities and only 6 percent of the population. Finally, the lowlands of Hercegovina form a small sub-Mediterranean region made up of polje and low plateaus. With its major city in Mostar, this area supports 7 percent of the population on 12 percent of the territory.

Rising dramatically from the Adriatic coast, the Dinaric mountain ranges dominate Bosnia-Hercegovina's landscape. These mountains cover virtually all of Hercegovina and most of Bosnia, extending 563 kilometers in a northwest-southeast direction and 100 to 160 kilometers across. Of the country as a whole, 57 percent (almost 29,000 square kilometers) is at elevations over 700 meters, while only 8 percent (4,000 square kilometers) is below 150 meters. The mountains average 1,200 to 1,800 meters with seventy peaks above 1,500 meters and ten over 2,000 meters high. Mt. Maglić, the highest peak, reaches 2,386 meters above sea level. Cut only by the Neretva River valley, the Dinaric Alps have long isolated Bosnia-Hercegovina from the Adriatic Sea. Geographers divide these mountains into three sub-zones: the Inner Dinaric Range, the High Karst, and the Adriatic coast (primarily in Croatia). The Inner Dinaric Alps slope toward the Sava River to form the southern part of the Pannonian Plain, called the Posavina. Here, narrow canyons are interspersed with open valleys and logging and mining predominate.

The most distinctive region in Bosnia-Hercegovina's topography is the High Karst. The term *karst* originates from a geological description of an area in Slovenia but is now applied wherever this type of terrain is found (such as areas in Florida, Kentucky, the American Midwest, the Causses plateaus in southwestern France, the Kwangsi area of China, and Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula). The High Karst reaches its greatest height in the south and west, extends the length of the Dinaric Alps and is 80 kilometers wide at its widest point. More rugged and barren than the Inner Dinaric Alps, the High Karst lacks above-ground lakes or streams. It is characterized by its cave networks, sinkholes, sunken fields, underground rivers, and short, widely spaced river valleys (such as the Zrmanja, Krka, Cetina, Neretva, and Morača).

The karst formation requires heavy rainfall and good underground water circulation to erode the dolomite and limestone rock near the surface. Widening cracks in the rock eventually evolve into a cave system or an underground stream network. Most of the principal cave areas in the world are in karst regions. If a cave becomes large enough (as well as close enough to the surface), the top collapses, producing a sinkhole. Sinkholes commonly run together and form larger depressions called polje, flat floored "fields" covered with a red arable topsoil made up of the insoluble limestone residue. Most polje have an elongated floor with steep enclosing walls that range from 50 to 100 meters. Large polje can be 259 square kilometers or more, forming arable islands in the harsh karst terrain. The country's largest polje, Livanjsko Polje, covers 652.6 square kilometers. In many karst areas, water is scarce in spite of heavy rainfall because so much water disappears into the sinkholes. In other areas underground rivers surface and then disappear, creating natural springs and thermal baths.

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Bosnia-Hercegovina's mountains and valleys are heavily forested. Forest covers 53 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovina (2.7 million hectares), making it the fourth most forested country in Europe. Although 78 percent of this forest is publicly owned, only 0.55 percent is protected. Nevertheless, much of the forest has remained intact and relatively unpolluted because of the lack of road access to it. A temperate continental forest of deciduous willow, poplar, ash, elm, and oak predominates in North Bosnia's Pannonian Plain area. This region also holds marshlands and saline areas where native steppe plants grow. Mountain forest containing oak and hornbeam is found in lower karst areas, while beech and fir prevail in the High Karst. Near the Adriatic Sea, the forest becomes dominated by holm oak (similar to the live oak in the American southwest) and aleppo pine.

Forests provide the habitat for most of the country's flora and fauna. Species from both the prehistoric tertiary (1 to 70 million years ago) and pre–Ice Age periods, as well as from the modern Balkan era, can be found in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Unfortunately, animal and plant life had not been extensively documented before 1992, and much of the existing information was lost during the 1992–1995 war. Still, biologists believe that Bosnia-Hercegovina's extensive karst region is rich in biodiversity and endemic species. The government estimates that the country has almost 4,500 vascular plant species, including 675 widely used in medicine. Although the area is most known for its bears, wolves, wild pigs, wildcats, chamois, otter, fox, badgers, and falcons, Bosnia-Hercegovina also provides habitat for hundreds of other animal species. Many of these plants and animals have become rare or threatened.

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) has a red list of globally threatened species, which names sixty-one animals and sixty-four plant species in Bosnia-Hercegovina (the number threatened at the state level is much higher). The vast majority of these are found only in the Balkans, in three countries or fewer. For example, the Serbian spruce, common throughout Europe millions of years ago, is now thought to consist of only one thousand trees on four mountains near the Drina River in Eastern Bosnia. The slender-billed curlew, common in the nineteenth century, has suffered a decline of 80 percent or more in the last ten years. Today it breeds only in Russia, and with as few as fifty left in the wild, the slender-billed curlew has an extremely high likelihood of extinction. The Danube salmon, found in the Danube River system, is one of the largest freshwater fish in the world, reaching up to 2 meters in length and weighing up to 100 kilograms. Its population has declined by 50 percent in the last decade. Today it lives in fewer than six locations and its habitat is limited to 777 square kilometers. Pollution, overfishing, and shrinking habitat are expected to halve the Danube salmon's population in the next ten years, placing it at a very high risk of extinction in the wild.

The Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina protects 28,127 hectares of land. The five largest national parks account for 89 percent of the protected area. Located near the Montenegrin border, the largest, Sutjeska National Park, encompasses mountains (including Mt. Maglić), old-growth forest, lakes, extensive woodlands, and mountain pastures. Perućica Primeval Reserve, connected to Sutjeska National Park, is the largest old-growth forest sanctuary in Europe. Five smaller Primeval Reserves and part of the Kozara National Park also shelter these old growth forests. South of Mostar, at the state's one bird reserve, Hutovo Blato, the fast-moving Krupa River joins four lakes and their marshes, meadows, and riverside poplar and willow woods to shelter 240 kinds of birds, as well as many varieties of eel and freshwater fish. This is the best place to find endangered birds such as the pygmy cormorant, the ferruginous duck, and the corncrake (a type of rail).

Bosnia-Hercegovina's economy is based on its natural resources: arable land and pasture (food, food processing, tobacco, tobacco products, textiles), mines (coal, iron ore, bauxite, lead, zinc, manganese), forests (logging, timber, construction materials, wooden furniture, cellulose, paper, medicinal herbs), and rivers (hydroelectric power, fishing). In addition, the state produces steel, arms, chemicals, and domestic appliances. It refines oil, constructs aircraft, and assembles ground vehicles. After 1991, huge increases in oil prices, declines in trade, hyperinflation, food and medicine shortages, as well as insolvent banks created a large black market. Federal economic data are limited because official statistics are published by each entity, but there are no national statistics available. In addition, the country's large black market does not show up on official records. The 1992–1995 war caused the economy to shrink by 80 percent according to CIA statistics. Since independence there has been some economic recovery, but with the annual per capita gross domestic product at $1,700 per person, production remains well below 1990 levels. The Bosnian mark, the republic's new currency (tied to the euro) is the only accepted currency. Since the war destroyed much of the region's economic infrastructure, the state still needs massive reconstruction. Almost 3 million square hectares of land remains mined, and rivers (especially parts of the Sava River) are still blocked by destroyed bridges, silt, and debris. Most of the country's 1,020 kilometers of rail need repair from war damage. The war also destroyed utilities, water supplies, and treatment facilities, which has created water shortages, solid waste build-up (including 800 metric tons of expired medicine sent as humanitarian aid), and health hazards.

In 1998 agriculture in Bosnia-Hercegovina took up 2.63 million hectares. Even at the height of collectivization in 1951, Bosnia-Hercegovina's agriculture remained overwhelmingly private. However, after 1953, strict limits on the size of individual farms and inadequate investment kept agriculture throughout former Yugoslavia inefficient and undeveloped. Although 19 percent of the country's land is used for arable crops and another 20 percent for permanent pastureland, Bosnia-Hercegovina is a net food importer. The most and best arable land lies in North Bosnia, where the Inner Dinaric Range merges into the Pannonian Plain. In addition, the areas in Central Bosnia between the Vrbas and Drina Rivers contain fertile valleys that stretch toward the Sava. Some of the bigger polje in the High Karst (Livanjsko Polje, Imotsko Polje (shared with Croatia), Popovo Polje (Dubrovink hinterland) also sustain commercial agriculture. However, summer drought and heavy spring and fall rains make both the karst and plains regions susceptible to flooding.

Commercial agricultural produces crops, livestock, and industrial goods. The state's principal grain crops include corn, wheat, and barley. Vegetable and fruit crops, including soy, potatoes, apples, pears, and almonds, are also important. The sub-Mediterranean lowland region of Hercegovina produces wine grapes, early fruit and vegetables, tobacco, citrus, and flower crops. Plums, especially from northeast Bosnia, are used for making jam and the popular plum brandy *(šljivovič)*. Both Bosnia and Hercegovina are well known for livestock raising. Cattle predominate near the Sava River, and swine dominate in the northern borderlands adjacent to Serbia. Sheep raising is a significant part of the economy in the High Karst, which is renowned for its lamb and its wool textiles.

In addition to supplying food and wood for timber, furniture, cellulose, and paper products, Bosnia-Hercegovina's forests provide rich mining reserves. Beneath the forests lie coal, metals, and mineral deposits that have been mined for centuries. Copper, gold, silver, lead, and zinc were excavated before Roman times. In the medieval period, Bosnian and Serb smelters were in demand all over Europe. Today, coal (both lignite and bituminous), iron ore, and bauxite are the most economically important mined commodities. Most mines are found in Hercegovina and eastern Bosnia; however, important reserves of coal and iron ore are also located near Banja Luka and in the Kozara mountains in North Bosnia. Lignite and bauxite mines near Mostar predominate in Hercegovina, while Bosnian miners extract lignite, manganese, and iron ore. Although zinc, mercury, and manganese are still mined, they are less significant today than coal and heavy metals.

POPULATION

Bosnia-Hercegovina, like its Ottoman, Habsburg, and Yugoslav predecessors, is a multinational state. Today, most citizens identify themselves as one of three Slavic groups: Bosnian Croats (17 percent), Bosnian Serbs (31 percent), or Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims; 44 percent). In addition to Slavs, smaller groups of Bosnians living in the region for centuries include Albanians (descended from Illyrians), Germans, Roma (Gypsies), Jews, Romanians, Turks, and Hungarians. With no independent state between 1463 and 1995, no distinctive language, no single dominant ethnicity, and no common religion, it is difficult to describe one Bosnian people. An independent Bosnian state did govern the region from 1180 to 1463. Subsequently, Bosnians belonged to the Ottoman Empire (1463–1878), the Habsburg monarchy (1878–1918), and Yugoslavia (1918–1992). Language neither unified Bosnians (as it did German speakers) nor did it adequately distinguish them from neighboring Serbs and Croats. The establishment of three medieval Christian churches in Bosnia-Hercegovina precluded a common religious identity from taking hold. Indeed, religion has divided the Slavs of Bosnia-Hercegovina since 1054. Religious identity became central during the Ottoman period. At this time, many Slavs turned to Islam; the Serbian Orthodox Church grew, as it officially represented all Christians in Ottoman Bosnia; and Jewish immigrants formed small, vibrant communities. While neither ethnicity nor religion can define Bosnian identity, they both played key roles. Geographically isolated by rugged terrain, Bosnians developed their unique culture and distinct national identity by blending the diverse and often divisive characteristics of Bosnia's many peoples.

Language in Bosnia-Hercegovina

There are three official languages recognized in Bosnia-Hercegovina today: Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian. Before 1995, these languages were officially known as Serbo-Croatian. The definition of these languages today, as in the past, has both etymological and political roots. Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian are variants of Serbo-Croatian, one of the major South Slavic languages. This language group includes Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian. There are three basic dialects of Serbo-Croatian, based on the word of each for "what" (*kaj, ča,* or *što*). In Bosnia-Hercegovina (as well as in Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro), people speak *štokavian.* Within this dialect, variations in vowel pronunciation make up three general subdivisions: *ikavian* (spoken in eastern central Bosnia), *ijekavian* (spoken in central and northwestern Bosnia as well as Dalmatia), and *ekavian* (spoken in east-central Bosnia and in Serbia). In addition, each region and linguistic subdivision has specific word choice preferences. These differences in speech patterns vary by region rather than by nation.

In the medieval period, Bosnians wrote their language using two alphabets: Glagolitic and a Bosnian Cyrillic script known as Bosančica. During the Ottoman period, educated Bosnian elites wrote official, religious, and literary works in Latin, Greek, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. The Bosnian vernacular also continued to be spoken. In the seventeenth century, two accessible Bosnian vernacular literatures emerged. Bosnian Franciscan literature introduced West European literature to Bosnian Catholics using a modified phonetic Bosnian Cyrillic script. Alhamijado literature used the Arabic script to write the Bosnian language, appealing to middle-class Bosnian Muslims. These vernaculars were eclipsed in the nineteenth century by the standardization of Serbo-Croatian.

The nineteenth-century linguist who standardized Serbo-Croatian, Vuk Karadžic, believed that in spite of religious and regional differences, South Slavs possessed a common culture that set them apart from the surrounding Albanians, Hungarians, Romanians, Greeks, and Germans. Karadžić believed that language defined the nation, an idea that reflected nationalist movements that were sweeping Europe at the time. The appeal of language to unify peoples in multinational states and distinguish themselves from the monarchies that ruled them was particularly powerful. Serbo-Croatian was a common national characteristic of South Slavs from the Habsburg monarchy, the Ottoman Empire, Serbia, and Montenegro. He wanted to use language to unify as many South Slavs as possible into one distinct nation-state. Karadžic also sought to provide the vernacular with a phonetic alphabet that would increase literacy. In doing so, he chose a dialect from Hercegovina as the basis of a standardized spelling that all Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians could understand. (Ljudevit Gaj, a Croatian grammarian and leader of the Croatian national revival, also advocated using štokavian found in Hercegovina as a literary language.) Karadžic urged schoolchildren to write as they spoke and to speak as they wrote. He modified the Latin alphabet and the Cyrillic alphabet to create a phonetic Serbo-Croatian with two alphabets that corresponded to each other letter for letter. Serbs generally write Serbo-Croatian using the Cyrillic alphabet, while Croats favor the Latin alphabet. Typically, Bosnians read both the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabets. The country's biggest daily, *Oslobodjenje* (Liberation), for example, is written in both alphabets. Thus Serbo-Croatian emerged as the standard, vernacular literary language in the early to mid-1800s.

The politics of the day has also influenced whether Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian are viewed as one language or three. Under both the Yugoslav monarchy (1918–1941) and the communist period (1945–1990) of Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian was seen as one language, and similarities among dialects were stressed. As nationalism increased before the breakup of Yugoslavia, Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians emphasized the differences in regional usage and highlighted their own distinct pre-1800 literary traditions, arguing that each national group had its own language. Since 1995, the various dialect subdivisions that correspond to distinct national groups have led to the relabeling of Serbo-Croatian as Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian.

Language played an important role in defining groups within the Romani (Gypsy) and Jewish communities as well. The oldest Jewish community in Bosnia-Hercegovina consisted of Sephardic Jews who spoke Ladino, a sixteenth-century form of Spanish. (It was in the sixteenth century that Jews expelled from Spain first settled in Sarajevo.) Any Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews from Belgrade or Vienna who settled in Bosnia-Hercegovina assimilated, and the community remained Ladino-speaking. After Habsburg annexation of the territory in 1878, a much larger group of Yiddish speakers from the Habsburg Empire (principally from Hungary, Galicia, Poland, and the Czech

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lands) swelled the population from 2,000 to 9,300 by 1900. As the Sephardim had lived in the region for hundreds of years, they looked down on the more rural Ashkenazi newcomers. The Jewish community remained divided along cultural and linguistic lines, each with its own synagogues, schools, and cultural organizations.

Some historians have also divided the Roma population along linguistic lines. The most assimilated were known as "white gypsies," who no longer spoke much Romani and lived in settled areas by 1900. In Bosnia, these white gypsies practiced Islam (whereas in Serbia and Macedonia they were Orthodox). Nomadic "black gypsies" spoke a Romanian-influenced language, indicating that they may have come from Transylvania. These Roma worked as tinkers, lived in tents, and also practiced Islam; they were the most affected by the Serb massacres of Muslims in World War II.

ETHNIC IDENTITY

Bosnians are mainly a mixture of Slavic peoples who absorbed those living in the region before them. Scholars believe the original inhabitants of Bosnia-Hercegovina were Illyrians and Scordisci (an Illyrian-Celtic people). Most Slavs in the area trace their ancestry to the sixth-century invasions that followed the fall of Rome in 476. In the waning decades of the Roman Empire, many peoples migrated into the area. Goths inflicted massive defeats on the Romans in the Balkans in the third and fourth centuries before reaching Rome. By the fifth century, Huns and Iranian Alans lived in Bosnia. Slavs and Avars, a Turkic-speaking tribe from the Caucasus, arrived in the region in the sixth century, when Slav settlers established themselves throughout the Balkan Peninsula. At first the Avars dominated, but the combined forces of the Byzantine, Croat, and Bulgarian armies drove them out of the Balkans in the seventh century.

At this time, two new Slavic tribes arrived in the Balkans: the Serbs and the Croats. By the second quarter of the seventh

Muslims pray in Sarajevo's Gazi Husrevbeg mosque, built in 1531. (Dean Conger/Corbis) century, Serbs controlled the southwest portion of modern Serbia (medieval Raška), Montenegro, and Hercegovina (medieval Hum), while the Croats dominated modern Croatia and most of modern Bosnia (except for the eastern Drina valley). This Slavic ethnic base, primarily Serbs and Croats, absorbed the peoples who had come to the region earlier: Illyrians, Celts, Goths, Alans, Huns, Avars, and Romans from all over Europe.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

In identifying themselves, each of the three main peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina points to a distinct historic religious culture. The Bosnian Croats tend to be Roman Catholic, the Bosnian Serbs are overwhelmingly Orthodox, and the Bosniaks identify with a specifically Bosnian Islamic culture. Members of these groups may or may not practice these religions. Christianity first came to Bosnia in the first century C.E., but it had no mass following before the ninth century. In the medieval period (800–1463), Bosnia-Hercegovina became the home of three Christian religions: Roman Catholicism, Serbian Orthodoxy, and the Church of Bosnia. However, these medieval churches and popular identification with them were weak. In the Ottoman period (1463–1878), Bosnians acquired strong religious identities. At this time, both the Islamic and the Orthodox churches grew. In contrast, the Catholic presence receded, and the Church of Bosnia, disbanded in 1459, did not survive into the early modern period. Finally, Jewish exiles formed permanent settlements in the region in the early 1500s.

THREE CHRISTIAN MEDIEVAL CHURCHES

The presence of two rival Christian churches (Roman Catholic, Serbian Orthodox) in Bosnia-Hercegovina is primarily a consequence of medieval states using religion to extend their political influence after the fall of the Roman Empire (476). Emperor Diocletian (284–305) divided Rome into two halves, with Bosnia-Hercegovina in the western half. Emperor Constantine (324–337) moved Rome's capital to Byzantium (modern Istanbul), shifting the empire's political center to the eastern half. Constantine designated Christianity as Rome's official state religion, renamed the capital Constantinople, and transformed it into the center of Roman power and Christianity. Nearly a century after Rome fell, despite many attempts to reunite the empire, Rome and Constantinople emerged as rival seats of power, each claiming political authority beyond its borders. When the Western Roman Empire was defeated, invaders did not sack the monasteries. After the destruction of the western half of the empire, six successor states emerged. The Catholic Church provided support to various states in exchange for protection from invaders. By 814, the Papal States emerged as a Catholic state with the pope as its ruler. The pope claimed jurisdiction over all Christians, but the Papal States was a weak shadow of the former Roman state. In contrast, the emperor Justinian (527–565) refashioned the eastern part of the Roman Empire into a strong and dynamic Byzantine Empire, which claimed Bosnia-Hercegovina, among other provinces. The Byzantine Empire became the world's preeminent Christian state, based on Roman law, Greek culture, and the Greek language. Thus, the division of the Roman Empire ultimately led to the creation of rival states and two rival Christianities (with no doctrinal differences before 1054).

In the ninth century, both Rome and Constantinople sent missionaries to Christianize Bosnia-Hercegovina, where neither state had real political control. Roman missions had great success in Croatia and Dalmatia, while Byzantine priests converted those living in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and much of Serbia. Since these missions carried civil and legal authority, they spread not only Christianity but also papal and Byzantine political influence. Although both empires claimed to lead the Christian Church, there were no significant doctrinal differences in these missions before the Great Schism of 1054 established Roman Catholicism and Christian Orthodoxy. After the Great Schism, popular church affiliation fell along political lines. At this time, Bosnia (which had been conquered by Catholic Croatia in the eleventh century and later annexed by Catholic Hungary in 1101) became primarily Roman Catholic, under the supervision of Croatian archbishops. Hercegovina, under Serb dynastic rule, became overwhelmingly Orthodox. In 1219 the Orthodox Church in Hercegovina became subordinate to the archbishop of Serbia, the head of the newly autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church. Thus, Bosnia-Hercegovina became divided between Catholic Bosnia and Orthodox Hercegovina.

Political rivalry in the mid-thirteenth century produced a third Christian church, the Church of Bosnia. After a failed bid to dominate an independent Bosnian state (1180–1463), Hungarian rulers persuaded the pope to declare the Bosnian Catholic Church heretical and proclaim a crusade (1235–1241) against it. The crusade failed, but the pope removed the Catholic Church in Bosnia from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Dubrovnik (in Croatia) and placed it under Hungarian control. The Bosnian clergy refused to recognize the Hungarian bishop's authority and drove him out of Bosnia into neighboring Slavonia. As a result, the Church of Bosnia established itself as an independent schismatic Christian church with its Catholic theology intact. From 1342 to 1878, Bosnia's Catholic clergy was limited to Franciscan monks.

Church membership in all three Christian churches tended to be regional. By the 1300s, the Church of Bosnia dominated in central Bosnia, as far east as the Drina and south to Hercegovina. Orthodoxy dominated in southern and eastern Bosnia (especially along the Drina River valley) and in Hercegovina. Catholicism predominated in northern and western Bosnia, especially around Franciscan monasteries and neighboring market towns. Bosnia was unlike many other European medieval states, however, in that all of its churches remained weak and none developed into a state church. Bosnian rulers and nobles intermarried and formed political alliances across religious denominations, changing confessions easily. From 1347, all the medieval rulers of Bosnia were Catholic, except for Ostoje (r. 1398–1404, 1409–1418), who belonged to the Church of

Church of Bosnia

The Church of Bosnia was one of three Christian churches that existed in medieval Bosnia. It has long been mistakenly associated with the dualist Bogomil heresy, which had pockets of adherents throughout the Balkans. The Church of Bosnia's liturgy, however, contained no doctrinal differences from contemporary Roman Catholicism. Rather, the Church of Bosnia emerged as a direct consequence of Hungary's attempt to dominate medieval Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In contrast to Bosnia, Hungary was a Catholic state, and the king was the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church. Papal denunciations of clerical illiteracy and ignorance of basic sacraments among Bosnia's monks fueled an unsuccessful Hungarian crusade (1235–1241), which used unspecified heresy charges to justify military conquest and the imposition of Hungarian religious authority. Subsequent attempts to politically dominate Bosnia by placing its Catholic clergy under Hungarian diocesan authority also failed. Instead of accepting the pope's 1252 appointment of a Hungarian bishop to supervise them, Bosnia's clerics broke with Rome and established their own Church of Bosnia. They remained theologically Catholic and monastic, but no longer recognized Roman Catholic church hierarchy. Since the Vatican recognized only Orthodoxy as a schismatic church, it labeled the Church of Bosnia heretical, despite the absence of any doctrinal differences. In spite of continual papal calls for a crusade against the Church of Bosnia, the country's rulers protected it and banned Catholic clergy from entering Bosnia until 1342, when the Orthodox Ban (governor) Kotromanić designated the monastic Franciscan order as the state's sole Catholic institution. The Franciscans remained the sole Catholic institution in the region until the Habsburg occupation over five hundred years later.

Papal heresy charges against the Church of Bosnia became more specific after 1440, a period in which the papacy was pressuring Bosnian nobles to convert to Catholicism. At this time, the Vatican asserted for the first time, on the basis of confessions made under torture, that the Church of Bosnia followed the dualist Bogomil theology. In 1459 the papacy demanded that the Bosnian king Tomaš suppress the Church of Bosnia because of its dualist heresy. In exchange for promised military aid against the impending Ottoman invasion, King Tomaš directed all Church of Bosnia clerics to either convert to Catholicism or to seek asylum in Orthodox Hercegovina. According to the pope, only forty fled. The Church of Bosnia did not survive this suppression. Papal military aid never materialized.

The accusation that the Church of Bosnia belonged to the dualist Bogomil sect lacks evidence to connect the church to the small number of dualists in the region. Dualists believe in the struggle between two powerful spiritual forces: a good, other-worldly God and an evil, materialist Satan. In contrast, the Church of Bosnia professed one omnipotent God. Bogomils rejected the Trinity, sainthood, and the Old Testament, all of which the Church of Bosnia accepted. Dualists rejected religious art, but Church of Bosnia gospels are lavishly illustrated. In fact, Hrvoje's Missal, an illuminated Church of Bosnia missal, confirms the church's adherence to Roman Catholic theological doctrine. The preference for conversion to Catholicism over emigration to Hercegovina in 1459 also suggests close theological ties between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Bosnia.

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Bosnia. In exchange for the promise of papal aid in fighting the Ottoman army in 1459, King Stefan Tomaš gave Church of Bosnia leaders the option of conversion to Catholicism to avoid expulsion. Most converted, and the Church of Bosnia ceased to exist.

ISLAM, CHRISTIANITY, AND OTTOMAN RULE

When the Ottomans conquered Bosnia in 1463, there was virtually no Orthodox presence in the country, only a small Catholic contingent of Franciscans and a defunct Church of Bosnia. The last fortress in Hercegovina capitulated in 1482, with the region's Orthodox character intact. Over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most Christian Slavs slowly became Muslim. The Ottomans did not settle Turkish peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina as they did in some other parts of the Balkans. There was no state policy of Islamicization in Bosnia-Hercegovina as there was in Albania. Using Ottoman tax records, Noel Malcolm estimates that, in 1468, 194,625 Christians and 1,660 Muslims lived in the Bosnian *sandžak* (military-administrative district; 1483–1580). In 1469 fewer than 1 percent of households professed the Islamic faith. By 1520, roughly 98,085 Christians and 84,675 Muslims lived in the sandžak of Bosnia. This area had experienced population stagnation, and no significant Muslim immigration since 1485, when there were fewer than 22,000 Muslims. By the early seventeenth century, Bosnia-Hercegovina had become a predominantly Muslim region,

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Nonetheless, the identification of the medieval Church of Bosnia with the Bogomils became widespread beginning in the mid-nineteenth century because it served the interests of those with political claims on the region, who wanted to deny the existence of a distinct Bosnian identity and culture. To account for the large number of conversions from Christianity to Islam, the Bogomil theory claimed that Bosniaks were the descendants of members of the Church of Bosnia, who had converted en masse to Islam after the Ottoman conquest. This explanation did not support claims that Bosniaks were "really" Croats or Serbs, but it did help nationalists (who identified religion with nation in Bosnia) deny that Catholics and Orthodox church members converted to Islam and maintain the fiction of Croat and Serb national identity in medieval Bosnia. The identification of Bosniaks with allegedly Bogomil Church of Bosnia descendants obscured the appeal of the dynamic Islamic faith, the absence of any national identity, and the weakness of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches in the region. Nationalist claims required the existence of strong medieval Catholic and Orthodox communities to argue that Croats and Serbs were "ancient" nations that had been subjugated by the Habsburg and Ottoman states and deserved to live in their own nation-state. After 1878, the Habsburg administration also encouraged this theory because it divided Bosnians by emphasizing three separate, competing cultures.

The denial of a distinct Bosnian culture was so strong that artifacts not found in the Catholic Croat or Orthodox Serb traditions were designated as "Bogomil" rather than Bosnian. For example, Bosnia's massive medieval gravestones, known as stećci, continue to be referred to as "Bogomil tombstones." Unknown outside of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stećci were not part of the wider Catholic Croat, Orthodox Serb, or Bogomil cultures. In contrast to any of the Christian churches in medieval Bosnia, Bogomils rejected the cross (an important feature in stećci design) and shunned religious art. Stećci are not found in centers of Bogomil belief. Within Bosnia-Hercegovina, however, Bosnians of all faiths used stećci to mark their graves. The existence of the stećci suggests that Bosnia's medieval Bosnian culture existed independently from Serbia and Croatia. By relegating the stećci to the marginal Bogomils, Serb and Croat nationalists maintained their claims to Bosnia's medieval heritage, while Habsburg officials could diffuse claims that Bosniaks were "really" Serbs or Croats. In 1909 Austrian archeologists looking for Roman artifacts discovered the tomb of Kulin, Bosnia's Catholic Ban (1180–1204), in a church that had been buried under the fourteenth century Saint Nicholas Church in Visoko. The strong identification of the stećci with the Church of Bosnia led the archeologists to break the 700-year-old stečak into pieces and leave it unlabeled in the basement of Sarajevo's Provincial Museum.

The Church of Bosnia was a striking example of a medieval schismatic church. In contrast to other medieval states, Bosnia developed no official state church and no privileged religion. This feature gave it religious tolerance but also made the state vulnerable to political attack and military invasion. Although all but one of Bosnia's kings were Catholic, they protected the Church of Bosnia for over two hundred years in spite of papal attempts to suppress it. The political use of the vague heresy charges against the Bosnian Catholic Church before 1252 and later accusations of Bogomilism in the Church of Bosnia has maintained debate over the nature of this borderland church for over 500 years after its demise.

with roughly 150,000 Catholics, 75,000 Orthodox, and 450,000 Muslims.

Under Ottoman rule, religious affiliation became a fundamental part of Bosnian identity. The Ottoman Empire (1463–1878) was a feudal state that categorized its people by religious community (each community forming a *millet;* in Bosnia: Muslim, Christian, and Jewish) and by legal status (the categories being Ottoman, or subject peoples, called *reaya* [*ra'ya*]). Each millet was responsible for its members' obligations to the state. Thus, religious affiliation became an integral part of one's identity, regardless of the extent of one's devotion. The state's recognition of Jewish and Christian millets gave each of these groups limited self-government and the freedom to practice their faiths. Muslims participated in the dominant culture, enjoyed legal privileges denied non-Muslims, and adhered to a separate tax code. However, conversion to Islam did not free those considered subject peoples from inclusion in the reaya, to which both Muslims and non-Muslims belonged. According to the 1468 tax records, 1,170 (70 percent) of Bosnia's 1,660 Muslims were reaya. As in other European feudal states, a military-administrative class (called Ottomans) ran the state and enjoyed most of its real advantages. The Ottoman conquest of the region was not a religious crusade; it was intended to extract soldiers, treasure, and income from Bosnia to pursue further wars.

In Ottoman Bosnia-Hercegovina, not only did Islam expand but the Orthodox Church grew at the expense of Catholicism. Until the Ottoman period, the Orthodox Church had been important in Hercegovina but barely active in Bosnia. When the Ottoman state designated the Serbian Orthodox Church to represent the Christian millet, that church acquired a privileged status among Christians. Catholics were required to pay taxes to the Orthodox Church (in addition to their Catholic contributions). At this time, many Bosnian Catholics left the region. Their land was resettled by Orthodox Christians from Hercegovina and Serbia, adding to Orthodoxy's growing strength in Bosnia. New Orthodox churches took over Roman Catholic ones. Sometimes it was difficult to get Ottoman permission to repair a Catholic church. Ottoman judges often favored Orthodox members in legal disputes with Catholics. Therefore, some Catholic parishes converted to Orthodoxy in order to remain Christian. Despite these relative advantages over Catholicism, many members of the Orthodox Church converted to Islam.

The Ottoman conquest brought a well-organized, popular, and dynamic Islamic church, one that attracted many converts in Bosnia. Before 1463, the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the region had little institutional organization, no established parishes, and few clergy. A church member might see a priest less than once a year. Islam filled the religious vacuum left by the weak medieval Christian churches. With only fragile ties to Christianity, Islam's privileged legal status (including possible freedom from slavery) and the dominant culture attracted many Bosnians.

Conversion to Islam did not bring great economic advantages. Muslims were exempt from some financial burdens but acquired others, from which non-Muslims were exempt. For example, only non-Muslims were required to pay an annual tax of one to four ducats (equivalent to the price of twenty to eighty kilograms of wheat). On the other hand, Muslims paid an alms tax as part of their religious obligations and were subject to military draft, from which Christians were exempt. As the Ottoman armies swept through the Balkans, they used cavalrymen (spahis), who were given land holdings (usually small *timar* estates of four to twenty hectares) as payment for their military service. Until the early sixteenth century, spahis could be (and many were) Christian. However, these timar estates carried heavy financial burdens. In return for the use of a timar estate, a spahi was committed to six to nine months of military service per year, during which time he had to provide his own horses, weapons, and salaried soldiers. Thus increased obligations offset the economic advantages of being Muslim.

The biggest practical advantage for becoming Muslim was acquiring a privileged legal status. The Ottoman state placed many restrictions on non-Muslims, including forbidding them to ride horses, wear turbans and other Muslim style clothing, or carry weapons. Contemporary observers reported Christians and Jews doing all of these things without reprisal, but this behavior remained officially banned. The most important regularly enforced legal handicap against free non-Muslims was their inability to use the courts to resolve disputes with Muslims. Non-Muslims could use courts for disputes among themselves, but they could not bring suit or testify in court against a Muslim. Conversion to Islam also allowed slaves to apply for and often win their freedom. When the Ottomans conquered the Balkans, they took prisoners of war as slaves from Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. After converting to Islam, freed Bosnian slaves often returned and went to work in the newly expanding towns. In 1528 8 percent of Sarajevo's population were freed slaves.

During the Ottoman period, Bosnia-Hercegovina gained an identity as a single historic region with a dominant Islamic culture. An administrative reform in 1580 designated Bosnia, with its capital in Sarajevo, as an Ottoman province *(eyalet),* the largest administrative unit in the empire. While most of the other regions in the Balkans were carved up, the Bosnian eyalet continued as a single entity (one that included all of modern Bosnia-Hercegovina) until Hungarian occupation in 1878. Thus, Bosnians enjoyed three centuries of continuous Bosnian and Hercegovinian regional identity. The region's major cities developed as a result of Ottoman advances and improvement and were predominantly Muslim. Bosnia-Hercegovina developed a strong Islamic culture, especially in urban areas. The older cities of Banja Luka, Travnik, and Livno became new seats of government. Sarajevo and Mostar both grew primarily as a result of the Ottoman presence in Bosnia. For instance, Sarajevo benefited enormously from Ottoman patronage. Even before the entire Bosnian state capitulated in 1463, the Ottomans had built Sarajevo's first mosque, a lodge for travelers, baths, a bridge, a large market in the center of town, and a governor's courtyard (from which the city derives its name), and they had installed a city-wide piped plumbing system. Between 1521 and 1541, the governor, Gazi-Husrev beg, built Sarajevo's first theological school, a library, a second mosque (the city's finest until it was destroyed in 1993), and a cloth market. By the end of the sixteenth century, Sarajevo boasted five theological schools, over ninety primary schools, over one hundred mosques, and six bridges. Over three hundred years, the regional continuity, the influence of the millet system, and Bosnian Islamic culture formed the basis for modern Bosnians' diverse but coherent identities.

JUDAISM IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Jewish communities also became established in Bosnia-Hercegovina during the Ottoman period. Always a small minority in Bosnia, Jews exercised important cultural influence. The largest number of Jews came to Bosnia in the sixteenth century after Queen Isabella expelled them from Spain during her Inquisition. These Jews spoke Ladino, a sixteenth-century Spanish. Many of these Sephardic Jews settled first in the trading centers of Salonika (Greece) and Skopje (Macedonia) before moving to Sarajevo. From the 1530s to the 1730s, Sarajevan Jews' main trading contacts continued to be with the Jews in Skopje and Salonika.

Under the Ottomans, Jews and Christians enjoyed roughly the same legal status and experienced similar restrictions. Despite these limitations, Jews in the Ottoman

Empire had more rights and fared better than in late medieval and early modern Christian Europe. As the Ottoman state prospered, so did the Jewish community, especially in Sarajevo. As a sign of their rising status, the Ottomans allowed Sarajevan Jews to move out of the Muslim quarter and into their own Jewish quarter near the main market in 1577. They built their first synagogue in 1580–1581. Nevertheless, the Jewish community remained small, and Ottoman records make little mention of it in the seventeenth century. By the 1720s, about 330 Jews lived in Sarajevo, working as traders, physicians, pharmacists, tailors, shoemakers, butchers, wood and metal workers, glassmakers, and dyers. In the 1770s the Sarajevan Jews established their own yeshiva (rabbinical school), and by 1779, just over 1,000 Jews lived in the city. By 1876, Jews had attained legal equality and had elected representatives in government. This co-equal status continued under both Hungarian and Yugoslav administrations until World War II.

At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia in 1878, the Jewish population of Bosnia numbered about 2,000. Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews (culturally distinct from the Sephardim) began arriving in Bosnia from Hungary, the Czech lands, and the Habsburg monarchy's Polish territories in 1878. By 1900, over 9,300 Jews lived in Bosnia, and the Ashkenazim had their own synagogue. Most of the Sephardic Jews looked down on the Ashkenazi newcomers. In general, the two Jewish populations lived as separate communities. Under Habsburg administration, the three leading factories were Jewish owned, and some Jews started to send their children to secular secondary school. By 1941, there were Jewish communities in every major market town in Bosnia-Hercegovina totaling 14,000 people (74,000 in Yugoslavia). In addition to Sarajevo, the largest communities were in Travnik, Banja Luka, and Bijelina. Most Bosnian Jewish communities perished in the Holocaust. In 1958 only 1,258 Jews remained in Bosnia-Hercegovina, with most living in Sarajevo. By the 1960s, the Jewish population in Yugoslavia stabilized at about 6,500, with the largest communities to be found in Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade. With 1,000 Jews living in Sarajevo, the city's Jewish population remained virtually unchanged from 1968 to 1991.

HISTORY

By the seventh century, Slav settlers had established control in a number of areas in what is now known as Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the ninth century Slav rulers controlled three new medieval states: Raška (southeast of Bosnia), Croatia (west of Bosnia), and Duklja (roughly modern Montenegro). The region that became known as Bosnia was mostly inaccessible and little known to these rulers, even though they all claimed to rule it. Warfare among Serb, Croat, Hungarian, Montenegrin, Bulgarian, and Byzantine rulers over Bosnia dominated the two centuries preceding Bosnian independence. In the tenth century Bosnia became part of Serbia. However, when Serbia's ruler, Časlav, died in 960, most of Bosnia came under the rule of the Croatian king Kresimir II. In 997 Samuel of Bulgaria conquered part of the region, before the Byzantine Empire vanquished the Bulgarian army in 1018. Later in the century, Duklja and Croatia divided Bosnia. Part of Bosnia seceded from Duklja in 1101, but Hungary (which annexed Croatia in 1102) took control of the area in 1137. Thirty years later the Byzantine Empire regained Bosnia from Hungary. None of these states ruled Bosnia long enough to gain popular loyalty or to establish any historic claim to the region before it became independent in 1180.

MEDIEVAL BOSNIA, 1180–1463

Medieval Bosnia emerged as an independent feudal state in the late twelfth century and survived until the Ottoman Turks annexed it 283 years later. It was characterized by weak kings, a strong yet contentious nobility, and diverse (and politically weak) religious communities. Until 1377, when the sovereign crowned himself king, Bosnian rulers held the title of *Ban* (governor). Bosnia's first ruler, Ban Kulin, established independence in 1180 and reigned until his death in 1204. He maintained cordial relations with neighboring states, especially with Hum (modern Hercegovina) and Dubrovnik. For most of the medieval period, Bosnia was separate from Hum, which was ruled by Serbs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Politically, Bosnia distinguished itself from other feudal states by its strong, feuding, and autonomous nobility. The Bosnian king had less power over his nobles than his European counterparts. As in other medieval states, the ruler granted nobles estates in return for military service and loyalty. Unlike elsewhere, however, the king did not grant lifetime peerages, but bestowed private and hereditary estates on his nobles. In addition, each grant had to be approved by a noble assembly, which also elected the ruler. Under weak kings, the noble assembly wielded influence. Under the strong fourteenth century rulers, however, its importance receded. In the fifteenth century some Bosnian nobles actually held more wealth and power than the king. At this time, domestic power struggles led to shifting internal alliances among nobles, who invited various Serb, Croat, Hungarian, Montenegrin, papal, and Ottoman armies to intervene on their behalf. These tactics created periods of great instability and weakened the Bosnian state.

Bosnia-Hercegovina also differed from other feudal states by the absence of a strong privileged state church. Bosnia's Bans were both Catholic and Orthodox. The archbishop in Dubrovnik supervised and consecrated the Catholic Bosnian bishops, and Hercegovina became part of the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church in 1219. The Dubrovnik archdiocese only loosely supervised the small, poor, and isolated Bosnian Catholic Church. By the thirteenth century vague accusations of heresy surfaced that concerned the low educational level of priests, lax observation of Catholic ritual (such as not enough crosses in a church), and the preservation of some practices associated with Orthodoxy. In an era when popes dominated Europe's rulers, the weakness of the Bosnian Catholic Church left the state vulnerable to politically motivated charges of heresy.

The greatest single threat to medieval Bosnia's political existence was the Hungarian crusade (1235–1241). In 1232 Pope Innocent IV claimed that the Catholic bishop in Bosnia was illiterate and ignorant of basic sacraments. He replaced the Bosnian cleric with a German Dominican priest, charged by the pope with rooting out such "heresies." In 1234 the papacy renewed its call for a crusade against Bosnia, even though there were no doctrinal differences between the Church of Bosnia and mainstream Catholicism. The Hungarian crown, which had unsuccessfully attempted to conquer Bosnia and had been unable to place the church under a Hungarian-controlled archdiocese, answered the pope's call. In 1235 Hungarian crusaders attacked the devout Catholic Ban Ninoslav. In 1238 Ninoslav's army was close to defeat when the Mongols attacked Hungary and the crusade collapsed. By 1241 Ban Ninoslav had regained power and expelled the Dominicans.

After the crusade, Hungary continued its attempt to control Bosnia through church politics, an attempt that unintentionally resulted in the creation of a new Christian church in Bosnia and the expulsion of Catholic clerics from the country. In 1252 the pope placed the Catholic Church in Bosnia under a Hungarian bishop. Fearing the political consequences of the change, the Bosnian clergy refused to recognize the new bishop. Instead, they drove the newly appointed bishop out of Bosnia into Hungarian-controlled Slavonia. Having rejected the pope's authority, Bosnia's Catholic clergy established its own independent Church of Bosnia in schism with Rome. Catholic clergy were prohibited from practicing in Bosnia. Thus, the Church of Bosnia came about as a consequence of Bosnian resistence to Hungarian expansion. Since the Catholic Church recognized only Orthodoxy as schismatic, it labeled the Church of Bosnia heretical, even though the new church remained theologically Catholic. At no time during or following the crusade were the Bosnian clerics accused of being part of the dualist Bogomil heresy. These accusations first emerged two hundred years later. By the 1300s, the Church of Bosnia dominated in central Bosnia. Until the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1878, Bosnia's Catholic clergy was limited to a small number of Franciscan monasteries that were permitted to operate, beginning in 1342. In sharp contrast to the medieval trend of establishing a strong state church, Christian Bosnia-Hercegovina was thus fragmented into three politically weak Christian faiths.

Medieval Bosnia was at its height in the fourteenth century under the leadership of Stjepan Kotromanić and his successor Stefan Tvrtko. Kotromanić greatly expanded Bosnia's territory through diplomacy and conquest. He first united southwest Bosnia with the northern territories and then annexed Hum. By 1330, he had doubled the size of his state. Bosnia benefited most from Kotromanić's alliances with the Hungarian kings Charles Robert and Louis I. Kotromanić won Hungarian support by subduing Croatian rebellions in 1322 and 1340 and helping to defend the coastal city of Zadar against Venetian attacks in 1346. The alliance was further cemented when Kotromanić's daughter Elizabeth married King Louis in 1353. In exchange for Kotromanić's aid, Hungary ceded to Bosnia parts of western Croatia, including 320 kilometers of Dalmatian coast between Dubrovnik and Split. He improved relations with Venice, signing treaties with Dubrovnik (1334) and Venice (1335). His dealings with the powerful Serbian king Stefan Dušan also remained cordial, except at the time of Dušan's incursion into Hum in 1350.

Kotromanić's diplomatic skills were most evident in his religious policies. He fended off papal attempts to launch a new military crusade to displace the schismatic Church of Bosnia. Kotromanić recognized the legitimacy of the Church of Bosnia, and at the same time he did not interfere in church activities after his expansion into Orthodox Hum or into Catholic Dalmatia. In return for Bosnia's military aid in the 1322 Croatian uprising, Charles Robert supported Kotromanić against the pope's attempt to launch a Croat crusade against Bosnia. In a conciliatory gesture, Kotromanić invited the Franciscans to set up a Vicariate of Bosnia (extending far beyond Bosnia's borders) in 1342. Thus, three regional Christian churches (Catholic, Orthodox, Church of Bosnia) coexisted in medieval Bosnia, but none developed into a state church.

In 1347 Kotromanić converted to Catholicism, and except for King Ostoja, all of his successors were Catholic. In contrast to elsewhere in medieval Europe, however, the Catholic Church in Bosnia remained a regional one. With its small following and weak economic base in market towns and mining areas, it remained subordinate to the state. Although some Franciscans were personally influential as advisors to the king and some nobles, they were small in number. By 1385, the Franciscans had built four friaries, adding only twelve more before the Ottoman conquest in 1463.

Although Kotromanić held enormous personal authority and had created an independent and prosperous Bosnia, he did not create a strong state. When he died in 1353, the state promptly dissolved amid foreign invasion, renewed papal calls for crusade, and domestic rivalry. Kotromanić's heir was his fifteen-year-old nephew, Stefan Tvrtko, a Catholic descended from the Orthodox Nemjanić family that had ruled Serbia. Upon Tvrtko's succession, King Louis I demanded most of western Hum as a dowry for his marriage to Kotromanić's daughter Elizabeth. Bosnian nobles loyal to Kotromanić had no loyalty to Tvrtko. Without strong allies, Tvrtko lost Hum and surrendered Kotromanić's Croatian acquisitions. At the same time, Pope Innocent VI renewed calls for a crusade against the Church of Bosnia. In 1363 Tvrtko was again at war with Hungary. However, when Tvrtko's brother Vuk deposed him in 1366, Tvrtko took refuge in Hungary.

Ultimately, Tvrtko regained power and became medieval Bosnia's most powerful ruler. He became Bosnia's first king and further expanded Bosnian territory. By the end of 1367, he had suppressed the noble revolt against him. In 1370 Tvrtko supported Lazar Hrbljanović's bid for power in the Serbian civil wars. In return for Tvrtko's support, Lazar gave him control of Hum, southern Dalmatia (between Dubrovnik and the Bay of Kotor), and the region later known as the Sandžak of Novi Pazar (including the Orthodox monastery at Mileševo, with the relics of the Orthodox Saint Sava). In 1377 the Catholic Tvrtko had himself crowned King of Bosnia and Serbia at Mileševo. Between 1382 and 1390, a power struggle for succession to the Hungarian crown enabled Tvrtko to regain lands Louis I had taken from him thirty years earlier, to expand his influence over most of Croatia-Slavonia, and to rule the Dalmatian coast between Zadar and Dubrovnik. By 1390, Tvrtko had added "King of Croatia and Dalmatia" to his titles.

When Tvrtko died in 1391 without any legitimate heirs, three noble families used the Bosnian noble assembly to assert political authority over an elected and much weaker king. Thereafter, Bosnian kings depended on internal coalitions with these powerful nobles and an alliance with a powerful non-Bosnian sponsor to maintain power. These politics led Bosnian nobles to pursue their own short-term interests by joining ever shifting alliances between rival claimants for the Hungarian crown. Even more ominous were Bosnian nobles' ever changing coalitions with Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.

OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

The medieval Bosnian state fell piecemeal to Ottoman forces between 1440 and 1463. Although King Stefan Tomaš surrendered in Ključ in 1463, the last fort fell in Jajce only in 1527. Despite an increasing Ottoman military threat, Bosnian nobles continued to fight each other rather than form a united defense. After the Turks' conquest of Serbia in 1439, Bosnia shared a common boundary with the Ottoman Empire, and border raids became frequent. By 1440, Ottoman officials increasingly mediated Bosnian nobles' disputes, and Dubrovnik merchants sought Ottoman guarantees for commerce in Bosnia. Bosnia's last years of independence were marked not only by its failure to unite or enlist outside aid against the Ottoman threat, but also by its own internal weaknesses. Constant internal warfare had weakened Bosnia's nobles. The strongest noble, Stefan Vukčić, seceded from Bosnia to form Hercegovina in 1448. At the pope's request, King Tomaš suppressed the independent Church of Bosnia, which the state had protected for 235 years.

Despite the Ottoman threat, the Bosnian nobles fought each other for no real gain. For example, Tvrtko II, Tvrtko's illegitimate son, used an international crusade against the Ottomans as an opportunity to strike his rival Stefan Vukčić, who was busy attacking Venetian holdings in Dalmatia. Tvrtko's successor, Stefan Tomaš, was no more perceptive concerning the Ottoman threat. Papal requests to both Tomaš and Vukčić went unheeded. Although lesser nobles committed as many as 700 troops, Tomaš and Vukčić were too busy fighting each other to participate. In 1446, having defeated the crusade, the Ottomans helped Vukčić reestablish prewar borders.

As Bosnia's most successful noble, Stefan Vukčić used his power to secede from Tomaš's realm in 1448 as the Ottoman army approached Vukčić's and Tomaš's lands. Vukčić dropped his title as *vojvod* (count) of Bosnia and declared himself "*Herceg* (duke) of Hum and the Coast." These lands have been known as Hercegovina ever since. The divisions that plagued Bosnia were, however, recreated in Hercegovina. Vukčić (hereafter Herceg Stefan) found himself constantly at war to meet increasing tribute demands after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Stefan also faced civil war from his son, Vladislas. In 1451 Stefan took his son's potential bride for his own mistress and threw Vladislas in jail. After escaping, Vladislas enlisted the support of Dubrovnik, Bosnia, and some nobles in Hum to oust his father. Herceg Stefan survived only because an Ottoman attack forced Tomaš to withdraw his troops to defend Bosnia. The war ended in 1453, when Church of Bosnia clerics mediated peace between Vladislas and Stefan. Vladislas reinitiated the civil war with Ottoman aid in 1462 and encouraged the Ottomans in their spring 1463 assault on Bosnia. The Ottoman Empire ultimately conquered Hercegovina in 1481.

Fighting among Serbia, Bosnia, and Hercegovina lessened each state's ability to defend itself, at a time when the Ottomans had already annexed parts of Bosnia and had conquered neighboring Serbia. Between 1436 and 1448, the area around Sarajevo alternated between Hungarian and Ottoman control. In 1451 the Turks took permanent control of the city. Constant fighting between Bosnian nobles and against Ottoman incursions weakened Bosnia's nobility. For example, the Pavlović nobles, once the most powerful family in eastern Bosnia, became Herceg Stefan's vassals after 1450. By 1444, Serbia had resurrected itself as a state but continued its squabbling with Bosnia. The wealthy silver mining city of Srebrenica changed hands several times before Serbia secured it in 1451. Despite increasingly frequent Ottoman raids, Tomaš used the death of Serbian noble George Branković in 1459 to take eleven towns in eastern Bosnia (including Srebrenica) from his successor, Lazar. Tomaš made peace with Lazar, whose daughter married Tomaš's son, but fighting weakened the region and allowed the Ottomans to recapture all of Serbia in 1459.

After Tomaš's sudden death in 1461, his son Stefan Tomašević tried unsuccessfully from 1461 to enlist military help from the pope, from Venice, and from Hungary. In 1462 Tomašević wrote to the pope, arguing that the Ottomans were about to invade and that they intended not only to conquer Bosnia and the Balkans, but to penetrate deep into Catholic Central Europe. Bosnia's defenses could not withstand such an attack alone. Inexplicably, Tomašević stopped paying tribute to the sultan. As a result, in 1463 the Ottoman army launched a surprise attack. Bosnian forts fell rapidly. In Ključ, the Ottomans captured Tomašević, who quickly surrendered all of Bosnia in writing on the condition that he not be killed. After accepting defeat, he was quickly beheaded. Meanwhile, Tomašević's commanders obeyed his written surrender orders. Most of Bosnia fell in weeks. Bosnia and Hercegovina became part of the Ottoman state for the next four hundred years. By the time of the conquest, the size of Bosnia had been whittled down through seventy years of near-constant warfare. Most Bosnians had become more anti-Hungarian than anti-Ottoman, and peasants noted that their Ottoman counterparts rendered fewer obligations to the state.

OTTOMAN RULE, 1463–1600

The Ottoman conquest of Bosnia was a small part of its rapid expansion into Europe. Sultan Mehmet II took Constantinople in 1453, renaming it Istanbul. In addition to Bosnia-Hercegovina, he also captured northern Serbia, part of Anatolia, and Wallachia. His armies raided Moldavia and Hungary and destroyed the Venetian army in Greece. His successor consolidated Mehmet's power, while pursuing expansion in Moldavia, Poland, Hungary, and Venice. Süleyman the Magnificent brought the Ottoman Empire to the height of its power. By 1533, he had conquered most of Hungary, and he nearly captured the Habsburg capital of Vienna before signing a peace treaty.

During the next 350 years, Venice, France, and Russia all challenged Ottoman control over Bosnia-Hercegovina; the Habsburg monarchy, however, posed the greatest threat. After 1533, the Habsburg and Ottoman states built up military frontier zones along their common border (much of it along today's Bosnian-Croatian border). This military frontier consisted of forts manned by peasant-soldiers under loose governmental control. Raiding between these frontier zones was common, especially during military campaigns in what became a mostly static conflict between the two empires.

The Ottoman Empire was divided administratively into provinces (eyalets). After 1463, Mehmet II set up the eyelet of Rumelia, covering most of the Balkan Peninsula, each containing several military districts (sandžaks). Appointed on a rotating basis, a *sandžak-beg* (a junior-level pasha) commanded the cavalry in his sandžak. As long as the sandžak-beg's territory remained peaceful, he enjoyed great autonomy. With its seat in Sarajevo, Bosnia was the first sandžak organized in Rumelia. By 1470, sandžaks in Zvornik and Hercegovina had been established; in 1554 these were placed under the jurisdiction of the Bosnian governor (vizier). In 1580 administrative redistricting created a Bosnian eyelet with seven sandžaks, covering Bosnia-Hercegovina and parts of Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Serbia. The Bosnian eyalet, which lasted until 1878, gave Bosnians a long-term regional-administrative identity that no other South Slavs enjoyed.

Ottoman Bosnia-Hercegovina was run by a Muslim military-administrative landowning elite who were pledged to behave according to Islam's highest ethical principles and cultural standards. However, most Muslims belonged to the *reaya,* or subject peoples. In local, civil, and spiritual matters, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish religious leaders governed their respective millets. In Bosnia-Hercegovina most Muslims and Christians were either peasant freeholders or serfs. Ottoman rulers also developed flourishing cities and mining towns throughout the region, where Jewish and Roma (Gypsy) immigrants settled. As in other parts of Europe, cities enjoyed tax and guild privileges denied villagers.

Like medieval Bosnia and early modern Europe, the Ottoman Empire was a decentralized, feudal, military state. The Ottoman army consisted of salaried infantry, known as janissaries, and two types of cavalry: spahis and spahis of the Porte (the Ottoman government). Spahis of the Porte, like janissaries, were salaried, but spahis received estates *(timars)* in exchange for their ongoing military service. To maintain his timar, each spahi supplied his own arms, horses, and salaried soldiers. He also spent six to nine months of the year on military maneuvers. The spahis' estates were nonhereditary lifetime grants, awarded by the sultan. As long as the empire kept expanding, providing opportunities to acquire timars, this system worked well.

The Ottomans also established the office of *kapetan* in the Military Frontier, an area on the border with the Habsburg Empire. Initially, a kapetan administered a *kapetanije* (a military area within a sandžak) in the Military Frontier. He raised troops, kept roads safe from bandits, checked travelers at the borders, and performed various police and administrative duties. By the end of the sixteenth century, one had to be Muslim to join the military or the government. However, in frontier areas the Ottoman army supplemented its military with local Christian forces. Kapetans also employed Christians to guard road and mountain passes and to organize supplies.

The most important Christian involvement in the Ottoman state was through the child-tribute *(devshirme)* system, which affected about 200,000 Serbo-Croat speakers before it was ended in the 1660s. The government randomly took boys from Christian villages to Istanbul as tribute. In Istanbul these boys converted to Islam and received education and training as janissaries or as servants. This practice is usually portrayed as an example of oppression of the Christian population. Yet, in 1515 Bosnian Muslim families made special arrangements to have 1,000 Muslim boys taken for training in Istanbul. High-ranking servants worked for the sultan and various departments of state, some reaching the rank of grand vizier. The Porte sent Bosnians trained in Istanbul back to govern Bosnia as early as 1488. Some ambitious Christian families volunteered their boys for tribute, hoping that they would eventually become viziers or senior pashas and return home to enrich their families. The biggest Bosnian success story of the devşirme system is the Orthodox Sokolović family, who produced nine grand viziers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Most Bosnians, Muslim and Christian alike, lived as peasants on timar estates and paid some labor dues (an in-kind tithe of 10 to 25 percent of a peasant's produce) and a land tax to the sultan. Altogether, these obligations were less than those imposed in Western Europe. Unlike the spahis, the peasants held hereditary leases, which could be sold or passed on to their children. A peasant who converted to Islam enjoyed a more secure land tenure, with full ownership of the smallholding *(čiftlik).*

OTTOMAN DECLINE, 1600–1815

The Ottoman Empire spent much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at war. Sustained military losses created a perpetual fiscal crisis, which eroded its political and economic structure. As it steadily lost territory to the Habsburg and Romanov empires, the Porte turned to ever increasing taxes to support its military and government bureaucracy. Since nobles and cities enjoyed tax exemptions, the tax burden fell disproportionately on peasants and serfs. To collect

Stari Most, or Old Bridge, crossed the Neretva River in Mostar, Hercegovina's capital. In 1566, Ottoman architect Hajrudin built this arched bridge, which became a symbol for ethnic unity as it connected Croat and Muslim quarters of the city. Croat forces destroyed it in 1993. (Otto Lang/Corbis)

more revenue, the sultan created hereditary private tax farms (lands that derived income from taxes rather than raising crops or livestock) that were free of military obligation. The ongoing fiscal crisis increased Istanbul's dependence on taxes and local military forces, allowing the local aristocracy to become more independent. Such autonomy enabled tax farmers to strip peasants and serfs of their traditional feudal rights and greatly increased rural poverty. The rise of this landed military elite and the impoverishment of the rural economy transformed Ottoman society in Bosnia. Continued economic decline between 1760 and 1815 and peasant tax revolts clearly demonstrated the need for military, administrative, tax, and land tenure reforms. Bosnian lords, however, had become powerful enough to block or ignore any significant reform that threatened their privileges.

Ottoman decline began after the Ottoman army failed to take Vienna in 1683. In their 1684 counteroffensive, the Habsburg military gained control over Hungary and sent

130,000 Muslim refugees (mostly from Slavonia) into Bosnia before reaching Kosovo in 1689. Ottoman troops drove the Habsburg army back, with at least 30,000 Kosovo Serbs retreating with the Habsburgs. After 1689, a military stalemate ensued, broken only in 1697, when the forces of Prince Eugen of Savoy seized Sarajevo. His forces plundered and burned the city to the ground. When the Habsburg army retreated, many Bosnian Catholics went with it, breaking the Catholic domination of trade in Bosnia. The 1699 Treaty of Karlovci ended the war with the permanent accession of Hungary and Transylvania to the Habsburgs. The Ottoman state never recovered, even though their military policy became fixed on regaining their losses.

Habsburg advances after 1683 allowed Venice to take territory in Dalmatia. In 1685 Venetian gains sent 30,000 Muslim refugees from the Lika area into Bosnia. The remaining 1,700 Muslims were forced to convert to Catholicism. The Treaty of Karlovci also ended these wars (ongoing since the 1640s), granting large parts of Dalmatia and Greece to Venice. However, after repeated Venetian treaty violations, Ottoman troops were soon at war once more. With Austrian aid, Venetian troops defeated the Ottomans (1714–1716) and acquired more Dalmatian territory. More Muslim refugees flooded into Bosnia. In 1736 Ottoman forces finally repelled an Austrian attack at Banja Luka, enabling the Porte to recover some of its 1718 losses at the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade.

Ottoman military losses were so great that by the late eighteenth century, the Habsburg ruler, Joseph II, considered annexing Bosnia. In 1788, Austria overran Bosnia, and Joseph II and Russia's Catherine the Great agreed to split Ottoman possessions in the Balkan Peninsula. In 1789 European diplomatic pressure in the wake of the French Revolution convinced Austria to withdraw. However, the sultan agreed to let the Habsburg emperor act as "protector" of Christians in the Ottoman lands. Although the Serb revolt of 1804 weakened Ottoman control in Serbia, Napoleonic conquests in Central Europe blocked Austria's ability to exploit local unrest for its own political ambitions. After Napoleon's victories over Austria and Venice in 1805, French troops helped the Ottomans subdue resistance in Serbia and Hercegovina.

The effects of these long-term military losses and the growing importance of the infantry in waging war transformed both the Bosnian economy and Ottoman politics in the region by ushering in the ascendancy of tax-farming landlords, janissaries, and kapetans. Changes in seventeenth-century warfare rendered infantry forces more important than the cavalry. Thus, the Porte became more dependent militarily on its salaried janissary forces than on its timar-holding spahis. As the influence of the janissaries increased, many spahis became impoverished. Permanent Ottoman military losses in Hungary and Slavonia and Dalmatia drove spahi refugees into Bosnia. Since these spahis had lost their estates and could not earn new ones, they became an economic burden on Bosnia.

To alleviate its financial crisis, the Porte increased taxes. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the sultan consolidated timar lands and created a new type of estate (čiftlik) for janissaries and the descendants of imperial officials. These non-peasant estates were hereditary and carried no military obligations. Instead, landlords were required to collect taxes from peasants living and working on the estate and deliver them to the Porte. As Istanbul became increasingly dependent on cash taxes, the new čiftliks, on which revenue could be more efficiently collected, eventually replaced the timars. Even though these large landowning tax-farmers had no military obligations, many maintained their own militias. At this time, the nobility (*beg*s and *aga*s) acquired and enlarged their own čiftlik estates in a number of ways. They converted their timars, bought land from peasants, took deserted lands, seized farms, and appropriated land on which they had a right to collect a tithe.

By the eighteenth century, Istanbul's reliance on cash taxes had failed to resolve its revenue shortfalls, but it had transformed the traditional rural economy and its feudal land tenure system. On čiftliks, landlords' obligations to provide and maintain housing, tools, and seed were reduced. On the other hand, peasant obligations increased, and they lost many of the legal rights and protections that timar estates provided. As spahi lands dwindled, two types of non-peasant čiftliks developed: *agaluk*s and *beglik*s. Lesser nobles known as agas held agaluk estates, whose feudal character was never disputed. On agaluks, landlords increased peasant labor dues and in-kind payments, while peasants' personal security and independence decreased. Peasants deeply resented the agaluks, citing their rights under the timar system. The peasants claimed to possess hereditary control and property rights over the land they farmed. In contrast, the upper nobles (begs) denied the feudal character of their beglik estates. They asserted the fiction that their beglik estates were private property and peasants living on them were freely contracted laborers, not entitiled to even limited feudal rights. The tax-farming čiftlik system essentially placed peasants at the mercy of the landlord, encouraging abuse and corruption.

These hereditary estates became the economic and political base for local elites' autonomy from Istanbul. Janissaries not only obtained čiftliks, they also exerted political influence in city government, especially in Sarajevo and Mostar. As in the rest of Europe, late medieval and early modern Bosnian cities enjoyed some autonomy because of tax exemptions and guild trade monopolies. Sarajevo had enjoyed an autonomous status since the Ottoman conquest. After the office of grand vizier moved from Sarajevo to Travnik in 1698, Sarajevo became even more independent. In the seventeenth century janissaries in Sarajevo formed a guild to protect their social and military privileges. By the nineteenth century, most of Sarajevo's 20,000 janissaries did not serve in the army, but they still held formidable political and military power.

In addition to the janissaries, the office of kapetan had become politically powerful in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In contrast to the rest of the empire, the office of kapetan, which had various police and administrative duties in military frontier districts, expanded its powers, spread to non-frontier regions, and became hereditary. In 1700 there were twelve kapetans; by 1800, when they began to collect taxes, thirty-nine kapetans administered territory covering most of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Since the office had become hereditary and kapetans raised their own militias, they could enjoy more independence from the Porte than either the sandžak-begs or the viziers, who served fixed terms of office. Beginning in the eighteenth century, their efficient tax collection and effective military service enabled the kapetans to ignore the authority of the sultan's vizier and the sandžak-begs and disregard centralizing Ottoman reforms.

The power of the Bosnian landowning-military elite was curtailed only in 1849–1850. To meet its financial and military commitments, the Porte continued to convert timars to čiftliks and to increase taxes in the region, further increasing the nobles' power and impoverishing the peasantry. Ignoring Ottoman law, begs and agas illegally converted crownlands to private estates, failed to deliver taxes they owed to the central government, and disregarded Istanbul's limits on peasant obligations to their landlord. At a time when landlords were extracting more and more from peasants, less and less revenue found its way into the Ottoman treasury. Despite these encroachments on the sultan's power, Bosnian nobles played a key military function in the Ottoman state, by providing trained troops from their own militias who defended the Ottoman state throughout the empire. For example, the Ottoman troops fighting Napoleon in Egypt came from Albania and Bosnia.

Economic decline and military defeats resulted in widespread depopulation from death, disease, and displacement. In the 1730s 20,000 Bosnians died of plague. Higher taxes, together with the failure to implement land tenure reforms and to effectively limit peasant obligations to their landlords, created an increasingly impoverished and resentful peasantry. Villagers rebelled against new taxes and ever increasing obligations to their lords in 1727, 1728, 1729, and 1732. After the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade, the state imposed more taxes, and revolts continued. As Bosnian peasants became more and more rebellious, Bosnia became increasingly difficult to govern.

Bosnian peasants and urban elites found common cause in opposing new taxes, an opposition that sometimes led to armed conflict with the state. Villagers opposed new taxes because they already paid a disproportionate share. As Ottoman officials tried to shift some of the tax burden to nonpeasants, nobles and urban elites blocked any infringement on their traditional tax-exempt privilege. Sarajevo became one of the centers of tax resistance. It had enjoyed a semiautonomous status since the fifteenth century for its role in aiding the Ottoman conquest. Since Sarajevo officials often refused to pay taxes, officials in other cities looked to Sarajevo before they would comply with new levies. In 1748 new tax revolts exploded throughout the region. The largest rebellion was in Mostar, where janissaries joined the insurgency. The 1748 rebellions were crushed only after the sultan assigned a new vizier, Mehmet-pasha Kukavica, to reconquer Bosnia. In 1768 a rebellion of senior Muslim officials defending their tax privileges could be subdued only with large army forces. In 1814 Mostar elites led another revolt, which required 30,000 troops to put down.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought a steady decline of Ottoman military power and increasing peasant rebellions. It also consolidated elites' political resistance against any reforms that undermined their privileges or autonomy. As in early modern France, the Ottoman state sought to centralize power and subordinate the autonomy of lords by enacting military, tax, and land tenure reforms. Unlike France, however, strong Bosnian resistance stymied the sultan's attempts to subordinate nobles' power. This failure left the Ottoman state in perpetual financial crisis, militarily vulnerable, and politically weak. Increased poverty and rural taxes supplied the socioeconomic basis for resentment, not only against the Porte but also between Bosnian Serbs and Muslims in the nineteenth century.

THE AGE OF REFORM, 1815–1878

In the last sixty years of its rule, Ottoman reforms transformed Bosnia-Hercegovina. These reforms, known collectively as *Tanzimat,* not only introduced postal services, established an official newspaper, provided new schools, and professionalized government bureaucracy, but they fundamentally restructured Ottoman political, legal, and economic institutions. The main purpose of the reforms, however, was to centralize Ottoman military and political control. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, Tanzimat threatened the privilege and power of the province's landowning military class. By 1815, the local Bosnian nobility had become so strong that it could ignore the Porte's authority. When the Bosnian viziers began to impose the sultan's reforms, conservative Bosnian lords rebelled. Only after 1850, when these lords' power was finally curtailed, could the Bosnian viziers implement significant military, legal, and land tenure reform to bring the region in line with the rest of the empire.

As in other parts of the empire, the power of the Bosnian lords rested on their dominance of the military. By the nineteenth century, the lords had become so powerful that they could challenge the sultan's authority. To reassert his own power, the sultan had to subordinate the janissaries to a centralized Ottoman military authority. Not only did they use their position to extort money from both the government and the local population, they poorly defended the empire and sometimes refused to fight at all. After several attempts to control the janissaries failed, Sultan Mahmut II crushed them and abolished the office in 1826. Provincial armies came under a central authority in Istanbul, undercutting local commanders.

Curtailing janissary (and kapetan) power in Bosnia-Hercegovina required another twenty years. In 1827 Bosnian janissaries rebelled against the new vizier. The sultan sent a Belgrade army to Sarajevo to quash the rebellion. Mahmut's troops were successful, but the rebels still forced the vizier out of Sarajevo. After the janissaries were defeated, Bosnian kapetans took up the cause. In 1830–1833 Husein, a kapetan from Gradačac, led a revolt for Bosnian autonomy within the Ottoman Empire and the end of Tanzimat reforms. He also demanded that the sultan always appoint a native Bosnian beg or kapetan to the post of vizier. While Ottoman officials at first agreed to Husein's demands, in

1832 the Porte reneged on its promises and defeated Husein. As reward for his role, Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović became vizier of a newly separated Hercegovina in 1833. After Husein's defeat, Mahmut replaced the thirty-nine kapetans with four much weaker *musselim*s. A musselim held the same administrative duties as a kapetan, but served a non-hereditary life-term and possessed no private militia. He represented the vizier, who had held power to appoint and dismiss the musselim. Therefore, he held no power in his own right. Eliminating the office of kapetan set off separatist kapetan-led revolts in 1836, 1837, 1840, and 1849–1850. Only after 1850 did meaningful reforms progress in Bosnia.

Following his military reforms, Mahmut also implemented administrative, legal, and economic changes. He formed new legislative bodies and an advisory cabinet representing the administrative departments to enact new laws systematically. As in the military, government officials became salaried (instead of collecting fees for services). Building on his father's reforms, Sultan Abdulmecit I's 1839 *Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane* abolished the reaya (which had come to include only non-Muslims) and guaranteed all male subjects equality of life, honor, property, and security. Granting legal equality had far-reaching consequences. It required revising statutes and overhauling the judicial system to secure civil and property rights. Since military conscription, tax assessment, and property rights had all depended on religious and social-status criteria, the Şerif demanded restructuring of military, financial, and land tenure institutions. For example, the Şerif's pledge to eliminate tax inequalities required ending the tax-farm system and redefining feudal relationships to accommodate modern ideas of private property. The elimination of tax farming (like ending the non-Muslim poll tax and the prohibition against Christian military service) required creating a more extensive and reliable census-taking bureaucracy. The state became much more involved in activities that had been left to religious charities and millet administration: schools, job creation, building and infrastructure projects, commerce, and law.

Of all these reforms, the most intractable and the most contested concerned land tenure. Reworking a system that had evolved piecemeal over four hundred years required overcoming enormous logistical obstacles. For example, both landlords and tenant sharecroppers claimed title to the same land, but it was unclear whose rights to uphold. Legally, there was no provision for serfdom in Ottoman law. In the Ottoman system, all land formally belonged to the sultan, and peasants enjoyed secure hereditary use-rights. By the nineteenth century, however, spahis had been displaced by janissaries and other elites, whose čiftlik estates the Porte treated as hereditary private property. Thus, the distinction between private property and use-rights was blurry. The agaluk and beglik estates provided landlords with their tax-exempt status and formed the basis of their economic power. In addition, since tax farms were the principal source of state revenue, these landlords were valuable to the state. On the other hand, those farming the land (serfs, sharecroppers, and free peasants) claimed that the lords had illegally and extralegally usurped their land and their rights. They strenuously objected to shouldering virtually the entire tax burden and demanded lower taxes and recognition of their property claims.

Reforming land tenure required clarifying and redefining peasant-landlord relationships, restructuring the tax system, and creating a bureaucracy to carry out these changes. To resolve conflicting property claims, the state had to determine whose ownership rights to recognize and what rights nonowners could claim. The state then had to create new property tax criteria to replace tax farming and its privileges. Since landlords were to become taxpayers, tax assessment, collection, and enforcement would have to revert to the authorities in Istanbul. Thus, the state needed to create an extensive bureaucracy with highly skilled administrators, who could rely on an accurate census of landowners, sharecroppers, and their assets as well as trained crop and livestock assessors and enforcement procedures. Under the best of circumstances, such sweeping reform would be difficult. In the nineteenth century it proved impossible. In Bosnia, such comprehensive land reform was not implemented until the 1930s.

Increasing Ottoman control over Bosnia slowly subdued noble resistance to land tenure. In 1847 Bosnia's vizier, Tahir-pasha, began to codify the region's feudal land-tenure system in terms favorable to the begs. Both begliks and agaluks had feudal origins, but Tahir-pasha recognized only agaluks as subject to feudal land tenure regulations. He defined begliks as the landlords' private property and the serfs on these estates as freely contracted laborers, despite their obligation to pay taxes, tithes, and labor dues to the beg. This definition exempted the begliks from reform and left sharecroppers on these estates without legal property claims. He abolished labor dues (usually two to three days per week) on agaluk estates, but raised grain obligations. In addition, peasants continued to pay a 10 percent land tax to the state. Landlords strenuously contested these mild reforms, but they remained in effect until 1918.

Bosnian elites' opposition to Ottoman military and economic reforms came to a head in 1849–1851. Although Tahir-pasha's reform was minimal compared to the abolition of serfdom in Serbia (1833) and Croatia (1848), landlords resented and ignored it. Tahir-pasha's military reforms led to the last kapetan revolt (which included agas contesting agaluk reform) in 1849. After Tahir-pasha died in 1850, the new vizier, Pasha Lataš, crushed the rebellion and exiled or jailed many begs, expropriating their lands. Lataš divided Bosnia-Hercegovina into nine districts and subordinated those districts to his own authority. Over opposition from both Christians and Muslims, he disarmed the entire population. After curtailing the power of the Bosnian elites, the Ottoman state slowly implemented its reforms and brought the region into line with the rest of the empire. In 1855 the poll tax for non-Muslims was rescinded and the ban on Christian military service lifted. Since most Christians opted out of military service, a new levy on nonmilitary subjects offset the elimination of the poll tax. Written law replaced legal tradition, and sandžak administrators became accountable to Istanbul. The power of Bosnia's military landowning class was finally broken.

The government attempted to introduce land tenure reforms that protected landlords' interests. This strategy produced anemic proposals that everyone opposed. In 1858, Sultan Abdulmecit issued legal property definitions (in effect in Bosnia until 1945) that included private property, state property, religious-charitable property, and common property. In 1859 the Safer Decree (in effect until 1918) confirmed Tahir-pasha's 1847 reform and limited the most egregious excesses on agaluks by limiting peasant obligations. It defined agas as landowners and serfs as tenants, who worked on a contract of limited duration. In most cases, obligations totaled about 40 percent of the sharecropper's harvest, plus the tax in lieu of military service. It required that landlords provide and maintain housing for their tenants. Serfs could leave the land if they chose, and landlords could obtain permission to evict them for poor work or nonpayment of their obligations. At the same time, the Safer Decree (like Tahir-pasha's before it) exempted beglik estates from the reform by defining them as private property and identifying beglik serfs as free labor, whose grievances were governed by civil law. This meant that beglik serfs' property claims lost legal legitimacy and that these sharecroppers had no legal protection from excessive landlord demands. In addition, peasants despised this reformed system. Assessors based dues on projected crop revenue before harvest. If a crop failed, the government did not adjust obligations downward. Therefore, levies could exceed 40 percent. Thus, the Safer Decree strengthened beg property claims, protected their wealth, and reinforced their political influence. Between 1859 and 1918, landlords continuously converted their agaluks to begliks.

The most significant development in nineteenth century Bosnia-Hercegovina was the emergence of religiously informed, class-oriented national identities. Bosnian Christians and Muslims were all ethnic Slavs; they shared the same history and the same Serbo-Croat language. Yet Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Muslims accepted different religious traditions. This religious affiliation became the key to identifying national groups in Bosnia. Not only did Orthodox Bosnians come to identify themselves as Bosnian Serbs, so did many Orthodox Roma and Vlachs (semi-nomadic herdsmen today concentrated in the Pindus Mountains). Similarly, Roman Catholic Bosnians became Bosnian Croats, as did Roman Catholic Germans and Hungarians who had lived in the region for generations. These national identities allowed Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats to retain their Bosnian identity and still be a part of a larger national group. It also fueled competing nationalist separatist movements.

In the last twenty-five years of Ottoman rule, a Christian religious revival fed emerging nationalist political movements that wished to separate from the Ottoman Empire. Nationalists sought to unite with Croatia, join Serbia, or form a single South Slav state. It is at this time that non-Muslims began to claim that Bosnian Muslims had been Croats or Serbs before the Ottoman conquest. In fact, before 1463 most Bosnians characterized themselves simply as Christians belonging to one of three regional churches, none of which had any secular clergy or parish organization. In the nineteenth century the effort to join Serbia was the strongest of these nationalist movements. Bosnian Serbs looked to Serbia for inspiration and support against the Ottoman Empire. By 1878, Serbia had grown from an autonomous region in north central Serbia to an enlarged independent parliamentary monarchy that was a regional political power, with territorial claims on Bosnia. Serbia's nineteenth-century expansion was accompanied by massacres, robberies, and coerced baptisms of Slavic and Turkish Muslims, most of whom were forced into Bosnia.

Istanbul's failure to enact meaningful land reform allowed these national movements to transform peasant grievances against landlords into Christian-Muslim conflicts. Landlords squeezed as much as possible from their rural laborers, both Christian and Muslim, in order to offset long-term economic decline, political losses, and new taxes. Nobles' sustained resistance to mild land reform measures created rising hostility between Muslims and Christians. Rebels increasingly turned to Christian powers and to Serb or Croat nationalists outside of Bosnia-Hercegovina for support. For example, in 1860 Montenegrin troops invaded Hercegovina to aid an Orthodox peasant tax revolt. The Montenegrins, blaming all Muslims for landlord brutality, slaughtered Muslim villagers. The massacre ended only when Ottoman forces put down the conflict. Russia, Serbia, and Montenegro justified their aid to peasant rebels as helping to protect Christians, and the Habsburg monarchy invoked its 1789 concession from the sultan to act as "protector" of Christians in the Ottoman lands.

Centuries of Ottoman rule had created a small Slavic elite that was mostly Muslim and a very large, very poor Slavic underclass that was mostly Christian. Though the vast majority of Bosnia's 870,000 Muslims were sharecroppers and peasants (about 1 percent were landlords), most landlords were Muslims. The majority of Christians were also peasants and sharecroppers, but only a few hundred were landlords. Muslim peasants and serfs hated the mostly Muslim landlords as much as their Christian counterparts. Christian-Muslim resentments became an important element of rural conflict; Christians increasingly associated all Muslims with the brutality of all landlords, Christian and Muslim.

The emergence of religiously affiliated, peasant-based national movements overshadowed important Bosnian achievements after 1815. Under Vizier Topal Osman-pasha, Bosnia made cultural advances, while continuing economic and political reforms. To support education and literacy he funded new Muslim schools and allowed Catholic and Orthodox churches to construct more school buildings. Even so, by 1875 only 10 percent of the population received any schooling at all. He started a new library at Sarajevo's Gazi Husrev-Beg mosque and set up a printing press, which published textbooks and the weekly *Bosna,* in Serbo-Croat and Turkish. In Sarajevo, the vizier completed the first public hospital in Bosnia-Hercegovina, with forty beds open to all confessions. In an attempt to make his administration more inclusive, Topal Osman-pasha sought counsel from Muslim, Christian, and Jewish representatives. Beginning in 1866, each of the seven sandžaks sent representatives (two Muslim and one Christian) to a consultative assembly that met annually for forty days to advise the vizier on regional economic issues such as agriculture, taxes, and roads. In addition Osman-pasha's executive committee (made up of three Muslims, two Christians, and one Jew) met with him twice a week. In contrast to these strides in education and administrative reform, his economic endeavors were much more modest. He built new roads and a limited rail system, but outside of Bosnia's traditional craft production, the government did little to support industry. Manufacturing suffered from internal duties and from international trade agreements that placed lower taxes on imported goods than on domestic products. Nonetheless, by 1878, Ottoman political and economic reforms had completely transformed the Bosnia of 1815.

END OF OTTOMAN RULE IN BOSNIA, 1875–1878

Foreign powers' interest in Bosnia did not wane over the nineteenth century. European powers used the religiously defined national movements to justify foreign intervention and occupation. In 1875 foreign involvement caused a local conflict to spiral into a series of wars engulfing the Balkans and ending Ottoman rule in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The 1875 uprising began as a village tax revolt in Hercegovina pitting Christian and Muslim peasants against tax collectors, Ottoman officials, and local landlords. However, Serbian and Bulgarian nationalism and great power intervention internationalized hostilities, setting Christian powers against the Ottoman Empire. Romanov and Habsburg backing of Bulgarian, Montenegrin, and Serbian nationalists gave the rebels license to ethnically cleanse hundreds of thousands of Muslim villagers in the Balkans. The nationalist-religious wars left thousands dead and homeless, ending in 1878 with the Congress of Berlin, which redrew national boundaries in the Balkans and expelled the Ottoman Empire from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The 1875 uprising began as one of the frequent peasant revolts in late-nineteenth-century Bosnia-Hercegovina. Despite efforts to reform the Ottoman land tenure and tax system in Bosnia-Hercegovina, peasants continued to bear most of the tax burden. In the summer of 1875, following the customary practice, tax officials (two Muslims and one Christian) demanded payment based on pre-harvest estimates. The crops, however, had failed, and when peasants in Nevesinje (east of Mostar) refused to pay, officials used force. By July, both Christian and Muslim peasants throughout the entire region had retreated to the mountains, where they engaged in armed resistance. This uprising was followed by another in northern Bosnia. At this time, many peasants fled to Croatia or Montenegro to avoid the violence and the taxes. As in other tax revolts, the Bosnian vizier raised an army to suppress the rebels.

The tax revolt took on nationalist and religious dimensions when outside forces intervened. Responding to the nationalism of the age, some Orthodox leaders' declarations of loyalty to Serbia convinced many abroad that the tax revolt was a nationalist rising against Ottoman power. Serb nationalists seeking a larger Serbian state and pan-Slav nationalists from the Habsburg monarchy and Russia came to Bosnia to fight the Ottomans. Serbs and Montenegrins associated Muslim peasants with Ottoman rule, despite the fact that both Muslim and Orthodox peasants had revolted against Ottoman taxes. When Christians, mostly from Serbia, attacked Muslim villages and Muslims retaliated with counterattacks on Serb villages, religious resentment rather than taxes became the driving force of the revolt. European powers claiming to protect Christians escalated the conflict along religious lines into a regional Muslim-Christian war, with Christian forces (Serbia, Montenegro, Russia, and the Habsburg monarchy) arrayed against the Ottomans. Guns flowed from the Catholic Habsburg monarchy through Orthodox Montenegro to the Christian rebels in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Three Emperors' League (the Russian, Habsburg, and German emperors) demanded that Ottomans abolish tax farming, lower peasant taxes, and make other reforms. The Ottomans agreed to these conditions and pardoned the rebels; nevertheless, the rebellion continued until the Bosnian army suppressed it. Reacting to accounts of Christians fleeing Bosnia, but ignoring reports of Muslim suffering, the European powers made new demands on the Ottoman state, and their attitude against it hardened.

When Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro entered the conflict, it became internationalized. In May 1876 Bulgarian nationalists (with Russian diplomatic backing) rebelled against Ottoman rule. In the first days of revolution, 1,000 Muslim peasants were killed. Since Ottoman forces were still occupied in Bosnia, the Porte armed local Turks (some of them massacre survivors) and recent refugees who had settled in Bulgaria to defend the empire. They brutally suppressed the Bulgarian revolution, killing from 3,000 to 12,000 Christians. In July 1876 Russia supported Serbian Prince Milan's declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire. Serbia and Montenegro had agreed that Serbia would annex Bosnia and Montenegro would take Hercegovina. By August, however, Ottoman troops had defeated Serbian forces, which required Russian reinforcements to fend off an Ottoman reconquest. By the November 1876 armistice, hundreds of Bosnian villages had been burned, leaving about 5,000 peasants dead and over 200,000 refugees.

Despite the armistice, hostilities continued. In 1877 Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire, after promising the Habsburg monarchy possession of Bosnia-Hercegovina in exchange for its neutrality. The campaign targeted Muslims; Russian troops surrounded villages and burned them to the ground. Russia defeated the Turks so decisively in 1878 that the tsar dictated the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano to the sultan. However, at the July 1878 Congress of Berlin, the great powers revised this treaty to lessen Russian influence in the Balkans. They redrew international boundaries, recognized Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania as independent states, and created an autonomous Bulgaria. As promised, the great powers gave most of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the Habsburg monarchy to occupy and administer. Serbia gained over 300 square kilometers to the south, including the provincial city of Niš, and part of Hercegovina became Montenegrin.

Under the terms worked out at the Congress of Berlin, Bosnia-Hercegovina remained part of the Ottoman Empire, but under Habsburg occupation. The Habsburg monarch agreed to accept Ottoman currency as legal tender, to use Bosnian revenues locally, to staff Bosnian administrative positions with native Bosnian or Turkish personnel, to guarantee religious freedom, and to allow the sultan's name in Friday prayers. The Habsburgs, however, had no intention of returning Bosnia to Ottoman rule and honored only the last two provisions.

HABSBURG RULE IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, 1878–1918

Russia and the Habsburg monarchy had vied for political and economic influence in Southeastern Europe since the eighteenth century. Ottoman weakness, growing Russian influence in the area, and the realization that Serbia was becoming a formidable regional power led the Habsburgs to occupy (1878) and later annex (1908) Bosnia-Hercegovina. Under Habsburg rule, certain areas of education and industrial infrastructure improved. However, the most significant characteristics of this period were the sharp decline of Bosnian Muslims in the region, the imposition of colonial rule, and the maintenance of feudal property relations. Instead of using the occupation period to implement reforms and extend rights that other peoples in the monarchy enjoyed (such as abolition of serfdom, creation of political parties, and an elected assembly) in order to build support for Habsburg rule, Vienna governed Bosnia as a colony and neglected its economic and political development. Despite achievements in certain areas of education and in building an industrial infrastructure, Austrian policies fueled anti-Habsburg, nationalist politics in the region.

The 1875 rebellion and Habsburg occupation brought about the greatest demographic shift in Bosnia-Hercegovina since the massive Christian conversions to Islam in the sixteenth century. In contrast to that earlier, more gradual shift, the steep drop in the number of Muslims living in Bosnia during the Habsburg era (1878–1918) was the result of war, displacement, and ethnic cleansing. For the first time since the sixteenth century, the number of Muslims fell below the Serb population, which maintained its demographic plurality until 1945. The mortality rate from the 1875–1878 wars had been extremely high among both Serbs and Muslims. By 1879, the Bosnian Serb population had declined by 7 percent; the number of Bosnian Muslims had decreased by 35 percent. In 1870 Bosnian Muslims had comprised 48 percent (690,000) of a total population of 1.44 million. By 1879, the Bosnian Muslim population had fallen to 39 percent in a total population of 1.16 million (449,000). Between 1878 and 1918 another 100,000 Muslims emigrated. Despite pressure from the great powers, 200,000 Bosnian war refugees never returned home. At the same time, Habsburg policies encouraged Austrians, Hungarians, and western Slavs to immigrate to Bosnia-Hercegovina. In 1880, 4,500 Austrian and 12,000 Hungarian citizens lived in Bosnia. By 1910, these numbers had skyrocketed to 47,000 Austrians and 61,000 Hungarians.

A pattern of ethno-religious "cleansing" had been established in Southeastern Europe in the nineteenth century as part of the process of nation building. The results were even more dramatic in Bulgaria and Serbia than in Bosnia. Only half (700,000) of the pre-1878 Muslim population remained in Bulgaria in 1890. 216,000 had died from disease, starvation, or murder, and the balance had emigrated. Ethnic expulsions had accompanied Serbia's expansion since the 1820s. By 1888, only 17 percent of Serbia's pre-1820 Muslim population remained.

Austria-Hungary kept Bosnian regional (sandžak) boundaries and placed its religious hierarchies under Habsburg supervision. The modest political gains of the late Tanzimat period were revoked. The advisory councils became defunct, and political dissent was criminalized. Politics degenerated to presenting petitions in person to the emperor, who could have the signatories arrested for antistate activity. While Bosnia was reduced to politics by petition, Serbia became a parliamentary democracy. Even Habsburg Croatia benefited from its own assembly and modern political parties, which did not become legal in Bosnia until 1906. The Habsburgs permitted a Bosnian assembly, though still with no direct legislative power, only in 1910. Serfdom (abolished in the rest of the monarchy in 1848) continued. The land tenure and tax system that had set off the 1875 uprising remained unchanged.

Habsburg colonialism had to be imposed by military force. In contrast to the Ottoman reliance on local Bosnian forces, Austria-Hungary depended on vastly increased numbers of foreign troops and civilian officials to maintain control. In 1878, believing that Bosnians would welcome them as liberators, Austrian officials sent a telegram to inform the Bosnians of their impending occupation. Instead of embracing the army that rescued them from Ottoman rule, Bosnian newspapers warned of an Austrian invasion. Austrian troops crossing the border met with armed resistance from both Muslims and Serbs. Bosnian Serbs had opposed Ottoman rule, but did not favor replacing it with Austrian occupation. Ottoman army garrisons, charged with upholding the Berlin Treaty, mutinied and joined the resistance, but proved to be no match for Austria's forces. After fifty-three battles and nearly 1,000 Austrian deaths and another 4,000 casualties, Habsburg forces took possession of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the first months of occupation, Austria-Hungary committed 268,000 troops to secure Bosnia-Hercegovina, one-quarter of its active military.

A new universal male conscription law sparked the second major rebellion of the Habsburg period. In November 1881 the government announced the unprecedented policy of a mandatory military draft. Both Christian and Muslim men had been subject to Ottoman military obligation since the mid-nineteenth century. Most Bosnians, however, fulfilled this duty by paying a tax in lieu of military service. In Hercegovina,1,000 Christian and Muslim peasants and villagers revolted in January 1882, attacking army and police posts. The Austrian army easily crushed the revolt in March and executed its leaders. There were no more large rebellions, although peasant resistance through "banditry" continued until 1895.

Beginning in 1882, Bosnia-Hercegovina's civil administration was under the common finance ministry in Vienna, thus avoiding the problem of assigning the region to either half of the Dual Monarchy. With the appointment of Benjamin Kállay as joint finance minister, the role of the civilian governor eclipsed that of the military governor. The civilian administration grew exponentially. Before 1878, the Ottomans had run Bosnia-Hercegovina with 120 officials; in 1908 the Habsburgs employed 9,533 officials to administer a slightly smaller area. The first step in imposing civilian rule on Bosnia was controlling the religious hierarchies that had played such a prominent role in the Ottoman government. Austria negotiated the right to appoint the Bosnian heads of the Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim churches, established its authority to appoint and dismiss religious leaders, and then placed them on the state payroll. In 1880 the ecumenical patriarch in Istanbul gave the Habsburg emperor, Franz Joseph, the right to select Serbian Orthodox bishops in Bosnia, as well as the right to dismiss them for failure to fulfill either their state or religious duties. Moreover, Serbian Orthodox finances came under state control. In 1881 the pope agreed to allow the emperor to nominate (not appoint) Roman Catholic bishops in Bosnia and to require a loyalty oath from priests working in the region. In return, the Franciscans lost their status (enjoyed since 1342) as the only Roman Catholic order allowed in Bosnia. This loss of exclusivity enabled the Catholic Church to establish a secular clergy in Bosnia and increase Catholic influence. After 1881, there was a large influx of priests and nuns, who actively promoted Muslim conversions to Catholicism. The position of Islamic leaders was complicated because the Ottoman sultan was also the caliph, Islam's highest religious authority. Since Bosnia-Hercegovina technically remained part of the Ottoman state (the 1878 Treaty of Berlin having granted Vienna the authority to occupy and administer Bosnia-Hercegovina, while it remained legally a possession of Istanbul), the Habsburg government could not appoint the Bosnian mufti (the highest Muslim cleric in Bosnia) without violating international law. Instead, Vienna created the state salaried office of *reis ul-ulema* to lead a new, independent Bosnian Islamic religious hierarchy, which included a four-man advisory committee *(medžlis)* to interpret and preside over *shariat* law (the Islamic equivalent of Catholic canon law).

Austria-Hungary strengthened its control in Bosnia by nationalizing its *vakuf*s (Muslim religious-charitable organizations), which had acted like family trusts to fund charities since the sixteenth century. These organizations had built mosques, schools, dervish lodges, inns, and bridges. Elite families could safeguard their assets by placing them in vakufs, which could never revert to ordinary ownership. By 1878, many vakufs had been family-administered for generations and had become very large. They owned and managed nearly one-third of Bosnia's usable land and controlled most commercial real estate, including virtually all of downtown Sarajevo. By 1883, Austria had placed them under a state-appointed Vakuf Administration (dominated by Sarajevans), which managed the property under a Bosnia-wide plan for funding schools and mosques.

Kállay continued the earlier practice of limiting politics to intermittent petitions because he believed political activism was nationalistic and seditious. In order to isolate the Bosnian Muslims from Istanbul and dilute Croat and Serb nationalism, Kállay promoted a pan-Bosnian identity. He did not recognize that Serbs, Croats, and Muslims had developed clear and distinct national identities. His conception of "Bosnian" required loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy but rejected the possibility of Serb, Croat, or Muslim identities coexisting with a Bosnian one. Despite Bosnia's medieval heritage and regional continuity under the Ottomans, Kállay prohibited the teaching of Bosnian history and denied the existence of a distinctive Bosnian culture. Moreover, his policies divided Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim religious hierarchies in Bosnia in order to control them better. With no political alternative, Bosnia's Muslims, Serbs, and Croats developed their respective political affiliations with Istanbul, Belgrade, and Zagreb. Kállay's nationality policies and his ban on any local political organization not only failed to create a Bosnian identity, they fueled anti-Habsburg resentments.

Beginning in the mid-1890s, renewed grievances against Habsburg rule produced a sustained political revival that led to the creation of a modern political system aimed at carving out spheres of cultural autonomy. Building on resentments following the conscription revolt, Bosnian Serb opposition constructed a mass base around the issue of Orthodox school and church autonomy. After 1880, Austria-Hungary's Catholic emperor had the right to appoint Orthodox bishops and control church finances. Catholic control over the Orthodox Church hierarchy caused especially bad feelings concerning schools. The state compelled Serb schoolteachers to take a loyalty oath that was not required of their Croat counterparts, allowing Croat immigrants to dominate schools. After a prolonged struggle, Bosnian Serbs received autonomy for Orthodox churches and schools in 1905. Bosnian Muslims also sought cultural and religious autonomy. Muslim elites' issues centered on property rights defined in the 1859 Safer Decree, which remained in effect throughout the Habsburg period. Bosniaks complained that land defined as private property was arbitrarily redefined as state property. This change limited serf obligations to the landlord and provided sharecroppers with a few legal rights. Beginning in 1881, elites formally contested increasing Habsburg control of vakuf property, objecting both in principle and to specific Vakuf Administration policies. Despite regional divisiveness among the Muslim elite, their interests converged on the need for an elected Vakuf Assembly (rather than an appointed Vakuf Administration), a reform that Austria finally granted in 1909.

Since Kállay's efforts to promote an isolated Bosnian identity had clearly failed, his successor Istvan Burián eventually recognized political parties (1906) and a Bosnian Parliament (1910). At the same time, however, Burián made concessions with each separate national-religious group, exploiting divisions to keep the region politically weak. In 1906 Burián recognized Bosnia's first political party, the Muslim National Organization (MNO). This party emerged from the ongoing effort of the Bosnian autonomy movement to create an elected Vakuf Assembly and to preserve Ottoman property law. Predominantly consisting of Muslim landlords, the MNO speciously claimed to represent all Bosnian Muslims. Like Bosnian Muslims in general, however, the MNO rejected existing national labels, preferring to use the traditional "Muslim" moniker for an increasingly secular identity. Bosnians founded the Serb National Organization (SNO) in 1907. The SNO grew out of efforts to promote the autonomy of Orthodox churches and schools dating from the late 1890s. It represented propertied Serb interests but had a mass base. It also supported Serbian claims that Bosnian Muslims were really Serbs.

In 1908 the Croat National Union (CNU) established itself as Croats' secular, liberal, middle-class political party. The CNU claimed that Bosnian Muslims were really Croats. They advocated joining Bosnia-Hercegovina to Croatia and forming a third political entity within the Habsburg monarchy to rule as co-equals with the Austrian and Hungarian political entities. In 1910 the Croatian archbishop in Sarajevo, Josef Stadler, formed a small clerical party, the Croatian Catholic Association (CCA). The CCA was an exclusively Catholic party that rejected CNU proposals to annex Bosnia-Hercegovina but advocated converting Muslims to Catholicism. It was the only political party in Bosnia-Hercegovina that called for the end of serfdom.

All groups benefited from the creation of a Bosnian Parliament of the kind that all other Habsburg regions enjoyed. Consistent with Austria-Hungary's general policy of divide and rule, election rules for the Bosnian Parliament disenfranchised all but a small sector of middle- and upper-class Bosnians. By imposing a religious "curia" electoral system that set aside an assigned number of seats according to religion, Vienna encouraged national-religious political divisions over Bosnian cohesion. The government reserved thirty-one seats for Orthodox, twenty-four for Muslims, sixteen for Catholics, one for Jews, and appointed another twenty representatives itself. In the first elections, the MNO took all the Bosnian Muslim seats and the SNO won all the Orthodox seats available to them, while the Catholic vote was split between two Croat parties. The first act of the new parliament was a call for a broader electoral franchise. Parliament could debate issues on the province's finances, taxes, rail, police, public works, and civil or criminal law. Since the crown could veto any legislation, the parliament held no direct legislative powers.

As in the political arena, the Habsburg monarchy's colonial policies led to some economic progress, but inadequately addressed the region's most pressing problems. Unlike its Ottoman predecessor, the Habsburg state wanted to industrialize the region. It expanded iron ore, coal, copper, and chrome mining and built iron and steel works in western Bosnia. In order to facilitate its new forestry and steel industries in Zenica, the regime built roads and railways. By 1883, there was a rail connection between Sarajevo and the Croatian border. In twenty-eight years of occupation, the Habsburgs built 121 bridges, 111 kilometers of broad-gauge railroad, and 1,000 kilometers of major roads. It laid down 911 kilometers of narrow-gauge rail and another 1,000 kilometers of local roads. By 1913, Bosnia-Hercegovina had an industrial workforce of 65,000. Many of these workers were organized into trade unions strong enough to strike. Habsburg industrialization efforts were significant, but they benefited non-Bosnian interests most. Instead of developing a manufacturing sector, the monarchy concentrated on extractive industries, whose wood, metal ores, and steel could be shipped to other parts of the state and finished for vastly increased profits elsewhere. Railroads facilitated trade with Austria-Hungary, but shipping by narrow-gauge rail was expensive, increasing the cost of production for Bosnian products. Finally, the state developed a logging industry on what landlords claimed was their private property, redefined by the Habsburgs as state property, increasing friction.

Progress in agriculture was even more limited. Bosnians benefited from improvements in agricultural education. The state set up model farms and established an agricultural college with training in modern farming techniques for rural schoolteachers, but it maintained feudal landlord-tenant relations with their ambiguous private property rights. It did not extend its own 1848 abolition of serfdom to Bosnia either in 1878 when it occupied the territory or after the 1908 annexation. Instead, Austria-Hungary relied on the 1859 and 1876 Ottoman land reform laws to maintain enserfed labor on begliks and required agaluk serfs to buy their own freedom. At the same time, it encroached on landlords' property rights, creating deep resentments among elites. By failing to enact a land tenure reform to resolve inconsistencies in landlord-tenant relations and to provide a legal basis for protecting private property, the government ensured that the agricultural sector could not modernize.

The failure to implement meaningful agrarian reform abandoned the more than 75 percent of the population who worked as free peasants or serfs and intensified popular resentment to Habsburg rule. Sharecroppers and serfs typically worked on scattered micro-holdings that might *total* 1 hectare and had to scrape together capital to buy their freedom. By 1913, despite these onerous conditions, 41,500 households managed to free themselves from serfdom. Free peasants (mostly Muslims) also faced the perennial problems of scattered holdings, smallholding, rural overpopulation, and insufficient credit (with usurious interest rates). While Habsburg officials refused to enact land reform for Bosnians, they granted foreign farmers special tax concessions, as well as twelve-hectare farms rent free for three years and a low mortgage for the next ten years. In all, Vienna established fifty-four agrarian "colonies" totaling 10,000 people. The "colonization" program created deep resentments among Bosnians. Since local landowners resented Habsburg rule as much as their tenants, one of the first acts of the Bosnian Parliament was to end the program.

Despite the importance of economic and political reform, Austria's annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina (1908) and the Balkan Wars (1912, 1913) overshadowed these issues in Burián's administration. The successful Young Turk revolt in 1908 panicked the Habsburg government because it called into question the legitimacy of Austria-Hungary's presence in the Balkans. According to the Berlin Treaty

(1878), Bulgaria, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Sandžak of Novi Pazar all remained part of the Ottoman Empire (as did what is today Macedonia, Albania, and much of northern Greece). Since Bosnia and Bulgaria formally remained in the Ottoman Empire after 1878, they were invited to send representatives to the new assembly. The Young Turks offered Bosnia a more democratic constitution than the Habsburgs had provided. Despite its obligations under the terms of the Berlin Treaty, Austria-Hungary had no intention of relinquishing control in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Habsburgs blocked Bosnian representatives from attending the assembly and formally annexed the region on 5 October 1908. Bulgaria, formerly an autonomous state within the Ottoman Empire, declared its independence soon thereafter.

The 1908 annexation deeply alienated Bosnians. Bosnian Muslims became more isolated from their Ottoman patrons, and Bosnian Serbs saw it as ending Serbia's territorial claims in the region. Despite objections from Serbia, Russia, Turkey, Britain, and France, no military action ensued. In February 1909 Turkey accepted the Bosnian annexation in return for Austrian withdrawal from the Sandžak of Novi Pazar (where Austrian troops had been since 1878), the promise of freedom of religion in Bosnia, and a payment of 2.5 million Turkish pounds to Istanbul.

Annexation secured Austria-Hungary's status in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but strained its relationships with both Serbia and Russia. Vienna's relations with Serbia had become tense in 1903 when the Russophile Peter Karadjordjević became king of Serbia, following a palace coup that left pro-Austrian King Alexander Obrenović dead. Thereafter, Russia became Serbia's patron. The Habsburg annexation rendered Serbia's territorial claims in Bosnia moot. The SNO claimed that Bosnia (with its "Serb" majority, which included Bosnian Muslims who were "really" Serbs) should be part of Serbia, but the Serbian government's acceptance of the annexation led some military officers to form quasi-secret societies aimed at uniting all Serbs through revolution. The annexation also embarassed Russia, which also had claims in the region since Russia was dealing with domestic turmoil from the consequences of the 1905 revolution and its losses in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Tsar Nicholas II did not support Serbian demands in 1908.

The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 did not affect Bosnian territory, but the governor of Bosnia still declared a state of emergency, dissolved the parliament, suspended the courts, assumed control over all Bosnian schools, and closed down many Serb associations. Many members of radical underground groups such as Young Bosnia fought with Serbia in the First Balkan War, including some Muslims. Most Bulgarian troops fought the Ottomans on their common border, where they forcefully converted Bulgarian-speaking Muslims to Orthodoxy. Serb and Greek forces occupied Macedonia and Albania. In these areas, Serbs, Greeks, and their allies slaughtered Muslim Albanians, and 10,000 Macedonian Muslims fled their villages. The Balkan Wars reduced the Ottoman state's European possessions to eastern Thrace and further isolated Bosnian Muslims. It also established an independent Albania. Serbia doubled in size, gaining the former Ottoman territories of Vardar Macedonia and the eastern half of Novi Pazar. Bulgaria kept Pirin Macedonia, the Struma valley, and western Thrace. Greece and Montenegro also made gains. The Balkan Wars left Serbia as the region's strongest power. Serbia's relationship with Austria-Hungary remained antagonistic, and the Habsburg administration in Bosnia-Hercegovina became anti-Serb.

Growing anti-Habsburg sentiments found voice in support for Bosnian autonomy. Croat politicians had long worked for "trialism," the creation of a third Croatian administrative region to govern on a co-equal basis with Austria and Hungary. After annexation, trialists envisioned Bosnia-Hercegovina as part of the Croatian territory. Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, favored this trialist resolution of the monarchy's Slavic question. After 1910, however, a Yugoslav solution gained momentum. Many anti-Habsburg politicians favored creating a multinational state made up of South Slavs from the Habsburg lands (Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Bosnian Muslims), Montenegro, and Serbia. In contrast to trialism, which worked through existing government structures, Yugoslavism was revolutionary, requiring secession from the Habsburg monarchy. The Yugoslav solution was vague regarding whether this union would have a federal or centralized government, a question that plagued Yugoslavia throughout its existence. Yugoslavism became most popular among Bosnian Serbs, but it drew adherents among Slovene, Croat, and Serb politicians, intellectuals, and radical student groups. Young Bosnia was one such pro-Yugoslav underground student group. Bosnian Muslims were split between trialist and Yugoslav ideas.

Following the Balkan Wars, the tension in Bosnia's political climate grew stronger. On the Bosnian-Serb border, peasant disturbances and border skirmishes with Habsburg officials kept the area in turmoil. Weapons from Serbia crossed into Bosnia. Secret Serbian nationalist societies worked on plans to unify all Serbs regardless of place of birth or religion. Young Bosnia sought out two of these societies, National Defense (established in 1908) and Black Hand (established in 1911) for training and weapons to pursue their Yugoslav ideals. Influenced by socialist thinkers, members of Young Bosnia were not only anti-Habsburg, they called for the abolition of serfdom, were fiercely anticlerical, and they viewed Bosnian politicians in the assembly as collaborators with Habsburg rule. Between 1910 and 1914, high school and university students from Young Bosnia and other revolutionary organizations attempted a string of political assassinations.

Archduke Franz Ferdinand's support of trialism made him a target of those who favored Bosnian incorporation into Serbia. Despite warnings about security risks, he came to inspect Habsburg troops on summer maneuvers in Sarajevo. Despite repeated assassination attempts on high-level officials and Serbia's unofficial warning to the joint minister of finance (Serbia took no official action despite knowledge of the plot), his visit was planned for 28 June 1914, the 525th anniversary of the 1389 Ottoman defeat of the

Serbs, which preceded the Ottoman conquest in 1439. Habsburg officials were insensitive to the fact that this battle had been mythologized into a celebration of Serb nationalism and revenge against occupation. On a parade route to a hospital to visit wounded soldiers, Franz Ferdinand's limousine convoy passed at least six student rebels armed with bombs and pistols. One bomb thrown hit the car behind the archduke. As his car drove slowly past Gavrilo Princip, his driver took a wrong turn and then backed up, again slowly passing this teenage assassin, who shot twice before people standing next to him subdued him. All the political parties condemned the attack; anti-Serb rioting broke out on the streets of Sarajevo, and parliament was permanently dissolved.

All of the eight arrested coconspirators were members of the revolutionary Young Bosnia, which viewed the formal Bosnian political parties as collaborators with Habsburg rule. Seven were Bosnian Serbs and one a Bosnian Muslim. At his 1914 trial, Princip declared himself a Yugoslav nationalist, who desired freedom from Vienna above all else. Princip was convicted and died of tuberculosis in a Theresienstadt prison in 1918.

The Habsburg government immediately blamed the Serbian government for the assassination, citing Black Hand ties with both Young Bosnia and the Serbian military. On 23 July, Vienna issued a ten-point ultimatum to Belgrade, condemning its toleration of anti-Habsburg organizations and literature. The Serb government agreed to suppress anti-Austrian groups, stifle hostile publications, and arrest those named as terrorists. They also agreed to keep the monarchy informed of their investigation into the assassination, but refused to allow Habsburg officials to participate directly in their assassination investigation. On 28 July, despite French, British, and Russian diplomatic efforts to continue negotiations, Franz Josef declared war on Serbia. Within days, Europe was at war.

World War I did not physically touch Bosnia-Hercegovina except for local skirmishes on its eastern border, but the Habsburg government treated the region as captured enemy territory, embittering politicians and the general population. It suppressed local government, conscripted teenagers and the elderly, and conducted sham political trials. Harsh crop requisitions to feed troops and Habsburg cities fueled rebellions, property seizures, and demands for land reform. Bosnian politicians demanded amnesty for political prisoners, restoration of constitutional rule, and new elections for a parliament.

Bosnian Serbs were singled out for Habsburg repression. The military governor of Bosnia-Hercegovina from 1914, General Sarkotić, systematically arrested and deported Bosnian Serbs. About 5,000 Bosnians, including Bosnian Muslims, joined Serbia's forces, including three volunteer battalions from Hercegovina. This desertion prompted Sarkotić to resettle up to 50,000 Serbs from the Drina Valley of eastern Bosnia to western Bosnia. Another 5,000 Serbs were driven into Serbia and Montenegro, and 3,300–5,500 Bosnians (mostly Bosnian Serbs) were held in internment camps during the war, where many died. Political trials for members of radical underground groups such as Young Bosnia and National Defense, begun in 1909, intensified during the war. Hundreds of Bosnians were tried for treason, espionage, and aiding the enemy, and hundreds received death sentences, which Vienna later commuted. Others were killed or imprisoned without the benefit of any legal proceeding. Since the Bosnian Serbs were singled out for repression, they associated Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats with the Habsburg regime and turned increasingly to Serb nationalism. By early 1918, an estimated 50,000 Serb guerrillas were fighting Austria-Hungary.

In August 1914 the Yugoslav idea had the support of only a few intellectuals and some romantic revolutionaries. Throughout most of the war, most Bosnian politicians favored some kind of autonomy within a Habsburg framework. Until the fall of 1918, most politicians in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina favored postwar autonomy within the Habsburg Empire. Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims wanted to preserve their own culture and identity and were wary of Great Serb aspirations. The Slovene politician Monsignor Korošec led a South Slav voting bloc in the Austrian Parliament that sought to unite Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats in a trialist Habsburg administration. They did not exclude the possibility of a South Slav state but emphasized that the Habsburg territories must unite together before joining another state. Their more inclusive May 1917 declaration for South Slav autonomy won over many Bosnian Serbs and moderate Bosnian Croats. However, Bosnian Muslims were less enthusiastic. Given the Catholic conversion scandals and Croat politicians' assertions that Muslims were really Croats, many Bosnian Muslims preferred Bosnian autonomy to avoid Croat domination.

The Yugoslav cause was taken up by a group of émigré Serb, Croat, and Slovene intellectuals from the Habsburg lands who had previously worked on Serb-Croat coalition building. Led by Croat politicians Ante Trumbić and Franjo Šupilo, these intellectuals formed the London-based Yugoslav Committee. Initially, the Allies opposed the self-appointed Yugoslav Committee because creating such a state would require breaking up the Habsburg monarchy. In Bosnia, many Serb and Croat politicians favored a Yugoslav state, while most Bosnian Muslims still preferred autonomy. Two influential politicians, Džemaludin Čaušević, the reis ul-ulema, and Mehmed Spaho, the founder of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization in 1919, had had enough of rule by "Turks and Germans" and favored a South Slav state. Serbia, intent on remaining a centralized Serbian nation-state after the war, rebuffed the committee's overtures to participate in a Yugoslav state. Thus, the pro-Allied Yugoslav Committee had little influence. The Treaty of London, which granted Italy large parts of Dalmatia and Istria, confirmed its fears of Italian expansion.

Serbia's 1915 defeat and its heroic, fighting retreat through Albania to the island of Corfu had left the government in exile weak and with little tangible Allied support for its war aims. Serbia had hoped to acquire Bosnia-Hercegovina, an Adriatic port, and the Vojvodina, if possible. Once in exile, the Serbian government's authority declined. The prince regent, Alexander, could not control the military, which he feared was planning his assassination. Montenegro refused to follow the government's lead, and rebels for an independent Macedonia were regaining strength. After the fall of Nicholas II in 1917, Serbia lost its best advocate among the Allies. In this context, the Serbian prime minister, Nikola Pašić, invited the Yugoslav Committee to Corfu to negotiate the basis of a Yugoslav state. The 1917 Corfu Declaration became a nonbinding statement of intent to form a South Slav state if the Habsburg monarchy dissolved. It called for the creation of a constitutional monarchy led by the Serbian Karadjordjević dynasty. Whether the state would be ruled as a unitary or a federal government was left to the future constitution.

In addition to Serbia's increased receptivity, by mid-1918, international conditions had changed markedly. Late in the war, the Allies decided to dismember Austria-Hungary. By November, this decision had become clear, nullifying autonomy as an option for any of the Habsburg provinces. Faced with a choice between a Yugoslav state (including Serbia) and partition among Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Serbia, the regions of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia chose Yugoslavia. In October 1918 Korošec and his followers formed various National Councils to run provincial affairs. The National Councils granted the Yugoslav Committee the authority to represent them in negotiations for a Yugoslav state. The National Council met in October 1918 and renounced Habsburg rule; Croatia declared its own state. On 3 November 1918, the first National Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina was formed.

Neither this declaration nor the 11 November armistice ended the armed conflict. As in much of the rest of Europe and Russia, uprisings against the old regime ensued. Germany was swept by a wave of industrial strikes and revolts. In rural Eastern Europe and Russia, peasants in rebellion seized and set fire to landlords' property. In some places, including Bosnia, rebels declared their own peasant republics. As the largest landowners in Bosnia, Muslims sustained the greatest losses. To restore order, the Bosnian government asked the Serb army to put down the violence. When Serb soldiers entered the region in November 1918, the anti-landlord violence turned anti-Muslim, as Muslim smallholders (half of Bosnia's free peasants) and villages became targets. Serb soldiers believed that the Muslims had been loyal to the Habsburg government and had participated in its anti-Serb repression. Most of this anti-Muslim hostility came from non-Bosnian Serbs who did not live in the region. Some 270 Muslim villages were pillaged. To counter Serb reprisals, Muslims formed political parties that crossed class boundaries; the most influential became the Yugoslav Muslim Organization (YMO) led by Mehmed Spaho. As in 1878, another wave of Bosnian Muslim emigration began in 1918.

In an attempt to catch up with events following the sudden collapse of the Central Powers, the Allies met in Paris in February 1919 to redraw European political borders by arbitrarily applying Woodrow Wilson's principle of national self-determination which sought to systematically apply nineteenth-century principles of nationalism. They created several weak new "nation-states" (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia), enlarged Romania, and constricted Germany's borders. However, all the new states either contained substantial national minorities or had a sizable population of co-nationals living outside the new nation-state. In addition, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were explicitly multinational states. Thus, resolving political disputes over the "national question" became the defining challenge of the interwar period.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA IN ROYALIST YUGOSLAVIA, 1918–1941

The new Yugoslav state (originally called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) united Serbia with the former Habsburg lands of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Vojvodina. These former Habsburg lands agreed to a South Slav state based on the 1917 Corfu Declaration and its specific call for a negotiated constitution. In December 1918 delegates chosen from prewar political parties established an interim government to rule until elections for a constituent assembly could be held. The interim government lacked popular legitimacy, both because it excluded new parties and because the pre-1914 political parties represented only middle- and upper-class interests. Characterized by divisiveness, the interim government failed to pass three-quarters of the legislation before it (including a budget). After waiting two years, the government held elections loosely based on universal manhood suffrage.

From the beginning, Constituent Assembly deputies were divided about the type of constitution it should adopt. In 1921 the assembly narrowly adopted a controversial constitution by a vote that many members boycotted. Subsequent attempts to revise the constitution became the focal point of the polarizing nationalist politics that dominated interwar Yugoslavia. The largest Serbian parties favored a unitary state, but most non-Serbs preferred a federal model. As a rule, Serbs saw Yugoslavia (ruled by the Serbian Karadjordjević monarchy from the Serbian capital of Belgrade) as an extension of pre-1914 Serbia. Serbs, however, did not form even a simple majority in the kingdom. In contrast, most Croats saw Yugoslavia as a collection of nations that could only be ruled on a decentralized federal model, with each nation having substantial authority within its own historic region. Slovenes also favored the federal paradigm. The Communists, the Social Democrats, and the Agrarians, the most important nonnational parties, also preferred a federal structure. Leftist independents and factions from the Social Democrats and Nationalist Youth (a collection of Yugoslavist young activists, including Young Bosnia) groups in prewar Habsburg territories and in Serbia merged to form the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in 1919. Its strongest appeal was among the nationally disaffected, the politically unorganized, and those in the urban centers of Zagreb and Belgrade.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat parties tended to reflect the positions of their co-nationals outside of Bosnia. The main Bosnian Serb party, the Radical Democrats, favored a centralized state and demanded far-reaching social reform, including the abolition of serfdom. In contrast, the Bosnian Croat parties argued for a federal Yugoslavia. The largest Bosnian Muslim party was Mehmed Spaho's Yugoslav Muslim Organization (YMO). The YMO represented Bosnia's urban professionals, but it sought common ground with all classes to defend against anti-Muslim policies and actions, such as systematically replacing Muslims with Serbs in regional and local Bosnian government. The YMO was a specifically Bosnian party and did not organize in Muslim areas outside of Bosnia. On federal questions, the YMO was allied with the autonomist Cemiyet party, which represented Muslims in Kosovo, Macedonia, and the Sandžak of Novi Pazar. The YMO was split between conservative, pro-Serb members led by Ibrahim Magljajić, who favored a centralist Yugoslavia, and more progressive federalists like Spaho. Whether Yugoslavia became a unitary state or a federal one, most Bosnians favored autonomy within the monarchy.

The 1920 election results split between unitary parties and federalists, with the YMO receiving twenty-four seats. In order to achieve a unitary constitution, the Serbian parties set aside their differences and extended minor concessions to the YMO, the Agrarians, the Slovene's People's Party (SLS), and the Croatian Union (HZ) in exchange for their support. Contrary to the Corfu Declaration, the Constituent Assembly agreed to ratify a constitution based on a simple majority plus one. Nevertheless, negotiations remained contentious, and the YMO's bloc of votes proved critical for the constitution's ratification. Despite his preference for federalism, Spaho agreed to support the constitution in exchange for Islamic religious equality, autonomy for Islamic religious and educational institutions, including *sharia* courts, landlord compensation, and the preservation of Bosnia's territorial integrity. On St. Vitus's Day (Vidovdan), 28 June 1921, the anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, the so-called Vidovdan Constitution passed, by a slim majority (with nearly half of the delegates abstaining).

The 1921 constitution placed state power with the parliament, the courts, and the Serbian king, Alexander. The king held legislative and executive powers, but the judiciary was independent. Alexander confirmed and issued every law, appointed all state officials, and served as supreme commander of the military. Instead of using national or historic criteria to determine administrative units, the constitution divided the kingdom into thirty-three districts *(oblasti)*. The king appointed loyalists to the head of each district. Ruled by a Serbian royal family, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes ignored the historic roles that Macedonians, Montenegrins, Albanians, Bosnian Muslims, Hungarians, Roma, and Jews had all played in the Yugoslav lands.

The government used the centralist Vidovdan Constitution (ratified against the will of most non-Serbs) to rule an authoritarian kingdom. The government drove the CPY, the largest opposition party, underground in 1922 and reneged on its promises to the YMO. Pašić's promise of territorial integrity for Bosnia-Hercegovina's six historic districts (Bihać, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Travnik, Sarajevo, and Mostar) evaporated in 1922. The districts remained as oblasti, but Bosnian Muslims held none of the king-appointed leadership positions in them. This betrayal caused Spaho to resign his government posts, and the pro-Serb wing of YMO formed its own party. By 1923, Spaho and the YMO had joined the major Slovene and Croat parties in a federalist bloc opposed to the Vidovdan Constitution. Finally, in 1925, the government extended anticommunist legislation to include the Croatian Peasant Party (CPP) and arrested its leadership. In the attempts to revise the Vidovdan Constitution that followed, the main conflicts were between the Serbian and Croatian parties, with the YMO and Slovene People's Party (SLS) providing crucial swing votes.

The YMO primarily represented urban middle-class interests, but Spaho did negotiate government compensation for families losing land in the 1919 agrarian reform. In a population of nearly 2 million Bosnians, the agrarian reform affected about 4,000 landlords. Long overdue, the agrarian reform abolished serfdom and resolved the most important property disputes. Landlords were limited to 50 hectares (the size of a small American family farm) unless the property owner himself tilled the land. Most forests became state property. Setting a precedent for the 1945 land reform, the state also expropriated all land that had been enemy property (German, Ottoman, or Habsburg) without compensation and made war veterans eligible for land. Ultimately, the agrarian reform affected 25 percent of Yugoslav land (over 2.43 million hectares) and one-third of peasants. It not only terminated feudal labor practices in Bosnia and the former Ottoman lands, but it also ended the system of compulsory labor in Croatia. Only Serbia was exempt from the reform.

The Bosnian Muslim landlords of 1921 were not what they had been in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ottoman inheritance laws, war, and economic decline had reduced the size of most property. More than 60 percent of Bosnian landlords owned less than the 50-hectare limit. Only seventeen Bosnian families held more than 1,000 hectares, all in the Bosanska Gradiška region by the Sava River. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the 1919 agrarian reform affected only peasants on agaluk estates, because they were legally recognized as operating under a feudal tenancy system. As in the past, peasants on beglik estates had been legally classified as free labor on private property and were excluded from the reform. Many landlords were reduced to poverty because they lost income from rents and tithes and the state's indemnity was insufficient to modernize their farms. The government paid compensation to agaluk owners in cash (125 million dinars) and in 4 percent bonds maturing in fifty years (130 million dinars) at below market value. Further, most landlords sold their bonds at or below face value because they had no other source of income. Beginning in 1925, these bonds were traded on the Yugoslav stock exchange at less than 30 percent of their original value. Thus, the mostly Muslim landlords' compensation for their land was not enough to keep them from post-expropriation poverty.

Full implementation of the agrarian reform and other land reform legislation remained incomplete by 1941. Throughout the interwar period, however, the government enlarged the category of those entitled to receive land. Between 1919 and 1928, 14,000 war veterans and their families received 34,000 hectares of forestlands. In 1921 the government extended the Agrarian Reform to include beglik peasant households, who had worked under tenancy arrangements similar to agaluk estates since February 1909, whose tenancy contract had no limited duration, and whose livelihood depended on working the land. Between 1928 and 1930, the state included more customary tenants on beglik estates and agreed to pay compensation of 500 million dinars in 6 percent government bonds amortized over forty-three years. As with the agas, the begs sold most bonds to creditors, and their value shrank to 76 percent of their face value when they started trading on the Yugoslav stock exchange. A 1936 decree legalized peasant encroachments and cultivation of government forestland, estimated at up to 600,000 hectares. In all, an estimated 168,000 families (some families counted twice) obtained 1,175,000 hectares of land (1,156,000 arable, 162,000 forest, 47,000 pasture) in Bosnia-Hercegovina from large holders, vakufs, and "enemies of the state," and by peasant encroachments.

The agrarian reform held tremendous significance for Bosnia-Hercegovina. Disputes over land tenure, taxes, and labor obligations had been the root of Bosnian Serb–Muslim animosity in the nineteenth century and the cause of many revolts, including the 1875 Rebellion that ended Ottoman rule in Bosnia. The agrarian reform replaced ambiguous Ottoman-era property laws that blurred the distinction between state and individual property with modern concepts of private property. However, receiving title to their land and eliminating rents and tithes did not resolve all the peasants' problems. Peasants continued to pay a disproportionate share of the tax burden. Inadequate roads and transportation infrastructure discouraged market-oriented farming. Peasants still held their property in scattered micro-plots rather than in one piece of land. Therefore, most peasants remained subsistence farmers. As the agrarian depression of the 1920s gave way to the worldwide depression of the 1930s, farmers received too little for their produce and spent too much for manufactured goods to maintain their farms. Despite the agrarian reform, microholding and rural poverty increased in interwar Yugoslavia.

After June 1928, when a Serb deputy shot the Croat leader Stjepan Radić in the Skupština (assembly), the political system grew even more authoritarian. Radić's subsequent death in August set off mass demonstrations. In January 1929 King Alexander installed himself as royal dictator. He abolished the Vidovdan Constitution, suspended civil liberties, disbanded political parties and trade unions, placed all newspapers under state control, and made any "anti-state" activity a capital offense. He renamed the state the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and consolidated the thirty-three oblasti into nine *banovine,* each administered by a king-appointed governor *(ban).* After redistricting, Serbs enjoyed a majority in six of the nine banovine. The new regime shredded Bosnian territorial integrity and ended Bosnian Muslim religious autonomy. For the first time in over four hundred years, the region was partitioned. The king divided Bosnia-Hercegovina's six historic districts among four banovine (Vrbas, Drina, Zeta, Primorija), each with a Bosnian minority. The king merged the Sarajevo-based Bosnian Muslim religious community with Skopje-centered Muslims from Macedonia and Kosovo and moved the office of the reis ul-ulema to Belgrade.

Alexander issued a new constitution in 1931. It confirmed his dictatorship and provided for legislative and judicial branches of government accountable solely to the king. Alexander fired "incompetent judges." The constitution established a Senate and a National Assembly elected by open ballot. The king allowed only political parties with significant representation in all nine banovine. Since none of the pre-1929 parties met this criterion, Alexander filled the legislature with loyalists. In 1932 Maček, Korošec, and Spaho all issued resolutions calling for the return to democracy. Alexander's authoritarianism did not dispel political tension or end violence. In 1934 the extreme nationalist Ustaša had Alexander assassinated in Marseilles. (The Ustaša had been formed by Ante Pavelić following Alexander's royal coup. The government immediately exiled Pavelić to Italy.) In 1934 Alexander's cousin Paul became regent for Prince Peter until his eighteenth birthday in 1941.

After 1931, the YMO specifically called for the resurrection of the country along national-historic lines with Bosnian autonomy. Spaho and the YMO participated in each of Stojadinović's governments. However, the government's 1939 *Sporazum* (Agreement) with Croatia further complicated the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Brokered by Vladko Maček (CPP leader since 1928) and Prime Minister Dragiša Cvetković, the Sporazum established an autonomous Croatian banovina and provided for the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina based only on its Serb and Croat population. Therefore, if a county were 35 percent Muslim, 33 percent Croat, and 32 percent Serb, it became Croat despite the Muslim plurality. The Croatian banovina contained thirteen historically Bosnian counties, including Mostar, Stolac, Brčko, Gradačac, Derventa, Travnik, Fojnica, and Livno. By August 1939, Bosnia had been whittled down to two rump banovine with majority Serb populations. After Spaho's death in 1939, his successor Džafer Kulenović demanded a new Bosnian banovina to include the two rump banovine plus the Sandžak of Novi Pazar.

WORLD WAR II

While Slovene, Croat, Bosnian, and Serb politicians in Yugoslavia negotiated for greater autonomy in 1939, World War II began in Europe. After 1939, the German Reich used the close political and economic relationships it had developed with the Yugoslav government in the 1930s to pressure the Yugoslav government to join neighboring Italy, Romania, Hungary, and Bulgaria in the Axis alliance. By 1941, Germany had annexed Austria (1938), occupied the Czech lands (and set up a client state in Slovakia), and defeated both Poland (1939) and France (1940). In 1941 Prince Paul's reluctant signing of the Tripartite Agreement led to a military coup and the regent's abdication in favor of Prince Peter, still a minor. On 6 April, German forces attacked Yugoslavia, defeating it in eight days. Subsequently, Germany annexed Slovenia, set up quisling regimes in Serbia and in an enlarged Croatia (renamed the Independent State of Croatia, NDH), and gave Italy jurisdiction over

Montenegro and the western half of the NDH. On 10 April 1941, the German puppet state of Croatia officially proclaimed itself the Independent State of Croatia, with the exiled Ustaša leader, Ante Pavelić as its *Poglavnik* (leader). Before Pavelić took power, his extreme nationalist movement had only 12,000 followers. Bosnia-Hercegovina, divided among eleven provinces, became part of this highly authoritarian state. Initially, many Croats in Croatia and Bosnia welcomed the NDH as relief from Serbian rule. Within days of taking power, Pavelić guaranteed religious freedom and invited eleven YMO politicians to join the NDH's paper parliament.

Known as the National Liberation Struggle, World War II consisted of three wars in Yugoslavia: a war against foreign occupation, a social revolution, and a war of ethnic cleansing. Unlike World War I and the Balkan wars, World War II was fought in Bosnia, and its citizens were drawn into all three conflicts. Each of these wars originated and was driven by forces (Axis, NDH, Četniks, communists) from outside the region.

Two competing resistance movements associated with the Allies, the communist-led Partisans and the royalist Četniks, waged separate campaigns against German and Italian occupation forces and their puppets. Initially, the Allied Command recognized and materially supported Colonel Draža Mihailović's forces as the official Yugoslav resistance. Mihailović represented the London government and fought to restore the interwar monarchy. However, many Serbian resistance bands called themselves Četniks without any connection to Mihailović. While the Četniks fought to save the monarchy, the communist-led Partisan movement sought to abolish it. An illegal political party since 1921, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) began to recover in 1937, when Josip Broz "Tito" became party secretary. However, it counted only 6,000 members in 1940.

By the winter of 1941–1942, the Četnik and Partisan resistances were also fighting each other. The Četniks expelled the weaker Partisan resistance from Serbia in late 1941, forcing it into an unreceptive Bosnia-Hercegovina and a long trek through Bosnia's Dinaric Alps to Bihać, where Tito regrouped. The Partisans championed themselves as fighting both against the Axis powers and for a Yugoslavia with national and social equality. In 1942 Tito established the Anti-Fascist Council for the Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) to vie with the government in exile for Allied support in the postwar political settlement. The London government's passivity, as well as the Partisans' appeal to national equality, led a large number of Croats and Muslims to join the Partisans in 1943. By this time, the Četniks were openly collaborating with the Germans. In September the Allies recognized the Partisans as the main resistance force in Yugoslavia and transferred their backing to Tito. The 1943 Italian surrender meant large amounts of arms and equipment fell into Partisan hands. By this time, Partisan resistance had become a mass movement of over 100,000, and it was still growing.

The National Liberation Struggle also became a social revolution, as Mihailović's and Tito's resistance forces each aimed to establish its own vision of postwar Yugoslavia. Mihailović's royalist forces, representing the prewar government in exile, were determined to restore the Serbian dynasty that had ruled the Yugoslav monarchy from 1918 to 1941. As noted above, the interwar regime had disillusioned many. As Serb nationalists, Mihailović's Četnik forces recruited few non-Serbs. In contrast, the Partisans, who promised national and social equality, a new round of land reform, and economic development, appealed particularly to peasants (both Serb and non-Serb), the small number of urban poor, and those adversely affected by Serb chauvinism. However, most Muslim, Catholic, and Orthodox clerics opposed the communists' atheism, and many allied with the government in exile or a quisling regime. The YMO had been excluded from the London government but opposed the CPY's atheism and its socialist goals. The CPY had little support in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It had polled poorly in 1920, and by 1939 there were only 170 Communist Party members, most Bosnian Serbs, in the region.

Finally, World War II also became a war of ethnic cleansing. Led by the ultranationalist Croat Ante Pavelić, the NDH's Ustaša leadership massacred and expelled Serbs, Jews, and communists of all ethnicities in order to create an ethnically pure Croat nation-state. Since Croats did not form a demographic majority, the NDH identified Bosnian Muslims as ethnic Croats, who had converted to Islam four centuries earlier, and set about eliminating the small Jewish and sizable Serb population. In retaliation, Serbs massacred both Croats and Muslims, whom they collectively associated with the NDH's anti-Serb atrocities.

German occupation and NDH rule in Bosnia (as in Milan Nedić's quisling regime in Serbia) were accompanied by anti-Semitic pogroms. On 16 April 1941, one day after they arrived in Sarajevo, German soldiers attacked the old synagogue. Within two days, all of Sarajevo's synagogues had been ransacked. Although one German officer called for the confiscation of the Sarajevo Haggadah from the National Museum, its Muslim director hid the manuscript in a mountain village throughout the war. On 18 April, the NDH issued its first anti-Jewish law. On 30 April, laws on citizenship and racial identity and on the protection of Aryan blood and the honor of the Croatian people were announced.

Croats and Muslims quickly became disillusioned with the NDH and its campaign of ethnic cleansing against Serbs, Roma, and Jews. The state also killed and deported Bosnian Muslims and communists as enemies of the regime. In June mass internments of Jews began throughout the NDH. By December 1941 most Jews in the NDH and in Serbia had been sent to internment camps. By the end of World War II, all Bosnian synagogues had been looted and many destroyed. In 1945 only 14,000 Jews remained in Bosnia; another 12,000 had been killed.

The NDH's Serb population of 1.6 million (out of a total NDH population of 6.3 million) required a much larger ethnic cleansing project. The state planned to convert to Catholicism, expel, and kill the Serb population in equal thirds. Widespread terror began in May, and mass arrests of Serbs followed in June. In Mostar, the Ustaša shot hundreds of Serbs and threw them in the Neretva River. NDH atrocities also occurred in Bihać, Brčko, and Doboj, and the state destroyed entire Serb villages around Sarajevo. Serb resistance, especially from Hercegovina, "liberated" some areas from NDH control by collaborating with the Italian occupation. Many Serbs responded to Ustaša massacres by joining the Četnik resistance and retaliating against Croats and Bosniaks.

In contrast to Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs, the National Liberation Struggle left Bosnian Muslims politically isolated. The London government excluded the Bosnian Muslims' most prominent interwar political party, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization (YMO), from the government in exile. Some Bosniaks joined the NDH, but some also joined the Četnik resistance. In December 1942 an estimated 4,000 Muslims were fighting with the Četniks (roughly 8 percent of their troops). However, nationalist Serb calls for the annexation of Bosnia and the expulsion of all non-Serbs made Muslim participation with the Četnik guerrillas difficult. Then Serb massacres of thousands of Muslims in Hercegovina and eastern Bosnia beginning in late 1941 rendered Bosniak participation in the Četnik resistance impossible. The YMO's opposition to socialism and atheism also prevented easy alliance with the Partisans.

Since the NDH defined Bosnian Muslims as ethnically Croat despite their traditional Islamic faith and culture, Bosniaks were not targets of Ustaša atrocities. However, relations between Bosniak leaders and the NDH were tense despite this special status. Beginning in August 1941, Muslim clerics issued a series of resolutions condemning the NDH's violations of civil and religious rights. These resolutions reported numerous crimes, abuses, and forced conversion of Orthodox Serbs and others to Catholicism. They complained of theft and looting of Serb and Jewish property. One hundred prominent Sarajevans demanded security of life, dignity, property, and religion for all and denounced violence against Serbs and Jews. By the end of 1942, Bosnian Muslim leaders, complaining of NDH killings of Muslims, requested autonomy and the end of Ustaša activity in Bosnia.

Beginning in the winter of 1941–1942, Četnik guerrillas and local Serbs forces retaliated against Ustaša ethnic cleansing by killing thousands of Bosniaks. The worst violence was in Hercegovina and in eastern Bosnia. In August 1942 a single Četnik commander, Zaharia Ostojić, killed at least 2,000 Muslims in Foča-Čajnića. In February 1943 9,000 Muslims were massacred, including 8,000 elderly, women, and children, in the same region. Leading Četnik intellectuals tacitly approved these actions. For example, Dragiša Vasić called not only for Serbia's annexation of Bosnia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, and parts of Croatia, but also advocated the postwar expulsion of all non-Serbs from this Greater Serbia. As more Bosnian Muslims began to join forces with Tito in early 1942, nationalist Serbs slaughtered Muslims for their Partisan affiliation, and the massacres intensified.

Many Bosnian Muslims formed local defense units to protect themselves and tried to avoid contact with all combatants. One such group was the Young Muslims, which was founded in 1939 to promote the role of Bosnian Muslims after the creation of the Croatian banovina. During the war, the Young Muslims did charitable and social work to aid refugees and organized rural and urban Muslim youth into cultural and religious organizations.

As Ustaša attacks on Muslims increased in 1943, some Bosnian leaders sought German intervention. They wrote to Hitler requesting an end to Ustaša activity, autonomy for Bosnia, and an expansion of the Muslim Volunteer Legion (similar to volunteer SS divisions in France, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark). Germany dismissed Bosnian autonomy but did form the Bosnian Muslim SS division, "Handžar," in April 1943. (The term "handžar" refers to a scimitar, a type of curved dagger of Ottoman origin.) This division had all ethnic German officers, and at its height contained 21,000 troops. Most volunteers believed the division would be used to protect Muslim towns and villages. However, it was sent to France. In November 1943 Muhamed Pandža, one of the principal recruiters for the Handžar division, called for the overthrow of the NDH and the creation of an autonomous Bosnia with equal rights for all religions. In March 1944 the Handžar division was sent back to Bosnia for "peacekeeping" in Tuzla, Gradačac, Brčko, Bijelina,and Zvornik, where it dispensed indiscriminant reprisals against local Serbs. The division began to break up in the summer of 1944 when two thousand of its members joined the Partisans. By October 1944, the division had disintegrated. In 1944 the NDH tried to intimidate the Muslim population with summary executions.

Tito's victory can be attributed to the Partisans' populist appeal, Allied military aid, and Partisan military success. The Partisan promise of national "brotherhood and unity" appealed to those in all national groups who were opposed to the ethnically motivated Četnik and Ustaša violence. The Partisans' willingness to resist the NDH and occupation forces eventually won them substantial support, both from the Allied Command and from anticommunist leaders in the Croatian Peasant Party (CPP) and the YMO. Among Bosnian Serbs, the Partisans recruited most successfully in the Bihać and Jajce areas, where Tito formed his Popular Front government. Tito's military successes in turn weakened clerical Muslim resistance to the Partisans. When the NDH collapsed in 1944, thousands more disaffected Serbs, Croats, and Muslims joined the Partisans. The German withdrawal began in the summer of 1944. On 6 April 1945, Partisan forces liberated Sarajevo, and they formed a government on 28 April.

The war devastated Bosnia-Hercegovina. Forces from outside the region (NDH, Četniks, communists) led the fighting, but Bosnians participated on all sides. Thus, much of the fighting crossed ethnic, religious, and class barriers, as Bosnians were caught in the war's whirlwind. Some Bosnian Serbs fought with the Četnik resistance; others chose the Partisans. Some Bosnian Croats allied with the government in exile; others with the NDH or the Partisans. Bosnian Muslims served either with the NDH, the German army, the Četniks, or the Partisans. The NDH systematically attempted to create an ethnically pure Croat nation-state by eliminating its Serbs and Jews. In retaliation, nationalist Serb forces massacred both Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims because of their ethnicity. However, the Ustaša also killed

Bosnian Muslims and sent them to death camps at Jasenovac, Buchenwald, and Auschwitz despite their special ethnic status. Serb, Croat, and Bosniak Partisans not only fought Croats associated with the NDH and Serbs associated with the Četniks, they opposed anyone they perceived as loyal to the interwar regime. When Partisans came into villages, they rounded up Muslims of higher social standing and intellectuals and shot them.

By the time hostilities ended in 1945, the CPY had a communist-dominated Popular Front government ready to put in place. The war's death toll in Yugoslavia was staggering (up to 1.7 million) and continues to be a subject of much debate. In Bosnia, 8.1 percent of Bosnian Muslims and 7.3 percent of Bosnian Serbs were killed. Only Jews and Roma suffered greater losses. The end of the war brought uncertainty, as widespread homelessness (3.5 million), a devastated economy, and starvation threatened in 1945 and 1946. When the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) took power in 1945, it ruled over a divided, war-devastated country seething with resentments.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA IN COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA, 1945–1992

Tito and his Partisans came to power in 1945 offering democracy and social equality to replace monarchy, national equality to replace ethnic chauvinism, and economic development (above all, further land reform and industrialization) to replace backwardness. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), like its predecessors, used democratic rhetoric, but never intended to allow political pluralism in Yugoslavia. Instead, it replaced the nationalist royal dictatorship with a communist dictatorship and equated political opposition to the Party with treason. The politicians who led Yugoslavia and Bosnia after 1945 used their war records to obtain government positions and then ruled through old-fashioned patronage networks. Nevertheless, Tito and the CPY proved to be remarkably flexible.

Tito's Stalinist state transformed itself after its 1948 ouster from the Soviet bloc. In 1952 the CPY changed its name to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and began to implement a series of reforms, placing it, as has so often been observed, between East and West. Its diplomatic relations with the West improved. Yugoslavia became a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, a bloc of developing states opposed to the Soviet and American alliances of the Cold War. As an alternative to the Stalinist model, the Party developed its economic ideology of socialist self-management that theoretically gave workers (rather than the state) control over their workplace and became one of the cornerstones of the communist state. This control was mostly fictional, but employees did enjoy a high level of job security. The 1953 land reform officially ended collectivization and reconfirmed the legitimacy of private property. In the 1960s restrictions on small business eased, consumer goods improved, and travel to foreign countries to work and shop became easier. In most of Yugoslavia, life improved dramatically. The economy industrialized and grew at a rapid pace. The state built roads and rail lines. Cities urbanized. Universal access to basic social services improved health care, nutrition, and housing. Mass education virtually wiped out illiteracy.

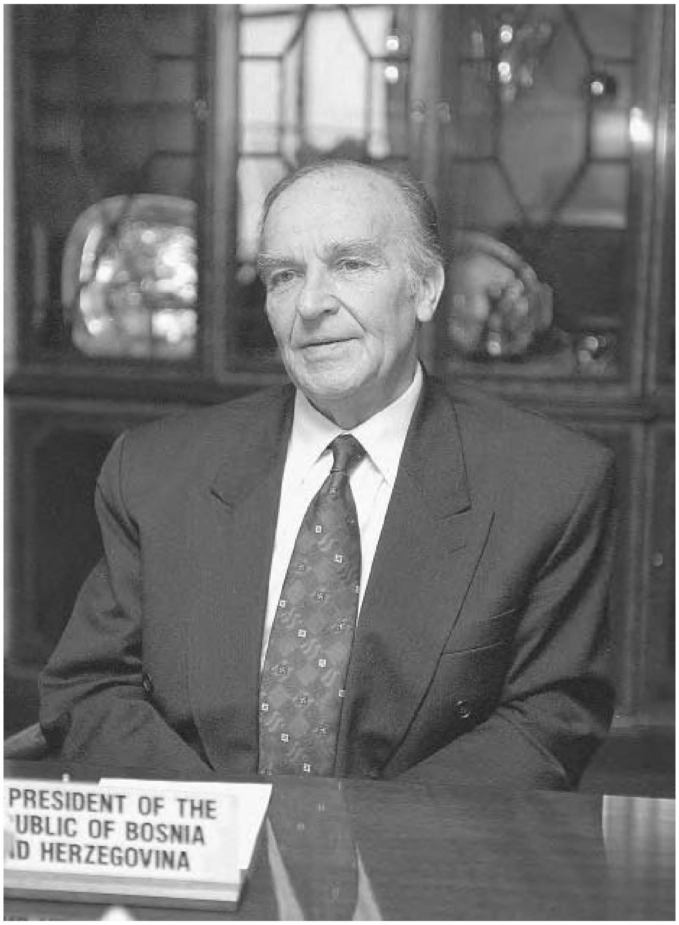
When the CPY came to power in 1945, it pledged to eliminate the nationalist violence that had plagued the interwar regime and had exploded in World War II. Despite the CPY's political monopoly and Tito's dictatorial role, the CPY took on a federalist form to accommodate South Slavs' national aspirations. Six republics (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Montenegro) and two autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina) within Serbia replaced the interwar banovine. Except for multinational Bosnia-Hercegovina, which had no demographically dominant nation, each of the republics represented the historic territory of each region's single dominant nation. Thus, Tito's Yugoslavia recognized six distinct South Slav nations, each represented by a theoretically sovereign republic. Each republic had the formal right to secede from Yugoslavia. The autonomous provinces represented historic regions dominated by national minorities (defined as a national group living outside of the established nation-state). Since Kosovo (majority Albanian, historically Ottoman) and the Vojvodina (no majority, until 1918 Hungarian) were historically, demographically, and culturally distinct, the CPY designated them as autonomous provinces within the Serb republic.

In a government premised on the politics of nation-building, multinational Bosnia-Hercegovina was in an ambiguous position. Although no nation formed a majority, Bosnian Serbs were the most numerous national group. The CPY designated Bosnian Muslims as a special ethnic group, not a nation. However, the Party recognized that Bosnia-Hercegovina was a culturally distinct historic region and understood that the region's Serb, Croat, and Muslim populations were too mixed to be separated without mass expulsions. Therefore, instead of absorbing Bosnia into Serbia, the CPY restored the region's territorial integrity and designated it a republic. Since the CPY had defined the Bosniaks as an ethnic group and the Bosnian Serbs and Croats as fragments of their respective nations, the peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina were at a political disadvantage vis-à-vis the other nationally defined republics. Representing only a small portion of their respective nations, Serbs and Croats in Bosnia were politically weaker than their counterparts in Serbia and Croatia. The CPY's insistence that Bosnian Muslims were nationally undecided gave them a second-class political status. The weakness of Bosnians (Serbs, Croats, and Muslims) rendered them less effective in pursuing their own regional interests than other republics.

Postwar Bosnian Muslim politics focused on obtaining recognition of Bosnian Muslims as a nation. In contrast to Serb, Croat, and communist claims, the 1948 and 1953 census showed their overwhelming aversion to identifying themselves either as Croats or Serbs. In the 1948 census Muslims identified themselves as Muslim Serbs (72,000), Muslim Croats (25,000), or Muslims undetermined (778,000). In the 1953 census there was no Muslim option, but 891,800 Bosnians declared themselves Yugoslavs, "nationally undeclared," rather than Serbs or Croats. The 1961 census allowed Bosnians to identify themselves as "Muslims in the ethnic sense." Over the objections of Macedonians and nationalist Serbs, the LCY finally recognized Bosnian Muslims as a nation in 1971. Macedonians, only recognized as a nation in 1945, objected to Muslim national identity because they believed Macedonian Muslims might declare themselves as Muslims. However, Macedonian Muslims were historically, culturally, and linguistically Macedonian and identified themselves as such. In fact, Muslims living in Serbia, Croatia, and Macedonia overwhelmingly identified with the dominant nation (83 percent in Serbia, 70 percent in Croatia, 95 percent in Macedonia). Since there was no pre-Ottoman Serb or Croat national identity for Bosnians to revert to, and modern religious affiliation had determined Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat national identification, Bosnian Muslims maintained their identity.

The initial denial of Bosnian Muslims' national identity allowed the CPY to attack Bosnian Muslims as a community. The crackdown on the Catholic and Orthodox Churches was aimed at clerical institutions, not at the Croat or Serb communities. Viewing the Roman Catholic Church as an NDH collaborator, the CPY destroyed some churches and closed some monasteries, convents, and seminaries after 1945. The Orthodox Church experienced similar repression, but because some Orthodox clergy had served with the Partisans, reprisals were less harsh in some areas. In contrast, the CPY viewed Islam as a particularly backward Asiatic faith that encompassed a wide spectrum of social practices. Since the CPY did not recognize Bosnian Muslims as a nation, its attacks on Islam embraced the entire community, interfering in styles of dress, diet, and family rituals. It legally prohibited women from wearing the veil, forced some Muslims serving in the military and in labor brigades to eat pork, and instructed Muslim communist officials not to circumcise their sons.

Acting on a much broader scale than either the Habsburg or Karadjordjević monarchies, the communist state shut down active Bosnian Muslim cultural organizations as well as centuries-old Bosnian Muslim economic and religious institutions. The politically and economically important vakuf administration, still functioning much as it did under the Habsburgs, was placed under state control. The 1958 law nationalizing rental property (most of which was vakuf property) forced the charitable foundations, established as early as the 1530s, to close. The expropriations allowed the state to turn Muslim graveyards into parks, office building sites, and housing. In 1946 the state suppressed sharia courts. It banned independent Islamic cultural associations in 1947. The Young Muslims, resentful of the CPY for its harsh actions and for denying Bosnian Muslim national identity, tried to organize a political party to succeed the YMO. Between 1946 and 1949, 200 of its members were tried, the organization was banned, and defendants were given long jail sentences (including Alija Izetbegović, the future president of Bosnia-Hercegovina); 4 were executed. By 1950, 200 of the 750 mosques damaged in the war remained unusable, either because they still needed repair or because they had been converted to museums, warehouses, or stables. In 1950 the state closed Muslim elementary schools and banned Bosnia's dervish religious orders. Teaching children in mosques became a criminal offense. Only one *medressa* remained open for training clergy. The state shut down the last Muslim printing house in Sarajevo. Yugoslav publishers printed no Islamic texts until 1964.



Alija Izetbegović, president of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, in the Pentagon, 1997. (Department of Defense)

Bosnia-Hercegovina's lack of political clout was evident in the lack of economic investment there and by the relative decline in living standards. At a time when the Yugoslav economy was experiencing high rates of sustained economic growth, the Bosnian portion of Yugoslavia's per capita production fell 10 percent. Very little economic investment in the region took place after 1952. In 1961 the Party declared it an economically underdeveloped region. In 1947 Bosnia's per capita income had been 20 percent below the national average. After experiencing the lowest growth rate in all of Yugoslavia since 1952, per capita income sank to 38 percent below the national average in 1967. By the 1970s, Bosnia had the highest infant mortality rate, the highest illiteracy rate, the highest percentage of adults with less than four years' education, and the fewest people living in cities in Yugoslavia, except for Kosovo. It also had the highest rate of emigration, consisting mostly of Bosnian Serbs moving to Serbia.

Tito's Yugoslavia began to unravel in the 1970s, but the roots of its decline lay in the Party's failure to achieve real political reform in the 1960s. Tito ruled Yugoslavia as a unitary state and would not compromise the LCY's political monopoly. To defuse widespread interest in political reform, he legitimized national cultural associations and began a process of political decentralization. The Party tolerated Serb, Croat, and Bosnian Muslim cultural associations, which in turn facilitated liberal democratic political revivals in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the late 1960s Serb students and workers demonstrated and went on strike. A reformist communist movement in Croatia ("Croatian Spring") advocating increased political liberalization exerted influence in 1971. Both the Serb and the Croat cultural revivals included those who were more religious (Orthodox or Roman Catholic) and those who were more secular. Tito crushed both movements.

In contrast to the Serb and Croat revivals, distinct secular and religious movements emerged among Bosniaks. Since the Habsburg occupation, a secular identity had been developing among many Bosnian Muslims. They viewed observances of customary religious practices as cultural traditions rather than spiritual obligations. Islamic prohibitions against alcohol and portraying living things in art had never been widely observed in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Secular Muslims focused on political issues, such as the underrepresentation of Muslims in the LCY and the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina (LCBH) and Bosnia-Hercegovina's lower political status. By the mid-1960s, Bosnian Muslims had become the largest national group in the republic, and Bosnian Muslims' participation in the Party had increased tremendously. Linking Bosnia's economic decline to its lack of national status, secular Bosnian Muslims worked for national recognition and to bring more investment into the region. By the 1970s, Bosnian Muslims dominated the LCBH.

A Bosnian Islamic revival also developed in the 1960s. A 1954 law on religious freedom eased pressure on Islam. Tito's alliance with Nasser's Egypt and Sukarno's Indonesia (both Islamic states) in the Non-Aligned Movement made the treatment of the Muslim community a diplomatic factor and enabled increased contact with Muslims outside of Bosnia. In contrast to the secular movement, the Bosnian Islamic revival focused on the divisiveness of nationalism and the inadequacies of communism. The most famous statement to come out of the pan-Islamic movement was the 1970 "Islamic Declarations," by Alija Izetbegović, which never mentioned Bosnia-Hercegovina. It tried to reconcile the traditions of Islamic society with the modern world. Using his observations of Islamic societies around the world, Izetbegović argued that society could not progress by abandoning its own traditions in favor of foreign modernity. Citing Turkey as an example of a state that rejected its indigenous Islamic heritage in favor of foreign Western values, he linked its backwardness to the huge gulf between a small group of Westernized elites and the vast majority of traditional Turks. Izetbegović contended that societies must incorporate their own traditions in order to modernize effectively. In Islamic societies, this meant protecting Islam. In states with both Islamic and non-Islamic populations, it meant protecting minority rights, women's rights, freedom of religion, and freedom of conscience.

The LCY's nationality policy and postwar demographic changes fueled a radical Serbian and Orthodox nationalist revival. By the mid-1960s, Serb emigration out of Kosovo and Bosnia-Hercegovina into Serbia proper had given Bosnian Muslims a plurality in Bosnia and reduced Serb presence in Kosovo. Many Serbs left these rural, underdeveloped regions in search of more opportunity in the more urban and more economically promising areas of Serbia. Anti-Serb riots in Kosovo in 1968 led to a backlash against the Serb minority in Kosovo. As the third largest national group in Yugoslavia, Albanians, who comprised 82 percent of the population of Kosovo in 1991, sought to revise their position as a national minority and gain recognition as a nation and republican status for Kosovo. This proposal was unacceptable to Serbs, who saw Kosovo as part of medieval Serbia that had been rightfully reintegrated into Serbia in 1912. In 1968 the Serb nationalist writer Dobrica Ćosić was expelled from the LCY for proposing that Kosovo Serbs should unite with Serbs into a single state. Since Albanians were mostly Muslim, Serb nationalism also fed anti-Islamic sentiment.

As political reform stagnated, these cultural organizations became politicized, leading to a communist crackdown on Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian Muslim national (and religious) revivals. As a compromise, Tito offered the 1974 constitution, which increased the authority of the republican and provincial parties at the expense of federal institutions. Autonomous provinces were given political parity with republics. It also provided for an eight-member presidency (one representative from each republic and province) to rule by consensus after Tito's death. The 1974 constitution did not satisfy Albanians' desire for national status. It also enraged Serbs, who saw political parity for the autonomous provinces (both part of the Serb republic) as a direct attack on Serbia.

Many Serbs felt politically underrepresented in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav capital was in Belgrade, and the Serbs dominated the military. Nonetheless, many Serbs believed that Macedonia (acquired in 1913) should be part of the Serb republic and that the autonomous provinces weakened Serb political authority. Before the Balkan Wars, these areas had not had any Serb rulers for five centuries. In the 1970s Serb nationalists revived nineteenth-century Serb claims to Bosnia and the idea that all Serbs should live in one political unit. Such a scenario (incorporating Serb minorities in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Macedonia with Serbia) could be achieved only within a Serb-dominated unitary state. As long as Yugoslavia was a centralized dictatorship, this question of national representation remained moot. The political devolution in the 1974 constitution reignited these claims and the debate over whether Yugoslavia should be a unitary or federalist state. As in the interwar period, Serbs tended to favor a unitary state and non-Serbs a federal one. As hope for political reform turned to general disillusion, people withdrew from politics, and national resentments flourished.

Tito's death in 1980 left Yugoslavia with a fragmented political leadership and a weak central government, due in large part to the fact that the 1974 constitution strengthened the Yugoslav republics and their regional interests. Political devolution and an unwieldy rotating presidency encouraged politicians to turn to their own nationally defined republics. In the early 1980s the Bosnian government, eager to secure its secular Bosnian Muslim identity, clamped down on "Bosnian nationalism." After Bosnian Muslims showed support for the Ayatollah Khomeni's 1979 Revolution in Iran, the government began to suppress Islam in Bosnia. In 1983 the government tried thirteen people for "hostile and counterrevolutionary acts derived from Muslim nationalism." The most important defendant was Alija Izetbegović, a retired lawyer and building company director, for his "Islamic Declarations" published thirteen years earlier. The government used this position paper as evidence that Izetbegović sought to create an ethnically pure Islamic state in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It also accused him of advocating Western-style democracy and sentenced him to fourteen years in prison (he served six). This trial and the conviction it resulted in gave greater weight to Serb nationalists who denied the secular character of Bosnian Muslims' identity by associating all Bosniaks with the Bosnian Islamic revival, which it claimed was a fundamentalist movement to repress Serbs. This association of fundamentalist Islam with Bosniaks allowed nationalists to claim that Bosnian Muslims were "really" Turks, not Bosnians at all. The LCBH's attempt to curb Bosnian nationalism only further divided the republic.

The Party also became concerned about the Serb nationalist revival, which revised the history of the Četniks and condemned official LCY histories. In the 1980s Serb nationalists called for a new constitution that would create a unitary Yugoslav state and reintegrate the autonomous provinces into Serbia. In 1985 the nationalist writer Dobrica Ćosić published a novel sympathetic to the extreme Serb nationalist Četnik leader, Dragiša Vasić, who advocated the expulsion of Bosnian Muslims from the region and the Serb annexation of Bosnia, Montenegro, northern Albania, and large parts of Croatia in World War II. The prestigious Serbian Academy of Sciences (SANU) gave Serb nationalists respectability in its 1986 Memorandum, claiming that the Party had encouraged anti-Serb Croatian, Slovene, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Bosnian Muslim nationalism in order to weaken Serbia. The Memorandum contended that ethnic Serb writers were identified as Bosnian authors in Bosnia and Montenegrin writers in Montenegro. Using the nineteenth-century nationalist argument that all members of a nation should reside in one state, the Memorandum called for the political unification of all Serbs. The pursuit of this goal destroyed Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina with it.

In 1987 Slobodan Milošević became leader of the Serbian League of Communists (LCS). Using nationalism to mobilize mass political support, Milošević was able to reintegrate Kosovo and Vojvodina into Serbia, giving him enormous political power and control over three votes in the presidency. In Vojvodina, the entire politburo resigned in 1988. In 1989 Kosovo's political autonomy was abolished. Mass protests and a strike in Kosovo were labeled anti-Serb and crushed by Serb security forces. Milošević called a meeting of the LCY for January 1990 to revise the 1974 constitution in favor of a more unitary system. After the Serb delegation blocked discussion of all Slovene reforms (aimed at increased decentralization), the Slovene delegation walked out of the meeting. When the other delegations refused to vote without the Slovenes, the meeting broke up with the LCY in tatters. As a result, each republic held multiparty elections in 1990, in which nationalists dominated.

These elections were the first in a series of events leading to the collapse of Yugoslavia. As in other republics, Bosnian votes divided along national lines, with Bosnian Muslims receiving a plurality. The new president, Alija Izetbegović, formed a coalition government including Bosnian Serbs and Croats. After more than a year of attempting to negotiate increased regional control, Slovenia and Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia in June 1991. This secession precipitated the ten-day war in Slovenia, waged by the Yugoslav National Army (JNA), as well as the JNA's four-month campaign against Croatia. The international community, which had ignored the issues leading up to the war, became involved only as armed hostilities broke out. The Slovenian and Croatian secession left Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia facing Serbian territorial claims without its strongest allies. In January 1992 Macedonia and Bosnia applied for international recognition along with Croatia and Slovenia. A rump state consisting of Serbia (including Kosovo and Vojvodina) and Montenegro was all that remained of Yugoslavia.

The United Nations' recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina did not lead to independence. The Izetbegović government held a UN-mandated referendum on independence, despite Bosnian fears that it would precipitate bloodshed. The referendum inflamed Serb nationalism. Serbs boycotted the vote, which was over 90 percent for independence. Before recognition, Serb forces in the JNA attacked Bosnia. From April 1992 to November 1995, a war of ethnic cleansing perpetrated overwhelmingly by Serbs engulfed Bosnia-Hercegovina. The war ended in December 1995 with the signing of the Dayton Accords in Paris. Since then, Bosnia-Hercegovina has been occupied by NATO peacekeepers. Despite this military presence, Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat leaders responsible for mass murder have not been arrested. The right of return, only recognized for refugees from certain areas, has not been respected. Today, Bosnia remains divided and lacks essential sovereignty. Governed by a UN High Commissioner, Bosnia is also burdened with an excessively complex, unworkable, UN-imposed constitution. The Dayton "peace" seems designed to perpetuate twentieth-century ethnic animosity well into the twenty-first century.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

ESTABLISHING A COMMUNIST STATE, 1945–1955

The historical narrative has already provided a summary of political events from 1945 to 1995. This section, however, pays closer attention to the Yugoslav state and covers the events in this period more thoroughly. The three conflicts of the National Liberation Struggle (military occupation, social revolution, ethnic cleansing), together with the victors' vision for the future, defined the basis for the postwar Yugoslav state. Although Tito faced the same dilemmas that had bedeviled the interwar monarchy, he held out the promise of a bright future: "brotherhood and unity" would replace fratricide, social and political equality would replace chauvinism and monarchy, and industrialization and urbanization would replace rural poverty. The Partisans' military success ensured the prominent position of the postwar Yugoslav National Army (JNA). The communist victory over the Četniks enabled the regime to abolish the monarchy in favor of a one-party state and establish a socialist economy. Attempts to accommodate nationalist conflict led to political representation by nationally defined republics. These four features (strong military, one-party rule, national political representation, and an industrial socialist economy) all lent stability to Tito's state and enabled it to survive more than twice as long as the first Yugoslavia.

First, the CPY began establishing a socialist economy as soon as it took power. Since the social revolution had been fought on the basis of delivering both increased wealth and more equitable economic prosperity for all Yugoslav citizens, economic development became and remained one of the regime's top political priorities. Initially, the state pursued economic development using Stalinist strategies. It took control of all major markets and resources to promote industrialization, urbanization, and growth. By 1947, the state controlled 70 percent of industry and 90 percent of retail trade. It did not collectivize completely, but it did control rural markets. In April 1947 the Party formalized this Stalinist economic strategy in its First Five-Year Plan (1947–1951). By 1948, however, a weak economy was contributing to the erosion of the CPY's popular base. Since Tito and the CPY had tied their political legitimacy to economic development, this poor performance compromised the Party's political credibility.

Second, since the Partisans' role in the communists' military victory in World War II had made communist rule possible, the postwar Yugoslav National Army became an integral part of the new regime. In five years the CPY had grown from a tiny political party to the leader of a mass resistance movement and the strongest political power in Yugoslavia. To turn its military success into political support, the CPY promoted unity by extolling the virtues and sacrifices of citizens throughout Yugoslavia, whose efforts expelled fascist, foreign occupiers and defeated the unpatriotic, ultranationalist minority. The Party discredited the Četnik resistance by contrasting the Partisans' heroic battles, dramatic escapes, and multinational fighting force (which included many Serbs) with Četnik passivity, collaboration, and Serb chauvinism. On the other hand, Mihailović's forces were unable to use widespread anticommunism and their own defense of the Yugoslav monarchy to bolster their own domestic political position.

Good Soviet-Yugoslav relations also bolstered the JNA's importance in establishing the Party's domestic and international political authority. The absence of a postwar Soviet occupation to compromise Yugoslavia's national communists allowed the CPY to claim full responsibility for the German defeat. As Stalin's strongest East European ally before 1948, Tito's international standing benefited from his prominent role in the 1947 founding of the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau—a body intended to establish information contacts and demonstrate the unity of the European communist states). By 1948, Tito was poised to become the dominant political and military leader in the Balkans.

Third, the new state opted for a unitary rather than federal government and one-party rule. The CPY, elected by plebiscite in November 1945, abolished the monarchy (1945) and enacted a constitution (1946) that banned political opposition and equated dissent from the Party with treason. Between 1946 and 1949, two hundred Young Muslims trying to organize a political successor to the interwar YMO found themselves on trial. By 1948, the prewar and popular front political parties had ceased any meaningful activity. The CPY had regional affiliates in the republics and autonomous provinces, but Tito and his closest advisors held the real power. Thus, there was no viable political opposition to Tito's government.

Fourth, the Party adopted a new strategy to accommodate nationalism and prevent the violence that had plagued the interwar regime and exploded in World War II. It placed its one-party rule onto a national-federal state structure. The CPY granted each of the five recognized historic nations (Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians) their own republic based on its historic boundaries. With no dominant nation, multi-ethnic Bosnia-Hercegovina formed a sixth republic based solely on its historic borders. The CPY defined members of nations, whose nation-state existed outside of Yugoslavia (e.g., Albania, Hungary, Romania, Greece, Bulgaria, Italy, Germany) as national minorities. While they had the same individual rights as those belonging to nations, national minorities had no claim to their own republic. This solution was a vast improvement over interwar era policies, but it still ignored the status of many who lived outside their nationally defined republic (such as Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia, Macedonians and Albanians in Serbia, Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina). Organizing politics on the issue of national representation served to divide rather than unify the country, as the Party missed opportunities to work on pan-Yugoslav or regional, interrepublic concerns that could have promoted multi-ethnic nation-building.

The case of Bosnia-Hercegovina was especially problematic because no single nation dominated the republic. Restoring the region's historic borders and designating it a republic ended ongoing Serbian and Croatian claims to annex the region. Despite success in recruiting Bosniaks in the regions surrounding their Bihać and Jajce headquarters during World War II, the Communist Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina (CPBH) was small and dominated by Bosnian Serbs. The CPY recognized Bosnian Muslims as a prenational, religiously defined ethnic group, whose members still needed to choose whether they belonged to the Serb or Croat nation (as Muslims in Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Kosovo had). On the other hand, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats represented only fragments of their respective nations because they lived outside of the respective Serb and Croat republics. With no representative nation, Bosnia-Hercegovina had less political clout and more tenuous claims on resources than other republics.

The state also recognized two historic regions, which Serbia had acquired in the early twentieth century, as autonomous provinces. One of them, multi-ethnic Vojvodina, had a large German and Hungarian population and had been historically Habsburg. The other, Albanian-dominated Kosovo, had been an Ottoman outpost for over 500 years (1389–1912). Serb nationalists viewed the autonomous provinces attached to Serbia (without a corresponding status for Serbian regions in Macedonia, Croatia, and western Bosnia) as an attempt to dismember their nation. Albanian nationalists saw Kosovo's autonomous province status as a way to deny their right to a republic. Until 1974, however, Yugoslavia's unitary state dominated by a centralized dictatorship rendered these issues of national representation moot.

In 1948 conflict with the Soviet Union nearly toppled Tito's government. Growing postwar tensions between the USSR and the Western Allies encouraged Stalin to consolidate his power in Eastern Europe. In 1948 he demanded greater political control over the East European communist parties' foreign and domestic policies. In asserting Soviet power in the region, Stalin targeted the CPY and its ambitious leader as a lesson to the rest of the Cominform and to consolidate his power in Eastern Europe. The ensuing Soviet-Yugoslav conflict brought long-lasting changes to communist Yugoslavia. It strengthened the importance of the JNA, reinforced the one-party political system, and led to economic restructuring.

Stalin attacked the mainstays of Tito's communist regime: the Party, the new economy, and the military. The Kremlin condemned the Party for deviating from the Soviet socialist model (in fact followed more closely in Yugoslavia than anywhere else). When Tito responded with consternation instead of subservience, the USSR recalled its military and civilian advisors and expelled the CPY from the Cominform. To undermine the Party, Stalin also attacked Yugoslavia's weak economy. The Cominform countries reneged on existing trade agreements and boycotted Yugoslavia. Stalin condemned the CPY's unpopular agrarian policies (which he had praised six months earlier) to increase dissension among peasants (70 percent of the population). With the economy in a shambles and the Party isolated and under attack, Tito's leadership was in crisis. However, when Stalin dismissed the Partisans' liberation of Yugoslavia from German occupation as wild exaggeration and claimed credit instead for the Red Army, Tito used this slight to the Partisans and citizens' wartime sacrifices to rally mass support for himself and the Party.

As the Cold War mushroomed, the CPY expanded Yugoslavia's military and reoriented its diplomatic efforts westward. The conflict with the USSR placed Yugoslavia on military alert from 1948 to 1954 for fear of invasion or a coup d'état against Tito's leadership of the CPY. Those suspected of sympathy with Cominform positions were jailed (including entire families). By 1952, the JNA had 500,000 troops and had received hundreds of millions of dollars in direct military grants from the West.

The Yugoslav-Soviet conflict led to contradictory changes in the Party and altered its economic system. It reinforced a centralized, one-party political system and the primacy of security and harsh treatment of dissenters. The crisis also introduced decentralizing legal rhetoric intended to distinguish Yugoslav communism from "Stalinist deviations." In 1950 the Party gave local governments (people's committees, later commune, city, and county governments) greater local control. Formally, it created a less state-directed economy under its worker self-management system. Worker self-management enabled company managers (who were always Party members) to make decisions concerning their individual firms. Like the Partisan liberation, worker self-management became fundamental to Yugoslavia's political identity as a non-Stalinist communist state. Instead of providing tangible changes in 1950, self-management and local political control set out a framework for future challenges to centralized communist power from within the confines of one-party rule.

Soviet-Yugoslav conflict affected Bosnia-Hercegovina's military and economic position within Yugoslavia. With its interior position and difficult terrain, the republic was chosen by the CPY leadership as Yugoslavia's last military stronghold in the event of invasion. The CPY stockpiled weapons and built military bases, oil refineries, and arms factories in Bosnia. The republic remained a strategic military center until 1992. Investment flowed into the republic as its economy was reoriented toward heavy industry and mining. This influx of funds was short-lived, however. Bosnia's mountains, non-navigable rivers, and small skilled workforce made building basic economic infrastructure difficult and expensive. After 1953, investment, production, and jobs found their way to more economically developed republics.

By 1955, a reconstituted Party (calling itself the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, LCY) was firmly in control, a new socialist economic doctrine of worker self-management had become policy, and the JNA's role as the protector of Yugoslavia was more unassailable than ever. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina (LCBH) members pursued their future along multinational, nonreligious, promilitary, worker self-management lines.

THE POLITICS OF DECENTRALIZATION, 1955–1989

From the mid-1950s to the late 1960s, Yugoslav citizens witnessed significant economic and political decentralization. From the mid-1960s, pressure for economic and political reform led Tito to divert liberal opposition from the federal to the republic level. Rather than allowing opposition that might have challenged the political monopoly of the LCY, Tito funneled political dissent through the republics and autonomous provinces. This strategy accentuated nationalist concerns and divisions at the expense of comprehensive Yugoslav solutions for the complex issues facing the country (development, unemployment, growing regional disparity, inequitable resource allocation, and uneven political representation). In the 1960s and 1970s the LCY tolerated cultural associations, which facilitated nationalist political and religious revivals. In the 1970s and 1980s, political power devolved to the republics, and the growing republican power weakened the LCY's central authority. Economic reforms had given republics and autonomous provinces more control over how to spend resources within their jurisdiction. Issues of resource allocation and growing economic disparity between the poorest and the richest regions became increasingly divisive. The great exception to this trend was the military. In 1968 the LCY instituted universal military service and commissioned regionally controlled territorial defense units for each of the republics and autonomous provinces. After briefly lessening the JNA's centralized military authority, by 1980 these territorial defense units had become completely subordinate to JNA command.

The first challenge to the LCY's unitarist party structure came from the national and cultural movements that emerged in the 1960s. Cultural revivals in both Serbia and Croatia encompassed a wide political spectrum of those who were more concerned with national and religious issues as well as those focused on political liberalism. These movements influenced Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, but held little appeal for Bosniaks because they were infused with Serb and Croat nationalism. In contrast, the Bosniak renaissance split into separate secular and religious movements. By the mid-1960s, secular Bosniaks played an increasingly active role in the LCBH, where they worked to redress the republic's political underrepresentation, which they blamed for relative economic stagnation and slow progress in raising living standards. Thus, they sought national recognition for Bosnian Muslims (achieved in 1971) and increased investment in the region. The Islamic revival, however, was explicitly non-national and at odds with the secular movement that Muslims in the LCBH represented. It looked beyond Bosnia's borders to criticize the divisiveness of nationalism and the inadequacies of communism and to seek a positive role for Islam in modern society. In contrast to the Croat and Serb revivals, which provided national unity, the two Bosniak movements split the Muslim community.

As the 1960s political reform movements expanded, they threatened Tito's political authority and politicized cultural organizations. The LCY responded by crushing the Serb and the Croat movements. It expelled the reformers' political leaders from the Party. After breaking their organization, Tito sought to accommodate the reformers by brokering a new constitution. The 1974 constitution strengthened republic and autonomous province parties' political and economic control over their own budgets and resources and granted the autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina) political parity with the republics, strengthening regional political interests. The constitution also provided for an eight-member presidency (one representative from each republic and province) to rule by consensus after Tito's death. It called for the office of the Yugoslav president to rotate among the members of the presidency, each serving a one-year term. One-party rule remained, but the party fragmented into its republic-level organizations.

Instead of mollifying national tensions, the 1974 constitution enflamed them. As the third largest national group in Yugoslavia, Albanians sought recognition as a nation and republican status for the historically and demographically Albanian region of Kosovo. Albanian Kosovars linked the region's continued underdevelopment to its provincial political status and the Serb minority's political domination. However, Serb nationalists saw political parity for Kosovo as an example of the LCY's anti-Serb policies that directly undermined their national rights. Serbs viewed Kosovo as part of their medieval heritage that had been rightfully reintegrated into Serbia in 1912. Kosovo's endemic poverty, overwhelming Albanian majority, and Ottoman culture did not diminish its symbolic importance to Serb national identity.

By the 1980s, the 1974 constitution had become a rallying point for Serb nationalist calls to recentralize the Yugoslav state in order to protect Serb nationhood. In making these calls, Serbs referred to past Ottoman oppressions and the threat of Islamic fundamentalism. The Kosovo question highlighted Serb nationalists' anti-Islamic sentiments. Since Albanians were mostly Muslim, Serb nationalists also associated Bosnian Muslims with Albanians. They denied the secular character of the LCBH and associated all Bosniaks with the Bosnian Islamic revival, which they claimed was fundamentalist. Historically, Bosnia-Hercegovina's religious Sunni and Sufi tradions have incorporated local customs and have no record of fundamentalism. Far from placating nationalist political aspirations, the 1974 constitution allowed Serbs to use anti-Islamic, anti-Ottoman sentiments to challenge Bosnian Muslim identity yet again.

The Bosnian government, eager to defend itself against allegations of fundamentalism and promote Bosnian Muslims' secular national identity, suppressed the anticommunist Islamic revival. In 1983 the government tried Alija Izetbegović and twelve other representatives of the Islamic revival for counterrevolutionary acts. It used his 1970 "Islamic Declarations" to prove the contradictory charges that Izetbegović sought to create an ethnically pure Islamic state in Bosnia-Hercegovina (a region never mentioned in the paper) and that he advocated a Western-style democracy. The court sentenced Izetbegović to fourteen years in jail. This crackdown not only stifled religious freedom, it also had a chilling effect on secular Bosniak political activity. Moreover, it did not refute nationalist charges that the secular LCBH sought to create a fundamentalist state.

In the 1980s the Bosnian government also became concerned about the influence of the Serb nationalist revival among Bosnian Serbs. Serb nationalists glorified their World War I and World War II tragedies, demonized non-Serbs, revised the history of the Četniks, and condemned the official LCY histories. Unlike the Islamic revival in Bosnia, Serb nationalism had the support of some prominent intellectuals and some communist politicians. The infamous 1986 Memorandum produced by SANU (the Serbian

Alija Izetbegović (1925–2003)

Alija Izetbegović is best known as Bosnia-Hercegovina's wartime president and one of the principal signatories of the 1995 Dayton Accords, which ended the country's three-and-a-half-year war for independence. Unlike the other leaders of former Yugoslav republics, Izetbegović had never been a communist. Thus, his political career began only in 1990, when he cofounded the Party for Democratic Action (SDA) in anticipation of the first free general elections in Bosnian history. The SDA appealed to Bosnian Muslims by emphasizing their cultural and historical heritage. Reflecting the republic's national-religious composition, the election returned a plurality for the SDA. As leader of the SDA, Izetbegović formed a coalition government with the nationalist Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and the nationalist Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). As president, Izetbegović declared Bosnia-Hercegovina an independent country on 3 March 1992. He spent much of his presidency (1992–1995) in wartime Sarajevo, surrounded by Serb forces in their three-year siege of the capital. The most moderate of Yugoslavia's wartime leaders, Izetbegović negotiated and signed the 1995 Dayton Agreement, which set up the postwar government in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He served as one of the presidencies' three members until 2000, when he resigned, claiming that the postwar settlement had rewarded ethnic cleansing.

Izetbegović was born in Bosanski Samac in 1925, but his family moved to Sarajevo in the 1930s. After Croatia annexed Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1941, he did not affiliate with the nationalist Croat Ustaša, the Serb Četniks, or the communist Partisans.

Izetbegović's long career as a political dissident began when he joined the Young Muslims shortly after World War II. The Young Muslims opposed the postwar communist crackdown on Muslims by attempting to found a noncommunist political party to succeed the interwar Yugoslav Muslim Organization. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, however, tolerated no political opposition in the postwar period. Between 1946 and 1949, the CPY banned the Young Muslims and tried two hundred of its members, including twenty-one-year-old Alija Izetbegović, who served three years in prison. After leaving jail, Izetbegović studied law at the University of Sarajevo and pursued a successful career in law. In the 1970s Izetbegović became an intellectual leader in the anti-communist and anti-nationalist Islamic revival. His 1970 paper, "Islamic Declarations," claimed a place for Islam in the modern world. It rejected Western characterizations of Islam as an inherently primitive religion and argued that replacing indigenous Islamic customs with foreign Western traditions would not help develop or modernize Muslim nations. Citing Turkey as an example, Izetbegović argued that this Westernizing strategy risked creating an unbridgeable void between the poor, traditional masses and a tiny group of Westernized ruling elites, and so causing political instability and economic stagnation. On the other hand, he also called for safeguarding minority rights, women's rights, religious freedom, and freedom of conscience in societies with populations made up of both Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Far from a call for a fundamentalist state in Bosnia as his detractors later claimed, "Islamic Declarations" focused on finding a positive Muslim role in both Islamic and non-Islamic cultures throughout the world. It

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Academy of Arts and Sciences) asserted that the Party had encouraged anti-Serb, Croatian, Slovene, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Bosnian Muslim nationalism in order to weaken Serbia. It claimed that Serbian culture was under attack and in danger of extinction. Arguing that Serbs' rights transcended political and geographic divisions, the memo called for the political unification of all Serbs to prevent the extinction of the Serb nation. Although these arguments were not new, the SANU document gave what had been considered nationalist fringe opinions intellectual and political respectability.

Flourishing nationalist resentments in the 1970s and 1980s left politicians unable to confront the effects of economic stagnation and created a more intractable political crisis. In the 1970s the republics gained increased control over resources, but the socialist self-management economy provided little growth. Under Tito, the government had borrowed heavily to maintain rising living standards, jobs, and affordable credit. By the time Tito died in 1980, Yugoslavia was awash in foreign debt and subject to IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank spending restrictions. Political and national resentments rather than economic analysis dominated debate over productivity, resource allocation, and uneven development patterns. In general, Croat and Slovene leaders, demanding increased political autonomy, complained that their republics subsidized the rest of Yugoslavia by generating more than their share of the national income. Croats pointed to the dominance of Belgrade banks, which benefited the most from Croatia's lucrative tourist trade. However, they particularly

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never mentioned Bosnia-Hercegovina. "Islamic Declarations" became significant to non-Muslims only after the rise of nationalist politics in Yugoslavia. After the rise in fundamentalist states in the Middle East, Izetbegović's detractors charged him with Islamic fundamentalism. His ideas, however, reflected those of the Islamic community in Bosnia, which had never been fundamentalist and had developed in relative autonomy from Istanbul.

In 1983 the government tried Izetbegović for "hostile and counterrevolutionary acts derived from Muslim nationalism." The government's case rested on the thirteen-year-old "Islamic Declarations," which it cited as evidence of two contradictory charges, that of seeking to create an ethnically pure Islamic state in Bosnia-Hercegovina *and* advocating Western-style democracy in the region. The Party sentenced him to fourteen years in prison.

While in prison, Izetbegović wrote *Islam between East and West* (1988), which developed the themes of "Islamic Declarations" more fully. He noted how Islamic study and preservation of ancient Greek and Latin texts served as the foundation of the European renaissance. He also praised Christian ideals, West and Central European philosophy, and Western traditions of democracy and social justice that he believed could positively influence Islam. While maintaining his criticism of Westernizers' rejection of Islamic traditions and culture, *Islam between East and West* praised Islam's historic ability to study other traditions and incorporate some elements into its own. Izetbegović's attempts to discuss how diverse cultures can accommodate each other was the antithesis of fundamentalism and is especially striking in the years leading up to the breakup of Yugoslavia, when Croat and Serb politicians were demonizing both Muslims and each other.

Izetbegović's life as a dissident did not prepare him to become the president of the first independent Bosnia-Hercegovina since 1463. In 1991 he allowed the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) to arm the Serb autonomous regions and disarm Bosnian territorial defense units. When war broke out in 1992, Bosnia was virtually defenseless, losing 60 percent of its territory in six weeks. Nevertheless, Bosnia survived under Izetbegović's leadership, when it could easily have been divided between Serbia and Croatia. He could not have anticipated the ethnic cleansing that made Bosniaks the principal victims of the war and associated them more closely with Islam than at any other time in the past fifty years.

After the war, Izetbegović was elected twice to the Bosnian presidency. In 2000, however, he resigned and retired from politics, because he objected to the postwar political system, which he came to believe had rewarded ethnic cleansing and failed to protect the rights of Bosnian Muslims. Nonetheless, Alija Izetbegović spent his entire adult life fighting for the rights of Bosnian Muslims, first as a political dissident and later within an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina. Unlike the nationalists of his day, Izetbegović strove to work with Bosnia's national communities to preserve Bosnia-Hercegovina. More than anyone else, he is responsible for the survival of the Bosnian state, however imperfect it may be.

resented the development fund, which provided investment funds to corrupt public officials in underdeveloped regions with insufficient oversight.

Serb politicians, calling for political recentralization, countered that Slovene and Croat productivity in manufacturing was the result of exploiting below-market raw materials from Serbia and the less developed republics to produce finished goods, which they sold abroad at higher world market prices. They argued that the LCY's investment in heavy industry and mining instead of manufacturing in Serbia demonstrated its anti-Serb bias. The less developed regions (Bosnia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia) complained that the growing disparity between their areas and the developed regions demonstrated national bias. Because these economic issues were framed in terms of national-republic grievances, and because the Yugoslav presidency was so weak, the LCY made no attempt at a comprehensive solution before Ante Marković's 1989 economic reforms. By this time, the political crisis had spun out of control.

POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION AND WAR, 1989–1995

As the republics grew stronger, the economy continued to plummet, the presidency remained ineffectual, and nationalist politicians gained mass support. The most successful communist in mobilizing nationalist support was Serbia's Slobodan Milošević. In 1987 Milošević had become leader of the Serbian League of Communists (LCS), championing the reintegration of the autonomous provinces into Serbia and a more centralized constitution. In 1989 he reintegrated Kosovo into Serbia proper by abolishing its political autonomy. After labeling participants anti-Serb, the JNA and Serb security forces violently suppressed mass demonstrations and a strike protesting Kosovo's loss of autonomy and imposed martial law. For the first time, one of the republics had deployed the JNA against its own people. (This action was possible because JNA stood out as the primary Yugoslav institution in favor of a strong central government. In the 1980s its political interests had become closely tied to Serbia's.) Milošević was at the peak of his power. The LCS directly controlled three (Serbia, Kosovo, Vojvodina) of the presidency's eight votes, and his influence over the Montenegrin party leadership secured him a fourth vote. In the fall of 1989 Milošević called an LCY meeting to revise the 1974 constitution in favor of the more centralized system that Serbia and the JNA favored.

In the fall of 1989 each of the Soviet bloc communist regimes collapsed. In this climate of political change, the LCY met in January 1990 to amend the 1974 constitution. After the Serb delegation blocked discussion of all of its decentralizing reforms, the Slovene delegation walked out. When the other republics' delegations refused to vote on Milošević's proposals without the Slovene representatives, the meeting broke up, leaving the LCY critically weakened. In 1990 each of Yugoslavia's republics held elections, bringing nationalist leaders to power. All of these politicians were current or former Communist Party members, except for Bosnia-Hercegovina's Alija Izetbegović, who had been released from prison in 1989.

Multinational Bosnia-Hercegovina held its election on 9 November 1990. The three new national parties—Party of Democratic Action (SDA), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), and the Bosnian branch of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)—together polled 84 percent of the votes. The results excluded Marković's reform party and Bosnia's communist party from government. The SDA, led by Alija Izetbegović, stressed Bosnian Muslim cultural and historical traditions. The other two parties had their roots in Croatia. Radovan Karadžić's SDS represented Bosnian Serbs and was a branch of the Serbian Democratic Party centered in Knin (in western Croatia's Krajina region) and had close ties to Serbia and the JNA. A Bosnian branch of Croatia's ruling HDZ party (led by Franjo Tudjman) organized a Bosnian branch to represent Bosnian Croats. As in other republics, Bosnians voted along ethnic lines. Bosnian Muslims received a plurality, followed by Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats. As the leader of the largest party, Izetbegović formed an anticommunist government with coalition partners in the SDS and the HDZ.

This coalition survived only four months after Slovenia and Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia in June 1991. This action precipitated a ten-day war in Slovenia and a four-month campaign in Croatia. It also plunged Bosnia-Hercegovina into political crisis. In May 1991 the SDS began establishing "autonomous regions" in Bosnia (as it had in Croatia earlier). After the two republics seceded, Karadžić accused the Izetbegović government of supporting their separation (which it had opposed) and renounced the Bosnian parliament. In September the SDA declared the creation by the SDS of heavily armed autonomous regions (some in Serb minority areas) a violation of the coalition agreement. Karadžić called on the JNA for military protection of the self-declared "autonomous regions." The military immediately deployed thousands of troops to Hercegovina and Banja Luka. In mid-October Izetbegović enacted legislative sovereignty within Bosnia in an effort to override the JNA's use of its territory in its war in Croatia and to disarm the SDS's "autonomous regions." In October 1991 Karadžić walked out of the assembly, after threatening that Izetbegović's actions would bring a Croat-style war to Bosnia and with it the extermination of the Muslim population, who did not have either a government that could protect them or the weapons to defend themselves. Indeed, the methods of ethnic cleansing later used in Bosnia were being established in Croatia, and Bosnians had already come under sporadic attack. Ten days after the government voted for legislative sovereignty, the SDS formed its own Serb National Assembly in the JNA stronghold of Banja Luka.

Following Karadžić's threats, Izetbegović called on the JNA to conduct joint police and army patrols to defend the republic. Given the strong ties between the JNA, Serbia, and the SDS, Izetbegović's request was astonishing. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the JNA had supported the creation of extralegal, heavily armed "autonomous Serbian regions" in Serb and non-Serb areas. It helped these autonomous regions construct heavy artillery positions around major towns, and it occupied important communication centers in the fall of 1991. In early 1992 federal army units withdrew from Croatia and were redeployed in Bosnia,where they confiscated Bosnian territorial defense weapons supplies. Neither the Bosnian government nor its citizens had the means to defend themselves.

The European Union (EU) became involved in the crisis in Yugoslavia only when it was on the brink of war. Unprepared for Croatian and Slovenian secession and the subsequent wars, it did not anticipate the course of events in Bosnia or appreciate the distinct interests of Bosnia's three nations. In response to Izetbegović's request for EU recognition of each of the six republics and for peacekeepers in the self-declared autonomous areas patrolled by Serb gunmen, the EU offered recognition to each republic that met its criteria for new states. Bosnian Serbs repeatedly asserted that if the republic were given independence, they would secede. In January 1992 the UN recognized Bosnia and granted it full UN membership, pending a referendum on independence. Yugoslavia had become a rump state consisting of Serbia (including Kosovo and Vojvodina) and Montenegro.

The UN's actions did not lead to Bosnian independence. In January Karadžić promised that independence in Bosnia-Hercegovina would not last a day and that the "autonomous regions" of Bosnia would remain part of Yugoslavia. This area (later called Republika Srpska) consisted of the western side of the Drina River valley in eastern Bosnia (which included heavily Muslim regions) and the Bosnian *krajina* (military frontier) region in western Bosnia, connected in the north by a small strip of land around the Sava River port of Brčko. It included not only areas where Bosnian Serbs predominated but also minority Serb areas. In February 1992 Milošević and Croatia's Franjo Tudjman revisited their discussion of the previous March on dividing Bosnia-Hercegovina between their respective republics.

The Izetbegović government held the UN-mandated referendum on 29 February and 1 March, despite fears that it would precipitate bloodshed. Unable to prevail in or block the referendum, the SDS not only boycotted the vote, it prevented ballot boxes from entering the areas it controlled. With 64 percent of the electorate voting, 99.7 percent voted for independence. The government declared independence on 3 March 1992.

Serbian paramilitary forces in Croatia entered Bosnia. Among the most feared were Željko "Arkan" Raznjatović and his paramilitaries (the Tigers), who dressed in black and khaki, sported neo-Nazi haircuts, and wore tiger insignia. Trained in the Serbian Interior Ministry's Serbian Volunteer Guards, Arkan boasted that every member of his unit was responsible to the Serbian people, the Serbian parliament, and the Serbian president. On 1 April, Arkan's Tigers entered the Bosnian city of Bijeljina. With the JNA nearby, Arkan's Tigers "liberated" the city. They patrolled the streets with machine guns, placed snipers on buildings, summarily executed the city's Muslim leaders, and crushed a small, spontaneous resistance force. By 4 April, Bijeljina's electricity and water supplies had been severed, bodies were lying in the street, and the Muslim population had fled. Although the majority of Bosnians had voted overwhelmingly for independence, Serbs began a war of ethnic cleansing to prevent that independence from coming into effect, even before the EU recognized the state.

The EU's recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence on 6 April did not confer the political legitimacy that Western diplomats had expected. Instead, Serbian politicians and their Bosnian Serb clients used it as a pretext to launch a war of ethnic cleansing against a disarmed country that the international community was not prepared to defend. Karadžić declared Republika Srpska (with its capital in Sarajevo) on 7 April, and the siege of Sarajevo began a few days later.

On 8 April, the first full-scale ethnic cleansing in Bosnia began. The JNA shelled the city of Zvornik from inside Serbia, and Arkan's Tigers expelled the city's Muslim population (60 percent of the residents). The self-styled "Četnik" paramilitary led by Vojislav Šešelj, a member of the Serbian parliament and leader of the ultranationalist Serbian Radical Party, also participated. Šešelj openly advocated the absorption of Bosnia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and most of Croatia into Serbia. Thousands fled amid gunfire, shelling, and terror. By 10 April, Zvornik lay in ruins, its Muslim population gone. According to Šešelj, Serbian Interior Ministry units had sent special paramilitary forces to carry out this attack (which had been planned in Belgrade). By the end of April, 95 percent of the Muslim population in the eastern Bosnian cities of Foča, Višegrad, and Zvornik had been cleansed. Within six weeks, Serbs controlled 60 percent of Bosnia. By the end of 1992, 2 million Bosnians, mostly Muslims, had fled their homes.

From April 1992 to November 1995, Serbia's war of territorial conquest engulfed Bosnia. Violence and fear gripped all Bosnians, but Serbs (Bosnian and non-Bosnian) committed by far the most atrocities, as they "ethnically cleansed" their mostly Bosnian Muslim targets. Civilians were the primary targets, as Serbs forcibly removed Bosniaks from towns, cities, and villages in order to create an ethnically pure Serb region to claim for a Serb nation-state. To ensure that no Bosniaks ever returned, cleansers systematically terrorized Muslim communities with beatings, thefts, rapes, expulsions, and massacres. They also tried to remove any evidence that non-Serbs had ever existed in the regions they claimed by destroying graveyards, birth records, work documents, churches and mosques, libraries, and museums.

Most scholars agree that the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina was never about "ancient ethnic hatreds." Neither was it a civil war. Bosnian Serbs did not spontaneously rebel against the Izetbegović government, as Milošević asserted. The first attacks had been in peaceful towns with substantial Bosniak populations. However, they formed part of the geographically strategic link between Republika Srpska's claims in eastern Bosnia and the Bosnian krajina in the west. The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina was a well planned campaign of terror and ethnic cleansing initiated and sustained by the JNA, the SDS, and Serbia. In the wake of Yugoslavia's dissolution, these politicians used the principles of national self-determination to claim that much of Bosnia-Hercegovina should belong to Serbia. Since most Bosnian cities were multi-ethnic and rural areas were a mosaic of ethnic communities living side by side, non-Serbs had to be expelled to give validity to these claims of national self-determination. In 1993 the Bosnian Croats adopted the same strategy for pursuing their nationalist claims, as the extreme nationalist Bosnian HDZ leader Mate Boban declared the statelet of Herzeg-Bosna. In contrast, the Bosnian government recruited both Serbs and Croats in its efforts to preserve a multi-ethnic polity. Its forces directed their efforts against secessionists of any ethnicity.

Critical to the success of ethnic cleansing was radicalizing and instilling fear in the local Serb population. For years, Bosnian Serbs had listened to media reports about impending fascist massacres in an independent Croatia and Islamic holy wars. These fears combined with unresolved grievances between neighbors to raise Bosnian Serbs' mistrust and fear of Croats and Bosniaks. Citing the two Bosniak revivals and the 1983 political trials, Serb nationalists argued that Bosniaks were attempting to create a fundamentalist Islamic state. In the process, they transformed the image of the highly secular, urban late-twentieth-century Bosniaks into one of Islamic fundamentalists and brutal eighteenth-century begs.

In addition to radicalizing local Bosnian Serbs, Karadžić and Milošević transformed the JNA in Bosnia-Hercegovina into a Bosnian Serb army. When the war in Croatia ended in early 1992, the JNA, more committed than ever to preserving what was left of Yugoslavia, withdrew its forces to Bosnia-Hercegovina. It took possession of most of Yugoslavia's military industry and weapons installations, which had been located in the republic since the Yugoslav-Soviet conflict. Izetbegović allowed the JNA to disarm the local territorial defense units in an effort to neutralize the Serbian autonomous regions. Although JNA policies required that troops be stationed outside of their native republic,

Muslim men wait behind a police line at the site of a mass grave near Šipovo in western Bosnia, 2002. They hope to find remains of missing loved ones. (Reuters/Corbis)

Milošević ordered Bosnian troops transferred to Bosnia. By 6 April, Bosnian Serbs dominated the officer corps and comprised 85 percent of JNA troops in the country. Disarmed, Bosniaks faced a Bosnian Serb army using the JNA's overwhelming firepower, coordinated with paramilitary ethnic cleansing.

The assault on Bosnia followed a pattern. The JNA shelled cities and villages while paramilitary units terrorized and ethnically cleansed the population. After arriving in an area, paramilitary and JNA forces exploited existing divisions to radicalize the local population. They used suspicion and unfounded fears of Muslim fundamentalist violence against Serbs to recruit local Serbs, who often identified local Muslims and participated in brutalizing their neighbors. Serbs who failed to cooperate or who tried to help their Muslim neighbors often shared their fate. Cut off from the outside and isolated within the community, the non-Serb population became vulnerable to attack, humiliation, and expulsion. After isolating the Muslim community, the paramilitaries entered Bosniak houses demanding identification and weapons. After a search of the house, they typically stole money and valuables, beat the residents, and left. Often they returned to take more money before they expelled the residents or burned down the house. Paramilitaries beat and shot young men more than the elderly or women. This violence was part of a scripted campaign of terror repeated throughout the war, all over Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Rape was an especially effective tool of ethnic cleansing. Men of all ethnicities raped women during the war. Serb soldiers and paramilitaries routinely used rape to systematically brutalize and humiliate the entire Muslim population. Serbs raped women and girls in their homes, in front of family members, in public, and during interrogations. In some towns they took women and girls to holding centers and gang-raped them, sometimes for days and weeks. Between April 1992 and February 1993, paramilitaries in Foča ran rape houses for Muslim women and girls. They shaved women's heads, tattooed their bodies with rapists' first names, and committed sadistic acts of sexual violence against women and girls as young as twelve. The Republika Srpska government provided support to rape camps throughout the country. Soldiers claimed they were ordered to rape, a contention some Muslim victims have corroborated. The rapes humiliated and demoralized the entire Bosnian population by clearly showing that the victims' families were unable to protect their families. Many families fled and never returned. Republika Srpska officials have always denied any use of rape, but the European Community estimates that 20,000 women were raped during the war, and the Bosnian government claims more than twice as many victims.

In Serb majority areas such as the SDS stronghold of Banja Luka, city officials, police, and soldiers implemented ethnic cleansing in an orderly way. Banja Luka was the second largest city in Bosnia, with a 1991 population of 143,000. The city and surrounding areas were predominantly Serb but also had deep Croat and Muslim roots. Each of the region's ethnic cultures persisted, but by 1991, 55 percent of Banja Luka was ethnically Serb, and the city had become an SDS and JNA stronghold. The city government set about clearing out the city's 64,000 ethnic minorities, whose families had lived in Banja Luka for generations. To encourage emigration, non-Serbs were intimidated, attacked, tortured, and murdered. They had to register their property (which was then confiscated) and prove that they had no outstanding bills. Security forces destroyed all of Banja Luka's sixteen historic mosques. In nearby Prijedor, officials demolished 47,000 non-Serb houses and forced non-Serbs to wear white armbands.

At the same time, however, Bosniaks who wanted to leave faced great obstacles. In order to leave Serb-held territory, non-Serbs had to pass through the many military checkpoints, through which only official buses could pass. Passengers paid exorbitant bus fares and waited for days or weeks in temporary housing where guards threatened and beat them and extorted money from them. From Prijedor to the nearby Croatian border, buses drove through thirteen checkpoints. At each stop guards beat and extracted valuables from passengers, took men of military age off the buses, killed some, transferred others to prisons, and dumped some in fields several miles from the Croatian border, where they were robbed and beaten again before being shot at as they tried to cross the front line.

Internees from the region were held at Omarska, Keraterm, and Trnoplje camps without adequate food, water, or shelter. In the summer of 1992 Omarska camp guards regularly terrorized prisoners with open killings, rapes, torture, and beatings. At the Keraterm camp outside Prijedor, guards massacred 140 internees using machine guns. They beat children, men, and women so severely that many died or suffered permanent injuries. By October 1995, fewer than 15,000 non-Serbs remained in the region. In Banja Luka, only a few thousand remained, as the city became the postwar capital of Republika Srpska.

In contrast to the Bosnian krajina, Bosniaks constituted the majority nation in much of eastern Bosnia. In these areas, the city administration and police usually did not support the SDS, and the military (commanded by Bosnian Serb Ratko Mladić) attacked while paramilitaries terrorized the local population. Despite their overwhelming superiority in arms, military hardware, and firepower, the Serb army commanded insufficient numbers of soldiers to capture cities without first reducing them to rubble. For example, Mladić besieged Republika Srpska's putative capital of Sarajevo for three and a half years from the surrounding mountains without defeating the city. Before 1991, Sarajevo was known for its distinct Muslim, Serb, Croat, and (pre-1945) Jewish cultures, its cosmopolitanism, and its traditions of ethnic and religious tolerance. Although the Ottomans built the city, Karadžić claimed Sarajevo for Republika Srpska and sought to have its non-Serb population expelled. To "liberate" the city, Bosnian Serb artillery showered the city's civilian targets with an average of 1,000 shells per day. They cut off food and water supplies into the city. The army bombed mosques, libraries, hospitals, schools, and residential neighborhoods.

As in Croatia and Slovenia, Western diplomats were caught off guard in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They could not have anticipated the intensity of the assault against Bosnian civilians. Instead of anticipating events, diplomats reacted to crises and created ineffective ad hoc policies. For example, the UN arms embargo had no effect on Bosnian Serb or Bosnian Croat armies, but prevented Bosnian Muslims from defending themselves. Ignoring clear evidence to the contrary, the UN adopted the position that Serbia's assault on the civilian population was an internal Bosnian affair that was creating a humanitarian disaster. Therefore, the UN sent peacekeepers to quiet the unrest and did not set up a military operation to defend one of its members. The lightly armed, unprepared peacekeepers had the impossible task of treating all "parties" neutrally, as if there was no armed conflict. Since they were unprepared for war, the peacekeepers could not intervene to stop ethnic cleansing and focused instead on minimizing their own losses. The peacekeeping operation failed to stop attacks on civilians, failed to secure food and medical supplies for refugees, and failed to keep UN personnel safe.

The creation of UN-protected safe havens is a prime example of how officials constructed policy in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The UN declared its first safe area on 15 April 1993 in Srebrenica, a predominantly Muslim city in eastern Bosnia. Unlike many towns in eastern Bosnia, Srebrenica initially resisted ethnic cleansing. In 1993, however, after troops from Srebrenica attacked Serb positions, killed civilians, and burned villages, a Bosnian Serb counterattack sent thousands of Muslims fleeing into the city. A blockade cut off food aid and people began to starve. In March, under pressure from residents to relieve the desperate situation, UN Commander Philippe Morillon pledged to protect the city, secure food relief, and end the Bosnian Serb assault. Morillon had not consulted his superiors and the UN did not back up his promises. The bombardment continued and only one aid convoy arrived. Within three weeks, the UN agreed to surrender the city to Mladić and designated Canadian peacekeepers to remove all 60,000 Muslims living there. In this stark reversal, the UN agreed to carry out the biggest act of ethnic cleansing of the war, beginning on 16 April. However, on 15 April the UN reversed itself again and declared Srebrenica a safe area, which prevented the scheduled mass deportation. Since the UN had already surrendered the city, it also declared a cease-fire that left Bosnian Serb forces in place. The 140 peacekeepers arrived and disarmed Bosnian government troops, while the city remained surrounded. Shortly thereafter, the UN declared safe areas in the cities of Sarajevo, Goražde, Tuzla, Bihać, and Žepa.

The creation of the UN safe havens, one of the most important UN policies adopted during the war, was not the result of carefully considered diplomacy. It was a hastily concocted exit strategy to save face. The UN provided the peacekeepers with no mandate and no clear mission. By agreeing to protect the Muslim population, the UN tacitly recognized the Serbs as aggressors for the first time. This broke with the UN's negotiating position that all parties acted on an equal footing and allowed Bosnian Serbs to claim that the UN was acting on behalf of the Bosniaks. When the UN disarmed the Bosniaks, its personnel became responsible for their defense, a task for which the peacekeepers were unequipped and untrained. The UN's refusal to commit combat troops to defend disarmed populations meant that the safe areas could not be protected. They became the most dangerous places in the country.

While the UN was struggling to save face in Srebrenica, U.S. envoy to the UN Cyrus Vance and Britain's Lord David Owen (retired Social Democrat MP) were negotiating a peace plan to divide Bosnia's nations, as both Tudjman and Milošević desired. In March 1993 Bosnian Croat forces demanded that Izetbegović's forces withdraw from territories that the Vance-Owen peace proposal had designated as Croat cantons. When Izetbegović refused, the Bosnian Croat army began its own ethnic cleansing campaign, which ended only when the two armies reunited to battle the Bosnian Serb Army in March 1994. Bosnian Croat forces divided villagers against each other and expelled Muslims. Mate Boban declared the Croat-controlled state of Herceg-Bosna. Like the Serb operations, military attacks were accompanied by paramilitary troops who radicalized

A Bosnian Muslim girl and her mother in a refugee shelter in the central Bosnian city of Zenica after learning that the girl's father was among those executed in Srebrenica, 1995. (David Turnley/Corbis)

Croats and terrorized Bosniaks, who were raped, beaten, killed, expelled, and had their houses burned to the ground. The most infamous site of Bosnian Croat ethnic cleansing was in Mostar, Hercegovina's principal city. Between May 1993 and January 1994, Bosnian Croat forces attacked thousands of Muslims, stole their possessions, and interned men at the Dretelj detention camp in an attempt to create an ethnically Croat west Mostar. On 9 November 1993, following months of shelling, the Croatian Army destroyed Mostar's sixteenth-century Old Bridge, which had linked the city's Muslim and Croat quarters for over four hundred years. As in the Bosnian Serb case, peacekeeping was an inappropriate response to Bosnian Croat offenses. Mate Boban, like Radovan Karadžic, used ethnic cleansing in the name of national self-determination. Each sought to secede from Bosnia and join their respective nation-state after the territory they claimed had been "cleansed." The Vance-Owen peace negotiations not only failed to alleviate bloodshed, they accelerated ethnic cleansing led by Boban's Bosnian Croat forces, who were attempting to secure the proposed canton for Herceg-Bosna.

The creation of safe areas in 1993 committed the UN to protecting these cities. To accomplish this, the UN enlisted NATO support to keep airports open, implement the no-fly zone, and enforce UN policies. In 1994 NATO forces responded to calls for protection in Goražde and in Bihać. However, the UN continued to rely on lightly armed peacekeepers, who did not have the resources or the training to militarily defend the safe areas. In 1995 the Bosnian Serb army took UN peacekeepers hostage in Srebrenica and the UN issued new guidelines to protect its vulnerable peacekeepers at the expense of the local population. In July the UN surrendered Srebrenica to the Bosnian Serb army without resistance, leaving Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladić a free hand to clear out the Muslim population and massacre 6,000–8,000 men and boys.

Following the massacre in Srebrenica, the Croatian government went on the offensive and launched a successful attack against Serb forces in Croatia, expelling up to 200,000 Croatian Serbs from UN-protected areas. Bosnian Serb control in western Bosnia began to crumble, as Muslim and Croat forces started to advance rapidly. As soon as these forces had displaced the Bosnian Serb Army from more than 50 percent of Bosnia, U.S. officials ordered a cease-fire on 12 October. UN officials estimated that Croat and Muslim forces were three days away from taking Banja Luka, and with it hundreds of miles of plains surrounding it, leaving the Serbs only with eastern Bosnia. The United States wanted to keep Banja Luka under Bosnian Serb control to prevent the possibility of creating 200,000 Serb refugees or

Srebrenica Massacre

In the July 1995 Srebrenica massacre Serbs executed 6,000 to 8,000 Bosniak men and boys in the UN-protected safe area. Srebrenica had been under UN protection since April 1993, when the UN sent 140 Canadian peacekeepers to protect the population. In 1994 600 unprepared and lightly armed Dutch peacekeepers replaced the Canadian delegation. By May 1995, however, the position of Srebrenica had deteriorated. Food was not reaching the enclave and Bosnian Serb forces were violating the military exclusion zone. Following NATO air strikes to enforce the exclusion zone, Bosnian Serb troops took UN peacekeepers hostage. Rather than deploying troops, this crisis led the UN to revoke field commanders' authority to call for close air support and to issue guidelines that UN personnel security would take precedent over its mission to protect Bosnian civilians in safe areas. Bosnian Serb Army commander General Ratko Mladić released the UN hostages in June, but clearly learned that hostage-taking tactics could further his as well as Serb) military aims.

By July 1995, UN generals believed that Srebrenica was indefensible. Mladić took 30 Dutch peacekeepers hostage. On 12 July, Mladić attacked the enclave. Peacekeepers denied local Bosniaks' request for the weapons they had given up when Srebrenica was made a safe area and then stood aside. The UN sent no reinforcements and Bosnian government troops were ordered to stay away. The city fell without resistance. Thousands poured into the peacekeeping headquarters in Potočari. Five thousand were later traded for fourteen peacekeepers. Forty eight hours after the city fell, Mladić's troops had depopulated the area. Men and boys were separated from young children and women. Within thirty hours, Mladić had deported 23,000 women and children. Men and boys over the age of 12 were taken in busloads of sixty and massacred. Thousands fled through the mined woods and mountains to Tuzla. The Red Cross estimates that between 12 and 16 July Mladić's troops executed 3,000 men and boys and hunted down and killed an additional 4,000 unarmed men trying to flee. The thousands missing from Srebrenica make up 38 percent of those unaccounted in the entire war.

The Srebrenica massacre, by far the worst of the war, remains a horrifying and tragic symbol of Bosnia's war and the UN's failed policies there. The UN's unwillingness to commit to protecting Bosnian civilians led it to react to crises as they occurred, creating uncoordinated, ad hoc policies. Over three years into the war, the UN still had no clear strategy, it could not protect its own personnel or Bosnians in the safe havens. In the end, Mladić's Bosnian Serb army succeeded in their efforts to ethnically cleanse three quarters of the city's population and make Srebrenica over into a Serbian city. The 1995 Dayton Accords awarded the city, now predominantly Serb, to Republika Srpska, which denies that any massacre ever took place.

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derailing its peace initiative. Since united Croat-Bosniak forces depended on Croatian weapons and supplies, government forces had to go along with the Croatian compliance with the cease-fire. On 21 November, Richard Holbrooke and Warren Christopher persuaded a deeply divided Bosnian government to accept the Dayton Accords, which ended the violence but rewarded ethnic cleansing by granting Srebrenica and Žepa, as well as 49 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovina to Republika Srpska. The respective armies maintained territorial divisions between the three main Bosnian nations. Bosniaks were the biggest victims in the war, but the civilians of all three nations were the clear losers in the Dayton Accords signed in Paris on 14 December 1995.

The Dayton Accords created a weak, unstable, and only formally independent federal state. The agreement created a three-member (one from each ethnic group) rotating presidency reminiscent of the rickety, ineffective post-Tito presidency. Each member is elected to a four-year term. The member with the most votes becomes the chairman of the presidency for an eight-month interval, followed consecutively by the other two. The presidency appoints the head of government (similar to a prime minister), who is approved by the House of Representatives. However, the UN's non-Bosnian High Representative oversees the presidency and has the power to dismiss it and to overrule the state's legislature. Further, the federal government's powers are restricted to foreign policy, trade, and monetary policy. Thus, the sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is severely limited.

The federal government is divided into two entities, the Bosnian-Croat Federation (Federation) and Republika Srpska (RS). The RS functions as unitary region, while the Federation acts as a micro-federation made up of separate Bosniak and Croat areas. Deep divisions within the Federation led to an unsuccessful attempt to separate the Croat cantons in March–June 2001. In addition, Sarajevo and the port of Brčko are federal districts, not subject to entity control. Each entity may negotiate treaties. Until 2002, each entity had a separate currency. The failure to create an inter-entity customs union has meant that some domestic trade is more costly than international commerce. Although the military nominally came under a single command in November 2003, each area has maintained its own army. Thus, the Bosnian army controls central Bosnia and the Bihać pocket, Croats provide security for western Bosnia-Hercegovina and part of Posavina, and the army of Republika Srpska still controls RS. Each entity may negotiate its own treaties. Bosnia-Hercegovina is also burdened with an excessively complex, unworkable, UN-imposed constitution.

Since the war pitted armies against civilians, the number of deaths and displaced persons and the amount of property damage were staggering. In 1991 Bosnia-Hercegovina's population was 4.4. million. Since 1992, all population statistics have been estimates and are open to debate. Bosnia was clearly depopulated. Scholars estimate that approximately 200,000 people died and nearly 2 million were displaced during the war. According to Murat Prašo, Bosnia's 1995 population was about 2.9 million, of which 600,000 were internal refugees. Another 1.3 million displaced Bosnians lived abroad at that time (mostly in neighboring Croatia and Serbia, but also throughout Europe, Asia, and North America). Croat areas lost 300,000, RS lost 800,000, and Bosniak sections suffered losses of 500,000. Of those killed, about two thirds were Bosniaks, about one quarter were Serbs, and about 5 percent were Croats.

The cease-fire that allowed diplomats to negotiate the Dayton Accords also validated the ethnic divisions created by ethnic cleansing and gave them international legitimacy. As a result, each of these areas has become more ethnically pure. In Croat-controlled regions, the predominance of Croats surged from 49 percent in 1991 to 96 percent in 1995, while Bosniak and Serb populations fell from 47 percent to less than 3 percent. Similarly, the number of Serbs in the RS-dominated areas rose from 48 percent to 89 percent between 1991 and 1995; at the same time the Croat and Bosniak populations fell from 45 percent to 4 percent. The Bosnian government had no policy of ethnic purification; however, Bosniak flight from areas controlled by Croats and Serbs created a higher concentration of Bosniaks in the areas the Bosnian army controlled, though the changes were more modest. The Bosniak population rose from 57 percent to 74 percent while the Serb and Croat population fell from 34 percent to 20 percent. Thus, the nationalist project of creating ethnically homogeneous territories succeeded.

Since 1995, a fragile peace has been maintained in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Politics is riven with nationalism. Indicted war criminals remain free. The right of refugees to return to their homes unmolested applies only to certain areas and has generally not been respected. Consolidation of wartime ethnic cleansing has split Bosnia-Hercegovina into three increasingly homogeneous ethnic regions (Serbs in RS; Croats in the Croatian part of the Federation; Bosniaks in the Bosnian area of the Federation), which continue to polarize politics. Divisive national politics has slowed economic rebuilding and remains an obstacle to future development. The war and its aftermath have left Bosnia-Hercegovina culturally poorer, economically weaker, and more politically fragmented.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

During the Middle Ages, culture and religion were inseparable. In contrast to many parts of Europe, medieval Bosnia and Hercegovina supported three regional Christian churches rather than one national church. Following the Great Schism (1054), which separated Catholicism and Orthodoxy, states came under the religious jurisdiction of their ruling dynasties. Hercegovina became Orthodox because it lay in the Serbian sphere of influence. In contrast, Bosnia (controlled at that time by Catholic Croatia, which fell to Catholic Hungary in 1102) became Catholic under the auspices of the archbishop in Dubrovnik. In the thirteenth century a third Christian church emerged, following Hungary's crusade to conquer Bosnia and replace the region's clergy with Dominicans. The crusade failed, but the pope designated a Hungarian bishop to administer Bosnia. With their Catholic theology intact, the Bosnian clergy defied the pope, drove the bishop into Slavonia (Djakovo), and established their own Church of Bosnia in schism with Rome.

The state permitted no Catholic clergy in Bosnia until 1342, when the Franciscan Order was allowed to establish a vicariate. Until 1878, the Franciscans remained the only Catholic order officially allowed to work in Bosnia. On the other hand, from 1347 to 1463 all but one of Bosnia's rulers were Catholic. Throughout the medieval period, these three churches operated with only a small number of isolated monks and without any secular clergy or organized parishes. Franciscans worked mainly in northern and western Bosnia, particularly in mining towns and urban areas. The Church of Bosnia was most successful in Central Bosnia, while Orthodoxy was found in Hercegovina and eastern and southern Bosnia. Intermarriage and conversion among these three churches was relatively frequent, fostering a religiously tolerant culture and secular state.

Bosnia's weak religious institutions, its isolation, and its long existence as an independent state allowed its artisans to incorporate influences from many other areas and reshape them with their own local traditions to create a distinctly Bosnian medieval culture. Byzantine, Serbian, and European traditions existed side by side with native crafts: tombstone art *(stećci),* manuscript illumination, fine silver and metal craftsmanship, and intensive castle building.

The oldest surviving remnants of medieval culture in the region are the inscriptions found on gravestones, royal seals, and in churches. In the medieval period, Greek and Latin alphabets coexisted with local Glagolitic (dating from the tenth century) and later Bosančica (a Bosnian variant of Cyrillic) scripts. These early inscriptions show both Glagolitic and Cyrillic in use through the twelfth century. The tenth-century fragments of the Humac tablet dedicating the Church of the Archangel Michael (in Humac) were written in Cyrillic, but also show Glagolitic elements. Fragments of inscriptions in Kijevac appear in Glagolitic; Cyrillic script was used for the twelfth-century Biškupići church inscriptions near the town of Visoko.

Since the churches were small, noblemen commissioned most written texts. Many nobles, merchants, and craftsmen enjoyed good standards of literacy in the Middle Ages.

Kulin's 1189 charter to Dubrovnik was the first official act written in a national language in the South Slav lands. Nobles commissioned illuminated manuscripts that show great creativity and reflect Old Slav, Byzantine, Coptic, Armenian, and romanesque traditions. The oldest Glagolitic manuscript from Bosnia is the tenth-century Codex Marianus. One of the finest examples of Bosnian illuminated manuscripts is Hrvoje's Missal (written for Duke Hrvoje Vukčić), which shows Hrvoje's portrait, displays his coat of arms, and uses an unusual calendar division. Hrvoje commissioned two copies of the Missal, one written in Glagolitic and one using Cyrillic script. Equally important is the Miroslav Gospel, commissioned by the duke of Hum (today's Hercegovina), which features beautifully illuminated human and animal depictions. Annotations and commentaries on these manuscripts record not only theological interpretations, but also provide a rare window into medieval Bosnian life. For example, the four folios of the Balatal Gospel (fourteenth century) and the Srećkovićev Gospel (fourteenth–fifteenth century) contain questions and answers written in the margins to form a contemporary folk encyclopedia.

These manuscripts were generally commissioned by nobles from one of three political strongholds: Jajce (in western Bosnia, along the Vrbas River); Visoko and Bobovac (in central Bosnia, on the Bosna River); and Hum (Hercegovina). These noble strongholds also became centers of local and political life. In late medieval Bosnia, many builders, stonemasons, and master craftsmen mixed Gothic and romanesque styles but also incorporated architectural elements unique to Bosnia. Churches tended to be small family chapels because there was no parish organization and no Catholic diocese.

The oldest political center in medieval Bosnia was the walled city of Visoko, which the Ottomans destroyed. Nearby, Ban Kotromanić built St. Nicholas Church to be the first center of the Franciscan vicariate. Its ruins house the tombs of both Ban Kotromanić (r. 1322–1353) and King Tvrtko (r. 1353–1391). In 1909 archeologists also discovered the church, dedicatory stone, and tomb of Ban Kulin (r. 1180–1204) underneath St. Nicholas. Visoko is Bosnia's oldest political center, but Bobovac, the site of King Tvrtko's castle on the eastern side of the Bosna River, is generally considered medieval Bosnia's capital. Originally built as a fort with eleven towers (some with drops of over 1,000 meters), Tvrtko's castle was highly defensible. Within its walls, Tvrtko built two palaces, a church, a granary, water cisterns, stables, and many workshops.

In western Bosnia, Jajce was the stronghold of the wealthy and powerful Hrvatinic nobles and medieval Bosnia's last capital. In addition to its castle, Jajce is noted for St. Mary's Chapel and its adjacent fifteenth-century bell tower. St. Luke's Bell Tower incorporates both romanesque and Gothic features. St. Mary's also possesses a unique underground mortuary chapel carved out of rock, associated with knighthood initiation rites used at the end of the fourteenth century.

Examples of fine workmanship can be found throughout Bosnia and Hercegovina. Skilled artisans were known for their glass- and metalware (particularly gold and silver), ceramics, carving, and mural painting. Local artisans' most significant contribution to medieval Bosnian culture, however, consisted of the remarkable thirteenth- to sixteenth-century gravestones known as *stećci,* elaborately carved with anthropomorphic images, crosses, heraldic symbols, fight scenes, reliefs, and inscriptions. Weighing as much as 30 tons, 60,000 of these massive gravestones are found at the burial sites of all three Christian churches throughout Bosnia and Hercegovina, but nowhere else.

Centuries of conquest have diminished the physical remnants of Bosnia-Hercegovina's medieval cultural legacy. Few castles, churches, or manuscripts remain from Bosnia's vibrant medieval period. Despite their presence in Bosnia since 1342, no single Franciscan document concerning the Middle Ages remains in the country. Bosnian illuminated manuscripts have been scattered in libraries and museums throughout Europe. The Čajniče Gospel is the only medieval Bosnian codex that remains in the country. At the close of the medieval period, however, Bosnia-Hercegovina left a cultural legacy of linguistic distinctiveness, religious toleration, and the creative capacity to use disparate influences to fashion a unique Bosnian style.

CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE EARLY OTTOMAN PERIOD

After the Ottoman Empire conquered Bosnia and Hercegovina, the Porte brought both a vibrant urban culture and a dynamic Islamic religion to the region. The peak of Ottoman-era Bosnian culture coincided with the state's great military success and wealth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Building on their own medieval culture and adapting dynamic Ottoman traditions, Bosnians excelled in architecture, literature, decorative arts, and handicrafts.

In stark contrast to the marginal role religion had played in medieval Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Ottomans made Islam the state church and defined communities by religious affiliation after 1463. Nevertheless, the religious toleration that had been such a marked characteristic of medieval Bosnia continued. There were no forced conversions to Islam in Bosnia and Hercegovina. At a time when Central and Western European states were persecuting Jews, as well as either Catholics or Protestants, the Ottoman state allowed non-Muslims to thrive. Christians did not enjoy Muslim legal privileges, but Sultan Mehmed II formally defended the Franciscans and their nine monasteries. Until Austria's Prince Eugen plundered Bosnia and burned Sarajevo to the ground in 1697, Catholics dominated Bosnian trade and were well represented among crafts and mining. The Ottomans welcomed Jews to Sarajevo after Gazi Husrevbeg built the city's cloth market in the 1530s. As a sign of their importance to the city, in 1577 the Ottoman governor established a Jewish quarter *(mahala)* near Sarajevo's main market, where they built their first synagogue in 1580–1581. Sarajevo Jews worked as physicians, pharmacists, craftsmen, and merchants, as well as in small trades. Ottoman rulers strengthened the weak Orthodox Church by establishing it as the head of the Christian millet and establishing an autocephalous patriarchate for Serbs and Bosnians in 1557. This

Stećci

The medieval Bosnian and Hum gravestones known as *stećci* are huge, carved stone monoliths produced between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Weighing as much as 33,000 kilograms, they are typically shaped as a slab, a chest, or a block with a pitched roof and decorated with intricate calligraphy and designs. Some are set on a base; others are not. Approximately 60,000 stećci survive, but they are found only within the medieval boundaries of Bosnia-Hercegovina (which includes parts of present day Dalmatia, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia). Since medieval art and culture was international in character, an art form limited to such a small area is very unusual.

The massive size and the weight of the stones stečak artisans used, the artistic and logistical challenges in working with and transporting the giant stones, and the combination of simple forms with a vast variety of representations make the stećci a fascinating and mysterious art form. Typical of the medieval practice in Bosnia-Hercegovina, stećci graveyards are almost always located on major roads outside of settlements. The gravestones' placement, carvings, and design makes use of available light in all seasons of the year and times of the day, reflecting great sensitivity to the environment. When the sun lights them up, they appear as imposing monuments. At other times they blend into the background almost unnoticed despite their size.

European medieval art greatly influenced stečak art. It combined romanesque or Gothic styles, especially in the use of symbols such as the cross, the sun, crescent moon, stylized lilies, and rosettes. Artists' designs also included twisted braiding, vines with trefoil leaves, and grape spirals found in contemporary Europe. Stečak artists carved animals using both the grotesque or fantastic romanesque style and in the more stylized Gothic style. Scenes of armed combat and tournaments, weapons and shields, hunting landscapes, and animal fights depicted on the stećci are also typical of medieval art throughout Europe.

Bosnian stečak art distinguished itself from other medieval art forms by the way it combined separate European elements, the absence of formalized medieval artistic conventions, and local variations. It combined rural and urban sensibilities with pagan, folk, and Christian (romanesque and Gothic) art forms. However, the stećci did not reflect the widespread medieval cult of death found throughout Europe and they did not show class distinctions. Wealthy families commissioned larger and finer tombs, but many of the details on their stećci were identical with folk designs found in textiles, wood carvings, and tattoos. In addition, engravers carved their own styles and enigmatic symbols (whose meaning has been lost) onto the stećci. Regional creativity provided a number of variants with distinguishing features. Stećci in the Donji Kraj region (north of the Sana and Vrbas rivers) contain the fewest decorations. In some areas, the gravestone design centers around the medieval Bosnian Cyrillic inscriptions. Others are elaborately carved with anthropomorphic images, portraits, and geometric designs.

Most stećci were produced from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The oldest stečak discovered was on Kulin's crypt (1204), that had been buried under the fourteenth century St. Nicholas Church in Visoko. Ban Kulin was a devout Catholic, but all of medieval Bosnia-Hercegovina's three Christian religions (Catholic, Orthodox, Church of Bosnia) marked their graves with stećci. They continued to be produced after the Ottoman conquest, retaining many of their original motifs and inscriptions. They also influenced Jewish and Muslim gravestones in the Ottoman period. For example, stećci elements such as human portraits, not usually found on Muslim graves outside the region, appear on Bosnian Muslim gravestones. In the Ottoman period, the gravestones became taller and thinner and formed more of an obelisk shape. Beginning in the seventeenth century, religion differentiated gravestones, as Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish communities all developed new gravestone styles.

In the twentieth century, study of the stećci has concentrated on eastern Bosnia and in Hercegovina. The best known stećci graveyard is in Radmilja, near the town of Stolac, where the famous fifteenth century stečak engraver-sculptor Grubac lived. Grubac's stećci can be found throughout the region. Five hundred years later, Mak Dizdar (another Stolac native) renewed popular interest in the stećci with his best-selling *Stone Sleeper* (1966), which used the tombstones as a metaphor to emphasize Bosnia's common identity and collective consciousness rooted in its medieval past.

support allowed the Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Hercegovina to build new churches, schools, and monasteries. The Church of Bosnia, which Stefan Tomaševich had driven out of Bosnia in 1459 at the pope's request, did not survive into the Ottoman period.

Ottoman wealth brought urban culture to Bosnia and Hercegovina. Cities were laid out around a market area *(čaršija)* organized according to craft and surrounded by religiously defined residential areas (mahala). In keeping with Muslim philanthropic ideals, governors constructed public and sacred spaces. They commissioned mosques, roads, bridges, market centers with fountains, clock towers, inns, and baths. A huge covered market was built in Sarajevo (1537–1555). In the major cities, patrons endowed elementary schools (*mekteb*s) seminaries (*medressa*s), Sufi dervish lodges *(tekke),* and libraries. This philanthropy particularly benefited Bosnians in the larger cities of Travnik, Banja Luka, and Mostar, as well as in Sarajevo, eventually one of the largest cities in the empire.

Islamic traditions of fine workmanship built on local medieval Bosnian craft traditions. As handicraft trades and decorative arts prospered, Bosnian artisans became especially well known for engraving and embossing, brass work, filigree, and carpet making. Cottage handicrafts of embroidery and wood carving also flourished. In addition to goldsmithing, the Bosnian Orthodox community's finest art found expression in post-Byzantine–style frescoes, icons, and carvings found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Orthodox churches and monasteries. The Ottomans brought decorative calligraphy to adorn mosques and schools. For example, Sinova Tekke, a Sufi school built by the wealthy merchant Hadji Sinan, has typical Arabic inscriptions from the Koran in its courtyard. More unusual are the seventeenth-century poems inscribed in the portico and two Ottoman chronograms (dates written with letters) added in 1709 and 1774.

Under Ottoman rule, separate religious traditions encouraged greater linguistic diversity. Bosnians continued to speak their own language, and the Bosančica script remained widespread for at least two centuries. Under the millet system, Christians, Jews, and Muslims were responsible for their members' welfare, including education. As in Western Europe, literacy and literature became part of a male-only religious education based in a foreign language (Latin, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, or Hebrew), an education that emphasized clerical training, theology, and philosophy. As Orthodox churches and monasteries expanded, literacy and elementary education among its members improved. In 1519 Orthodox Bosnians in Goražde began publishing religious manuscripts on Bosnia's first printing press. Franciscan monasteries provided elementary education for novices, who could later travel abroad as priests for higher education.

Bosnian Jews had no rabbinical schools before the late eighteenth century and recruited rabbis from elsewhere to serve their communities. Despite their small numbers, the most famous surviving religious document from Ottoman Bosnia is a fourteenth century Haggadah, an illuminated manuscript of the Passover seder. Sephardic Jews brought this Haggadah from Spain to Sarajevo. Now known as the Sarajevo Haggadah, it is one of the best examples of medieval Jewish illuminated manuscripts in the world. Muslim mektebs and medressas educated boys in Islamic theology, while the tekke instructed students in the teachings of specific Dervish orders. Bosnian Muslim scholars in Sarajevo, Mostar, and Prusac wrote literature, philosophy, and histories that became part of the Islamic canon. In addition, they wrote classical poetry, histories, chronicles, travel accounts, and biographies. Ottoman Bosnia's reliance on diverse religious education created a linguistic mosaic that included vernacular Bosnian, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Latin, Greek, Slavonic, Hebrew, and Ladino.

Without universal education, a large gap existed between the tiny number of intellectual clerics and the mostly illiterate laity. Popular literature of all faiths consisted of oral epic poetry and folk songs, which described duels, battles, oppressors (and protectors) of the poor, bandits *(hajduks),* knights, cowards, and heroes. One of the most popular heroes was Prince Marko, who often outwitted the sultan. In the nineteenth century, Europeans, including Herder, Goethe, and Pushkin, began to translate some of these folk songs. The most popular folk songs originating from the Muslim tradition were the sevdalinka, tragic love songs. The sevdalinka shared the lyrics, symbols, and characters of the Bosnian folk songs, but set them to Islamic melodies. Originally sung by urban women, these songs focused on lost or unfulfilled love and mourning, as well as on great events and tragedies.

In the seventeenth century, separate Franciscan and Muslim movements attempted to establish a vernacular Bosnian literary language accessible to those not fluent in Latin, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, or Persian. Influenced by Counter-Reformation reforms, the Bosnian Franciscan Matija Divković founded a vernacular literary tradition in an attempt to popularize religious teachings and introduce Bosnians to European literature. Divković wrote and published his own sermons, poetry, and dramatic dialogues as well as popular European stories in both Latin and in the vernacular Bosnian-Croatian that he spoke. He revived the Bosančica script and developed standardized spelling rules based on local speech patterns. In 1699, however, the audience for this popular literature declined precipitously, as Bosnian Catholics retreated en masse with Prince Eugen to Austria following his rampage through Bosnia, leaving only thirty thousand Catholics, twenty-nine Franciscan friars, and three working monasteries in the region.

At about the same time, Bosnian Muslim writers constructed Alhamijado, a literary tradition (which continued to be written to the twentieth century) using the Arabic script to write the vernacular Bosnian language. Alhamijado writers earned reputations as defenders of the common people against the Ottoman state.

In the early Ottoman period, the Orthodox Church benefited from its position as head of the Christian millet. Its fortunes further improved under Grand Vizier (chief minister) Mehmed Sokolović, who came from Višegrad. In 1557 Sokolović reconstituted the patriarchate at Peć for Orthodox parishes in Serbia and Bosnia. His brother Marko

Women Writers

The writing by women in Bosnia-Hercegovina has taken a long time to come into its own. Before World War II, very few Bosnian women published at all, and what they did write concentrated on education and the role of women in society. By the 1970s, however, 40 percent of the Union of Writers of Bosnia-Hercegovina were women, and the first anthology of poetry written by women, representing forty authors, was published in 1985.

Noted critic Celia Hawkesworth credits the Bosnian Muslim Nafija Saraljić (1893–1970) with being Bosnia-Hercegovina's first woman prose writer. One of eight children, the Sarajevan native was one of the few girls privileged to receive an education before World War I. She wrote twenty "themes" that she intended to expand, but only published a few prose sketches in the Mostar magazines *Biser* and *Zeman* between 1912 and 1918. She gave up writing in 1918 after one of her daughters died, leaving most of her work unfinished or unpublished. What she did write was witty and humorous, with unexpected twists, and showed her concern with Muslim women's isolation in that era.

After World War I, many more women in Bosnia-Hercegovina began publishing both poetry and prose, especially addressing "the new woman" and women's issues such as education, religion, and tradition. Among these were Vera Obrenović-Delipašić and Laura Papo-Bohereto, who worked among the Sarajevan poor and wrote in Ladino. Papo-Bohereto was killed, along with most of the rest of Sarajevo's Jewish population, during World War II. After 1945, Bosnia-Hercegovina's women writers began to flourish. Obrenović-Delipašić wrote the well-received *Dawn over the Mahale* (1955) about women during and after World War II.

One of the most important communist-era poets is Dara Sekulić. Many of Sekulić's poems concern the traditionally "feminine" topics of women and mothers who lose sons in battle, but she also delves into themes such as death, conflict, reconciliation, belief, and doubt. Sekulić's simple, short poems contain unexpected phrases and twists in meaning. What distinguishes her poetry is her use of regional and Sarajevan vocabulary, speech patterns, and rhythms, which gives her work its distinctive Bosnian, borderland quality.

In a very different style, Mubera Pašić's many volumes of poetry and selected works have been compared to Sylvia Plath and Virginia Woolf for her creation of "powerful human drama" and "powerful creative transformation" (Hawkesworth 2000, 261). Her *Monastic Sketches* (1982) have been especially well received and reflect the importance of the postwar surrealist movement in literature. In contrast to their treatment of earlier writers, Bosnian critics have analyzed her poetry on its own terms rather than in terms of how it conforms to an idealized and abstract notion of "femininity."

Current literature from Bosnian women writers has taken up the theme of the war. Innovative novelist Jasmina Musabegović, who began publishing literary criticism in 1965, published her third novel, *The Bridge* (1996), concerning the Mostar's famous sixteenth-century bridge, destroyed by Croat forces in 1993, dedicating the book to her brother who died in Sarajevo in a Bosnian Serb shelling. The short story writer Alma Lazarevski also published a well-received volume entitled *Death in the Museum of Modern Art* (1996).

The past fifty years of Bosnian literature has seen the emergence of a broad range of women writers. These authors mirror Bosnia-Hercegovina's cultural diversity and reflect its distinct literary heritage.

and his two nephews served as its first three patriarchs. For more than a century, the Orthodox Church flourished and built many fine churches and monasteries. These included Sarajevo's Old Orthodox Church, dedicated to the archangels Gabriel and Michael. Many churches and monasteries from this era contain remarkable post-Byzantine style frescoes, representing the peak of early modern Orthodox artistic expression. In 1766, however, the Serbian Church was reincorporated into the Greek Orthodox hierarchy and Bosnian Orthodox cultural life stagnated.

Bosnian Muslim architecture transformed public space with the inns, schools, covered markets, baths, clock towers, fountains, and bridges characteristic of Ottoman towns in this period. Ottoman builders constructed clock towers throughout Bosnia in the style of European bell towers that adjoined churches. Typically, the Ottomans either placed them next to a mosque or incorporated them into the marketplace. Since Ottoman clock towers did not become popular until the nineteenth century, these early ones are notable. Sarajevo's seventeenth-century clock tower, with its unusual clock-face characters written in Arabic script, was particularly unusual. Until it was destroyed in 1992, it was one of the best-preserved in Yugoslavia.

Bosnian bridge design varied greatly because it reflected both the bridge's use and its environment. The two most famous bridges are the Mehmed Sokolović Bridge (1571–1577) that crosses the Drina River at Višegrad and Mostar's Old Bridge (Stari Most, 1566). Mehmed Sokolović commissioned the famed Ottoman architect Sinan to build the bridge in his hometown of Višegrad. Its strong horizontal lines and eleven arches still project strength and solidity. Ivo Andrić celebrated this bridge in his novel, *The Bridge on the Drina* (1959), which portrays the bridge as a unifying symbol for Bosnians. Perhaps even more recognizable is the Old Bridge in Mostar, built by the Ottoman architect Hajrudin, which spans the Neretva River. In contrast to the Višegrad bridge, the Old Bridge crossed the Neretva in a single, graceful arch 27 meters long and 20 meters across. The mathematical precision needed to support such a long, heavy bridge with just one arch was so great that Hajrudin fled before the bridge was completed, afraid that it would collapse and the sultan would kill him.

Secular construction and urban design transformed early modern Bosnia, but its mosques remain its greatest architectural achievement. Typically, sixteenth and seventeenth century Ottoman designers constructed Bosnian mosques with a single dome to cover the sanctuary. Inside, carpets, designs, calligraphy, and Koranic inscriptions decorated the mosque. Outside, slim columns and pointed arches supported the dome-covered front portico. Mostar's Karadjozbeg's mosque (1557) is a wonderful example of the many beautiful single-domed mosques of the period. Every mosque had covered, circular, or polygonal fountains (for ablutions), and many were shaded with trees. In accordance with Ottoman innovations, Bosnians built mosques with one thin minaret for calling the faithful to prayers. In contrast to other Ottoman regions, Bosnian mosques often adjoined cemeteries and mausoleums.

Among the most notable mosques in Bosnia are Gazi Husrevbeg's mosque in Sarajevo and the Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka. Both are unusual for using both a large dome on an octagonal base and several half domes to cover the interior space. The Ferhadija courtyard contains a dome-covered crypt that surrounds the fountain, and a clock tower stands to the right of the mosque. Gazi Husrevbeg's mosque was designed with typical slim marble columns and pointed arches to support the domed roof covering the outdoor entrance area. Trees shade the front courtyard's large covered fountain. Along one side of the courtyard smaller fountains with warm water are used for winter ablutions.

BOSNIAN CULTURE DURING OTTOMAN DECLINE

The culture of Bosnia-Hercegovina transformed itself between 1500 and 1700. It remained religiously tolerant but became a Muslim state where both Catholicism and Orthodoxy prospered. Ottoman wealth allowed handicraft trades and arts to flourish. Unfortunately, over the next 150 years Ottoman culture experienced a decline as Ottoman military expansion, prosperity, and religious identity gave way to defeat, economic decline, and nationalism. As the Ottoman Empire declined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, elites built fewer mosques and schools, roads and bridges deteriorated, churches decayed, and education stagnated. The wealthy patrons of early modern art and architecture in Bosnia faded. Literature began to reflect the declining support for the empire among all Bosnians, as they called for reform, autonomy, and independence. As national movements swept Europe in the nineteenth century, Bosnian intellectuals, whether Franciscan, Orthodox, or Muslim, focused increasingly on the intertwined issues of national identity and political autonomy.

In France, nationalism had united people sharing a common state and history; in Germany, it united people who shared a common language. Croats and Serbs outside of Bosnia-Hercegovina defined their nations by common language, history, and religion. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, nationalism divided people by religion. It converted Bosnian Catholics into Croats and transformed Orthodox Bosnians into Serbs. Since Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim Bosnians shared a common history and language (which varied by region, not ethnic group), nationalists within Bosnia focused on confessional differences. In this way, they connected themselves more closely to established national movements in Serbia or Croatia. Both Serb and Croat nationalists claimed Bosnian Muslims as part of their respective nations, but rejected Bosnian Muslim culture. Increasingly isolated, Bosnian Muslims could not forge similar national links with the Ottoman state. In the first place, they were ethnic Slavs, not Turks, and the Ottomans ruled a multinational empire, not a nation-state. In the second place, Bosnian Muslim elites opposed Istanbul's centralizing Tanzimat reforms, which threatened their economic and political privileges. Finally, most Bosnian Muslims were peasants who had little in common with a system that benefited Bosnian Muslim elites and impoverished the countryside. Therefore, Bosniaks had no common ethnic, linguistic, or socioeconomic basis for a national movement that included Muslims from outside Bosnia. Instead of bringing people together as it did in Central and Western Europe, nationalism divided Bosnians by religion and politically isolated the vulnerable Muslim peasant plurality.

As rural Bosnia and Hercegovina struggled with increasing taxes, rising rents, and frequent armed unrest, a middle class emerged, which fostered education and cultural revivals among Jews, Orthodox, Catholics, and Muslims alike. Bosnia's Jews consisted of a small but growing Sephardic community centered in Sarajevo, where they numbered about 330 by the 1720s. The population grew to just over a thousand in 1779 and leveled off at around two thousand for most of the nineteenth century. Bosnian Jews sustained their Sephardic culture through their Ladino language, which they spoke daily and used to write their own folk poetry and romances. Like other Bosnians, Jews learned their distinctive religious heritage—in their case the Torah, the Talmud, and Hebrew—in their confessional schools. In contrast to other Bosnians, Jews had a literacy rate that approached 100 percent.

The Serbian national revival resonated with Bosnia's Orthodox community, the most enserfed and the least literate population in the region. Vuk Karadžić, the nineteenth-century Serbian linguist, standardized Serb, Croat, and Bosnian vernaculars into the modern Serbo-Croatian language. He identified those who spoke any variant of the language as Serbs, whether of Catholic, Orthodox, or Islamic religion, ignoring the importance of religious identity for Bosnians. It held little appeal for Bosnian Muslims or Bosnian Croats but greatly influenced Bosnian Serbs. Karakžuć's linguistic definition of the Serbian nation specifically linked the Bosnian Orthodox population with their more prosperous contemporaries in Serbia, who had gained political autonomy in 1815 and had abolished serfdom in 1833. The Serbian national revival inspired those in Sarajevo and Mostar's religious and literary circles to write their own ethnographies, memoirs, and histories. Since nationalism connects people of different social strata, it incorporated village costumes, folklore, and oral traditions into Bosnian Serb identity.

Many of these writers also began to publish literature and commentaries on Serbian folklore and customs. For example, oral epic poetry, found throughout the region, became increasingly identified as a Bosnian Serb tradition. These poems typically featured an Orthodox hero defeating the enemy Turks in combat. (A small number depict a clever heroine, masquerading as a man, who outwits both the Turks and her Serb comrades.) The Serbian national revival provided the Orthodox population with a Serb national consciousness and improved education, as the number of Orthodox elementary schools rose from ten in 1851 to twenty-eight in 1871. At the same time, it divided Bosnians against each other. In condemning Ottoman rule, nationalists identified Bosnian Muslims as exploiters and foreign enemies, ignoring the history, ethnicity, language, and socioeconomic position that most Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims shared.

As with the Bosnian Serbs, the Bosnian Croat cultural movement combined religion, literature, and politics. In the eighteenth century, monasteries had maintained the Franciscan practice of publishing homilies, records, and chronicles of everyday life, as well as composing religious poetry and music. Under the influence of the liberal political ideas coming out of the French Revolution, however, Franciscans became instrumental in fostering a nationally oriented Bosnian Croat literary renaissance and establishing a secular political movement among Croats. One of the most important figures in Bosnian Franciscan literature was Banja Luka's Ivan Frano Jukić, who championed liberal issues such as secular education, literature, and politics. He established one of Bosnia's first secular schools, as well as founding and editing Bosnia's first literary magazine, in which he published political polemics, histories, and folk remedies. The sultan exiled Jukić for petitioning for secular education, tax reform, legal reform, and a printing press. Anto Knežević, the author of three histories of Bosnia, called for a politically integrated Bosnia in his book, *The Book of Blood,* which envisioned an autonomous Bosnia with national and religious equality.

In contrast to the Serbian and Croat revivals, late Bosnian Muslim culture is characterized more by continuity with earlier traditions than by innovation. By the eighteenth century, the great age of Muslim architecture had passed, but beautiful mosques continued to be built. Artists added decorative art and calligraphy to many older mosques. The earlier literary traditions written in Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and the Bosnian vernacular continued. Bosnian Muslim political elites made no overtures to the Muslim peasants and serfs, who made up the vast majority of the population. Instead, they tried to preserve landlords' privileges by opposing the sultan's economic and political reforms. Often at great personal risk, the Alhamijado writers denounced corruption and remained critical of Bosnian officials. When Vienna occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1878, the region's most culturally formative period ended.

BOSNIAN CULTURE UNDER HABSBURG RULE, 1878–1918

Ottoman rule left Bosnia-Hercegovina a deeply divided society. These divisions widened under Habsburg occupation, as the region exchanged its position on the western fringe of the Ottoman Empire for colonial status in the Dual Monarchy. During the administrations of Benjamin Kállay (1878–1903) and later Istvan Burián (1903–1914), the region experienced great demographic change and significant cultural development, but little economic and political progress. The great powers justified Habsburg rule of the region by pointing to the Ottoman inability to reform a political and economic system that produced widespread suffering. However, the monarchy maintained the Ottoman's medieval-era system of unfree labor and high rural taxes that impoverished most Bosnians (Muslim, Serb, and Croat). The failure to reform the economy left Bosnia-Hercegovina's national divisions wider than ever.

The population of Bosnian Muslims fell precipitously both during the 1875–1878 war that ended Ottoman rule and the subsequent Habsburg control of the region. No reliable records measure the population loss, but scholars estimate that between 1875 and 1910 the region's Muslim population declined by 300,000. In contrast, the number of Roman Catholics grew substantially. Thus, Bosnia-Hercegovina became more Catholic and less Muslim under the Habsburg occupation.

Vienna's greatest cultural success was its modest progress in elementary education. By 1914, Bosnia-Hercegovina had 200 elementary schools, 3 high schools, 1 technical school, and 1 teacher training school (but no institution of higher education). Still, fewer than 17 percent of school-age children attended school, and the state introduced compulsory primary education only in 1909. Adult illiteracy (overwhelmingly rural) stood at 90 percent. The government in Vienna also introduced interfaith public schools, where children learned secular subjects together but received religious instruction from their own clergy. With more schools and compulsory education, literacy improved.

Habsburg education policies antagonized many Bosnian Serbs and inflamed Serb nationalists. Unlike Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats, the state required Bosnian Serbs to obtain a political reliability certificate to teach in Bosnian schools, which were staffed largely by Croatian immigrants. In 1892 Kállay abolished the state tax supporting Orthodox schools, causing many to close. From 1893 to 1905, Bosnian Serbs campaigned for autonomous schools and churches, and the number of Serbian children attending public schools dropped.

The autonomy movement became an important base of the Serbian cultural revival and political activism, as it laid the foundation for the region's first political party, the Serbian National Organization (1907).

Along with extending education, Vienna increased access and exposure to mainstream European culture. European-style literary journals appeared. European realist and romantic artists, who traveled to Bosnia to find exotic subjects to paint, inspired a generation of Bosnian artists. Modern trends such as art nouveau and the secessionist movement in Vienna greatly influenced the period's architectural styles. At the same time, the administration in Vienna built new schools, train stations, and administration buildings but also encouraged Bosnians to explore their common medieval past and building styles. The Provincial Museum in Sarajevo was opened to study and preserve stećci and medieval artifacts. By the end of the Habsburg era, Bosnian high culture had shifted from an Ottoman to a European orientation.

Kállay tried to create a Bosnian identity (based on shared history in the same territory) to counter Serb and Croat nationalism. However, he also used religious institutions to separate Bosnians and to increase Habsburg control in the region. Since there was no separation of church and state in Austria-Hungary, the emperor dominated Bosnia's religious hierarchies. He appointed the Serbian Orthodox bishops and replaced the position of mufti for Bosnia (formerly appointed by the sultan) with his own *reis ul-ulema* (head of the Muslim religious community). By banning political parties (until 1907), Vienna tried to channel national politics into these state-influenced religious institutions. The strategy of emphasizing Bosnians' diverse religious traditions to counter nationalist politics ignored the strong religious components to national identity. The political curia system, which required voters to choose candidates based on religious affiliation, strengthened religious-national identity rather than building on common Bosnian interests. The failure to address the underlying political and economic bases for national divisions also undermined the Austrian attempt to create a Bosnian-Muslim identity. Believing the Bosniaks were pre-political, the joint administration also ignored the strong Bosniak identity, despite its increasing secularism and distinctive cultural influence.

With Habsburg occupation came immigration, which further increased religious tension within Bosnia-Hercegovina. Both Serbs and Muslims resented immigrant Catholic schoolteachers whom they suspected of proselytizing. Convinced that Bosnians were really Croats, Archbishop Stadler aggressively campaigned to convert non-Catholics. Upon his arrival in Sarajevo, Archbishop Stadler replaced Franciscan friars with his own diocesan priests. (These changes undercut the Franciscans and created divisions in the Bosnian Catholic community that still remain.) Ashkenazi Jews were also among the immigrants to Bosnia. By 1885, these immigrants had swollen Sarajevo's Jewish population. Rather than strengthening the Jewish presence, this new population created a separate community, as the city's well-established, urbane Sephardim looked down on the less educated rural immigrants attending the new Ashkenazi synagogue.

The Habsburg period was critical for the region's cultural reorientation toward Europe and the emergence of separate Bosnian Serb, Bosnian Croat, and Bosniak national identities. European-style educational norms and high culture overtook Ottoman cultural influences. Since the nineteenth century, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats had defined themselves in contrast to Ottoman and Muslim cultural practices. Yet, for all their differences, Bosnians still shared basic regional similarities. For example, foreign observers noted in 1903 that Catholic and Orthodox Bosnians alike wore turbans, embroidered waistcoats, loose open jackets, loose trousers gathered at the knee, and felt shoes that turned up at the toes. By 1930, these styles were worn only by Muslims, as national identity replaced Bosnian regionalism.

INTERWAR AND WARTIME BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, 1918–1945

In 1918 the former Habsburg territories of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia joined with Serbia and Montenegro to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Despite promising Bosnia-Hercegovina economic reform, as well as political and religious autonomy, the state soon gerrymandered districts in 1929 to eliminate any majority Muslim area. After filling most government posts with Serbs, it Serbianized the region and encouraged Bosniaks to declare themselves as Croats or Serbs. Ignoring the indigenous roots of Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats, the regime dismissed non-Serb cultural influences as "foreign."

Interwar cultural life was confined to the region's largest cities: Banja Luka, Travnik, Tuzla, Mostar, and Sarajevo. After World War I, Habsburg-era educational and cultural societies became more nationally oriented. Each community published its own magazine for its members (Croatian *Napredak* [Progress], Bosnian Muslim *Gajret* and *Narodna uzdanica* [National Hope], Serbian *Prosveta* [Enlightenment], and the Jewish *La Benevolencia*). These societies provided Bosnia's cities with entertainment, popular reading rooms, and opportunities for general education, including high school scholarships. However, they did not compensate for an inadequate education system. Overall illiteracy rates dropped to 70 percent, but rural areas were untouched. Aside from basic elementary education and a few very good secondary schools, Bosnians had few educational opportunities. Until the late 1930s, when the state founded an agricultural college, the region still had no higher educational institution.

The Yugoslav monarchy also generated cultural dissent. In addition to the nationally oriented efforts, a small number of artists and writers were influenced by major contemporary European movements, including impressionism, modernism, symbolism, expressionism, abstract art, surrealism, magical realism, political art, and art nouveau. Following World War I, these artists organized art schools and artist colonies. In 1940 a group of painters and graphic artists founded Collegium, an association of artists who synthesized art and left-wing politics.

Nobel Prize–winning novelist Ivo Andrić, 1959. (Bettmann/Corbis)

In the interwar period, the most typical form of Bosnian literature was either poetry or the short story using a realistic narrative. Jovan Krstić, the editor of the influential literary magazine *Pregled* (Review, est. 1927), described this genre as "story-telling Bosnia" (Lovrenović 166). However, not all writers conformed to this style. Many younger writers also explored other genres at this time. Bosnia's Nobel laureate, Ivo Andrić, illustrates the complex, cross-cultural influences of Bosnian society. Raised a Catholic and schooled by Jesuits in Travnik, Andrić lived his adult life in Belgrade, where he worked as a Yugoslav diplomat and was active in Serbian literary circles. He wrote about Bosnia, however, not Serbia, and he represented Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Communist Party until 1953. Andrić's stories show Bosnians of different ethno-religious heritages both cooperating and in conflict. In contrast to the writing of the nineteenth century, the new literature articulated a multifaceted national identity, which recognized both Bosnians' shared characteristics and their cultural distinctions.

Bosnian writers from each of the region's nations and religions created a complex, yet distinct, body of Bosnian literature in this period. The Sarajevo Writer's Group (founded 1928) included not only Krstić, but important literary figures such as Hamza Humo (the modernist poet, writer, and editor) and Isak Samokovlija (the short story writer, who described daily life for poor urban Jews). Left-wing expressionists produced the 1929 anthology, *Knjiga drugova* (Comrades' Book), which included work by Hasan Kikić, Hamid Dizdar, and later the poets Zija Dizdarević and Mak Dizdar. *Knjiga drugova* inspired Kikić and other Bosniak intellectuals, such as Skender Kulenović and Safet Krupić, to start the journal *Putokaz* (Signpost). Published in Zagreb, *Putokaz* provided a forum for debate on acute economic, social, cultural, and national issues facing interwar Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In 1941 the radical right Independent State of Croatia (NDH) annexed Bosnia and Hercegovina. As in the rest of the NDH, state authorities Croatianized the region. They targeted Serbs for conversion, expulsion, and execution. Jewish property was stolen, and synagogues were ransacked; few Bosnian Jews survived. By 1945, over 700 mosques were destroyed or damaged. Communists and Muslims were deported and interned in concentration camps, along with Jews and Serbs.

Bosnia-Hercegovina's religious and nationalist leaders opposed communism. However, the Partisans' multinational appeal attracted those influenced by multiple cultural traditions. For example, the Bosniak poet Skender Kulenović, who helped found *Putokaz,* became politically active in the Communist Party in the 1930s. His poem "Mother Stojanka of Knežopolje" became a symbol for the Partisans during the war. Other Bosnian Partisans used their wartime experiences as the basis for postwar work. The poet Vladimir Nazor published his 1943–1944 diary, "With the Partisans." Jure Kastelan's poems "The Lake at Zelengora" and "The Typhus Sufferers" were based on his Bosnian Partisan experience. Branko Ćopić wrote wartime humor, which became the basis for future short stories and novels. After 1945, the trauma of Bosnia's wartime experience lived on in literature and profoundly affected the development of Bosnian culture under communism. World War II remained an important subject of literature, songs, and film through 1992.

BOSNIAN CULTURE UNDER COMMUNISM, 1945–1992

After 1945, the new communist state of Yugoslavia recognized Croat and Serb nationhood but identified Bosnian Muslims as nationally "undeclared." This designation meant that Bosnian cultural traditions and the distinct Bosnian character of the region's Serbs and Croats (and the few Jewish survivors) were ignored. Instead, the Party promoted a Yugoslav national identity and persecuted religious institutions. It advanced socialist realism and discouraged social criticism. On the other hand, education made great progress, and political decentralization in the mid-1960s helped the republic revive separate national-cultural and religious traditions.

In the early postwar years, the Party banned all prewar national cultural and educational institutions and targeted Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim institutions. By identifying Bosnian Muslims solely by religion, the Party also justified nationalizing Bosnian Muslim assets, repressing Bosniak political activity, and closing educational institutions. The distinctive Islamic culture of Bosnia suffered greatly from this program shaped by hostility to Islam, details of which have already been given in the account of the history of Bosnia-Hercegovina. To give just one example, the state shut down the last Muslim printing house in Sarajevo and Yugoslav publishers printed no Islamic texts until 1964.

Socialist realism was the dominant cultural genre in postwar Yugoslavia. The Party had little tolerance for literary nonconformity or pointed social criticism. For example, Branko Ćopić's satirical story, "The Heretic" (1950), faulted the communist elite for its exclusivity and venality. This early attempt at social criticism earned the Bosnian Serb humorist and Partisan veteran widespread condemnation from the highest Party levels, interrogation, and reprimand. Ćopić was never arrested, but the Party eventually revoked his membership, and he soon abandoned satire for less biting forms of humor. Only the Croat writer Miroslav Krleža could openly criticize socialist realism and only the work of Ivo Andrić was beyond Party rebuke.

The communists' greatest postwar success was in basic education. In the early 1950s the Party implemented free primary and secondary education (compulsory from ages seven to fifteen). Its campaign to build 1,000 elementary schools and 1,000 libraries in the republic brought grammar schools to most villages and secondary schools to all of the larger towns. Andrić donated the entire sum of his 1961 Nobel Prize to a book fund for Bosnian libraries. The effect of all these efforts on the republic's literacy rate was stunning. It jumped from 55 percent (compared to 79 percent for Yugoslavia) in 1953 to 85 percent in 1988. By 1981 illiteracy was negligible for both men and women under thirty. In contrast, close to half of the older village women (born before 1941 and therefore educated under a different regime) could neither read nor write. By the early 1980s, Bosnia-Hercegovina also boasted four universities (in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, and Tuzla), and the number of students attending institutions of higher education had doubled since 1961. This explosion in education and training beginning in the 1950s helps to explain the Bosnian cultural revival that took place in the 1960s and 1970s.

As the Party began to recognize regional interests and implemented political and economic reform, it began to tolerate cultural associations. These associations fostered cultural revivals, which included those who focused chiefly on religious issues (Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Islamic) and those concerned with economic and political reforms. A reform communist movement among Bosnian Muslims (the largest ethnic group in the LCBH, the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina) viewed observances of customary religious practices as cultural traditions rather than religious obligations. It sought increased investment, better political representation for the republic, and national recognition of Bosnian Muslims. At the same time, a Bosnian Islamic revival (fostered by the 1954 religious freedom statute and Yugoslavia's diplomatic ties to non-aligned states) focused on the inadequacies of communism and the divisiveness of nationalism.

As part of the 1960s cultural revival and the struggle to achieve parity with the other republics, Bosnians fought for their right to their own Bosnian Academy of Arts and Sciences, their own television station, and recognition of the legitimacy of research on Bosnian culture. The National Museum of Sarajevo sponsored new research in archeology and medieval Bosnian history. Bosnia's medieval gravestones provided material for poets, painters, graphic artists, sculptors, musicians, and filmmakers. The cultural revival strengthened a Bosnian identity and threatened Serb nationalists (from both Bosnia and Serbia, who recognized no separate Bosnian culture) and communist unitarists (including Serbs, Muslims, and Croats). Instead of recognizing Bosnians' common Slavic heritage, history, and language, these groups refocused on Islam and argued that Bosnian Muslims were "really" Turks. After Belgrade recognized Bosnian Muslims as a constituent nation in 1970, nationalists conflated the Bosnian Islamic and cultural revivals and increasingly tarred Bosniak politicians with spurious charges of fundamentalism.

The Bosnian cultural revival profoundly affected literature. In 1945 the Party did not recognize the existence of any distinctively Bosnian literature(s). Despite the distinctiveness of the region's Bosnian Franciscan Alhamadijo, and Bosnian Serb literary traditions, the Party insisted that Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs were to be studied as part of the larger Croat and Serb literary traditions, and Bosniak writers were expected to declare whether they were part of the Croat or Serb traditions. In 1970, however, the Party accepted a Bosnian variant of Serbo-Croatian as having the same status as the Croat and Serb variants. After publishing *Intersections* (1967, 1969), two influential volumes of essays on literary theory, Midhat Begić argued for recognizing a unified, though complex, Bosnian literature.

New Bosnian literature began to pour out in the mid-1960s. Leftist authors trained in the interwar period played an especially important part. Mak Dizdar worked after the war as chief editor of TANJUG (Yugoslavia's official wire service) and editor of Sarajevo's daily, *Oslobodjenje* (Liberation). Dizdar looked to the medieval period for inspiration in his collection of poetry, *The Stone Sleeper* (1966). Dizdar used Bosnian stećci (the best-known stećci site is near Dizdar's hometown of Stolac) to explore Bosnia's pluralistic identity and its collective memory, rooted in the medieval past. Mesa Selimović, a former elementary schoolteacher and communist political organizer from Tuzla, became one of Bosnia's most celebrated novelists. In his best-selling *Death and the Dervish* (1966), he explored the moral, political, and religious dilemmas of an eighteenth-century Bosnian Muslim cleric as he investigates why Ottoman authorities have sentenced his brother to death. These and other works broke with Bosnia's "storytelling" narratives and portrayed Bosnia with its own distinct character. By the 1970s, Bosnian culture flourished not only in literature but also in radio, television, press, film, art exhibits, theater, architecture, and popular culture.

By the 1980s, nationalists, however, believed that the dominance of Bosniaks in the LCBH and the cultural and religious revival among Muslims were leading to the Islamicization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the wake of the 1979 Iranian revolution, accusations of fundamentalism against

Bosnian Muslims increased, culminating in the 1983 trial of Muslim intellectuals, including Alija Izetbegović, whose "Islamic Declarations" tried to reconcile traditional Islamic practices with economic and political modernization.

Nonetheless, the 1980s was a culturally dynamic period in Bosnia-Hercegovina, especially for popular entertainment. Coverage of the 1984 Winter Olympics, held in Sarajevo, portrayed the city's modernity as seen through its books, exhibits, performances, films, pop music, graphics, alternative publications, and youth magazines. Bosnian filmmakers attained international recognition, with films that focused on Bosnian experiences in World War II and under communism. For example, experimental filmmaker Ivica Matić became internationally known for his award-winning film, *Landscape with a Woman.* Bato Cengic's acclaimed 1990 film, *Silent Gunpowder,* is based on Branko Ćopić's novel. Set in a Bosnian village at the beginning of the 1941 national uprising, it explores the conflict between revolutionary enthusiasm and a suspicious village through a love story between the Partisan captain and the local priest's daughter. Emir Kusturica became Bosnia's most innovative and well-known filmmaker in the 1980s and 1990s. His award-winning film *When Father Was Away on Business* (1984), based on a work by the poet Abdulah Sidran, examined daily life and betrayal in postwar Bosnia. It brought international attention to filmmakers throughout the former Yugoslavia. By the 1990s, Bosnians had created their own vibrant culture. Increased prosperity, mass education, and continued religious toleration allowed a distinctive Bosnian literary style and film industry to emerge. Its innovative popular entertainment blended internationally popular genres with Bosnian history and traditions.

AFTER COMMUNISM

Yugoslav rule in Bosnia-Hercegovina collapsed in armed conflict in April 1992. With the collapse of communist power, Bosnian writers, journalists, actors, musicians, and scholars struggled to preserve their diverse society by producing plays, film, war photographs, music, and books. Nationalist leaders, however, claimed Bosnian territory and also argued that certain areas should be inhabited only by one national group. To bolster these national aims, Serb and Croat combatants sought to occupy territory and to expunge evidence of whole cultures. They expelled, murdered, and physically destroyed cities, cultural monuments, libraries, graveyards, birth records, and work documents. Since religious institutions had played a vital role in shaping Bosnia-Hercegovina's traditions of high culture, nationalists defined their enemies based on religion. Thus, the war encouraged a turning away from secularism in favor of Islamic, Catholic, and Orthodox particularism.

Serbian forces (1992–1995) and the Croat army (1993–1994) tried to dismantle both the region's Ottoman heritage and (respectively) the Catholic or Orthodox monuments in territory each held. For example, Croat forces not only shelled the Old Bridge in Mostar, they also destroyed the nearby Orthodox monastery at Žitomislići. Similarly, Serbs ransacked Catholic monuments in Republika Srpska. They destroyed the Franciscan monastery and church of Plehan with its priceless artwork, as well as the Franciscan monasteries in Jajce and Petrićevac (near Banja Luka). They also laid waste to the Catholic shrine at Podmilačje (near Jajce), destroying its unique, partly preserved medieval Gothic chapel.

Banja Luka's Ferhadija mosque (1580), recognized by UNESCO as a world cultural monument, was destroyed in 1993. Bosnia's Islamic community plans to rebuild the mosque despite the Bosnian Serb government's failure to approve permits for reconstruction. (Reuters/Corbis)

In a systematic attempt to erase more than five hundred years of Slavic Muslim influence, Serb and Croat armies separately targeted both Bosniaks and Bosnia's rich Ottoman cultural legacy. They destroyed the most visible signs of the Ottoman heritage. The cities the Ottomans had built, which served as Bosnia-Hercegovina's main cultural centers, were ravaged and declared Serb. For example, Serbs de-urbanized Banja Luka, denied its Ottoman history, destroyed its Muslim character, and then declared it the capital of Republika Srpska. Croat shelling reduced Mostar's Old Bridge and its large, historic Muslim quarter to rubble. Sarajevo remained under siege for three years. Serb and Croat forces demolished mosques throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina. Among the most notable were Gazi Husrevbeg's mosque in Sarajevo, the Aladža (colored mosque) in

Foča, and Mostar's Karadjozbeg mosque. All of Banja Luka's sixteen mosques were destroyed in 1992, including the Ferhadija mosque and the Arnaudija mosque (1587), both on UNESCO's list of world cultural monuments. As conspicuous signs of the long-established Ottoman presence in Bosnia-Hercegovina, nationalists shelled clock towers throughout the country.

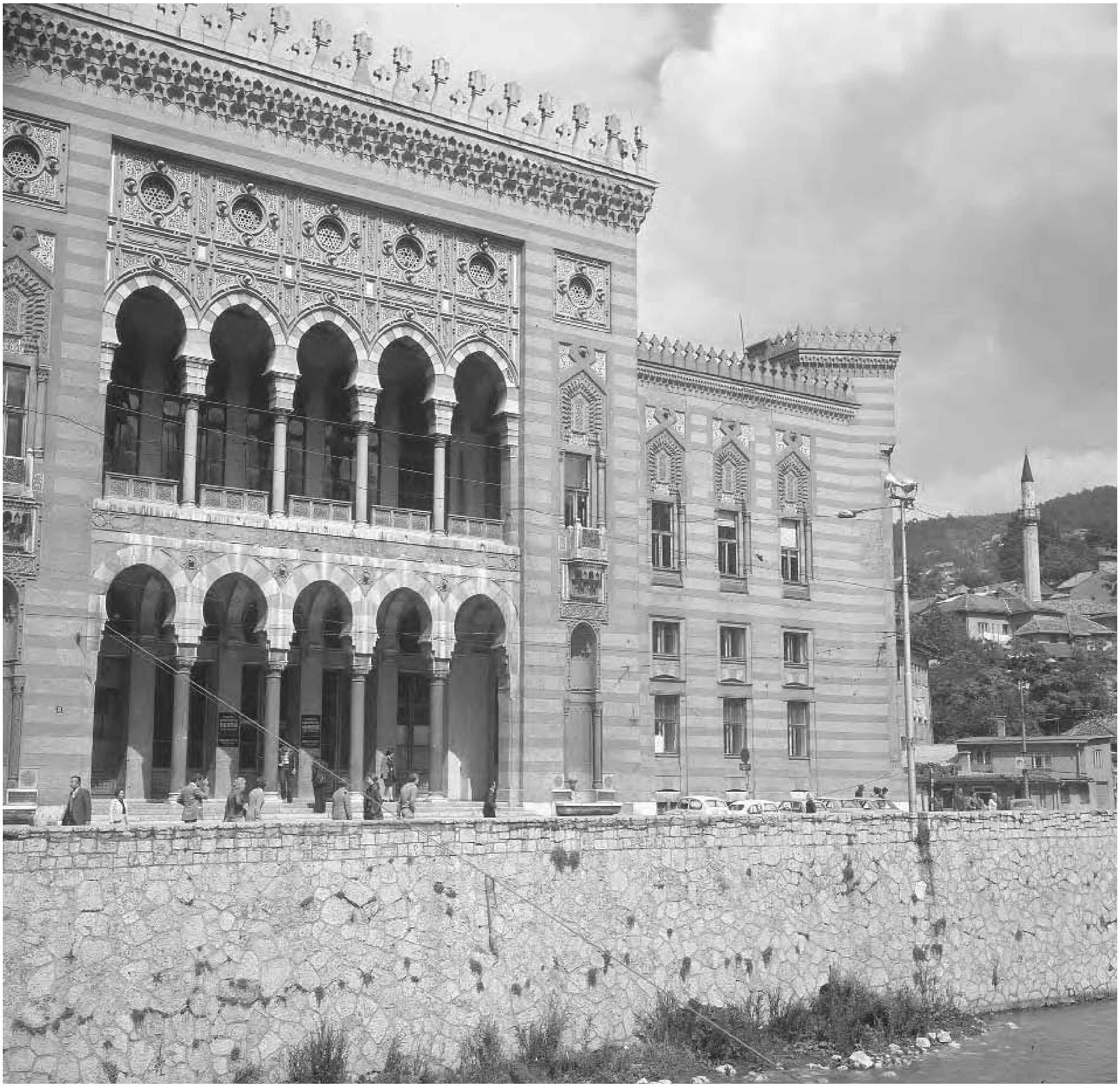
As the country's largest city since the fifteenth century, Sarajevo's libraries and museums were the principal repository for invaluable Ottoman collections, the region's literary heritage, and its long history. Serb forces shelled the National Museum in Sarajevo. Mortars flattened the National Library of Bosnia-Hercegovina and wiped out its 1.2-million-volume collection, which had contained many extremely rare books and manuscripts. When they bombed the Oriental Institute, its irreplaceable collection of Jewish and Islamic manuscripts (the largest collection in Southeastern Europe) was lost.

Since 1995, national leaders of each of Bosnia's historic cultures have emphasized their own separate national language, religion, and cultural associations. This attempt to disentangle the region's national traditions from their connections to the broader Bosnian culture impoverishes each of them. It ignores the shared history, common language,

Karadjozbeg mosque (1557) in Mostar along the Neretva River. (Otto Lang/Corbis)

Slav ethnicity, constant cultural interaction, and tradition of religious diversity that is uniquely Bosnian. The Bosnian heritage includes multiple languages, scripts, religions (and non-religion), and artistic styles. Intermarriage and religious conversion occurred in Bosnia-Hercegovina more frequently than in other parts of Europe. Bosnians and Hercegovinians have produced unique cultural artifacts that incorporated multiple cultural influences, Ottoman architecture, Bosnian Franciscan literary traditions, Alhamijado literature, and Orthodox frescoes. In the twentieth century, a complex culture emerged (including Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, and Jews) that produced distinctively modern Bosnian literature, music, and film. The emergence of such a rich culture could not have developed by relying on an individual Bosniak, Serb, or Croat tradition.

Bosnian culture is the product of dynamic interaction and a balancing of Bosnian identity with national and religious traditions. It is not the sum of its nations or its reli-



Sarajevo City Hall (1896) built in the pseudo-Moorish style during the Habsburg occupation. Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand gave his final speech here before embarking on his motorcade through the streets of Sarajevo, where he was assassinated. The City Hall building later became Bosnia-Hercegovina's National Library, housing 1.2 million volumes and a rare book and manuscript collection that included the Sarajevo Haggedah. Bosnian Serb mortars destroyed the library during the siege of Sarajevo, 1992–1995. (Otto Lang/Corbis) gions. Bosnian writers' simultaneous membership in more than one National Academy of Arts and Sciences illustrates the multifaceted nature of Bosnian culture. This balance between Bosnian identity and national traditions has not been static, nor has it been consistently harmonious in any period. Some artists and writers have harshly criticized Bosnian society and particular national groups within it. Even though these cultural forces have deeply alienated other Bosnians, their voices remain an essential part of the country's cultural landscape. The damage to Bosnia-Hercegovina's patrimony cannot be undone; however, Bosnians are rebuilding their country. For example, the destruction of Mostar's Old Bridge became a wartime symbol of ethnic hatred. With repairs to the bridge now complete, perhaps the Old Bridge can become a symbol of Bosnia-Hercegovina's diverse culture and its centuries-old traditions of accommodating multinational and multireligious traditions.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

THE MEDIEVAL AND OTTOMAN ECONOMIES, 1400–1878

Bosnia-Hercegovina has been known for its rich silver reserves since Roman times, and silver mining, particularly in Srebrenica, helped the region prosper during the Middle Ages. Bosnia's economy expanded in the fourteenth century. By the early fifteenth century, Serbia and Bosnia produced more than 20 percent of all European silver. Bosnians traded silver and other raw materials with Dubrovnik for high-quality finished goods, especially textiles. Dubrovnik merchants dominated trade in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but German immigrants from Hungary, Transylvania, and Saxony helped develop and expand mining. These Catholic mining and market towns attracted Franciscan monasteries and helped to secure Catholics' trade predominance well into the Ottoman period (until 1700).

Under Ottoman rule, Bosnia-Hercegovina was part of a decentralized, rural, feudal economy characterized by landed wealth. Traditionally, noble estates *(timars)* consisted of state-owned, non-hereditary fiefs that spahis controlled as long as they rendered military service to the sultan. Unlike Europe, there was no legal provision for serfdom. Most Bosnians, Muslim and Christian alike, worked and lived as peasants, who paid some labor dues, an in-kind tithe of 10–25 percent of their produce to the spahi and a land tax to the sultan. Unlike the spahis, however, these peasants enjoyed secure hereditary use-rights and could freely sell their leasehold. In addition, peasant-soldiers living in the Bosnian military frontier zone could also own freeholds, as long as the family defended the region from Habsburg incursions.

Following the period of Ottoman military expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Bosnia-Hercegovina sank into long-term economic decline. By the eighteenth century, Ottoman military losses and the empire's need for cash taxes had transformed the region's economy and created ambiguous property relationships that threatened political stability and stymied economic development. A new landed nobility of begs (upper nobles) and agas (lower nobles) replaced the spahi cavalry. In exchange for collecting taxes owed to the sultan (land tax, non-Muslim poll tax), Istanbul treated noble estates (agaluks, begliks) as hereditary private property. As the state became increasingly reliant on cash taxes, these tax farms provided Bosnia's nobles with increasing political power. Agaluks and begliks blurred the distinction between private and state property. Since peasants believed they possessed hereditary control and property rights over the land they worked, they deeply resented these encroachments on their traditional property claims. Rural Bosnians cited the traditional Ottoman property arrangement, to claim that lords had illegally and extralegally usurped peasant land and their rights. Nonetheless, traditional protections for peasants eroded as their taxes and landlord obligations (labor dues and in-kind payments) increased, at the same time as their living standards and personal security declined. Throughout the eighteenth century, villagers rebelled against new taxes and ever increasing landlord obligations, making the region increasingly difficult to govern.

In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Tanzimat reforms ended tax farming, professionalized tax collections, and replaced the non-Muslim poll tax with a universal tax for those opting out of military service. They also protected begliks by defining them as the landlords' private property and identifying tenants on these estates as freely contracted laborers, despite their obligation to pay taxes, tithes, and labor dues to the beg. Thus, beglik serfs' property claims lost both legal standing and the limited feudal-era legal protection from excessive landlord demands. In contrast, Ottoman reformers defined agaluks as feudal estates. They abolished labor dues (often two to three days of work per week), but raised in-kind obligations and maintained the 10 percent land tax. In most cases, obligations totaled about 40 percent of the sharecropper's harvest (plus the tax in lieu of military service) and required that landlords provide and maintain serfs' housing. These mild reforms failed to clarify property relationships and antagonized everyone. Bosnian landlords begrudged the reforms' infringements on their privileges, while peasants resented the failure to recognize their property rights. Unrest continued and culminated in the 1875 tax revolt, which was the beginning of the end of Ottoman rule in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

THE ECONOMY UNDER HABSBURG AND YUGOSLAV RULE, 1878–1941

After 1878, the Habsburg monarchy occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina and brought significant improvements in economic infrastructure. The monarchy built railroads, developed forestry and coal mining, and began the extraction of copper, iron ore, and chrome. By the 1890s, Bosnia-Hercegovina was growing at an annual rate of 15 percent. In 1883 the monarchy finished building a railroad from Sarajevo to the Croatian border. By 1907, the state had built 121 new bridges, laid 111 kilometers of broad-gauge and 911 kilometers of narrow-gauge railroad, and constructed over 1,000 kilometers of roads to improve trade and communication. Most of the rail connections, however, were on inefficient narrow-gauge lines that led to Budapest. Hungarian officials blocked a proposal to link central Bosnia to the Adriatic port of Split (and access to the Mediterranean). Nonetheless, by the end of Habsburg rule, a small industrial working class of 65,000 had emerged, and unions had organized in many trades.

Vienna missed opportunities to establish clear private property rights. Habsburg officials kept Ottoman property definitions in place, but landlords complained that state officials misclassified their private property as state land (reducing landlord income) when it was re-recorded in the monarchy's new registry. By decreeing all forests state property, the Habsburgs prevented landlords from profiting from the forestry and mining industries on land they claimed to own. The state resolved property claims on a piecemeal, case-by-case basis, using an awkward court system that was slow, highly bureaucratic, and expensive. The system, however, failed to resolve ambiguities over private and state lands. Property remained contested, economic investment stayed out of the region, and political resentments festered.

The 1878 Treaty of Berlin, which gave Austria-Hungary the authority to occupy Bosnia-Hercegovina, charged the Habsburg monarchy with enacting land reform to end serfdom and strengthen the agrarian sector. However, Austria-Hungary did not extend its own 1848 abolition of serfdom to Bosnia, either in 1878 when it occupied the territory or after its 1908 annexation. Instead, it maintained the Ottomans' 1859 and 1876 land reform legislation. Reflecting a narrow electoral base of property-holders, the political parties in the Bosnian parliament (1910–1914) abandoned the 75 percent of Bosnians who worked as free peasants or serfs. By 1914, 93,368 enserfed households (mostly Orthodox) farmed one-third of Bosnia-Hercegovina's arable land.

While forcing serfs to buy their own freedom, the state provided economic incentives to 10,000 households from other parts of the monarchy to "colonize" Bosnia. While providing insufficient credit for Bosnian peasants and banning agricultural cooperatives allowed in other parts of the empire, the state offered "colonists" special tax concessions and a low interest mortgage for the next ten years. In contrast to the colonists' 12-hectare farms (rent-free for three years), Bosnian sharecroppers, serfs, and free peasants typically worked on several scattered micro-holdings that might *total* 1 hectare. Property division required by Ottoman inheritance law had left many agas with little more than smallholdings (defined as 5 to 20 hectares) themselves. Thus, Habsburg rural policies did not address the chronic problems of unfree labor, micro-holdings, and insufficient credit, problems that kept Bosnian farming at a subsistence level.

In the interwar period, the Yugoslav state finally abolished serfdom and redistributed land to peasants. The 1919 agrarian reform limited farm holdings to 50 hectares, affecting less than 40 percent of Bosnian landlords. In contrast to the great estates of the medieval and early modern eras, only seventeen Bosnian families held more than 1,000 hectares. The state compensated landlords for their property with government bonds at below market value. With the loss of rents, tithes, and labor, many landlords did not have enough resources to modernize their farms and sold the bonds for income. When the bonds were traded on the Yugoslav stock exchange beginning in 1925, they were worth less than 30 percent of their original value. The 1919 agrarian reform solely affected agaluk estates (since only these were legally feudal lands). However, in 1921 the state extended the reform to beglik estate peasants, who had worked under de facto feudal tenancy arrangements since 1909. Throughout the interwar period, additional legislation extended the land reform to include (non-peasant) World War I veterans and state forests that peasants had cultivated illegally. Although full implementation remained incomplete by 1941, an estimated 168,000 families (some families counted twice) obtained 1,175,000 hectares of land (1,156,000 arable, 162,000 forest, 47,000 pasture) from large holders, vakufs, "enemies of the state," and peasant encroachments.

The 1919 agrarian reform was a crucial starting point for developing a modern agricultural sector in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but it did not invigorate the economy. Similar legislation had been enacted much earlier in neighboring Serbia (1833) and Croatia (1848). Still, rural poverty and micro-holdings increased in interwar Yugoslavia in general. Peasant smallholders still held their property in scattered micro-plots and still paid a disproportionate share of the tax burden, and farm prices stayed low throughout the period. Farming remained at a subsistence level. Inadequate roads and transportation also discouraged trade and economic growth. The agrarian depression of the 1920s gave way to the worldwide depression in the 1930s. In this period, the main source of industrial investment came from German firms interested in manufacturing and mining in order to extract strategic raw materials. The interwar government took important steps to modernize Bosnia-Hercegovina's economy, but progress was slow.

THE COMMUNIST ECONOMY, 1945–1992

At the end of World War II, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) took over Yugoslavia's rural, war-devastated economy. Much of the country's roads, rail, farms, and buildings had been destroyed, creating widespread homelessness and unemployment. Mass starvation threatened. Only 56 kilometers of paved road remained in Bosnia-Hercegovina. By 1947, much of the damaged and destroyed rail and road system had been rebuilt. The Party set about restructuring agriculture and industrializing the economy. The 1945 Agrarian Reform and Colonization Act (completed in 1948) redistributed farmland to smallholding peasants and the state. At the same time, the CPY developed heavy industry and was the first East European state to issue a Five-Year Plan (1947–1951). With the onset of the Cold War, diplomatic tensions with the Soviet Union led to Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Soviet alliance in 1948. The ensuing political and economic crises of 1948–1952 ushered in a period of reform (1952–1968) in Yugoslavia characterized by economic growth, worker's self-management, and increased consumerism. Ultimately, the Party failed to construct a viable agricultural economy or to build adequate industrial infrastructure in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Beginning in the late 1960s, the republic benefited from increased control over its own budgets and special development funds. However, by the end of the communist period, the republic's industries had become outdated, and it remained the second poorest and the least urban republic in Yugoslavia.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina's long history as an overwhelmingly rural economy, grinding rural poverty has contrasted starkly with bustling urban trade. In the postwar period the CPY sought to create an efficient agricultural economy and develop rural industry. Its 1945 agrarian reform completed the work of interwar reforms and redistributed land away from the regime's wartime enemies, large holders, religious institutions, and non-peasants toward veterans and those who actually farmed the land. The postwar Agrarian Reform affected 110,512 hectares in Bosnia-Hercegovina (compared to 1,174,503 hectares in the interwar period). It reduced the maximum size of active farms (from 50 to 35 hectares of arable land), restricted non-peasant holdings to no more than 5 hectares, and limited churches to 10 hectares.

By 1945, there were few large holders left in Bosnia-Hercegovina to expropriate. The lower limits on large holdings accounted for 16 percent of Bosnia's land fund (15 percent in Yugoslavia) but less than 2 percent of holdings. Even fewer Bosnian peasants had farms larger than 35 hectares, and only a handful of Bosnian churches and monasteries held tracts larger than 10 hectares. At half the Yugoslav rate, wealthier peasants provided only 4 percent and religious institutions contributed only 5 percent of the property in the land fund.

Without a significant concentration of landed wealth, communists turned to the smaller properties held by regime enemies and non-peasant holdings over 5 hectares (10 percent of the Bosnian land fund, averaging 7 hectares each). Ethnic Germans residing in Yugoslavia's former Habsburg territories were labeled wartime enemies and deported. Their farms (mostly in the Vojvodina) made up 60 percent of holdings and 41 percent of property in the Yugoslav land fund. German expropriations were less significant in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where seizures averaged only 3.61 hectares and accounted for 12 percent of the land fund, far less than in any of the other former Habsburg regions. Still, many Bosnians benefited from these expropriations, as over 19,000 peasant households left their farms to resettle or "colonize" many of the war-devastated farms in the Vojvodina, Yugoslavia's richest agricultural region. As these peasant colonists emigrated to the Vojvodina, they left their farms (5.31 hectares on average) to the land fund, contributing the largest portion of any group in Bosnia (22 percent of arable land) and far more than the Yugoslav average (3 percent). Bosnia also expropriated a significant amount of property belonging to "immigrants of foreign nationality." These seizures, constituting 13 percent of the land fund and averaging 6.3 hectares each, affected almost exclusively Poles. Thus, the postwar reform in Bosnia-Hercegovina did not transfer land from large holders to small farmers, but shifted smallholdings around, fed ethnic resentments, and reinforced micro-holding.

The 1945 agrarian reform benefited many land-poor peasants (whose land was of poor quality and insufficient in size) and veterans. In Yugoslavia, more than half of the land (51 percent) was redistributed to peasants. In Bosnia, however, the 1945 reform restructured agriculture in favor of the state, with less than one-quarter of Bosnian land (23 percent, 25,106 hectares) finding its way to private sector peasants. Of these, 11,662 peasant households received an average 1.7 hectares each (19,605 hectares total); another 1,620 colonists relocating within Bosnia-Hercegovina received an average of 3.3 hectares. The remaining land went to collective farms (3 percent, 3,258 hectares), state farms (14 percent, 15,233 hectares), state forests and reforestation (31 percent, 34,196 hectares), state offices and ministries (2.5 percent, 2,723 hectares), or was left undistributed (27 percent, 29,993 hectares).

Neither interwar nor postwar reforms significantly improved the agricultural sector, on which 76 percent of Bosnia's population depended. Farms continued to be split into the tiny parcels and peasants still lacked basic farm equipment, features that had characterized the region's land tenure since Ottoman times. The state claimed that the agrarian reform had been fully implemented in 1948, but most peasants remained micro-holders. At this time, official Yugoslav statistics record that 69 percent of Bosnia's peasants were micro-holders (owners of farms smaller than 5 hectares, with 29 percent holding 2 hectares or less), 18 percent were smallholders (farms with 5–10 hectares), 7 percent were middle peasants (10–20 hectare farms), and fewer than 1 percent of farms were larger than 20 hectares. In 1951 there were 637 state farms, 1,496 collective farms, and 359,000 private farms in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Private-sector peasants owned one plow for every 6.4 hectares of farmland (comparable to Macedonia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo), but they possessed only one tractor for every 70,954 hectares, one sower for every 596 hectares, one harvester for every 2,896 hectares, and one thresher for every 3,225 hectares. This lack of basic equipment on private farms reflects the republic's limited agricultural productivity. In contrast, the state created a relatively well-funded, modern state farm sector. By 1951, Bosnia's 113 state farms (averaging 346 hectares each) had grown to 637. State farms owned one tractor for every 130 hectares of arable land, one thresher for every 226 hectares, one sower for every 115 hectares, and one harvester for every 97 hectares. However, this state sector was much too small to transform agriculture as a whole.

In an attempt to rationalize the agricultural economy and gain control over private peasant producers, Yugoslavia became the first East European state to start collectivizing agriculture in 1949. At its peak in 1951, collectives occupied one-quarter of Yugoslavia's farmland. However, collectivization was quite uneven, ranging from 6 percent in Slovenia to 60 percent in Macedonia. On the eve of collectivization, only 3 percent of Bosnian farmland had been in collectives. By January 1951, collective farms took up 18 percent of Bosnia's farmland. Collective farms were much larger than private farms, but since they were made up of members' scattered micro-holdings and lacked sufficient tools and machinery, they were no more productive. Moreover, members tended to work on their household allotments and ignore their collective farm obligations. Bosnian collectives were among the worst equipped of any republic in Yugoslavia. They owned only one tractor for every 790 hectares, one sower for every 167 hectares, one harvester for every 441 hectares, and one thresher for every 418 hectares. As on private farms, state attempts to improve productivity, consolidate land holdings, and control the peasant workforce failed.

Within a year, the CPY recognized that its collectivization campaign had been a disaster. It had brought many peasants into collective farms, but collective farm yields plummeted, and peasants turned against the state. The Party ended its collectivization drive in December 1949 and tried to reform existing collective farms, but the system collapsed as peasants withdrew en masse in 1952. The 1953 Land Reform legalized peasant withdrawals and reconfirmed rural private property rights. By reducing the maximum size of private farms to 10 hectares, however, and prohibiting private ownership of farm equipment, the reform also ensured that private agriculture would remain largely subsistence and could not compete with the larger, better-equipped state farms. In Bosnia, the state refocused efforts on building rural industries (mining, hydroelectric power, forestry), food processing, arms production, and vehicle assembly.

In 1945 the CPY sought to transform Yugoslavia (and Bosnia) from an agriculturally dependent economy into a modern industrial one. By mid-1947, the state had control of all transportation, 90 percent of retail trade, and 70 percent of industry. In April 1947 Yugoslavia became the first East European state to issue a Five-Year Plan, which emphasized heavy industry, mining, and manufacturing as the basis for an industrial economy. The 1948 Soviet crisis led to a spurt of industrialization in Bosnia. Fearing a Soviet invasion, Tito believed that Bosnia's interior position would protect Yugoslavia's vital industries from possible capture. This encouraged building factories in "splendid isolation from markets, roads, or skilled manpower" (Rusinow 100). Thus, Bosnia-Hercegovina enjoyed a spurt of industrialization despite its lack of infrastructure.

Focusing on heavy industry, communist economic planners took advantage of both well-known and newly discovered deposits of iron ore, coal, and bauxite to develop steel, iron, fossil fuel, and armaments industries in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The republic's non-navigable rivers became sources of hydroelectric power, which now produces 61 percent of the country's electricity according to CIA statistics. Banja Luka (in western Bosnia) became a major industrial center. Central Bosnia's Bosna River valley (with heavy industry in Zenica, Sarajevo, and Doboj) became the republic's most industrial and most polluted region. Its plentiful iron ore reserves enabled Zenica's iron and steel mills to become the biggest in the Balkans. The rich Sredna Bosna coal mines were the largest in Yugoslavia. Lignite and bituminous coal were mined near Sarajevo, Zenica, Tuzla, and in the Kozara Mountains (near Prijedor), providing fossil fuel for 39 percent of the country's electricity. Bauxite reserves, primarily mined for aluminum manufacturing in Mostar and Zvornik, were also used for making bricks for blast furnaces and abrasives for polishing and grinding. These developments industrialized the Bosnian economy. By the 1980s, however, they had become antiquated, unproductive, and responsible for much environmental damage.

As the fear of a Soviet invasion subsided following Stalin's death, the Yugoslav economy began to grow rapidly. Between 1953 and 1968 Yugoslav growth rates were among the highest in the world. The Party attributed this growth to its new worker self-management system, which it had promoted in the wake of the Cominform crisis to distinguish its socialist economy from the Soviet Union's. In 1949 Tito and his top leaders decided that Soviet-style nationalization of property was only the first step in creating a socialist economy. They argued that workers should also control the workplace through an independent labor movement, which would manage socially owned enterprises. In contrast to private and state property, socially owned property (social property) consisted of assets that belonged to society rather than an individual or the state. Workers would not own their workplace but would control all aspects of how it was managed. Since the Party supervised all enterprises, worker self management and worker control was severely limited. Nonetheless, Yugoslavia's self-management economy (along with the Party and the JNA) was associated with the country's economic boom and became one of the institutional pillars of Tito's state.

Most of the country's economic progress, however, can be attributed to better supplies of raw materials as well as improvements in rail, road, power lines, and mining. The biggest production increases were in heavy industries, such as those favored in Bosnia. For example, Yugoslav production of steel, iron, and metals tripled between 1947 and 1955. After the Soviet crisis passed, however, the Party shifted much of its industrial investment from Bosnia to more economically developed areas in Slovenia and Croatia. Bosnia-Hercegovina's lack of adequate roads, rail, schools, and electricity required a massive influx of capital to sustain economic growth. Since this investment was not forthcoming, the Bosnian economy suffered relative economic decline during these boom years. By 1960, Bosnian per capita domestic product (GDP) had grown by 152 percent. This quick expansion was slower than the Yugoslav average of 192 percent during the same period. From 1952 to 1968, Bosnia-Hercegovina grew more slowly than any other republic or autonomous province. Between 1947 and 1967, per capita GDP in Bosnia-Hercegovina fell from 96 percent to 75 percent of the Yugoslav average. Clearly, Bosnia-Hercegovina was not benefiting from communist economic policy as much as other republics.

Bosnia-Hercegovina's relative decline fit into a larger pattern of widening disparity in income, development, productivity, social services, and opportunity between the more economically developed and more urban former Habsburg regions (plus Belgrade) and the more rural former Ottoman regions. Communist development policies benefited urban areas most. As the second most rural region in Yugoslavia, Bosnia was second only to Kosovo (the most rural region) in having the highest infant mortality, the most illiteracy, and the largest percentage of people with only three years of elementary education. With greater opportunity elsewhere, 16,000 Bosnians emigrated to other republics every year throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

In the 1960s economic reforms increased the availability of consumer goods and eased restrictions on small business and foreign travel. Living standards also rose. Beginning in 1965, Yugoslavia's Special Fund for the Development of Underdeveloped Areas was expanded to include parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina (as well as parts of southern Serbia proper, and the Croatian districts of Lika, Kordun, and Dalmatia) in an attempt to address growing economic disparities among republics. Officials used this money to electrify towns, lay telephone connections, build food and textile factories, and revitalize craft industries. The 1968 National Roads Loan program sought to connect every town to an asphalt road. Within a few years, it paved 1,800 miles of roads in Bosnia. In the 1970s the republic invested in large industrial projects and added suburbs to the larger urban centers. The Party built new housing complexes, hotels, and office buildings. In preparation for the 1984 Olympics in Sarajevo, the state repaired the city's streets, installed new plumbing, and laid down new tram lines.

In contrast to the "golden 1970s," the 1980s brought mounting debts, inflation, and sustained economic decline to Yugoslavia. By the late 1980s, hyperinflation (120 percent in 1987, 250 percent in 1988, 2,500 percent in 1989) was eroding the economy. Prime Minister Ante Marković's currency reforms cut inflation to nothing in 1990, but the newly elected governments (particularly in Serbia) were unwilling to commit to his austerity program, and inflation resumed in 1991. Bosnia-Hercegovina's antiquated, pollution-spewing industry accentuated this breakdown. For example, the aluminum factory in Zvornik (Europe's largest, employing 4,000 workers) began to import African bauxite because the local reserves could not be processed at the plant. Bauxite processing also polluted the water, generating more costs as the state tried to clean up environmental damage. Bosnia-Hercegovina is still trying to clean up the red sludge from the Mostar aluminum factory that threatens the Neretva River. By the 1980s, much of the republic's industry, badly in need of upgrades, no longer acted as an engine of growth.

Most notorious, however, was the collapse of Agrokomerc, a large poultry processor located in the northwestern town of Velika Kladuša (Bihać district). Originally, Agrokomerc was a small chicken farm with 30 employees. In 1967, Fikret Abdić became its executive director and helped the company grow into one of the thirty largest firms in Yugoslavia, with 11,000 workers by 1987. Unfortunately, however, its expansion had been funded by granting high interest rate loans without collateral. While Agrokomerc was awash in unsecured debt, Abdić and his investment partner, Hamdija Pozderac, had made a fortune. Before it collapsed, Agrokomerc had issued false promissory notes worth $875 million held by sixty-three banks throughout Yugoslavia. The firm's collapse forced the Bank of Bihać to close, leaving the 50,000 workers whose paychecks were automatically deposited there without compensation. The Bihać economy was devastated: shops closed, workers struck, the state sent food relief, and the chickens starved to death. The Agrokomerc scandal turned political when it was revealed that the fraud had been facilitated at the highest political levels and was well known to senior Party officials. Abdić was a member of the Party's Central Committee in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Pozderac had used his success in Agrokomerc to pursue a very successful political career. In 1987, he was a member of Yugoslavia's presidency, poised to become the country's next president. Pozderac resigned, and Abdić was expelled from the Party, along with two hundred other Bosnians and Croatians implicated in the scandal. The incident was seen as symptomatic of a corrupted system that allowed politically well-connected businessmen to defraud investors and shield insolvent businesses with tacit government approval.

In spite of the economic decline of the 1980s and persistent economic disparities, Bosnia-Hercegovina grew at a historically unprecedented rate for most of the communist era. As the economy industrialized, the agricultural sector contracted to 10 percent of GDP and many of Bosnia's farmers became immigrant guestworkers. Still, by 1990, Bosnians enjoyed more economic opportunities than ever before. The republic had developed chemical manufacturing, energy distribution, oil refining, mining (iron ore, bauxite, coal, lead, zinc, and manganese), metallurgy, vehicle assembly, and the production of electrical appliances, finished textiles, and leather goods. Under communism, Bosnians enjoyed access to basic health care and education that only a tiny group of elites enjoyed before World War II. Infant mortality rates declined from 105 per 1,000 live births in 1960 to 13 in 1990. In 1941 the region had inadequate numbers of elementary schools, a handful of high schools, one agricultural college, and no universities. Under communism, education became comprehensive, with universal access to primary and secondary education, post-secondary colleges, and four universities, which produced a highly educated and skilled labor force. By the early 1990s, Bosnia's average annual per capita GDP was $2,430, and the republic enjoyed a trade surplus with the European Union. This prosperity ended abruptly in 1992.

WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1992–2002

The economic nosedive of the 1980s paled in comparison to the wartime collapse. Each claiming territory for their own national group, combatants shelled cultural monuments, villages, and symbols of communist economic progress, causing tens of billions of dollars in damages. Roads, railroads, ports, electrical and communications infrastructure, factories, warehouses, schools, and housing became military targets. Many Bosnians had spent years working extra jobs and investing their savings to build and improve their homes, only to see them destroyed. By 1995, the war had ruined 80 percent of the economy and most of the country's physical assets, wiped out any private capital, and led to the creation of an extremely weak federal government. Only 20 percent of the workforce held jobs. Bosnia-Hercegovina's annual per capita GDP shrank from $2,430 to $500, and experts estimated the total GDP to be between 10 and 30 percent of its prewar level. In 2003 an estimated six million mines still remained in graveyards, fields, farms, and ports.

The 1995 Dayton Accords officially divided Bosnia-Hercegovina and its economy into two entities: the Republika Srpska (RS), with its capital in Banja Luka, and the Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, with its capital in Sarajevo. In addition, Bosniak and Croat regions within the Federation further divided the economy of Bosnia-Hercegovina. These boundaries have divided the already small economy into two economic zones with weak federal controls. Banking and customs regulations are under federal jurisdiction, but each entity creates its own fiscal policies and generates its own economic statistics. Countrywide information is often unavailable and inconsistent, making economic assessment of the country as a whole difficult. The entities' mutual suspicion, as well as significant legal, regulatory, and institutional differences, have prevented economic integration. Since the entities do not even have a customs union, international trade is often easier than official inter-entity commerce. Instead of creating a comprehensive reconstruction or development strategy for all of Bosnia, plans are restricted to the entities, which work at cross-purposes to existing economic infrastructure. Thus, these economic divisions hinder recovery, reconstruction, and future development.

Since hostilities ended in 1995, Bosnia-Hercegovina has experienced strong aid-driven economic growth. Due to the difficulty in data collection discussed above, current economic statistics provide only rough estimates. According to the IMF, total GDP increased 78 percent between 1996 and 1998 and has leveled off at 4 to 10 percent annually since. From 1995 to 1998, industrial production increased at a rate of more than 25 percent per year before average growth slowed to 9 to 11 percent growth in the Federation and between 2 and 6 percent growth in RS from 1999 to 2001. In 1998 the government introduced a convertible Bosnian Mark (BAM). Pegged to the euro, the new currency has kept inflation under control (3.5 percent in 2001); it became the country's only legal tender on 1 January 2002 (it had previously competed with German, Yugoslav, and Croatian currencies).

This strong performance must be seen in the context of Bosnia-Hercegovina's economic collapse by 1995, the base year for these statistics. In 2002 Bosnian GDP, industrial production, wages, and employment remained far below the levels of a decade earlier. Total GDP stood at two-thirds of its prewar level. Average wages have also increased since 1995, but remain low. Annual per capita income has recovered to \$1,400–\$1,900 in 2002 from its 1995 level of \$500 but remains far below 1992 averages. Unemployment,

Reconstructing Bosnia-Hercegovina one nail at a time. A man puts a new roof on his war-damaged home in the Brbavica district of Sarajevo, 1997. (Getty Images) which dropped to 40 percent by 1998, has not improved since. In contrast to 1990, most jobs are found in the government, in construction sectors, and in international organizations. In 2001 agriculture accounted for 13 percent of GDP, industry made up 41 percent, and 46 percent of the country's wealth came from the service sector. By 1998, the World Bank had expected higher industrial production, higher export levels, and lower import needs. Instead, trade (especially imports) grew faster than industry. As Bosnia-Hercegovina's industrial recovery stalls, its economic growth has become dependent on international aid.

Since 1998, Bosnia-Hercegovina's economy has reached a fragile stability, but living standards have not recovered. In 1998 most Bosnians (61 percent) lived in poverty (unable to buy two-thirds of basic needs). One quarter of those living in poverty were employed. They survive through support from relatives living abroad, humanitarian aid, and black market activity. Delays in and underpayment of pensions and unemployment compensation add to poverty. Despite declines in unemployment, low wages have prevailed in every sector except financial institutions and public administration. Economic data from the entities show that the Federation, which accounts for three quarters of the Bosnian economy, has grown faster and with lower unemployment than the Bosnian average. Average 1998 wages were about 30 percent lower in RS than in the Federation.

More than ten years after hostilities began, Bosnia-Hercegovina continues to rebuild. Ninety percent of trade and travel depends on road and rail. By the end of 2002, 48 bridges and 2,000 kilometers of Bosnia-Hercegovina's 21,000 kilometers of road had been rebuilt. Much of the country's 1,000 kilometers of standard-gauge rail had also been repaired. Highway construction continues. The country has modernized its telecommunications and postal services, but basic reconstruction work on gas and oil pipelines, river ports, and utilities remains incomplete. Mines, harbor destruction, sedimentation from tributaries, and bomb debris have stopped virtually all Sava River transport. The Sava River, Bosnia's largest, is the country's main trade link to the Danube, which flows through Central Europe and the Balkans. As of July 2003, Brčko (with a prewar shipping capacity of 750,000 tons annually of construction materials, coal, iron ores, steel, agricultural products, wood, and fertilizer) was Bosnia's only functional port. Even there, however, lack of dredging, destruction of the quay, and a need for warehouse repairs have prevented vigorous trade from resuming. The ports of Bosanski Samac (coal, iron, raw materials, food, mining, and energy materials) and Bosanski Brod (oil refining and shipments) remain unusable. Dependent on international aid, much of this costly reconstruction is proceeding slowly.

Inter-entity divisions also impede recovery and potential economic development. Without an integrated economy, Bosnian membership in international economic organizations, which could facilitate badly needed development, will be difficult. Bosnia-Hercegovina trades most with Croatia, Italy, Germany, Slovenia, and Switzerland. Existing road and rail service routes goods to Croatia's Adriatic port of Ploče (Croatia), the Sava River ports, to Croatia, and to Yugoslavia. Entity boundaries crisscross existing roads and railway lines, impeding integration. For example, one of Bosnia's two main rail lines crosses from the Federation (in Bihać) to RS (in Prijedor, Banja Luka, and Doboj) before splitting into two lines. One line ends in Brčko (federal); the other returns to the Federation (in Tuzla) before again arriving in RS (in Zvornik). Roads and rail that run through the economically important Bosna valley connect industrial centers under federal (Sarajevo), Federation (Zenica), and RS (Doboj) jurisdictions to the port of Bosanski Samac.

Three and a half years of war erased fifty years of economic development and rising living standards in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The country continues to remove mines and reconstruct its economy. Recovery from the 1992–1995 war has been strong, but the economy is fragile, and growth has slowed in the last five years. Future development requires economic integration between the entities. These divisions cut through existing trade routes and require developing two separate economies, slowing recovery and darkening the prospects for future development. Economic integration requires stronger federal presence. International bodies call for privatization, but more private wealth must be created before privatization will be beneficial.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

In the 1970s Bosnians, along with the rest of Yugoslavia's citizens, enjoyed a growing economy, easy credit, and rising living standards. In the years following Tito's death in 1980, massive debt, industrial stagnation, nationalist politics, and a weak, unwieldy federal political system led to a decade of economic decline and political collapse. In 1991 Slovenia and Croatia seceded. The subsequent wars in Slovenia and Croatia fed fears of growing Serb nationalism, prompting Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia to separate from Yugoslavia in 1992. Macedonians avoided hostilities with the Yugoslav government, but in Bosnia-Hercegovina a catastrophic war (1992–1995) destroyed the economy and tore the government apart. In a prewar population of 4.4 million, the war caused hundreds of thousands of Bosnian deaths and left nearly two million refugees. The war ended with an imposed peace that created a quasi-independent and divided Bosnia-Hercegovina. In 2004, after eight years of significant reconstruction and a massive influx of international aid, Bosnia has not made the transformation from reconstruction to development. Along with the rest of the western Balkans, it threatens to become an island of political and economic instability within a European system stretching from Turkey to Ireland. To avoid this fate, Bosnia-Hercegovina must construct an independent political system that protects civil rights, allows for redress of wartime injustices, and reverses its present course of de-industrialization. If these formidable challenges can be met, Bosnians will have a greater chance to shape their own future than at any other time in their history.

To develop a viable, sovereign political system that protects all its citizens, Bosnia-Hercegovina must simplify its complex state structure and strengthen the central government. The current system is far too weak and unstable. The

1995 Dayton Accords imposed a complex state structure consisting of a weak federal government, two autonomous entities (Republika Srpska and the deeply divided Bosnian-Croat Federation) and two federal districts (Sarajevo, Brčko). These entities have a great deal of autonomy vis-à-vis the federal government, enjoying self-rule and deciding policies usually reserved for central government (for example, they maintain their own military and negotiate international treaties). In contrast, the federal government is led by a three-member presidency, whose president rotates every eight months. The UN High Representative can dismiss any member of the presidency at any time. In addition, the UN has ultimate authority over the government and rules by decree. Since becoming UN High Representative in May 2002, Paddy Ashdown has imposed eleven to fourteen decrees per month. Constrained by the nationally defined entities and supervised by the UN, Bosnia's federal government has too little power to rule effectively or provide political stability.

The Dayton Accord's reliance on UN authority allows Bosnian politicians to avoid responsibility for state-building and economic planning. Foreign diplomats, rather than elected Bosnian officials, have drafted and imposed virtually all of the country's "reform" legislation, with little input from local communities. Thus, Bosnian politicians have no stake in or responsibility for implementing these laws and policies, which reflect external priorities rather than the concerns of most citizens, such as the lack of a social safety net and economic development. Moreover, the expectation that non-Bosnians will decide the ultimate shape of the Bosnian state allows local politicians to avoid difficult decisions regarding state building and economic planning. Instead, these politicians continue to rely on nationalist political rhetoric that focuses on historic wrongs, identity politics, and corruption charges. At the same time, the absence of effective leadership and continued economic stagnation is eroding the government's popular legitimacy. Continued reliance on the UN or foreign organizations will delay developing politically stable government institutions in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Before a viable political culture can emerge, the government must systematically address wartime atrocities. Bosnian politicians must recognize that war crimes occurred, commit to resolving them justly and impartially, and demonstrate their commitment to securing all citizens' civil and property rights. Both Serbia and Croatia attempted to annex parts of Bosnia during the war. While members of each national group committed war crimes, Serbs committed the majority, and Muslims, the principal victims, committed the fewest (an estimated 8 percent). Some politicians, however, deny that the atrocities occurred. For example, an RS government report on the 1995 Srebrenica massacres recognizes a Serb role in only 100 Bosniak murders and claims that another 1,900 Bosniaks were killed in combat or died of exhaustion. This account is sharply at odds with that of the International Red Cross and other estimates, which place the number of unarmed Bosniak men and boys killed at between six and eight thousand.

Creating a consensus about what happened and to whom, as well as about how to provide restitution, is a formidable challenge. Yet formally ignoring wartime abuses (as the Communist Party of Yugoslavia did after World War II) or imposing a solution from the outside will not lead to national reconciliation but will inflame national animosity and cripple the state. The December 2003 Serbian elections, which not only returned Vojislav Šešelj (the Četnik paramilitary leader who led many ethnic cleansing operations and is currently being held in The Hague for war crimes) to parliament but gave him a plurality, demonstrate the continuing strength of nationalism.

Bosnians must not only recognize war crimes, they must fairly investigate, punish, and provide restitution for wartime abuses if they wish to create a stable state. Allowing offenders to act with impunity and preventing victims from reclaiming property may lead to vigilante justice, threatening a new cycle of nationalist violence. In prosecuting wartime offenses, transparency and impartiality are essential in order to demonstrate that the procedures serve justice. Otherwise, nationalists may hijack the process to obtain revenge or target ethnic minorities. In both the Federation and RS, local public prosecutors have directed their efforts primarily at minorities. In the Federation, ethnically biased judges and inadequate witness protection have compromised the legitimacy of domestic war crimes trials. In RS, authorities refuse to cooperate with The Hague Tribunal, and no war crimes trials have been conducted. Without justly redressing wartime crimes, the state will not be able to gain its citizens' confidence.

Just as important as holding its citizens accountable for war crimes, the state must also protect citizens' civil and property rights. Widespread violations make a mockery of constitutional amendments for ethnic equality passed in April 2002. The constitution granted Croats, Muslims, and Serbs equality throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina; it established mechanisms for the protection of language, the promotion of cultural heritage, and open access to public information systems. It called for ethnically balanced representation in entity parliaments and high courts, based on the 1991 census. However, individuals (including public officials) continue to occupy other people's property with impunity. RS authorities have encouraged or tolerated Serb construction of houses on land owned by displaced non-Serbs. In 2001 a dozen cars and reconstructed houses belonging to returnees were blown up. Local Serbs vandalized houses and businesses of Bosniak returnees in Prijedor and Bijelina. Violence against returnees also threatens individuals' personal security. In May 2001, 4,000 Serbs beat and stoned 300 elderly Bosniaks visiting Banja Luka for a ceremony marking the reconstruction of the Ferhadija mosque, killing one man. Violence against returnees was also reported in Prijedor, Bijelina, Brčko, Dubica, Zvornik, Doboj, and Bratunac in 2002. In most cases, the police have no suspects and have made no arrests. As of May 2002, national minorities comprised only 15.5 percent of the Federation police force and only 4.9 percent of RS police force. Without securing basic rights, the country cannot be a fully functioning state. It will remain ethnically divided and dependent on UN administrators and peacekeepers.

Bosnia's future political stability is intertwined with the economic challenge of development. Unless the course of

Slobodan Milošević at the International Criminal Court in the Hague. (Corbis Sygma)

de-development begun with the wartime collapse of its industrial economy is reversed, the country will remain politically unstable. After a decade of economic decline in the 1980s, living standards in virtually every Bosnian household have collapsed since 1992. In 2004 Bosnia's human capital remained scattered across the globe, as refugees find it difficult to return to their homes because the state does not guarantee all citizens' property and civil rights. Established firms teeter on the brink of bankruptcy, and potential new businesses lack essential capital. Increasingly, people move in search of elusive employment. Continued economic hardship and the lack of jobs is creating a new wave of political resentment among those who survived the war but have experienced a catastrophic decline in living standards.

The wartime collapse of Bosnia's industrial infrastructure has reversed the astonishing progress in raising social and economic standards and benefits from 1960 to 1990. Since 1995, large amounts of capital have poured into Bosnia-Hercegovina for reconstruction. Much of its infrastructure has been rebuilt, but recreating and developing the economy still lies in the future. By the 1990s, the large, communist-era industrial plants had become antiquated and inefficient. Nonetheless, they were vital to the Bosnian economy. For example, the large Zenica steel mills served as an economic anchor for the entire area by generating thousands of jobs and the attendant services needed to support the population (public works, schools, housing, recreational and medical facilities). Economic prosperity stimulated growth in other sectors. With the mills functioning with less than one quarter of their prewar workforce (and few employees actually receiving their salaries), the local economy has collapsed. Reconstruction aid will not help the Zenica mills return to full capacity or help develop the economy. On the other hand, allowing Bosnia-Hercegovina to stabilize at a much lower economic level will perpetuate the country's political crisis.

The World Bank initially envisioned Bosnia-Hercegovina's economy returning to its prewar levels during reconstruction and then undergoing the process of privatization. However, the new Bosnian economy has de-industrialized. Its physical capital has not been rebuilt, industries have disappeared, and jobs remain scarce. The emerging economy focuses on small-scale, family-owned textile, mining, agriculture, retail, and construction businesses rather than large industry. Resources have shifted from high-tech to low-tech industry, and from industrial to agricultural and commercial sectors. Production of durable goods has given way to single-use commodities and extractive industries. Within agriculture, subsistence farming is replacing market-oriented agriculture. As reconstruction ends, the World Bank has given up its goal of restoring the economy to prewar levels in favor of privatizing inefficient businesses.

International organizations cannot depend solely on privatization to provide economic stimulus in Bosnia-Hercegovina; the country is not attracting investment, and many firms are near bankruptcy. In Republika Srpska only five of the sixty-six companies that have more than four hundred employees (and thus are slated to be privatized) have been sold. Divisions between economic elites with political ties and everyday Bosnians reinforce national resentments and may renew political instability. Unless there is a reorientation toward overall development that reverses this trend, the legitimacy of the political leadership will continue to erode, and the country's fragile political stability will shatter.

Bosnia-Hercegovina's future is closely linked to the rest of Europe. The western Balkans, especially Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosovo, have the highest level of European Union (EU) involvement of any European region. Its largest trading partners are in Europe (Croatia, Slovenia, Germany, Italy), and most of the UN peacekeepers and administrators are European; the EU is the country's largest donor. By 2006, the EU will phase out its reconstruction aid, despite Bosnia's failure to restore its economy to prewar levels. This withdrawal will result in economic dislocations, as many of the country's well-paying jobs are unsustainable without funding from international organizations. Bosnian development could, however, be facilitated by a constructive relationship with the European Union. Using the EU's structural fund framework, Bosnia-Hercegovina could increase investment and employment, reduce the economic distortions that have accompanied reconstruction aid, incorporate regional and local economic concerns, and bolster political stability. Such improvements would allow the country to compete better with countries in the Middle East and southern Europe.

The EU developed its structural fund framework to promote social cohesion across Europe. In the past, it has addressed industrial decline and rural underdevelopment in Greece, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, and southern Italy. In these countries, the EU helped develop local resources to overcome regional disparity, with great success. It increased productivity by building up existing local labor skills, the physical infrastructure, and innovation potential. It incorporated local priorities by requiring district governments to help plan development projects and the federal government to co-finance them. EU financing added to (rather than replaced) government investment. Thus, co-financing forced the state to make difficult resource allocation decisions. Bosnia-Hercegovina confronts precisely these challenges, and this system could also help Bosnia-Hercegovina move toward the political accountability and economic development it needs. It would force Bosnian municipalities and politicians to prioritize their own needs, and it would give them a stake in their success. It could reduce spending distortions that exist in Bosnia-Hercegovina today, which funds projects that reflect foreign priorities, are unsustainable without foreign aid, have little or no input from Bosnians, and require no accountability from Bosnian officials. The obstacles faced in Bosnia-Hercegovina are similar to those Europeans have faced in other parts of Europe, and the risks of not meeting these challenges are great.

One key to Bosnia's future lies in a positive relationship with the rest of Europe. No matter how long the UN stays in Bosnia, political stability will not be forthcoming without confronting war crimes and offering its citizens some economic and personal security. While only Bosnians can resolve their wartime misdeeds, the country's integration into the European framework would help facilitate economic development and alleviate political divisions. Otherwise, the country risks persistent poverty in each entity, with festering resentments against its neighbors as socioeconomic conditions continue to slide. The UN will continue to control the government to provide a facade of stability. Nationalist hostilities will flourish, and the state will continue to export skilled workers and import peacekeepers. 2003 seems to have marked a turning point in Bosnia's relationship to the European Union. At the beginning of that year, Bosnian leaders feared exclusion from the broader EU project of strengthening economic and social cohesion across the continent. In 2004 Bosnian leaders were discussing negotiations leading to full membership in the EU. Progress toward full membership in the European Union could help reduce the widening gap between Bosnia-Hercegovina (and the western Balkans in general) and the rest of Europe.

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CHRONOLOGY

Seventh century	Slavs arrive in Bosnia and the rest of the Balkan Peninsula.
Ninth century	Christian missionaries arrive in Bosnia.
1054	Great Schism places Bosnian Christians under the jurisdiction of the Pope in Rome. Bosnian Christians become Catholic.
Tenth–twelfth centuries	Bosnian lands ruled for short periods by Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Byzantine Empire, Hungary.
	Both Catholic and Orthodox churches establish monasteries in Bosnia, but no parish organization or secular clergy.
	Both Glagolitic and Bosnian Cyrillic alphabets in use (as well as Latin and Greek alphabets).
	Codex Marianus (tenth century), oldest Glagolitic manuscript from Bosnia.
1180–1204	Kulin rules Bosnia under the title of *ban* (governor); issues charter to Dubrovnik, first official act written in a national language in the south Slav lands.
1252	Pope places Bosnian Catholic Church under Hungarian archbishop.
	Bosnian Catholic Church defies the pope, expels the bishop, and creates its own schismatic Catholic church, the Church of Bosnia.
1252–1459	Church of Bosnia, one of three Christian churches in Bosnia-Hercegovina; Islam introduced in early 1400s.
	Roma (Gypsies) arrive in Bosnia-Hercegovina.
1322–1353	Kotromanić rules as ban, expands Bosnian territory.
1342	Kotromanić invites Franciscans to establish a vicariate in Bosnia, the first official Roman Catholic presence since 1252. (Franciscans are the only official Catholic presence in Bosnia to 1878.)
1347	Kotromanić converts to Catholicism.
	Kotromanić annexes Hum (present-day Hercegovina).
1391–1463	Power struggle among three powerful nobles and the king weakens the state.
	Peak of *stečak* art, manuscript illumination, glass and metalware (particularly gold and silver) craftsmanship, ceramics, and mural paintings.
1432	Ottoman forces make first permanent gains in Bosnia.
1443–1461	Stefan Tomaš rules as king.
	Ottoman forces capture Vrhbosna and begin to build Sarajevo on this site.
1448	Stefan Vukčić secedes from Bosnia to form Hercegovina (formerly Hum), calling himself Herceg Stefan; region begins to be known as Hercegovina.
1451–1453	Civil war in Hercegovina.
1459	Tomaš expels Church of Bosnia members and suppresses the church as condition of papal military aid against Ottoman forces. No military aid forthcoming.
1461–1463	Stefan Tomašević rules as king.
1463	Forces of Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II invade Bosnia.
	King Tomaševich surrenders to Ottoman forces in Ključ; pockets of resistance continue to fight Ottoman rule.
1463–1878	Bosnia under the Ottoman state.
	Emergence of distinct religiously affiliated Bosnian cultural identities: Islamic Ottoman culture, Catholic Croat culture, Orthodox Serb culture, Sephardic Jewish culture. Most Roma (Gypsies) were Muslim.
	As the head of the Christian millet, the Orthodox church represents all Christians in Bosnia.
1482	Hercegovina falls to the Ottoman Empire.
1519–1523	Bosnia's first printing press, in Goražde.
1530–1531	Gazi Husrevbeg's mosque built in Sarajevo.
1530–1565	Sarajevo's cloth market, built in the 1530s, attracts Jewish merchants, who

	establish a Ladino-speaking Sephardic community in Sarajevo, which flourishes until 1941.
1557	Karadjozbeg's single-domed mosque built in Mostar.
	Ottomans establish autocephalous patriarchate for Serbs and Bosnians based in Peć.
1566	Stari Most (Old Bridge) built in Mostar.
1577	Jewish quarter *(mahala)* established near Sarajevo's main market.
1580	Bosnia attains administrative status of an Ottoman *eyalet* (province), held until 1878.
1600–1800	Period of economic stagnation and military decline.
	Rights of Christian and Muslim subject peoples decline as the state's cash needs increase, especially in rural areas. Peasant tax revolts become endemic in eighteenth century.
1766	Ottomans abolish Peć Patriarchate and autocephalous status of Serb and Bosnian Orthodox Church, which is absorbed into the Greek Orthodox Church. Orthodox decline follows.
1778	Austrian Emperor Joseph II conquers Bosnia.
1789	French Revolution. European powers persuade Joseph II to withdraw from Bosnia, but the Habsburg emperor becomes protector of Christians in the Ottoman Empire.
1800–1878	Period of Economic Reforms and Rebellion.
	Vuk Karadžić, a Serbian linguist, standardizes Serb, Croat, and Bosnian vernaculars into modern Serbo-Croatian, which includes variants using Latin and Cyrillic scripts.
1831–1833	Kapetan Husein's revolt for Bosnian autonomy to block Ottoman reforms and restrictions on kapetans.
1836–1850	Series of kapetan-led revolts against Ottoman reforms and authority.
1839	Series of Ottoman military, tax, land tenure reforms known as *Tanzimat* decreed. Bosnian officials resist implementation.
1861–1868	Topal Osman-pasha builds roads, schools, new library for the Begova mosque, first public hospital.
	First printing press since 1523, publishing in Serbo-Croatian and Turkish languages.
	Consultative assembly established with representatives from all faiths.
1875–1878	Tax rebellion in Hercegovina ultimately ends Ottoman rule in Bosnia-Hercegovina.
1878	Treaty of Berlin justifies Habsburg occupation of Bosnia by citing the inability of Ottoman officials to effectively implement land tenure and tax reform.
1878–1918	Austria-Hungary occupies (1878) Bosnia-Hercegovina. Region is administered by Austria-Hungary's Joint Ministry of Finance.
1906	Muslim National Organization (MNO) becomes Bosnia's first legal political party. Consisting mainly of landlords, MNO advocates elected Vakuf Assembly and preservation of Ottoman property law.
1907	Serbian National Organization (SNO) becomes legal political party.
1908	Austria-Hungary formally annexes Bosnia-Hercegovina.
	Croat National Union (CNU) established as a secular, liberal, middle-class political party.
1910	Bosnian Parliament established with no direct legislative powers.
1912	First Balkan War.
1913	Second Balkan War.
1914	Assassination of Habsburg heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, in Sarajevo, by members of Young Bosnia.
	Austria-Hungary attacks Serbia; World War I begins.
1914–1918	World War I.
1918	Yugoslavia declares itself independent Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; Bosnian autonomy promised.
1919	Yugoslavia is recognized at the Paris Peace Conference.
1919	Abolition of serfdom throughout Yugoslavia emancipates over 90,000 serf households farming one-third of arable land in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Not fully implemented until 1936.
	Mehmed Spaho founds Bosnian Muslim political party, Yugoslav Muslim Organization (YMO).
1921	Vidovdan Constitution ratified; Bosnia-Hercegovina keeps historic borders, but no autonomy.
1928	Sarajevo Writer's Group founded; includes Bosnia's most important literary figures.
1929	In a successful coup d'état, King Alexander abolishes Yugoslav constitutional state and legislature and bans labor unions.
1929	Anthology of left-wing expressionist writers publish *Knjiga drugova* (Comrades' book).
1929–1941	Historic Bosnia divided for first time since medieval period.

	Bosnia is Serbianized; Bosnian Muslims pressured to declare their national affiliation as Croat or Serb.
	State dismisses non-Serb cultural influences as "foreign."
1939	Cvetković-Maček *Sporazum* (Agreement) gives Croatia autonomy and divides Bosnia between the Croatian banovina and the remaining Serb-dominated lands.
1941	Yugoslavia signs German Tripartite Agreement; Yugoslav military stages a coup d'état in protest. Prince Paul abdicates in favor of Prince Peter, who renounces the agreement. German and Italian armies defeat and divide Yugoslavia.
	German puppet state, Independent State of Croatia (NDH), annexes Bosnia and Hercegovina.
1941–1945	World War II.
	NDH Croatianizes the region. Serbs converted to Catholicism, expelled, and executed. Jewish property stolen, synagogues ransacked. Few Bosnian Jews survive. Mosques burned, Muslims converted to Catholicism. Serbs, Jews, communists, and Muslims interned in concentration camps.
	Communists, Četniks, German armies, and Croatian armies fight in Bosnia, creating widespread destruction.
1945–1992	Communist Yugoslavia.
1945–1966	Bosnia-Hercegovina is part of a unitary state under leadership of Josip Broz "Tito."
1946	Constitution establishes unitary state, with six republics and two autonomous republics.
	Bosnia-Hercegovina established as a republic with its historic borders, but no dominant nation. Bosnian Muslims designated a special ethnic group.
1947	Majority of economy nationalized; first Five-Year Plan introduces building and industrialization plans.
1949	Collectivization campaign begins.
1950	Muslim elementary schools closed; teaching children in mosques criminalized, Bosnia's dervish orders banned. All but one *medressa* (school for training Muslim clergy) closed.
	Branko Ćopić's satirical story, "The Heretic," early criticism of communist elite culture, published.
1950s	LCY introduces free primary and secondary education, brings elementary schools and local libraries to most villages and secondary schools to all of the larger towns in Bosnia-Hercegovina for the first time.
1953	Collectivization abandoned; land reform
1966–1992	Yugoslav government decentralizes in favor of its republics.
	Secular Bosnian revival: Bosnian Muslims become dominant in communist party, craft industries revive, large investments in industry, roads (over 3,000 miles), housing, and building.
	Bosnian Islamic revival criticizes communist rule and nationalism.
1971	Bosnian Muslims recognized as a nation.
1974	Constitution makes autonomous provinces equal to republics, weakens the federal government.
1983	Alija Izetbegović sentenced to fourteen years in prison on spurious charges that his "Islamic Declarations" advocated the creation of an ethnically pure Islamic state, at the same time advocating Western-style democracy.
1984	Winter Olympics held in Sarajevo.
1986	SANU Memorandum circulated.
1989	Prime Minister Ante Marković institutes strict currency reforms that end hyperinflation of late 1980s.
1990	First multiparty elections held in communist period; in Bosnia-Hercegovina the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), Serb Democratic Party (SDS), and the Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) defeat the communist party; Izetbegović becomes president.
1991	Newly elected governments (particularly in Serbia) drop Marković's program; inflation resumes.
	Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milošević discuss partition of Bosnia.
	Radovan Karadžić and SDS create Serb autonomous regions in Bosnia.
	Slovenia and Croatia secede; ten-day war in Slovenia; four-month war in Croatia.
1992	Tudjman and Milošević discuss partition of Bosnia again.
	Referendum for Bosnian independence passes; government in Bosnia-Hercegovina declares independence.
1992–present	Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.
1992	Ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims begins in Bijelina, 1 April.
	JNA and SDS attack Bosnia, 1 April.
	EU and UN recognize Bosnian independence, 6 April; Karadžić declares independent Republika Srpska, 7 April.

1992–1995	Bosnian war for independence, leading to 200,000 killed, 2 million refugees.
	Systematic ethnic cleansing (including policy of organized rape), especially in areas Serbs claim create three relatively ethnically homogenous regions within Bosnia-Hercegovina.
	Destruction of cultural heritage throughout region, symbolized by the destruction of Mostar's Old Bridge.
1993	UN declares Srebrenica a safe haven.
1993	NATO protection begins.
1995	UN surrenders Srebrenica; Srebrenica massacre in July.
	Croatian Serbs expelled from Croatia. August–October become refugees in Bosnia.
	International diplomats halt gains by Bosnian and Croat armies when they are poised to retake most of Republika Srpska.
	Dayton Peace Agreement signed in Paris.
	Bosnia-Hercegovina divided into two entities (Federation and RS) and two federal districts (Brčko and Sarajevo), supervised by UN.
1996–2000	Slow progress on refugee return.
	Massive international reconstruction effort.
	Period of economic de-industrialization.
2002	Bosnian mark tied to the euro.
2004	Scheduled negotiations for full Bosnian membership in the EU.

ALBANIA

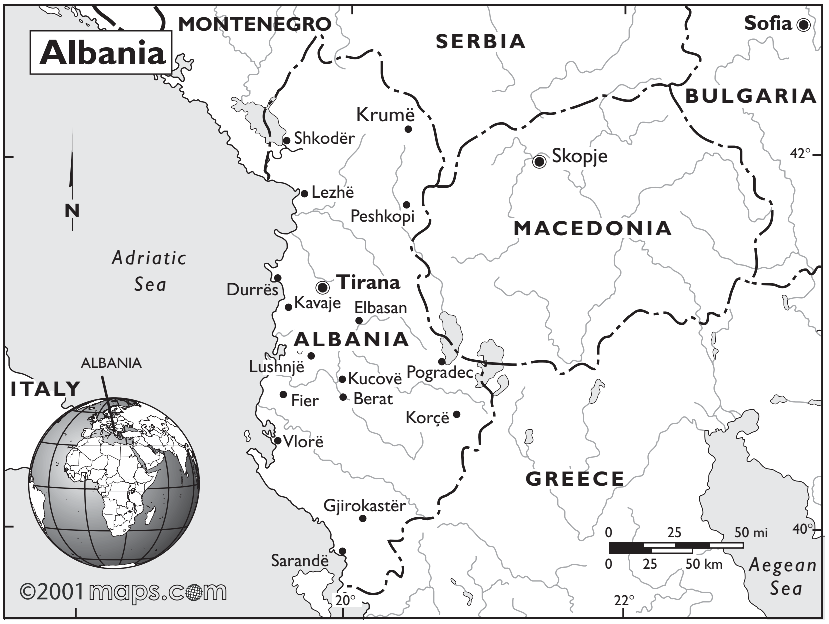
ROBERT AUSTIN

LAND AND PEOPLE

At 28,748 square kilometers, or roughly the size of the state of Maryland, Albania is the third smallest country in Europe, after Slovenia and Macedonia. It is bordered by Montenegro to the northwest, Kosovo to the northeast, Macedonia and Greece to the east, and the Adriatic Sea to the west. The coastline at its nearest point is only 65 kilometers from Italy and 5 kilometers from the Greek island of Corfu. The country owes both its isolation and its relative invulnerability to the natural barriers protecting it: the Dinaric Alps to the north, the Macedonian highland to the east, and the Pindus range to the south. The climate is characterized by cold winters and abundant precipitation. Temperatures vary widely depending on season, geographic location, and altitude. Albania is occasionally subject to violent winds and to summer drought.

Tiny Albania presents an astonishingly varied set of landscapes, from Mediterranean beaches to fertile valleys with fruit orchards and tobacco fields, from arid mountains to oak forests to marshlands harboring a diverse wildlife. A strip of land along the coast, varying in width from 10 to 40 kilometers, is known by geographers as the western lowlands. Much of this area can be characterized as marshland, a good part of which has been reclaimed in the past century through drainage schemes. The reclaimed lagoons and marshlands south of Elbasan offer some of the most fertile land in Albania. The land east of the western lowlands is referred to as the western highlands. Despite its name, this section encloses fertile valleys, especially in the south and southeast, around Korçë and Lake Ohrid.

Although Albania's waterways can be navigated only with difficulty, the country's water resources represent a significant asset in the production of hydroelectric power, as Albania has no other sources of electrical energy. The coastline and Lake Ohrid hold potential for tourism, although the potential has yet to be realized. Albania is limited in its mineral resources, containing only small quantities of low-grade petroleum, low-grade copper ore, low-grade (lignite) coal, and high-quality asphalt bitumen. It also has a large supply of chromite ore, which is difficult to exploit because it is mixed in with other minerals. Unfortunately, Albania is prevented from enjoying whatever benefit it could derive from exploiting its mineral resources because of deficient infrastructure, an absence of large-scale foreign investment, and low prices on world markets.



The transportation network in Albania is primitive. In 1990 there were only 18,000 kilometers of roads, of which only 38.3 percent were asphalt and only 40 percent were usable by motorized traffic. There are 7,450 kilometers of railway, but trains are frequently reduced to speeds of 30 kilometers an hour due to outdated locomotives and poorly laid track. As a result, only 32 percent of freight is shipped by train, with 66 percent shipped by road, and only 37.7 percent of travelers use trains, with the remainder travelling by road vehicle. In 1986 Albania's rail system was linked to the international system when it launched the Shkodër-Titograd (Podgorica)

Albanian fields, 1995. (Arne Hodalic/Corbis)

line. The hub of the railway is Durrës, which is also the location of Albania's largest port. In 1990 Durrës handled 2,336 tons of goods, accounting for 82.9 percent of Albania's seaport traffic. The other major seaports are located in Vlorë, Sarande, and Shengjin. Albania's international airport is located at Rinas, 20 kilometers north of Tirana.

Because its industrial development during the communist era was so limited, Albania did not have to face the same scope and extent of environmental damage as was the case in other communist countries. Economic collapse in the early 1990s, however, resulted in the closure and abandonment of many chemical production plants, with disastrous consequences. The derelict factories contaminate the surrounding land. Making matters worse, Albanians fleeing poverty have settled near the factories, building their homes with materials taken from the contaminated sites and grazing their animals on the polluted land, exposing themselves to toxin levels several thousand times the accepted level in most European states. The formation of enormous unsanitary shantytowns around major cities is another major concern, as is the air pollution occasioned by rubbish burned at the Sharra garbage dump, near Tirana. Durrës, Sharra, Patos, Vlorë, and Ballsh have been singled out as pollution hot spots. Economic crisis has also resulted in deforestation, as Albanians have taken to chopping down trees indiscriminately for heating purposes.

Albania has a high rate of population growth, relative to other transition countries: 1.5 percent per year, compared with 0.2 percent for Romania and 0.8 percent for Macedonia. This figure is particularly impressive when the high rate of emigration is taken into consideration. The high population growth rate is sustained by a high fertility rate of 2.6 per woman, in contrast to 1.9 for Macedonia and 1.3 in Romania. Albania's population is young: 30 percent of Albanians were under fifteen years of age in 1999, compared to 18.7 percent in Romania and 23.1 percent in Macedonia. This percentage is expected to decrease over time, according to estimates prepared for the World Bank.

At present, Albania's population stands at 3.4 million. Unlike most European countries, Albania is still predominantly rural: roughly 40 percent of the population lives in cities, according to the Albanian Institute of Statistics (INSTAT). This percentage represents a major increase since 1975, when only 37.5 percent of the population lived in cities. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) projects that the urban percentage of the population will reach 50 percent in 2015. The capital city, Tirana, is by far the country's largest city; in 1995, it had an estimated population of 300,000, although some estimates place it higher owing to large-scale migration from rural areas. The next most populated cities are Durrës, on the coast, with an estimated population of 125,000, and Elbasan, situated at the geographic center of the country, with an estimated population of 101,300. Next are Vlorë (88,000), and Shkodër (81,000). In all, Albania has thirteen cities with a population greater than 20,000.

Communist leader Enver Hoxha's health-care system brought about a dramatic improvement in public health during the communist era, drastically reducing the infant mortality rate, increasing life expectancy, and more than halving the death rate. The postcommunist economic crisis has resulted in some reversals in the quality of health care due to a combination of factors, including shortages in supplies, outdated equipment, and a shortage of doctors. Albania has 1 physician per 668 inhabitants (according to INSTAT), in contrast to Croatia, which has 1 physician for every 435 inhabitants, or the Czech Republic, with 1 per 330. There has also been an exodus of physicians from the countryside to the city, as well as out of the country completely. Three quarters of the population has access to safe water, and only 58 percent to adequate sanitation.

According to health indicators, Albania has improved markedly over the last thirty years, but it still lags behind other transition countries. The infant mortality rate in 1999 was 29 per 1,000 live births, down from 68 in 1970; the under-five mortality rate shows a similarly dramatic decrease from 82 to 35 deaths per 1,000 live births. By comparison, Croatia's infant and under-five mortality rates in 1999 were 8 and 9 respectively, and Romania's rates were 21 and 24 respectively. With a life expectancy at birth of seventy-three in 1995–2000, however, Albania rivals other transition countries: it is the same as in Slovakia, and slightly higher than in Hungary.

Albania's literacy rate lags behind that of other transition countries, at 92 percent compared to 98 percent in Romania, 98.2 percent in Croatia, and 99.3 percent in Hungary. However, illiteracy seems to be a problem mainly with older generations; youth literacy stands at 97.8 percent. The Albanian educational system, like the health-care system, is suffering as a result of economic crisis. Teachers cannot live on their meager salaries, supplies are lacking, and schools have been closed in rural areas as a cost-cutting measure. Furthermore, young Albanians are choosing to emigrate to find work rather than complete their high school education.

As a result of economic backwardness, Albanians are also far behind other postcommunist countries in terms of access to technology. Albanians by and large do not even have access to their own telephone lines: there are only 3.64 phone lines per 100 inhabitants, compared to 9.58 in Bosnia and Hercegovina, 16.69 in Romania, and 36.38 in Croatia. Mobile telephones are no more accessible: Albania has only 3.5 subscribers per 1,000 inhabitants, compared with 60.5 per 1,000 in Romania. Like other countries where obtaining a landline often requires a lengthy wait, cell phone use, although extremely expensive, is growing rapidly. Computer technology is equally out of reach; there are only 6.4 computers for every 1,000 Albanians, compared to 67.0 in Croatia and 26.8 in Romania. It follows that less than 1 out of every 1,000 Albanians is connected to the Internet.

PEOPLES OF ALBANIA

The population of Albania is ethnically quite homogeneous. According to the census carried out in April of 1989, 98 percent of the population was ethnically Albanian. Of the remaining 2 percent, the majority were registered as Greek (59,000 people). This figure has been hotly contested, with primarily Greek sources quoting much larger numbers. There are small numbers of other minorities in Albania, such as Macedonians (realistic estimates vary between 4,700 and 15,000), Montenegrins and Serbs (approximately 2,000), Vlahs (estimated at 35,000), and Armenians. There are also a substantial number of Roma (Gypsies), with estimates varying wildly between 5,000 and 75,000.

Albania is host to three major religions. Islam is by far the most represented faith; it is often claimed that 70 percent of Albanians are Muslims, but this statistic is primarily a pre–World War II figure. It is more realistic to say that 70 percent of Albanians have a Muslim heritage. Some 20 percent of Albanians belong to the Albanian Orthodox

Ethem Bey Mosque in downtown Tirana. (Courtesy of Robert Austin)

Church. Catholicism, which is adhered to by as many as 10 percent of the population, is the last of the three major Albanian faiths. Albania has been surprisingly free of conflict between religious groups. All three faiths were strongly repressed under the communist leader Hoxha, especially after he undertook his Albanian Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966. Places of worship were confiscated and converted to other purposes, and priests were imprisoned.

Following the fall of communism, religion was once again legalized, and the three faiths began to rebuild their infrastructures. The Catholics were in the most advantageous position, as the Vatican was able to provide them with priests and resources. The restoration of the Orthodox Church has proceeded less smoothly. There were no surviving members of the Church hierarchy, and attempts to fill the vacancies with ethnic Greeks provoked nationwide controversy. In their efforts to rebuild Islamic religious life, Albanian Muslims have been supported by Islamic countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. The fall of communism has also witnessed the penetration into Albania of various American-based religious organizations, including Jehovah's Witnesses, Lutherans, Mormons, Baptists, and Seventh-Day Adventists. The appearance of these faiths is disquieting to many Albanians. They are particularly concerned about Evangelical sects, whose exclusivist views they fear may destroy the atmosphere of tolerance that has characterized Albania until today.

The ethnic Albanian population traces its roots to the pre-Hellenic Illyrian tribes, whose presence has been recorded in the Balkans since at least the second millennium B.C.E. Ethnic Albanians can be divided into two groups; the Gegs, or Ghegs, who live in the mountainous north, and the Tosks, who inhabit the plains and mountain basins south of the Shkumbin River. They can be distinguished by their use of different dialects of the Albanian language. The Ottomans colonized the Tosk-inhabited south, transforming its social structures and opening the region to the influence of other cultures, including Islam. The north, however, remained largely impenetrable to Ottoman domination and was allowed a large measure of self-government. Thus, the Tosks and the Gegs evolved virtually in isolation until Albania obtained its independence. Successive generations of Albanian leaders made efforts to break down the cleavage between north and south; for instance, Hoxha put into place various mechanisms to encourage people to move to other parts of the country and to intermarry. Nonetheless, strong regional identities have persisted. In the communist and postcommunist era, these regional identities have played a role in political life: thus, the north felt discriminated against during the rule of Enver Hoxha, who was a southerner. Similarly, southern Albanians considered that the country's first postcommunist president, Sali Berisha, who is from the north, discriminated against them. However, there is no record of unrest ever having resulted from north-south tensions.

Ethnic Greeks are located primarily in southern Albania, near the Greek border. Relations today between ethnic Albanians and the Greek minority are often strained. Although Hoxha did not persecute ethnic Greeks, he barred them from obtaining high positions in the Party and administration. Greek organizations were limited to folkloric groups, and schoolchildren were taught only Albanian history. The Greek Orthodox Church, which plays a central role in Greek identity, was one of the prime targets of Hoxha's campaign against religion. Thus it would be fair to say the regime pursued policies directed against Greek eth-

The Albanian Language

The Albanian language is part of the Indo-European family of languages and is spoken by approximately 7 million people in the Balkans, predominantly in Albania and Kosovo, but also in neighboring Macedonia, Montenegro, Greece, and Turkey. Some argue that the language has its origins in ancient Illyrian; others hold that it has its roots in the ancient Thracian tongue. The debate over the origins of the language has not merely been an academic one; it has often been politicized, since language claims give rise to territorial ones. The link with Illyrian is especially important for Kosovars, who have long sought to establish their historic presence in Kosovo against Serb nationalist claims that Albanian Kosovars are relative newcomers to a region that was historically Serb. Over the centuries, especially given foreign occupation throughout much of the region's history, foreign words have crept into the language. After the Turks conquered the region in the fifteenth century, the use of written Albanian was banned. Since most of Albanian society was comprised of illiterate peasants, the language remained essentially a verbal one until the twentieth century, when an alphabet was adopted at the Congress of Monastir (now Bitola) in 1908 and a common literary language at Shkodër in 1916.

Albanian is written using thirty-six letters, an alphabet that includes two accented letters (ç and ë) and nine two-consonant digraphs (dh, gj, ll, nj, rr, sh, th, xh, and zh). There are two principal dialects, which correspond to the regional split that existed in the region for hundreds of years. Geg is spoken in the northern region (including Kosovo); Tosk is the dialect of Albanians in the southern areas (south of the Shkumbin River). The communists attempted to create a standardized language beginning in the 1950s. Two decades later, in 1972, a unified language was established, based primarily on Tosk.

Albanian continues to be spoken within émigré communities in North America and Europe.

nic identification. The fall of communism initially represented an improvement in the rights of ethnic Greeks. The Orthodox Church and cross-border travel were legalized, and political pluralization allowed ethnic Greeks to form a political party, Omonia, to defend their interests and more generally develop ethnic minority rights in Albania.

Despite the easing of restrictions, relations between Albanians and Greeks quickly soured, as Albanians continued to be suspicious of the loyalty of ethnic Greeks. Omonia was outlawed in 1992 on the grounds that it reflected narrow ethnic interests, but was quickly replaced by a nonsectarian successor party called the Union of Human Rights. The nomination in 1992 of ethnic Greek Archbishop Anastasios Iannoulatos to head the Albanian Orthodox Church provoked a great deal of protest from Albanians. The following year, an ethnic Greek Orthodox priest was accused of promoting separatism and was expelled from Albania, and the Albanian Greek community was placed under surveillance. These measures greatly angered the ethnic Greek community. Ethnic Greeks were once again accused of subversion in 1994, when five individuals were convicted of staging an attack on a frontier military post. They were released a year later by order of the Albanian Supreme Court. In 1996 the appointment by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople of three ethnic Greek bishops to important positions in Gjirokastër, Vlorë, and Korçë drew fire from Albanians.

Tensions between ethnic Greeks and Albanians in the postcommunist era have also been aggravated by the dramatic improvement in the standard of living of ethnic Greeks, who have gained access to social services in Greece and easily obtain work and residence rights there. This prosperity is in stark contrast to the impoverishment of most Albanians, and to the poor treatment of Albanian workers in Greece. Tense relations between the Albanian government and the Greek minority have been reflected on an international level by often strained relations between Greece and Albania.

ALBANIANS OUTSIDE ALBANIA

One of the peculiarities of Albania is that there are as many, if not more, Albanians living outside of Albania as there are within the borders of the country. Large-scale Albanian immigration began after the Ottoman conquest, with large communities forming in Romania, Bulgaria, Egypt, Turkey, and especially Italy. By 1886, there were 181,700 Albanians in Italy. Large numbers of Albanians also immigrated to the United States in the nineteenth century; by 1907, there were some 60,000 Albanians in the United States, concentrated in Boston and New York. Diaspora communities continued to maintain close ties with the home country and played an important part in the Albanian national awakening. Thimi Mitko, a collector of Albanian folklore and an important figure in the national awakening, was a member of the Albanian community in Egypt. The Albanian Orthodox Church was founded in 1908, not in Albania, but in Boston; its founder was none other than Fan Noli, destined to be prime minister of Albania for six months in 1924. The Albanian diaspora continued to participate in Albania's political life after the fall of communism, providing a great deal of funding to the nascent Democratic Party in the early 1990s.

The more substantial Albanian communities in neighboring Balkan countries have been an important consideration in the shaping of Albanian foreign policy. There are significant numbers of Albanians in Montenegro (7 percent of the population) and Macedonia (where the most recent census has put the Albanian population at roughly 25 percent). Today, 90 percent of Kosovo's 1.9 million inhabitants are estimated to be Albanian. These communities have existed for centuries. There is also a large community of Albanians in Greece, possibly as many as 360,000, mainly composed of unemployed men who have migrated illegally in the last decade in search of temporary work. The presence of such a large number of often illegal migrants has also added to the frictions with Greece, which blames them for increased criminality in Greece. Equally important, since the Albanian economy is so overwhelmingly dependent on remittances, it provides Greece with tremendous influence in Albanian affairs.

Despite their large number, the Albanians in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo were not among the groups Yugoslavia recognized as constituent peoples of either of the interwar or communist Yugoslav states. (The groups were Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Slovenes, and later Muslims.) Following the Tito-Stalin split in 1948 and a concomitant rupture with Albania, the Yugoslav regime began to regard the Albanian minority as a threat and attempted to forge a separate Kosovar-Albanian identity in the hope of thwarting the burgeoning Albanian nationalist movement. Initially, Albanians made their demands within the Yugoslav political system, demonstrating in 1968 for the upgrading of Kosovo to republic status, the creation of a university in Priština, equal status for the Albanian language, and economic assistance. Although the demonstrations were put down, all demands except for the status of a republic were subsequently met, and the constitution of 1974 gave the province greater powers, amounting to something close to republic status. Albanians mobilized again in 1981 against Serbian domination; the protests turned violent and were summarily crushed. Serb intellectuals expressed increasing concern over the high birthrate of Albanians, expressing the fear that Serbs would eventually be crowded out of the "cradle of the Serbian nation."

It was in this tense atmosphere that Slobodan Milošević rose to power in Yugoslavia, on promises of restoring Serbian pride and protecting the interests of Serbs wherever they might be. Part of his program was the restoration of Serbian dominance in Kosovo. In 1989, surrounded by the Yugoslav army, the Kosovo provincial assembly was pressured into approving amendments that surrendered much of the province's autonomy, and what was left of that autonomy was abolished in 1990 by the Serbian assembly. Education in the Albanian language was terminated, and Albanian civil servants were laid off en masse, replaced by Serbs. A largely unsuccessful "resettlement program" was put in place to encourage Serbs to settle in Kosovo. In response to these measures, a secret referendum was held, with Albanians overwhelmingly voting for independence. The results of the referendum were not recognized by any country save Albania. A parallel underground state apparatus was put into place. This period also witnessed the growth of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), which practiced armed resistance against the Serb authorities.

Albanians in Macedonia are mainly concentrated in the northwest tip of the country. Until unrest there in 2001 provoked widespread changes, they were not recognized as a constituent nation in Macedonia, but they were recognized as a minority. Neither in the communist Yugoslavia nor later in the independent state of Macedonia were Albanians subjected to the type of repression that characterized life in Kosovo. Until 2000, they largely chose to formulate their demands within the political system. The Party for Democratic Prosperity was formed in 1991 to represent ethnic Albanian interests. Their demands have included equal nation status with Macedonians, proportional ethnic representation in government and the administration, the recognition of Albanian as an official language, and free use of the Albanian flag. Albanians attempted to open a university in Tetovo in 1995, but the government feared that it would become a center of nationalism and did not grant it recognition until 2004. The belief of the Macedonian government seems to be that if they give the Albanians an inch, they will take a mile. The worsening situation in Kosovo gave rise to fears that the unrest would spread to Macedonia, further stiffening the intransigence of the government. Albanians did eventually begin armed resistance in Macedonia, which led to an international settlement known as the Ohrid Agreement in the fall of 2001: the agreement introduced widespread constitutional and other changes designed to address Albanian grievances.

The status of Albanians living in neighboring countries has been a concern for Albanian governments. The Democratic Party from the start expressed support for the plight of Albanians in Kosovo and a desire to forge closer relations with its diaspora in general. Nonetheless, both the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party have adopted a cautious attitude toward the situations in Kosovo and Macedonia and have refrained from making matters worse by stoking nationalist passions in either Kosovo or Macedonia. Relations with Greece have been adversely affected by its harsh treatment of Albanian migrant workers.

HISTORY

Albanians are considered to be descendants of the Illyrians who were the first inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula; throughout history Albanian lands have been controlled by a succession of foreign empires, from the Roman to the Ottoman. The Illyrianism of the Albanians is not without political implications, especially in a region where who was where first assumes tremendous importance, and not surprisingly the link has been disputed, especially by Albania's Slav neighbors. Thus the Illyrian connection is an important part of the Albanian mentality, and Albanian scholars put considerable effort into ensuring that this connection is maintained. As well, the struggle of this small nation to survive as a nationality and finally an independent nation, a struggle against often intriguing and meddlesome neighbors, has left an important imprint on the Albanian national character. Albanians are often suspicious of foreigners and, more importantly, deeply nationalistic and patriotic, with an Albanocentric view of the world that verges on the ridiculous.

In the early Middle Ages Albania was nominally under the control of the Byzantine Empire, which saw the region as a forward wall of defense (thanks to the mountainous nature of the region) and a key trade route. It was during this period that the Albanians divided into two main groups: the Gegs in the northern areas, who maintained a tribal structure, and the Tosks in the southern and coastal areas. Never having an independent state, the Albanians were dominated by their neighbors: the Venetians, the Serbs, the Bulgars, and finally the Ottoman Turks.

When the Turkish army defeated the forces of the Serbs (which also included Albanian troops) at Kosovo in 1389, the door was open to the Albanian lands. During the early 1400s, the Albanians resisted the Turks, led by their great national hero, Gjergi Kastrioti (1405–1468), the legendary Skanderbeg. Originally a soldier in the Ottoman army, he later deserted and organized a loose-knit group of Albanian nobles to fight the Turks for the next twenty-five years (1443–1468). Following his death, the resistance collapsed, and the Ottomans gained control of the region.

Because of the nature of the terrain, Ottoman troops garrisoned the towns but allowed a great deal of local control. Most of the population converted to Islam, in part due to taxation policies that favored Muslims. Albanian Muslims became valuable members of the Ottoman army and ruling structure; some thirty Albanians became grand viziers, the second most powerful office in the empire next to the sultan.

Albania thus was isolated from many of the trends taking place in Europe. Turkish control, the sizable Muslim population, peasant backwardness, and cultural isolation, all these factors made it virtually immune to the nationalist yearnings of its neighbors in the Balkans. When a national awakening did begin in the late 1800s, it was born not so much out of a desire for independence, but rather out of the need to defend Albania against the territorial desires of the newly independent Balkan states. When that defense failed, Albania became the last Balkan state to break from Istanbul.

NATIONAL AWAKENING

Albania gained a fragile and premature independence in 1912, after five centuries of Ottoman rule. Although national feeling had come a long way, much remained to be done as far as creating a truly national consciousness among the entire population.

The Albanian national awakening had begun to bear fruit in 1878, when both the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin raised the threat of partition among neighboring powers, as the terms of San Stefano would have severely undermined Albania's ethnic frontiers. Albanian nationalists formed the League of Prizren (a city in present day Kosovo) to defend their national rights and to promote autonomy within the Ottoman framework. The elite in Albania, which consisted of a Muslim landed aristocracy, had been among the most integrated national groups within the Ottoman Empire, and their national aspirations wavered between territorial autonomy within the framework of the empire and outright independence. Turkey's humiliating defeat brought with it questions regarding the empire's long-term viability. In 1912, with the imminent collapse of Ottoman power all too apparent, Albanian patriots sought an early declaration of independence. Whereas in 1878 nationalists felt that Albania's position could be better ensured by remaining in the faltering empire while national consciousness took root, in 1912 the international situation did not allow for such caution.

Albanian nationalism became a much more vital force in the aftermath of the San Stefano Treaty, even though the Ottoman authorities worked hard to prevent this. Any national movement depended on the ability to romanticize, popularize, and legitimize goals through links with historic events and figures, especially Skanderbeg. For twenty-five years (1433–1468) he had managed to free significant parts of Albanian territory from Ottoman control. Despite the fact that Skanderbeg's struggle was in a sense a case of cross against crescent, Christianity against Islam, he became a lasting symbol of opposition to foreign control. Skanderbeg's image is ubiquitous throughout Albania (and Kosovo).

The Albanian awakening began later than other Balkan countries for several reasons. Aside from high levels of integration within the Ottoman Empire, which saw many Albanians achieve high office within the Ottoman administration, Albania, like Bosnia, also possessed a native Muslim aristocracy. There were also religious and regional differences within ethnic Albanian lands. Unlike elsewhere in the Balkans, where religion had been a unifying factor, in Albania, owing to the Ottoman occupation, some 70 percent of the population adopted Islam, more out of practical necessity than of conviction. The remaining 30 percent included a compact Catholic minority in the north around Shköder of some 10 percent and an Orthodox community of approximately 20 percent in southern Albania. Religion should not, however, be exaggerated as a divisive factor or hindrance to national unity. Albanians showed, and continue to show, a remarkable tolerance for religious diversity.

By far the most significant obstacle to national unity was the existence of strong regional differences between northern and southern Albanians. With the Shkumbin River as the natural boundary between north and south, Albanians form two subgroups. The Gegs inhabit the mountainous regions of the north, while the Tosks inhabit the low-lying regions of the south. The Tosks had been far more subject to

Mural depicting the Albanian struggle for independence on the National Museum in Tirana. (Courtesy of Robert Austin) foreign stimulus than their northern brethren, who had managed to maintain a quasi independence, even during the Ottoman occupation. The two groups used different dialects, and the Albanian language lacked a standard literary form, factors that also posed an obstacle to national unity. It was only in 1908, at the Congress of Monastir (now Bitola) that Albanians adopted a single alphabet for the language.

Although the Albanian national movement made remarkable gains after 1878, the most important factor in securing Albanian independence was the presence of geostrategic concerns. Austria-Hungary, which subsidized the Albanian national groups, together with Italy, lobbied for the creation of an independent Albania in an effort to block Serbian access to the Adriatic. Independence, as in the rest of East Central Europe, was as much based on the support of one or more of the great powers as on the strength of the national movement. Without that support, Albanian independence would not have been achieved. The borders agreed upon by the great powers in 1913 left substantial numbers of Albanians in present-day Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Greece. Some 500,000 Albanians were in southern Serbia (Kosovo), and Albania's population approached 1 million. The presence of such a large Albanian community outside the new state's boundaries has remained an unresolved dilemma and a major source of conflict between Albania and Yugoslavia.

INDEPENDENT ALBANIA

The independence achieved in 1913 was by no means complete: Albania became an autonomous principality under the guarantee of the great powers. Prince Wilhelm of Wied was appointed as the country's first sovereign, and he arrived in March 1914 with the best intentions. However, Wied was an alien in the peculiar world of Albanian politics and became an early victim of deception. His goal of creating a unified Albanian state was thwarted, and he fled the country in September. Although his own inexperience was a major factor in his failure, continual interference by neighboring countries, especially Serbia, posed insurmountable difficulties. World War I extinguished Albanian independence, and the process of state building was thus postponed. In the war's aftermath, Albanian independence was again called into question, primarily by Italy, which had received extensive territorial concessions under the Secret Treaty of London in 1915. As well, Greece sought control of southern Albania or, as they referred to it, northern Epirus, in order to imply a link with the Greek region of southern Epirus. Italy and Greece, in the Tittoni-Venizelos Agreement of 1919, supported each other's claims. Owing to the strength of the national movement, however, and some vital support from U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, Albania was able to again embark on the process of nation and state building.

In the face of tremendous difficulty, Albanians achieved remarkable unity at the Congress of Lushnjë in January 1920. The congress was a watershed in Albania's political evolution. With fifty delegates from all regions in attendance, Lushnjë laid the foundations for a new political order in Albania. A new constitution was framed, which placed power in a four-man regency council. Membership was based on religious affiliation, with one member from the Orthodox community, one from the Catholic, and one from each order of Islam in Albania (Sunni and Bektashi, a mystic offshoot of the Shia). Yet the euphoria and unity of the Lushnjë Congress gradually gave way to a return of chaos.

Albania's interwar experience was similar to that of most of East Central and Southeastern Europe; an early experiment with democracy was followed by a drift toward authoritarian rule. External factors were important, insofar as many of Albania's neighbors were unwilling to accept the new state's existence, but it was internal factors that were paramount in the collapse of democracy. To argue that Albanians were unprepared for democracy is inaccurate. Yet it would be fair to note that Albanians for the most part were unfamiliar with democratic norms, and the leaders who emerged were too often most concerned with preserving their own privileges. The conservative beys or landowners who had naturally risen to the top in an independent Albania were determined to retain the economic and political status quo, which was essentially a feudal system.

As elsewhere in the region, then, the majority of elites were only superficially committed to the democratic process. The years 1920–1924 are considered the heyday of Albanian democracy, but even though there were various trappings of democracy, there was also considerable chaos. External pressures along with internal problems served to undermine attempts to achieve democracy. Wide gaps emerged between committed reformers and the more conservative beys who sought to maintain the old order. Reflecting this polarization, political affiliations of a sort emerged in the guise of the Popular and Progressive Parties. The former was committed to modernization and land reform, while the latter sought the maintenance of the old order. As well, differences between Gegs and Tosks were no small factor in undermining attempts to create a unified Albanian state, especially since northerners remained deeply suspicious of central authority. Governments came and went all too often, and no real progress was made in bringing the backward nation into the twentieth century. The most reform-minded government of the era, that of the Harvard-educated Bishop Fan S. Noli, provides an excellent example of the obstacles to democracy, not only in Albania, but elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Noli sought to radically transform Albanian society through land reform.

Imbued with Western ideas and determined to create a democratic Albania, his clique overthrew a conservative government in June 1924. Free elections in December 1923, the last until 1991, had created a tremendous polarization between reformers, headed by Noli, and the more conservative beys, headed by Ahmed Bey Zogu (Zog). Despite the best of intentions, Noli was unable to usher in a new era in Albanian political life. His multi-point program aimed at revolutionizing Albanian society, but it was better suited to a more advanced Western-style democracy, and much of it served to alienate his supporters, who were not entirely convinced of the need for reform. The anti-Zog,

Zog I, originally Ahmed Bey Zogu (1895–1961), king of the Albanians. (Getty Images)

anti-conservative coalition was rife with dissension, and Noli, like Wied, was an outsider to Albanian political life.

Committing error after error, his coalition slowly fell apart, while his nemesis, Zog, garnered support in Serbia. What Albania needed most was foreign economic assistance, and Noli was unable to achieve either that or international recognition. Moreover, owing to the "revolutionary" nature of his government, he aroused suspicions outside Albania. All the neighboring powers were wary of him, and he was unable to secure financial support from the League of Nations, Italy, or anywhere else. He was at first persuaded to recognize Soviet Russia, then changed his mind. By that time, however, a Soviet delegation had already arrived, and despite its immediate removal, the damage was already done. Also, his failure to deliver on a promised general election only exacerbated the situation and alienated the United States in particular. Nevertheless, Noli remained an important figure in Albanian history, and his brief time in power was exploited by the communists, who saw in his seizure of power Albania's bourgeois-democratic revolution (such a revolution being considered in Marxist thought a necessary preliminary to a revolution of the proletariat). The communists also maintained that his subsequent ouster was part of a wider imperialist agenda.

King Zog

Ahmed Bey Zogu, later King Zog, was born in 1895, the son of a chief of the Mati district in central Albania. He came from a Muslim family who had distinguished themselves in Ottoman service. At the onset of the interwar period, Albania was split into two rival camps: one was led by Zogu, who represented the conservative landowners and tribal chiefs; the other camp, led by Fan S. Noli, who was educated in the West and was an Albanian Orthodox bishop, was in favor of installing a liberal democracy based on the American model. In 1922 Zogu became prime minister of Albania, but he faced a series of uprisings and challenges to his leadership. It was not until 1925, when he restored control, sent Noli into permanent exile, and became the president of the newly proclaimed Albanian republic, that his power was secure. In 1928 he proclaimed himself king of the Albanians, as opposed to king of Albania, a move that angered neighboring Yugoslavia because of its large and often restive Albanian community.

Zogu increasingly found himself isolated in the region and beholden to the Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, for needed foreign support. By 1939, faced with an Italian ultimatum to become a puppet or risk invasion, the Albanian king had no recourse. Zogu, his two-day-old son, Leka, and his wife, Queen Geraldine, were forced to leave Albania in April 1939, with the invasion of the Italian army. Zog offered no resistance to the Italian invasion but tried to raise support for his return outside Albania. His exile was a difficult one, as he moved from country to country; he finally died of cancer in Paris in 1961. His son, Leka, and Zog's wife returned to Albania after their lengthy exile in 2002. Unlike Bulgaria, where Simeon returned to the government in the wake of the collapse of communism, there has been little support for Leka and no substantial support for the restoration of the monarchy.

Unable to impose a new order in Albania, and angering many of their supporters through Noli's planned land reform, the Noli coalition weakened, while Zog strengthened his forces. The majority of neighboring powers were hostile to the Noli experiment, and Zog gained the support of Serbia and refugees from General Wrangel's army (a "White" army that had fought in the Russian civil war to topple the Bolsheviks). Noli fled, and Zog was left a free hand to set up a new order in Albania. Zog, the son of a chieftain from the

Mat district in central Albania, was far better suited to rule in the milieu of Albanian politics. He became president in 1925 and later self-proclaimed king in 1928, and he was the central figure in interwar Albania. Having served as prime minister and minister of the interior in earlier governments, he appreciated the problems of governing Albania. He had lost sympathy for any kind of radical reform and set instead two precise and obtainable goals: the elimination of obstacles to the creation of a central authority in Albania and the maintenance of his own power. Unfortunately, although Zog's achievements were important, his devotion to the latter cause meant that he left the greatest problems that faced Albania largely untouched.

Like Noli, Zog was confronted with desperate economic conditions that required foreign support. Noli's experience had shown that the League of Nations was not viable, and Zog was reluctant to rely on those who had aided his return. He turned his back on the Serbs and opted for Italian support. Italy, with far better resources and less proximity to Albania, seemed a better option. As important, since the presence of large groups of Albanians outside Albania, above all in Kosovo, and the desire to integrate them into Albania—irredentism, in short—remained an important factor in Albanian politics, close relations with the Yugoslavs would alienate important supporters. Regardless, Zog's first year in power saw him return substantial favors to those who had helped him return to power. Zog's dependence on Mussolini's Italy was the single greatest byproduct of the era; although certain gains were made through Italian support, it laid the groundwork for the Italian invasion of 1939. Zog sought to limit Albanian dependence on Italy and many times attempted to escape Italian influence, but the overwhelming financial difficulties faced by the country, along with Western indifference over the fate of Albania, often tied his hands.

Despite the claims of communist historians, Zog was both a nationalist and a patriot. His fourteen years of power saw some significant gains, as the Italians certainly put more into Albania than they got out. It is true, however, that he refused to address the major problems that faced the country. Zog was far more concerned with the establishment of law and order in Albania than with reform, arguing that reform could only come after political, economic, and social stability had been achieved. In the long run, Zog pursued a dictatorial program that sought the maintenance of his own power and eliminated all forms of political opposition. The major problem in Albania was the need for land reform, since over 80 percent of the Albanian population was rural. Zog, owing to his dependence on conservative beys for support, was reluctant to undermine the existing feudal system. In 1930 he did announce a progressive land reorganization program that, had it been implemented, would have fundamentally altered Albania's land distribution. In the end, only a small portion of land was in fact affected.

Zog did manage to make certain improvements in education, transportation, and national stability. Zog was confronted with the same divisive factors as previous governments, but owing to his long tenure, he went further in eliminating these problems. As a Geg, he was able to use programs, largely subsidized by southerners, to slowly bring the previously ungovernable northerners into the fold. He introduced a penal code as well as a civil code, but by far his greatest single achievement was the creation of the first truly national consciousness—of sorts. In 1939 most Albanians began to identify themselves with a central authority in Tirana. This was no small feat when one considers the overwhelming number of factors that worked against national integration. Yet his failure to address the many social and economic problems, together with his obsession with his "kingdom," became fertile ground for the communists during World War II. In 1938 illiteracy was 80 percent, and life expectancy was a mere thirty-eight years. Improvements in national government were offset by drastically limited changes in the national economy.

The imposition of a monarchy, which took place in 1928, is an event worthy of further study. The conversion from republic to monarchy was no spur-of-the-minute decision on Zog's part. Throughout his presidency, he devoted considerable resources to the creation of his own personality cult in preparation for the change. His initials appeared on mountainsides, and in 1927 he had bestowed the title of Savior of the Nation upon himself. Proclaiming that he was responding to popular pressure and that the Albanian mentality was better suited to a monarchy, Zog orchestrated his own coronation. He argued that he had familial ties with Skanderbeg and adopted the helmet of Skanderbeg as his new symbol. In addition, he assumed the title of "Zog I, King of the Albanians," rather than King of Albania. This move, which angered Serbs considerably, with its implied claim to rule Albanians even in other countries, was designed as an attempt to ensure support in the north where irredentism (with its claims on territory outside state boundaries, based upon ethnic, historic, or linguistic factors) was more pronounced. However, aside from making Albania seem somewhat ridiculous, it is doubtful the monarchy had any other lasting effects. Zog set about to create an enlightened Western-style monarchy, but his devotion to outdated methods inherited from the Ottoman system had the greatest influence on his style of rule.

ALBANIAN RESISTANCE AND THE EMERGENCE OF COMMUNIST ALBANIA (1939–1944)

When the Italians invaded on 7 April 1939, Zog, his queen, Geraldine, and their two-day-old son, Leka, fled Albania. This flight did significant damage to his reputation, as he had originally claimed he would stay on to lead the resistance, and also left a dangerous vacuum in Albania. His departure, along with that of large segments of the interwar ruling elite, laid the foundations for a power struggle, which ultimately resulted in a communist takeover.

Desperate for foreign aid, Albania had increasingly become tied to Rome. This dependence gave the Italian leader Benito Mussolini privileges in Albania, including the right to train the country's military. When Zog tried to distance himself from Mussolini in the early 1930s, after Rome demanded that Tirana form a customs union with

Italy (which would have effectively given Mussolini control over much of Albania's economy), the Italians sent a fleet into Albanian waters as a reminder that Italy was not going to allow any independence of action. On 25 March 1939, Mussolini presented Zog with an ultimatum: he could either accept occupation (and the creation of a protectorate) or face invasion. Two weeks later, Italian troops invaded the country.

The Axis occupation of Albania, first Italian and then, after September 1943, German, witnessed the emergence of two key factions seeking the removal of the occupiers and the creation of a new Albania: the communists and the Balli Kombëtar, or National Front (BK). Communism had not been a major factor in interwar Albania, but it had made important gains prior to the Italian occupation, though the movement lacked organizational unity.

The Yugoslav communists emerged as a central force in the creation and subsidization of the Albanian communist movement. Two members of the Yugoslav Communist Party, Miladin Popović, who arrived in Albania in the summer of 1939, and Dušan Mugoša, who arrived in September 1941, played important roles in the formation of the Albanian movement. Though the Yugoslav role has often been exaggerated, owing to a dependence on Yugoslav sources, and in fact Tito's emissaries did not "create" Albanian communism or the Albanian Communist Party (which became the Albanian Party of Labor [APL] in 1948), it is true that their assistance during the war was vital. The Albanian Communist Party's first leader was Enver Hoxha, a southerner from Gjirokastër born in 1908. Having studied in France in the 1930s and served the Albanian consul in Brussels, Hoxha had a certain cosmopolitism, and his experiences abroad had exposed him to the main currents of Marxism in Western Europe. An ardent nationalist who was deeply affected by Albania's historical experiences, as well as an able orator, he was a logical choice as leader of the new party.

The members of the Communist Party in September 1942 formed the National Liberation Movement (NLM) (which later became the National Liberation Front [NLF] in May 1944). The organization was at first made up of a broad coalition of nationalists and communists alike. Seeking to avoid being characterized as a communist front, the NLM based its program rather on nationalist appeals and a commitment to liberal democracy. It drew considerable support from the country's youth and the mass of poverty-stricken peasants, who had seen only marginal improvements in their quality of life under Zog. The Balli Kombëtar

Enver Hoxha addresses delegates of the 4th Congress of the Albanian Trade Union in 1956. (Library of Congress)

(BK), as the national front was called, was founded in 1942, with a program based on calls for the creation of an ethnic Albania and a modern state along Western democratic lines. During the early years of resistance to the occupiers, the NLM and BK were able to coexist.

The Axis incorporation of Kosovo in 1941 (after the occupation of Yugoslavia) had done much to rekindle interest in the question of Kosovo (a territory important to both the Serbs and Albanians), yet at the same time it served to undermine joint resistance efforts. Regardless, the aim of creating an ethnic Albania, one that would include Kosovo, figured prominently in the programs of both parties, but cooperation between the two groups always remained tenuous at best. The NLM became concerned with the BK's growing strength and sought to undermine its influence, first through cooptation, and then through fratricidal conflict.

The key attempt at coordination took place at a meeting in the Albanian town of Mukja in August 1943. The Mukja accord continues to attract attention, and with greater access to party archives, many questions about this subject will finally be answered. What is known is that representatives of both the BK and the NLM met and hammered out a plan for cooperation in the liberation struggle, forming the Committee for the Salvation of Albania. Most important, however, was the agreement that both groups would strive for the creation of an ethnic Albania. Hoxha rejected the accord completely. In the first place, given the Serb attachment to Kosovo, the agreement on Kosovo aroused deep concerns within the Yugoslav Communist Party, and the Yugoslavs no doubt put considerable pressure on Hoxha to reject the accord.

Aside from Yugoslav pressure, it is doubtful that Hoxha envisioned full cooperation with the BK on an equal footing. Also, since Kosovars were both Gegs and anticommunists, Hoxha did not attach much significance to the area of Kosovo as a wartime issue. Instead he felt it better to leave the question of Kosovo until after the war, and documents suggest that he considered Kosovo a Yugoslav problem, not an Albanian one. The repudiation of the Mukja accord, however, ensured that the liberation struggle would also become a civil war.

After the collapse of Mukja, Abaz Kupi, a leading patriot, formed the Legality Organization, which was the only organization in wartime Albania that called for the return of King Zog. The movement had little following, however, owing in part to Zog's position in his homeland, coupled with the fact that so many of his supporters had been forced to flee. The legality of Zog's position on the throne thus remained forever on the fringe of the struggle for Albania's liberation and never received any substantive support from the Allied Powers. The fact that Zog was unable to achieve recognition in exile, along with the disorganization of the BK, thus became important factors in the communist victory.

By late 1943, the rupture between NLM and BK was complete. After the Germans replaced the Italians as the principal occupier of the country, the Germans allowed Albania a measure of self-government; this concession bought off some members of the BK, who viewed the Germans as a more benign force that might even provide assistance in advancing their claims to Kosovo.

As elsewhere in the Balkans, since the communists emerged as the most effective force against the fascists, they were accorded considerable aid from both Britain and the United States. However, the key factor in ensuring the success of the Albanian communists was the incompetence and disorganization of their opponents. Moreover, since Zog had left the peasantry of the population largely untouched, communist calls for social justice and land reform found a very receptive audience. By late November 1944, a communist-dominated provisional government was installed in Tirana. Without Soviet assistance, the Albanian communists had assured victory in their homeland even before the end of the war. This fact was to be of considerable importance to the new regime, whose historical experiences played a large role in the shaping of policy in the years that followed.

COMMUNIST ALBANIA, 1944–1991

Toward the end of November 1944, the last of the German forces left Albania. The NLF was transformed into the Democratic Front (DF), which presented a slate of candidates for elections in 1945. After receiving over 90 percent of the votes, the DF proclaimed Albania a socialist state, and the government's first two years focused on the elimination of potential enemies to the party's program of communization. Despite some early difficulties in consolidating his control over the Albanian communist movement, this entire period was under the domination of Enver Hoxha and shaped by his vision.

The communist era in Albania was in many ways marked and defined by the country's position within the framework of the international communist movement. Owing to tremendous economic backwardness, Hoxha, like his predecessors, sought foreign economic support to reshape Albania. From 1944 to 1948, Albania, owing to its wartime relationship, fell under complete Yugoslav domination. After the Tito-Stalin split in 1948, Hoxha maneuvered his country into the Soviet orbit, where it remained until 1961, when, taking advantage of the Sino-Soviet split, Hoxha made Albania a Chinese satellite. After breaking with the Chinese in 1978, Albania embarked on a peculiar form of self-reliance that lasted until 1990. Hoxha emerged as a shrewd and capable manipulator of international communism, which allowed him not only to preserve his own brand of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, but also to maintain his own power.

During the Yugoslav period, Hoxha experienced a substantial attack on his leadership from the number-two man in the party, Koci Xoxe, a tinsmith from the south who was minister of the interior in Albania's first communist government. Xoxe, a proletarian, as opposed to the bourgeois intellectual Hoxha, was favored by the Yugoslavs primarily because of his pro-Belgrade stance. The Yugoslav communist leader, Tito, dreaming of a Balkan federation and a solution to the Kosovo problem, obviously hoped to integrate Albania into Yugoslavia as the seventh republic; accordingly, he supported Xoxe. A moderate faction, which included several key communists such as Sejfulla Maleshova, sought to chart an independent course in foreign affairs and maintain strong ties with both the communist and Western world. Hoxha, true to form, maintained a cautious middle course, but he was eventually forced, at least for the moment, to accept a greater Yugoslav presence. Nevertheless, Hoxha remained concerned that his own position was by no means secure within the Yugoslav framework. Only Tito's break with Stalin in 1948 saved Hoxha, and Albanian independence. Hoxha now carefully maneuvered himself into the Soviet camp and initiated harsh polemics against the Yugoslavs.

The Yugoslavs were now portrayed in official pronouncements as the main threat to Albanian sovereignty, an excellent propaganda device in the hands of a national communist like Hoxha. The Soviets, possessing far greater economic resources than the Yugoslavs, were better able to serve as providers of aid to Albania; Hoxha now emerged as one of Stalin's greatest admirers. Hoxha set about laying the foundations of Stalinism in Albania and eliminating the factors that posed a threat to national unification. The most important of these were the regional variation between Gegs and Tosks and religious differences; in both cases, it was clear that the regime could not afford the luxury of competing loyalties.

The honeymoon with the Soviets, while extremely beneficial on an economic and military level, was only useful as long as the Soviets maintained their commitment to Stalinism and pursued an anti-Tito policy. With Stalin's death in 1953, the subsequent de-Stalinization campaign, and, most importantly, Khrushchev's rapprochement with Tito, Hoxha began to seriously doubt the viability of the alliance.

Since Hoxha's program aimed at creating a siege mentality that would further his own interests by identifying the national cause with his ideological program, hostile relations with the Yugoslavs were almost a prerequisite and were an important tool in his nationalistic program. Also, since both his and the regime's survival were dependent on Stalinism, Hoxha could not afford notions of reform. In the early 1950s, Hoxha for the moment accepted Khrushchev's call for a collective leadership, and long-time comrade Mehmet Shehu became prime minister in 1954 and allowed some minor reforms. Hoxha was, however, unwilling to follow the Soviet example blindly. Again, rifts in the communist bloc came to his rescue, and Hoxha strengthened his ties with the more doctrinaire Chinese throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. Polemics between the Soviets and Albanians assumed almost comical proportions, as Tirana turned away from Moscow and gradually became a Chinese satellite. That the Soviets were now just one more external enemy to be feared only added credence to Hoxha's program, particularly following the events in Poland and Hungary in 1956, when the Soviets crushed all attempts at independence of action in its client states. The Chinese, although not as wealthy as the Soviets, could serve as a viable ally for the Albanians, especially since they were far enough away not to pose a threat. Moreover, both countries pursued similar domestic policies.

Certain features of the alliance between Tirana and Beijing are important to note. In the first place, it is doubtful that Hoxha thought of it as a long-term relationship. Owing to his commitment to Stalinism and his fears of external influence, Hoxha sought a means to avoid foreign entanglements. Barring the success of world revolution, Hoxha was determined to go it alone. On the other hand, the notion that Albania wanted to completely isolate itself is false. What Hoxha sought was relations with others on his own terms, and the relative international insignificance of Albania allowed him to pursue a maverick policy in foreign affairs. After the break with the Soviets, the main thread of Albanian foreign policy remained the dual adversary doctrine, which held that both the United States and the Soviet Union were evil superpowers; thus Hoxha condemned relations with either of them.

The period of Chinese dependence saw Hoxha attempt to impose a more complete control on the nation, to the extent of imposing his own version of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The Albanian version aimed at the elimination of obstacles to national unity and modernizaton, which entailed a sharp attack on religious institutions and regional differences embodied in the Gegs and Tosks. Responding to "popular appeals," the regime also proclaimed Albania the world's first "atheist state."

Like the Soviet alliance, the Chinese alliance only lasted as long as China's commitment to Stalinism was maintained. The death of Mao, the fall of the Gang of Four (the ideological successors to Mao), and China's growing rapprochement with the United States were all significant in the deterioration of the alliance. Albania, for the first time in its independent history, found itself alone, without a benefactor or patron, a factor that had seemed to be almost a prerequisite to Albanian independence. Self-reliance, embodied in the 1976 constitution, now marked the fourth and final phase in Albanian communism. As became clear during the postcommunist transition, self-reliance devastated the country. By cutting off access to needed foreign technology, Albania allowed the gap to widen between itself and the rest of the world.

Ever since independence, the Albanian state had required extensive foreign support to survive. This need was a central feature of both the interwar and communist periods. As noted, Zog's dependence on Italy was more a product of the economic backwardness of the country than anything else. Had Zog been able to finance programs without dependence, no doubt he would have pursued that course. Yet with the economic collapse in 1929, and the overall global economic climate, dependence was almost unavoidable. In terms of economic development, the Ottoman Empire had left few traces of any progress, so that when Albania embarked on an independent course in the early twentieth century, much of the country remained in the eighteenth century in terms of development and outlook. That Albania remains one of the poorest countries in Europe is a direct outcome of that legacy, as well as of some poorly thought-out economic policies in the communist period.

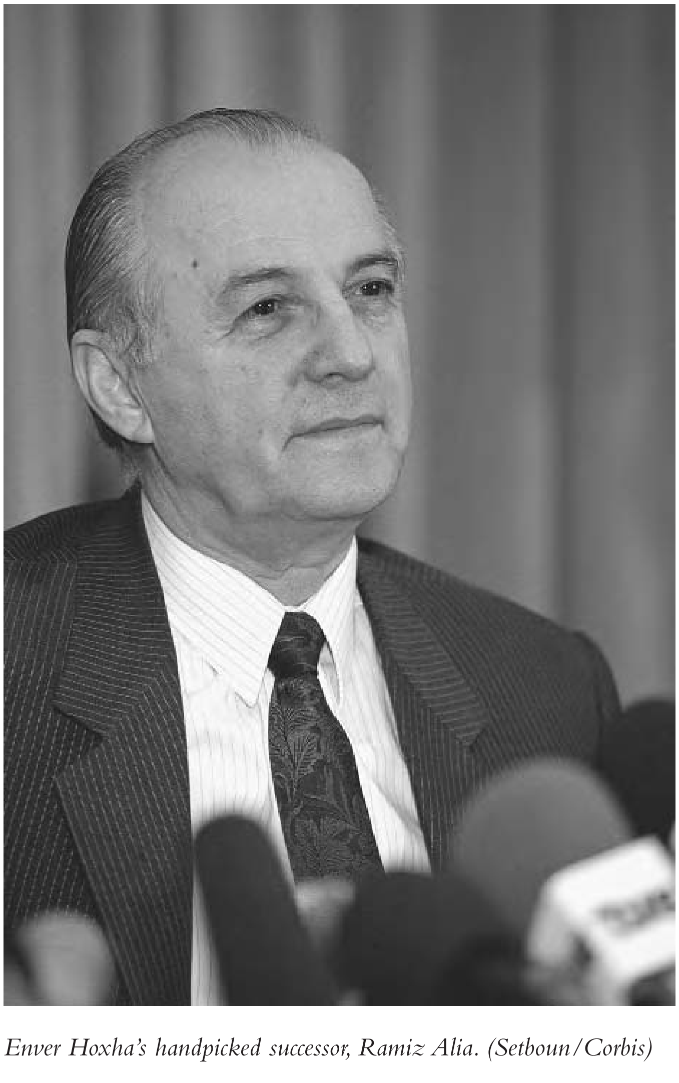
Enver Hoxha was determined to uproot economic backwardness and create a modernized agricultural and industrial state. In Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, Hoxha identified a viable program for modernization, yet the appeal of power and control was just as important in his attitude toward the Soviet model. He recognized early that modernization would not be possible without Stalinism and extensive foreign support. Yet he always sought a controlled dependence, since he always perceived interference in Albania's internal affairs as an attack on his rule. Foreign support was crucial to the transformation that Albania underwent under communist rule. Agriculture was fully collectivized, yet never achieved substantial returns. Massive improvements in the infrastructure served to better integrate the country, and there were great leaps forward in education and culture. However, the cost of these gains was extremely high.

The Albanian Communist Party inherited what could be described as a ready-made siege mentality in 1944, a reservoir of nationalism, of sorts, which the regime was able to draw upon in pursuit of its program. The Albanian communists were able to maintain their hold on power through a manipulation of that legacy, coupled with careful exploitation of events during the communist period. Internal and external crises were always used to further solidify the party's control over the country. In the search for legitimacy, which was crucial for Eastern European communist regimes, nationalism was indispensable. Nowhere was this more true than in Albania. The break with Yugoslavia had been based on a realistic fear of absorption, and the successive breaks with the USSR and China were predicated on the need to maintain the primacy of the Albanian Party of Labor (APL) and, more importantly, Hoxha's own position. Events outside Albania helped to drive home the idea that Albania's very survival was at stake. Shifting alliances within the communist bloc were one instrument in fostering a siege mentality, and British and U.S. support of incursions into Albania between 1949 and 1953, designed to overthrow the Hoxha government, further strengthened Hoxha's cause.

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, which resulted in Albania's formal withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, brought notions of siege to new heights. Hoxha suggested that Soviet intervention was imminent, and aside from beginning a massive program that eventually covered much of Albania with military bunkers, he presided over a process that saw Albanian society becoming increasingly militarized at all levels. Propaganda drove home, with a huge measure of success, the idea that Albania was encircled, helping the Party to explain the massive economic problems that were all too apparent. Not only were the bunkers extremely expensive, they absorbed important agricultural land. Also important to the siege mentality that was pervasive in Albania was the condition of the large number of Albanians living outside the state's borders, especially under the repressive policies of the Yugoslav authorities in Kosovo. Doubtless Albanians knew they were much poorer than the rest of Europe, but the official line, probably embraced by much of the population, was that it was better to be poor and independent.

Internally, Hoxha withstood several challenges to his own leadership, the most serious of which was from Xoxe. In the 1950s, because of changes in the USSR following the death of Stalin, some Party members, encouraged by Moscow, questioned Hoxha's adherence to dogmatic Stalinism and sought a slowdown of the economic program. They were subsequently purged. The 1970s witnessed a considerable crackdown on military and cultural elites. Periodic purges, usually coinciding with alliance shifts, were used to perpetuate the myth of internal enemies, solidifying Hoxha's own position and quieting calls for reform, and they served the wider program of a country under siege. The most ridiculous of the events associated with these was the "suicide" of Hoxha's heir apparent, Prime Minister Mehmet Shehu, in 1981, and the subsequent "revelation" that he had been a foreign agent serving multiple governments.

The main beneficiary of Shehu's demise was Ramiz Alia, who became Hoxha's designated successor. Alia had impeccable credentials and had served Hoxha well in the preceding years. Born in the northern city of Shköder in 1925, he became a party member in 1943 and was made a full member of the politburo in 1961. Alia had served as minister of education from 1955 to 1958, when he assumed responsibility for ideology and culture in the Central Committee. Although APL policy had been cloaked in extreme nationalism and strong communist ideology, both were used merely to perpetuate APL control over the country. Stalin-



Enver Hoxha's handpicked successor, Ramiz Alia. (Setboun/Corbis) ism, more than anything else, was the key to Hoxha's survival, and this mentality was passed on to Ramiz Alia.

With Hoxha's death in April 1985, the direction of the new regime remained unclear. Although there was little doubt that the APL had made important gains in improving the lot of the average Albanian, the dogmatic adherence to Stalinism had in the long run created an almost impossible situation, and Alia's room for manuever was limited. Alia was no doubt more pragmatic than his predecessor, and many suggested that change was in the air. Nevertheless, despite some minor changes, Alia remained committed to Hoxha's legacy. He owed his position to hardliners, who still exercised considerable influence on affairs, and radical change was out of the question until external events forced them.

TRANSITION ALBANIA, 1991–1997

On 22 March 1992, the Albanian population went to the polls in what was their second free election since 1923. In many ways, the second election was the true test for the Albanian population; although the first election (31 March 1991) had been declared "free" by the international monitoring bodies overseeing the balloting, there was still a dominant element of fear in the country, and the rural population remained reluctant to make a hasty and complete break with the past. The result was a substantial victory for the ruling Albanian Party of Labor. In the 1992 referendum, however, an overwhelming majority cast ballots for the fifteen-month-old Democratic Party of Albania (DP), while the renamed Albanian Party of Labor (APL), the Socialist Party of Albania (SP), suffered correspondingly massive losses.

The chaotic state of affairs in Albania's first transitional year of 1992 contributed to the Democrats' success, as the country slid into crisis and was reduced to complete dependence on foreign aid. It was clear that the majority of Albanian citizens felt that Albania could not restore itself without foreign aid and that the DP would be better able to secure that aid.

Albania had begun its transitional phase well after the rest of the former communist states. The Albanian system not only survived longer, but it also survived with most of its Stalinist trappings still in place. Complicating the process, due to the tightness of control exercised over the population, Albania had virtually no experience with indigenous reform movements. The system's tenacity stemmed from several factors, with nationalism assuming prime importance. In essence, the Party was in many ways successful in instilling the idea that Albania's survival was dependent on the Party alone.

During the tumultuous months of 1989, Albania appeared to stand apart from the fundamental changes occurring in the neighboring countries of the Soviet bloc. Although Alia was considerably more moderate than his predecessor, he refused to approve the needed revisions. Hoxha's personality cult had reached ridiculous proportions and Alia continued to pay homage to it whenever possible. Even during 1990, when the bloc was crumbling all around them, no substantive reevaluation of Hoxha's legacy took place. The Albanian leadership maintained their commitment to the country's peculiar form of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, denouncing both the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's program of reforms (glasnost [openness] and perestroika [restructuring]) and the changes in Eastern Europe that involved the undermining of communist regimes and the call for democratization. But Alia inherited a veritable time bomb. The radical reforms so needed to regenerate the country were simply not a possibility, had Alia even wished to initiate them.

Yet even isolated Albania could not ignore the changes around it. Several events served to contribute to a gradual change in the Albanian political climate. Certainly the events in Romania and the liquidation of Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu, the most Stalinist leaders in the Soviet bloc, in December of 1989 was a major factor in prompting this reorientation. Similarities between the two regimes were many, and after the events unfolded in Romania, Alia realized that changes were mandatory if the regime was to survive. Adding to that, Albanians were no longer living in complete isolation, and information from abroad was slowly making its way into the minds of the population.

There were some significant changes in 1990, as Alia began to tinker with the ailing economy. Alia sought to orchestrate a top-down revolution, hoping to maintain the primacy of the Party. Early 1990 witnessed the introduction of a program that by Albanian standards was quite radical, calling for greater decentralization of the economy and for greater democracy in political and social institutions. Also, a decision was made that allowed foreign investment. These changes were important, but they were too small and certainly too late. Alia's actions only served to unleash the forces that eventually destroyed the old order. By far the most important in the toppling of the regime were students angry with conditions at the University of Tirana, and their actions provided the spark to what was already a volatile situation. In an attempt to appease the students, Alia sought to meet some of their demands, but he maintained his commitment to controlled change. Eventually bowing to pressure from student demonstrations in early December 1990, Alia finally allowed for the creation of a multiparty system.

The student demonstrations were a reaction to the many crises facing the country. The defection of leading Albanian novelist Ismail Kadare at the end of October was also a major contributory factor in the establishment of a multiparty system. The fact that Kadare was giving up hope for change in Albania appeared to be the final straw for much of the population. With the foundation laid for a multiparty system and the emergence of the Democratic Party under the leadership of two University of Tirana professors, Sali Berisha, a cardiologist, and the economist Gramoz Pashko, Albania formally entered its political and economic transition. Albania's peculiar past program, together with a political and economic backwardness far exceeding that of any other former communist bloc state, served to ensure that its transition would be the most difficult.

The road toward the first multiparty elections was highly precarious, and Albania appeared poised on the brink of

Sali Berisha

Dr. Sali Berisha was born in Tropoje, in Albania's northeast, in 1944. Berisha, a prominent cardiologist, was Albania's first noncommunist president, and cofounder of the Democratic Party, which gained power in elections in 1992. Berisha was a key figure in the transformation of a number of student protests in 1990 into a nationwide anticommunist protest. As president, many of his reforms were unsuccessful, and he was often accused of overextending his power and allowing Albania to return to authoritarian rule. He lost the presidency in 1997, when the Albanian state almost totally collapsed due to the downfall of dubious pyramid schemes and the international community intervened to force fresh elections. Since 1997, despite multiple defeats in local and national elections, Berisha has remained the controversial and combative head of the opposition Democratic Party.

civil war as society became deeply polarized between supporters of the old and new orders. Alia, to his credit, refused to condone violence as a means of upholding the system; he emerged as a somewhat able caretaker of the first phase and refused to be drawn into the conflict. That Albania avoided the violence that plagued Romania is a credit to Alia, and given the greater chances for a political explosion, Albania's first few steps must be seen as relatively successful.

As already noted, Albania's first multiparty elections saw an overwhelming victory for the APL. With a 98 percent voter turnout, the APL took 169 seats of the 250-seat legislature. The DP took 75 seats, all in urban centers, and even managed to defeat Alia in his Tirana district. (He was nonetheless elected president by the APL-dominated parliament on 2 May, with 172 votes. In keeping with the draft constitution, which separated party and state posts, he resigned as APL general secretary and was replaced by Fatos Nano at the June Congress.) The Greek minority party, Omonia, won 5 seats and the Albanian War Veterans Party took 1 seat.

Despite the size of the majority vote, the election led to a widespread polarization in the country, primarily between rural and urban voters. In addition to sweeping rural voters, the APL fared better in the Tosk-inhabited south, while they did correspondingly poorly in the northern areas surrounding the Catholic center of Shkodër. What seemed possible after the first election was renewed polarization between northern Gegs and the southern Tosks, a situation that would have further hampered Albania's peaceful transition. The Democrats rejected outright the March 1991 results and were determined to call fresh elections; they therefore refused to cooperate with the elected APL government, a shortsighted policy that only served to worsen Albania's predicament.

Albania's first year in transition was almost completely wasted, and little was accomplished. A general strike ensued, supposedly an apolitical demonstration, but obviously engineered by the DP; this strike brought the reformist APL government of Fatos Nano down in June. It was followed by the creation of a Romanian-like National Stability government composed of a coalition of the major parties.

The coalition government was doomed from the start. Ridden by conflict, it spent most of its time engaged in polemics while the country slid deeper and deeper into crisis. Although all were in agreement that the old system had to be destroyed, no one had any real ideas on where to go from there. The young DP had only a grab bag of anti-communist slogans, while the APL scrambled to come to grips with its past, eliminate hardliners, and create new programs.

At the June Congress of the APL, in addition to name and leadership changes, the party attempted to redress the past. Open criticism of both Hoxha and Alia occurred, though the criticism of Hoxha was somewhat muted. Several key members, mostly hardliners, were removed from their posts, and a younger, more reform-minded leadership took over the newly formed Socialist Party of Albania (SP). The DP, despite growing disagreements in leadership over the timing of fresh elections and the party's role in the stability government, left the government in December 1991, and a caretaker government of specialists was created to see

Albanian prime minister Fatos Nano speaks at a parliamentary session during which parliament approved a reshuffle of his government after months of political turmoil, 29 December 2003 in Tirana. (AFP/Getty Images) the country through until new elections were held. Reduced to total dependence on foreign aid for its very survival, the country sought a new mandate.

The election campaign leading up to the March 1992 vote revealed that a deep polarization of the country still remained possible. Throughout the fall and winter of 1991, both major parties appeared to be running almost neck and neck in Albanian political polls, and although a democratic victory was more than likely, it appeared that their majority would be slight, thus throwing the country into another year of near paralysis. All the major parties were committed to market and democratic reforms, and at first glance the programs of all parties appeared almost identical.

The result was a polemical campaign, as the main opposition parties (the DP, the Social Democrats, and the Republican Party) sought to exploit the link between the Socialists and their communist past. Socialist Party leader Fatos Nano was identified whenever possible with former dictator Enver Hoxha and past Party of Labor policies. This was a somewhat hypocritical tactic, given the depth of the ties between all the opposition leaders and the former regime. In fact, since the country had never really possessed an indigenous reform movement of any kind, very few of Albania's new politicians were untainted. The opposition leadership consisted, for the most part, of former APL members.

As the experiences in the rest of Eastern Europe have shown, Albania was confronted with two options: a Polish style "shock therapy," which would mean that reforms would take place immediately despite the hardships, or a more gradual approach toward the creation of a free-market system. The DP argued for a quick transition, facilitated by an expected mass infusion of foreign aid and investment. Sali Berisha argued that, given the nature of Albania's predicament, only speedy change could bring the shattered economy out of the depths of crisis. The Socialists, on the other hand, pointed to the potential for polarization and unemployment associated with rapid change.

In the end, however, the single most important factor in deciding Albania's fate was the nature of foreign aid and investment. Since every party looked westward and sought integration with Europe, foreign investment, and a market economy, the election was essentially a struggle for outside aid. This struggle assumed almost comical proportions, with each party trying to enlist international figures who supported their victory. The opposition portrayed the Socialists as unable to secure Western credit due to their past and argued that a socialist victory would ensure the continuation of Albania's poverty and isolation. All parties declared that they could ensure the arrival of a European standard of living. The second election witnessed a complete reversal of 1991's results and boded well for Albania's transition.

In the reduced 140-seat assembly (100 decided by first-past-the-post and 40 by proportional representation), the DP secured 92 seats and the Socialists 38. The Social Democrats, the Human Rights Union, and the Republican Party won seven, two, and one seats respectively. With a turnout of some 90 percent, the DP received some 62 percent of the popular vote to the Socialists' 26 percent. What is most impressive is that the apparent polarization, especially the Geg-Tosk division of the last election, had been eliminated. The DP victory cut across almost all ethnic, religious, and tribal divisions and succeeded in areas that were traditionally reserved for communists.

Due to grandiose promises during the election campaign, optimism ran high. Sali Berisha, elected by the assembly as the new president, faced an extremely difficult battle. Problems with the economy assumed primary significance, as the new government set out to eliminate the remnants of almost five decades of communist rule. The country's new prime minister, Alexandër Meksi, reiterated his government's commitment to radical reforms to transform the economy.

Such a break from the past, while encouraging, was dependent upon numerous factors—economic, political, and even geographic—that soon became overwhelming, as evidenced by the events in Kosovo in the late 1990s. The Serbian assault on the ethnic Albanian population in Kosovo suddenly made the world aware of the existence of the new Albania and brought its problems into sharper focus.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

When Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev opened the door to the Soviet bloc's repudiation of Stalinism in 1956, the Albanian communist leader Enver Hoxha, virtually alone among his Eastern European counterparts, refused to follow suit, declaring himself against revisionism and proclaiming Albania to be the last remaining bastion of Stalinist orthodoxy. Hoxha's rule can be characterized as Stalinist in nature: all decision making was centralized, with Hoxha having the ultimate say; no political initiative from outside the party was tolerated, and dissent within the party was dealt with through purges. Compliance from the general population was assured through terror, via the Sigurimi (the Albanian secret service), and through a system of political prisons. Throughout his rule, Hoxha's personality cult rivaled in its scope and intensity that of Stalin in the Soviet Union of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.

Hoxha intended to transform Albanian society, and his main initiative in this direction was undertaken shortly after the rift with the USSR. He launched the Albanian Cultural Revolution in February 1966. Inspired by its Chinese counterpart, the Albanian Cultural Revolution was more tightly controlled and did not affect the upper echelons of party and governmental activity. Its primary social objectives were to improve the status of women, narrow salary differentials between workers, complete the collectivization of agriculture, and eliminate the practice of religion. This cultural revolution can be viewed as an attempt to create a unified national Albanian identity, as it worked against factors that divided Albanians, such as religion and regional identities like Geg and Tosk. In 1970, convinced that much progress had been made in entrenching socialist values in Albanian society, and aware that Albanians were feeling the strain of living under the pressure of the recent initiatives, Hoxha allowed a relaxation of the political climate, fostering a renewed vigor in artistic expression and the emergence of relatively open debate on such issues as defense and economic policy. But in 1973, dismayed by the flouting of socialist realism in the arts, the Albanians' new taste for Western fashions and music, and the alarming rise in the number of high-school dropouts, Hoxha decided matters had gone too far and reversed his position on the thaw, cracking down on liberal-minded intellectuals and the cultural elite.

When Hoxha died in April 1985, Albania's political life was firmly under the control of an elite, and the participation of ordinary Albanians was limited to demonstrating their support for the Party. Hoxha's handpicked successor and loyal friend, Ramiz Alia, succeeded him without incident. Still, Albanians were becoming more and more disenchanted with the regime, chiefly because the ailing economy was no longer able to ensure their daily subsistence. Self-reliance had only served to impoverish the majority of Albanians. Alia recognized this, and tried to implement some modest economic reforms starting in 1985, largely without result. By 1989, Alia had more important problems on his hands: the fall of the Berlin Wall had triggered popular movements throughout Eastern Europe. One factor that probably had a huge impact on events in Albania was the growing democratization of political life in Kosovo, which came ahead of political changes in Albania. As well, the demise of the Ceauşescu regime, which shared certain characteristics with Albania in its strict party control, Stalinist core, and cult of personality, had made a particularly strong impression on Albanian public opinion; the Albanian communist elite feared that Albanians would take their cue and mobilize in similar fashion. To counter that risk, Alia announced more thoroughgoing economic reforms and began to dismantle some aspects of the communist apparatus as a gesture of goodwill. Among his acts were the reinstatement of the Ministry of Justice, which had been abolished in the mid-1960s, an easing of penalties for a certain number of crimes, a lifting of the ban on practicing religion, a relaxation of laws dealing with freedom of movement, the de-politicizing of university admissions, and a revision of instructional material in schools.

These measures notwithstanding, Alia was not willing to make political concessions that would compromise the leading role of the Communist Party, such as allowing political pluralism. He began to lose control of the situation in July 1990, when 6,000 Albanians tried to flee the country by taking refuge in the foreign embassies of Tirana. Initially condemning the refugees as traitors and insisting that the embassies return them to Albanian custody, Alia relented a few days later and allowed the refugees to emigrate. The defection of popular writer and intellectual Ismail Kadare to France the following October was a further blow to the regime, as was the continued worsening of the economy.

Democratic Party rally in Tirana's Skanderbeg Square. (Courtesy of Robert Austin)

The weakness of Alia's position became clear at the following APL Central Committee meeting and People's Assembly gathering, when he finally admitted the possibility of political pluralism. Nonetheless, his decision to let representatives of state-recognized organizations run for office in the People's Assembly while preserving the leading role of the Party fell short of establishing a genuine multiparty system.

1990–1992: BEGINNINGS OF TRANSITION

Student demonstrations at the University of Tirana "Enver Hoxha" on 8 December 1990 proved decisive in shifting the balance of power. The protest was at first modest, focusing on students' miserable living conditions; when the police attempted to end the demonstration, the students responded by calling for political pluralism. Hoping to avoid further unrest, Alia agreed to their demands on 11 December. A new draft constitution, which guaranteed civil rights and recognized private property, was presented for discussion on 30 December. The end of 1990 also witnessed an increasing lawlessness in the country, as people stopped showing up for work, city streets became host to noisy and sometimes violent demonstrations, and state property was looted and vandalized.

Following the legalization of independent political parties, five parties registered to take part in the March 1991 elections: the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Ecology Party, the Agrarian Party, and Omonia, which claimed to represent the interest of ethnic Greeks. The Democratic Party (DP) was the most significant of these parties, claiming some 60,000 members. The DP platform had as its central focus an aggressive transformation of the economy into a market economy and the establishment of a pluralist society. Furthermore, the DP expressed a desire to promote the rights of Albanians in Kosovo and to work toward unity with Kosovo. The APL, for its part, advocated a more gradualist approach to economic transition, while also affirming its commitment to a pluralist society. The period leading up to the elections witnessed an increase in unrest, prompting Alia to declare a state of emergency and appoint a nine-person presidential council to help him rule the country. Albanians sought to flee the country in ever growing numbers; some 10,000 sought refuge in Greece alone.

Taking advantage of its privileged position and the resources at its disposal, the APL conducted an effective campaign, and was able to limit the amount of exposure for the DP, particularly in the countryside. The APL won 56.2 percent of the vote and obtained 169 out of 250 seats in parliament, and the DP won 38.7 percent and 75 seats. These results highlighted the dominance of these two parties, and indeed they have dominated Albanian politics ever since.

None of the opposition parties was willing to form a coalition with the APL, but it was clear that the APL government, headed by Fatos Nano, would be unable to govern without their support. Faced with pervasive unrest, Alia acquiesced in the creation of a multiparty Government of National Stability comprising twelve APL members, seven DP representatives, and five members from the other parties, signaling the end of one-party rule in Albania. Elections were also scheduled for June of 1992.

The new government faced important challenges in stabilizing the foundering economy and restoring law and order. It took measures to democratize the country, replacing the hated secret police, the Sigurimi, with the National Information Service and depoliticizing the military. The APL also made attempts to revitalize its image, changing its name to Socialist Party (SP) in June 1991 and purging its leadership of hardliners. Despite the SP's efforts to satisfy the demands of its partners, DP leader Sali Berisha became increasingly unwilling to share the spotlight with the SP. On 4 December 1991, he called for the resignation of the DP members of cabinet. In response, Alia appointed a caretaker cabinet and scheduled early elections for March.

According to the new election law, 100 of the 140 seats in the parliament were to be decided by majority vote, and the remaining by proportional representation. The law also banned parties representing ethnic groups, prompting the demise of Omonia. That party was soon replaced by the Human Rights Party, which does not claim to serve an ethnic group (although in practice it represents the interests of ethnic Greeks). The DP was much better equipped to conduct an election campaign than it had been its first time out, in part because of substantial financial support from the Albanian diaspora and international donors. The party based much of its campaign on the promise of attracting foreign aid and of obtaining an increase in immigration quotas for Albanians in European Community countries, highlighting the dire situation in Albania. The voter turnout was high (90.5 percent), and Albanian voters overwhelmingly chose the DP, which got 62.1 percent of the vote and 90 seats. This time the DP obtained strong support all over the country, from both rural and urban constituents. The SP got 25.7 percent of the vote, and 38 seats.

THE ERA OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY HEGEMONY, 1992–1997

In the face of popular rejection of the SP, Alia chose to resign, and Berisha was elected to replace him on 9 April 1992. Alexandër Meksi was appointed prime minister shortly thereafter. The government focused its efforts on implementing a shock-therapy economic reform program and on reestablishing law and order. Victims of persecution under the communists also obtained a significant voice within the DP. The DP did not fare as well in the local elections that were held in July 1992; it obtained only 43.3 percent of the popular vote, while the SP received 40.9 percent. This was probably due to the low turnout among DP supporters. The SP gained a significant voice in local politics and carried over half of mayoral contests. The strong showing of the SP at the local level contributed to growing tensions between the central and local governments.

The disappointing result of the local elections also accentuated the growing dissatisfaction of a number of DP members concerning the direction taken by their party. The growing influence of victims of communism within the party, a perceived ideological drift to the right, and Berisha's domineering leadership were among their grievances. For voicing their concerns, seven prominent members of the

Fatos Nano, Prime Minister of Albania (2004)

Fatos Nano was born in Tirana in 1952. He graduated from the University of Tirana with a degree in political economy and later, in 1989, received a Ph.D. in economics. In 1990 he was the general secretary of the Council of Ministers. He first became prime minister in 1991 (serving both before and after the first elections, in 1991), when Albania began the process of market liberalization and prepared for the country's first multiparty elections. He was later forced to resign his post amid popular protests and strikes. In July 2001 his party, the Communist Party of Labor, changed its name to the Socialist Party.

After losing elections to the Democratic Party in March 1992, Nano led the opposition. In 1994 Nano was found guilty of the misuse of state funds. The trial was highly politicized by the governing Democratic Party. His prison term ended in 1997 when massive civil unrest emptied the country's prisons in the wake of the collapse of the pyramid schemes that cost the Albanian citizens untold sums. He subsequently received a presidential pardon and reentered political life, being again appointed as prime minister. He resigned again following the death of a popular opposition leader, and civil unrest forced him to flee to neighboring Macedonia. After the 2001 parliamentary elections, Nano served as head of the Foreign Affairs Commission.

In 1999 Nano resigned as leader of the Socialist Party, only to be reinstated seven months later. He won the leadership against the then prime minister Pandeli Majko, whom he later voted out, along with Ilir Meta. On 25 July 2002, President Alfred Moisiu appointed Nano as prime minister for the fourth time. In 2003, he was again elected as chairman of the Socialist Party at its congress in December, winning a substantial majority of delegates.

Fatos Nano's political career has made a remarkable comeback over the past decade, but his democratic credentials and leadership abilities are questionable. Before entering politics he worked for the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, constantly opposing political pluralism and the move toward a market economy until the last moments of communist rule. As chairman of the Socialist Party in 1991 he led with an iron hand, often sidetracking reforms. His leadership has led to turmoil and divisions, as Nano has fought successive challenges from younger party members such as former prime minister Ilir Meta.

DP were either expelled or resigned from the party. They later formed the core of the Democratic Alliance Party, under the leadership of Neritan Ceka and Gramoz Pashko. There were also those for whom the DP was not far right enough; their defection resulted in the creation of the Democratic Party of the Right. Overall, however, the DP continued to enjoy the support of the majority of Albanians.

By the end of the first DP term in the mid-1990s, Albania's infant democracy still faced important challenges, some of them coming from the DP itself. The country still had not adopted a constitution, relying instead on the provisional one approved by the first elected government in 1991. Berisha tried, unsuccessfully, to push through parliament a constitution that vested considerable power in the presidency, resorting finally to calling a national referendum to approve the constitution. The result of the November 1994 ballot was negative; with 84.3 percent of the population voting, only 41.7 percent of voters approved the constitution, while 53.9 percent rejected it. Berisha's authoritarian tendencies became more pronounced as his term advanced. He attempted to use legislation and the courts to muzzle press critical of the DP. He also made efforts to oust Supreme Court Chief Justice Zef Brozi because of his outspoken criticism of corruption in government and of civil rights abuses. The DP also pursued a policy of prosecuting former communist leaders, and in September 1995, parliament passed a "Law on Genocide and Crimes against Humanity" to that end.

The 1996 election campaign, by all accounts, was a dirty one, as the DP chose illegal methods to ensure a victory (which they could have won without cheating). The failure of the referendum was a serious blow to Berisha's prestige and created the impression that the DP hegemony was under threat. Fearful of losing power, the DP attempted to stigmatize the SP with the label of "communist." There were bitter debates over changes to the electoral law, which raised the number of majority-vote seats to 115, with proportional representation choosing only 25 seats. The DP's aggressive campaign culminated in serious irregularities on voting day; SP supporters were systematically intimidated and harassed, and the tally of votes was manipulated. The DP won by a wide majority, obtaining 55.5 percent of the vote and 122 seats, leaving the SP far behind with a meager 10 seats. The triumph of the DP was overshadowed by widespread condemnation of the irregularities. Berisha's agreement to rerun the election in seven constituencies did not put to rest international observers' concerns that democracy was being flouted. The DP performed well in local elections the following October, indicating that Albanians by and large still had faith in the party.

The SP refused to recognize the results of the national elections, choosing instead to boycott parliament. The party also undertook a critical self-evaluation to assess what had

Sali Berisha flashing victory sign to supporters, 20 March 1992. (Reuters/Corbis)

gone wrong. As a result, it purged all references to Marxism in its program and pledged to model itself on Western social democratic parties.

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE PYRAMID SCHEMES

Following the 1996 elections, the DP appeared to have a firm hold on Albania, and nothing seemed to be able to challenge its hegemony. But stability eluded Albanian society, and public authority was at best fragile: the legal system was weak and subject to pressure from above; tax collection was ineffectual; and police forces were understaffed, ill-trained, and ill-equipped. Albania remained an extremely polarized society, as the two major political parties fought battles over the past while the Albanian people became isolated and disenchanted with the political process. Furthermore, the state had made no effort to develop the kind of political culture necessary to creating and sustaining a democratic society. Rule of law remained weak, and corruption was rampant. There was no forum in which to discuss social and economic issues of importance to Albanians. Opposition was systematically bullied into silence rather than accepted as a healthy part of society. Like citizens of other postcommunist states, Albanians were also inclined to look to the state for all their answers, and blame it for all their problems. Thus, democracy in Albania was fragile, so much so that any economic crisis threatened to destabilize it.

The collapse of the pyramid schemes, the massive scandal that devastated the Albanian economy beginning in January of 1997, set back Albania's transition considerably. By early February, there were ongoing protests in several cities, including Tirana, Lushnjë, and Vlorë. Opposition parties seized on the opportunity to mobilize the population and to act as spokespersons for their grievances. Soon the unrest turned into an outright uprising throughout Albania. Some of the violence was uncontrolled: angry Albanians vandalized banks and governmental buildings and libraries, and there were widespread cases of looting and frequent shootings. In short, the country appeared on the verge of civil war. Arms depots were raided, and armed bands appeared in the countryside. However, there was also a political element to this insurgency, with "salvation committees" appearing in various towns, whose membership reflected all walks of life and political persuasions.

The DP government tried and failed to put down the insurgency with military might. In spite of the declining popularity of the DP, Berisha was reelected to the presidency on 3 March. He agreed to the formation of a Government of National Unity in cooperation with the opposition. A wave of Albanian refugees in Western Europe attracted the attention of the West to the increasingly unstable situation in Albania. Concerned that the unrest would spread to neighboring Macedonia, the European Parliament began to consider intervention. By the end of March, the UN Security Council approved a multinational intervention force of nearly 6,000 soldiers. Under pressure from the West, on May 16, Berisha called early elections in the hope of quieting the unrest.

Fatos Nano and Bashkim Fino led the campaign for the SP, and Berisha did the same for the DP. Despite the tense atmosphere, elections took place on June 29 without major incident. The SP did extremely well, receiving 52.7 percent of votes and 101 seats, while the DP only garnered 25.82 percent of votes and 27 seats, and ceded 3 of the proportional seats to 3 smaller parties. The vote was ultimately a rejection of the DP and Sali Berisha, who was blamed by most for the loss of their funds. Berisha resigned as president and was replaced by Rexhep Meidani. Nano became prime minister, and Bashkim Fino took on the position of deputy prime minister. The Socialists' first priority was the restoration of law and order and regaining the confidence of the international community.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF PRESENT-DAY ALBANIA

Albania is governed through a mixed presidential-parliamentary system, as defined by a constitution approved by popular referendum on 28 November 1998. The president is the chief of state and is elected every five years. The president's role is largely ceremonial, in marked contrast to the presidency under Sali Berisha. The 140 seats in the People's Assembly (Kuvendi Popullor), up for election every four years, are chosen mainly by direct popular vote, but a few seats are chosen through proportional representation. The party obtaining the most seats determines the prime minister, who is the head of government. He chooses the members of the cabinet, which is then subject to approval by the president.

Albania's most popular parties are still the Socialist Party and the Democratic Party. The Social Democratic party and the Democratic Alliance Party have not posed a significant challenge to the two dominant parties, garnering often less than 3 percent each of the popular vote in the last elections, although they have traditionally taken part in coalitions with the Socialists. Albania's right wing is represented by the Albanian National Front (Balli Kombëtar), a right-wing nationalist party that claims to be a direct descendant of the World War II nationalist resistance movement, and the Movement of Legality Party, which advocates the restoration of the monarchy under Leka Zog, the son of King Zog; each claimed less than 4 percent of the popular vote in the last elections. Leka Zog has sought, without success, the restoration of the monarchy. In 1997 a referendum on the monarchy was held in conjunction with the internationally sponsored vote, and some 60 percent of Albanians rejected a return of the king. In 2002 Leka and his family returned permanently to Albania in hopes of entering political life in the same way King Simeon has done in Bulgaria. Other parties currently represented in parliament are the Republican Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Human Rights Party, the Social Democratic Union of Albania, and the Party of National Unity.

Today's Albania is composed of 36 districts, 315 communes, 65 municipalities, and 12,000 villages. Each village and municipality belongs to a commune, and each commune belongs to a district. Districts, communes, and villages have elected councils, whereas municipalities are nominally under the authority of a commune council. While the election of commune and district councils is regulated by standardized procedures, village councils can be formed in a number of ways. Representatives can be chosen through a vote at a public meeting, or can be chosen by the dominant *fis* (family council) of each *mehalla* (neighborhood).

Albania is also divided into twelve prefectures. Prefects are appointed by the president and are responsible for supervising local government councils, with the purpose of ensuring that they do not pass legislation at variance with that of the central government. Critics have noted that the prefect's substantial powers are not sufficiently defined in the constitution. Relations between central and local governments have been strained by the central government's continuous efforts to assert control over the local level. Indicative of this trend, the central government has cut its funding to local government from 22 percent of the national budget in 1995 to 12 percent in 1998, compensating for this by centralizing education, health, and agriculture. Local authorities are prevented from increasing their independence by legislation stating that they must obtain 95 percent of their funding from the central government.

ASSESSING THE HEALTH OF ALBANIA'S POLITICAL LIFE

Social Marginalization Albania's transition has not been an easy one—in fact, more often than not, it has been a matter of one step forward, two steps back. Albania is not alone in having suffered as a result of its transition; there has been a pattern of initially poor economic performance and impoverishment in almost all countries that have emerged from communism, if only in the first few years. Albania's experience, however, has been exceptionally difficult. Pervasive unemployment, which ranges between 17 and 40 percent, underdeveloped infrastructure, weak governance, and a general breakdown of order have resulted in a degree of human insecurity unparalleled among Eastern European countries, save perhaps the former Yugoslavia. Although insecurity has an impact on the lives of most Albanians, a number of groups have been identified as being particularly vulnerable to social marginalization.

Hoxha's regime claimed to have eliminated gender discrimination, as in other communist countries, and it did succeed in integrating women into the workforce, but it did not tackle traditional attitudes about women's role in the home. This resulted in a double burden for women of household chores and child rearing, on the one hand, and gainful outside employment on the other. The end of communism brought a general worsening in women's status. As unemployment rose dramatically following the end of communism, Albanian women by and large chose to stay at home; only 16 percent work outside the home. The resurgence of traditional values has also meant that women are now seen primarily as caretakers for their families. Divorced women and women abandoned by their husbands, an increasing concern because of mass migration, are at particular risk: they are left without income, become vulnerable to violence, and are sometimes forced into prostitution. The elderly are in a similar position of helplessness. Young women who are unable to marry or to find employment are also at high risk of becoming prostitutes.

In the face of such enormous challenges in the rebuilding of Albania's economy, infrastructure, and administration, the response of government officials to marginalized groups has been limited. Although the government has instituted the Ndhimë Ekonomike to provide financial assistance to some of Albania's poor, many officials cope with marginalization by denying its existence.

Governance and Accountability Considering that the state has not been able to ensure a minimal standard of living and that its control over some parts of rural Albania is at best tenuous, it is not surprising that most Albanians are wary of government and of political parties. Government is overwhelmingly perceived as corrupt; Albanians expect to pay bribes in order to obtain regular government services. There is also a perception that those regions that support the political party in power are treated preferentially. According to a survey published in 2002 by the World Bank, only 21 percent of those asked whether the government worked well agreed. Despite this dissatisfaction, 62 percent of Albanians claimed that they always participate in elections and referendums, with a further 12 percent participating "quite often." Still, nearly half (47 percent) feel that politics and political parties have no impact on their lives. Thus, while most Albanians appear to value the chance to participate in political life, many are becoming disillusioned with the ability of politics to address the problems they encounter.

The print and electronic media also have an important role in fostering a sense of accountability toward voters by acting as a government watchdog. Under Berisha, media hostile to the regime were systematically bullied. The Press Law passed by the DP was heavily criticized by journalists because its vague wording gave the state too much power. This law was abolished in 1997. Changes in the Albanian media landscape have been monumental since the communists lost their monopoly on information. In fact, Albania may have gone too far, experiencing what can only be called a media explosion, which intensified after Berisha lost power in 1997. There are dozens of options in print and electronic media, simply too many media outlets for a country its size. What are needed are fewer and better sources of information. By and large, Albanians rely on television for news and information, as the national press is expensive, poorly distributed, and considered largely politicized. With a wide variety of private television and radio stations, Albanians no longer need to rely on state-run media, which remain extremely progovernment in their coverage.

Compensating for a Weak State Albanians have had recourse to a number of mechanisms to stay afloat in the last decade. In the economic realm, emigration has been an essential ingredient in providing families with enough income to survive. The reemergence of traditional institutions such as the *Kanun* and the *fis,* especially in the rural north, have helped to provide a measure of social order, which the state has been unable to ensure. Kanun law is attributed to Leke Dukagjini, a feudal lord from the fifteenth century. It is administered by the fis, a council composed of all the direct male descendants of a clan elder. When dealing with a community matter, several fis may meet to deliberate. They address disputes over land reform, land use, and irrigation, as well as other conflicts.

The reemergence of traditional practices has been considered a generally negative development; it has been associated with the reappearance of blood feuds and the strengthening of traditional values, including a decrease in the status of women. For all its failings, however, this system of law has allowed the reestablishment of order in communities that use it, by offering a body through which to resolve conflict. Furthermore, far from being competition to state governance, it seems that the fis are mainly active in areas where the state is absent and have sought to cooperate with the state where such a possibility arises.

The nonprofit sector has only to a limited degree been able to compensate for the weak state, to monitor its behavior and participate in state building. International philanthropic organizations and NGOs (non-governmental organizations) such as the Soros Foundation run a variety of programs in Albania. Although there are examples of successful domestic NGOs, by and large the nonprofit sector in Albania is not sufficiently developed to have a substantial impact on vulnerable populations. The small size of the nonprofit sector is also a result of its relative novelty in Albania compared to other Eastern European countries; the transitions of states such as Poland and Hungary were fueled by grassroots movements that later provided the backbone of the non-profit sector. Albanians are not well informed about the activities of NGOs and do not share a common view of the role the nonprofit sector should play in influencing governmental policy.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In the second millennium B.C.E., the Illyrians occupied the western Balkans. Albanians consider themselves to be descendants of the ancient Illyrians, and they believe their language is derived from Illyrian, an Indo-European language at least as ancient as Greek or Latin. Not all scholars accept this derivation, but it is extremely important to most Albanians. For one thing, because of the long period of Ottoman occupation and the nature of Albanian peasant society, illiterate and often isolated, language remained the one defining element of Albanian culture for centuries. Then, once the national awakening began in the nineteenth century, national pride focused on the twin beliefs that Albanians were descendants of the first inhabitants of the region, who had been there long before the Romans, and that they still spoke the language of those ancient inhabitants, despite all the years of domination by other peoples.

The Albanian language today contains numerous foreign words derived from Greek, Latin, Turkish, Slavic, and Italian. The first known Albanian text dates from only 1462. During the occupation of Albania from 1479 to 1912 by the Ottoman Empire, the use of written Albanian was prohibited. The revival of the Albanian written language that took place in the nineteenth century was instituted by Albanian patriots both within and outside Albania.

It must not be forgotten that Albanian is spoken by nearly seven million people, not only in Albania, but in Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia, Greece, and Turkey. There are also substantial Albanian communities in Italy, Canada, the United States, Bulgaria, and Ukraine. Owing to Albania's poor economic condition, the best educated and most highly skilled Albanians have often sought better economic opportunities in Western Europe and North America, but they have not forgotten their language or ceased to take pride in it.

An important step in the development of written Albanian was taken in 1908 at the Congress of Monastir (now Bitola in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), when it was decided that the Albanian language would use a Latin script. This decision demonstrated the desire among Albanians to be connected to the West rather than with the Ottoman Empire.

Though the Albanian language has been the one thread that has bound all Albanians together, it has not always worked as a unifying factor. Albanian has two main dialects. Geg is spoken north of the Shkumbin River, including Kosovo, and Tosk is spoken mainly in the south of the country. (There are also a number of different dialects spoken by Albanian communities abroad, including Arberesh in southern Italy.) Following the Congress of Monastir, there was an attempt to unify the two dialects into one common literary language. Such a language was actually worked out, and those who met in 1916 in the town of Shkodër advocated its adoption, but World War I made the situation unfavorable for further progress. Under the communist regime an outline for the unification of the Albanian language was approved in 1952. However, it was not until 1972, at the Congress of Orthography, that a universal literary Albanian was actually adopted. Although this congress resulted in a language that contained elements of both Geg and Tosk, about 80 percent of that language reflected the Tosk dialect. Thus, even though a standard literary Albanian has finally been achieved, the language issue is far from closed, as some activists and scholars, especially in Kosovo, have sought to resurrect the Geg dialect.

The creation of an Albanian literature did not wait for the adoption of an official standard literary Albanian. The first known written document in Albanian dates from 1462, a Geg baptismal formula. Later in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a number of religious texts began to appear, such as Gjon Buzuku's Missal in 1555. It was only in the later nineteenth century, however, during the beginning of the period of national awakening, that Albanian literature really began to become important. Its leading figure was Naim Frasheri (1846–1900), Albania's national poet, who wrote about Albania's fifteenth-century hero Skanderbeg, the leader in the struggle against the Ottoman armies between 1443 and 1468. (His brothers, Abdyl and Sami, also played important roles in the literature of the second half of the nineteenth century.) Another key figure in early Albanian literature was Faik Konica (1876–1940), who published the journal *Albania* in Brussels in 1897 and later served as Albania's envoy to the United States under Zog in the interwar period.

Although Albanian literature flourished during the interwar period, it never achieved its desired effect, due to the extreme poverty that marked Albanian society during this time. The spread of literature was also impeded by the fact that 80 percent of the population was illiterate and all used numerous subdialects. During this period Ahmed Bey Zogu ruled as prime minister, president, and finally king, and he attached little significance to the growth and development of Albanian literature. In spite of this unpromising situation, figures like Konica, Fan S. Noli (1882 –1965), and the Franciscan father Gjergi Fishta (1871–1940) gained prominence in Albanian literature. Fishta's epic *The Lute of the Highlands* depicts the struggle of the northern Albanians against the Slavs. Noli's contribution to Albanian culture and literature is significant; he wrote history and poetry, as well as translating the works of Shakespeare and other major writers into Albanian. His other major contribution to Albanian life was in developing the independent Albanian Orthodox Church.

In the aftermath of the communist victory in 1944, literature was designed to serve the ideological purposes of the Party. Enver Hoxha, the first communist leader of Albania, moved quickly to abolish intellectual freedom, resulting in a conformist and restricted literature. Under Hoxha, Albanian literature was designed to convey the ideals of socialism, while at the same time reminding the Albanian people of their centuries-long struggle against foreign domination and oppression. Accordingly, Albanian literature reflected a mix of socialist rhetoric and nationalism. All forms of art served the sole purpose of glorifying the partisan struggle of the Albanian people. Artistic expression simply did not fit the ideological mandate of the region. Despite the general sterility of culture, the communists did wage a successful battle against illiteracy; by 1955, they claimed that illiteracy was eliminated for all Albanians under 40 years of age.

During the communist period, Albania was one of the most isolated countries in the world, which meant that foreign influence was very limited at best. The communist regime was highly successful in discrediting prewar literature, and as a result barely any literature of high value was published before 1960. Only after the end of Soviet influence did literature gain merit. Commencing in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a liberal movement materialized, which strove to develop Albanian literature, art, and culture.

Albanian author Ismail Kadare, who wrote the novels The General of the Dead Army *and* Palace of Dreams, *in the 1970s. (Getty Images)*

With the imprisoning of its leaders in 1973, however, the movement failed to gain momentum.

The best-known author outside Albania and the key figure in Albanian literature is Ismail Kadare (b. 1936), whose works have been translated into many languages around the world. Kadare was born in the museum city of Gjirokastër, in southern Albania. He studied at the University of Tirana and at the Gorky Institute of World Literature in Moscow. Kadare's prominent works have included poetry, historical novels, and short stories. Among them, *The General of the Dead Army, The Castle, The Great Winter* (which dealt with the break in relations with the Soviet Union), and the epic *The Concert at the End of Winter* (which was a direct criticism of the socialist system and Albania's break with China in the 1970s) stand out.

Kadare often offered veiled criticism of the communist regime, attacking totalitarianism and the ideology of socialism. In 1982 he came under attack at a Plenum of the League of Albanian Writers. Despite this, Kadare remained relatively protected until October 1990, when he increasingly felt that communist leaders were plotting an attack on him; he fled Albania, seeking asylum in France. Kadare's influence internationally and his exile abroad made him a symbol for those who sought an end to totalitarianism in Albania. His exile thus influenced the political developments that eventually led to the demise of the communist regime in Albania. Kadare's reputation is international in scope, and he remains the principal figure in Albanian cultural life, with a profound influence on many Albanians. He is also the best-known Albanian writer outside the country.

Other prominent figures in Albanian literature include Dritero Agolli, Sabri Godo, Teodor Laco, Teodor Keko, and Neshat Tozaj. Tozaj's *Thikat tirana* (The Knives), published in 1989, was a clear attack on the Albanian security forces (the Sigurimi), which contributed to the popular insurrection against the communist regime, and so to its subsequent collapse.

An account of Albanian literature cannot, however, do full justice to the basic struggle to create an Albanian culture, or to the role that the communist period played in that struggle. Certainly the Albanian patriots of the nineteenth century knew that they had to use a grassroots approach and pursue an agenda that focused on the development of a national consciousness. First, they had to make Albanians aware they were Albanians before any real progress could be made on a number of fronts. Even though statehood was achieved, the success of their efforts was extremely limited. In fact, the interwar period can be characterized as a time when Albanians as a whole were unaware of the existence of a national culture. Ahmed Zogu did little to promote the development of Albanian culture, although he did make some progress in attempting to undermine regional and religious cleavages. Outside Albania there were numerous attempts to identify Albanian culture with that of the West, through the work of Konica and Noli, who were important figures in the Albanian-American community located in Boston. This community contributed to the growth of Albanian culture through *Vatra,* the Pan-Albanian Federation of America, and their community newspaper *Dielli* (The Sun). Established in 1909, *Dielli* is the oldest Albanian newspaper. Vatra played a principal role in defending Albanian interests and promoting better awareness of Albanian culture.

The really important steps for promoting Albanian culture, however, were taken under the communist regime. The communists' heavy-handed approach may have had a deadening effect on literature, but at least they saw the need to develop Albanian culture in order to build Albanian nationhood. Developments in Albanian culture under the communists included these essential elements: the encouragement and enhancement of national unity; the defeat of the notion that Albania was a backward and primitive nation; and the promotion of the concept that Albanians had fought a long and difficult battle against foreign threats to both their sovereignty and national identity. Their work meant that after the fall of the communist regime Albanians were well aware of their country's culture and history, and thus it has left a lasting impression on cultural norms and mentalities.

The Party of course promoted itself as a vital element of Albanian society, using, for example, the glorification of the wartime liberation struggle, but at the same time it promoted Albanian history and culture. The regime established a network of local museums, as well as numerous monuments, and held festivals celebrating past victories. The central figure in Albanian history and national hero Gjergi

Kastrioti, also known as Skanderbeg, was an important ingredient in this attempt to give Albanians a strong sense of their identity as Albanians, as he had been in the nineteenth-century efforts. Now, however, much more was done. Films, operas, songs, and poems portrayed Skanderbeg's fight against Ottoman forces in the fifteenth century. His importance in Albanian culture can still be seen today: the black double-headed eagle on a red background, his family emblem, is Albania's national flag and symbol. The period of national renaissance is another important aspect of Albanian culture that was celebrated by the communist regime. Its highest embodiment was felt to be the 1878 League of Prizren, which was established to prevent the Albanian lands from being partitioned after the Russo-Turkish War.

The communist regime tended to discredit much of what had happened in the interwar period. Ahmed Zogu was branded a national traitor and scorned for his alleged subservience to Yugoslavia and Italy and his "antinational" and "reactionary" policies. On the other hand, Fan Noli's coming to power in June 1924 was praised in communist parlance as a "bourgeois-democratic revolution"; its failure was blamed on foreign interference by the imperialist powers. Noli became the most important politically correct figure from the interwar period. From an ideological point of view, Noli's success in June 1924 was alleged to have laid the groundwork for the success of Albanian communism in 1944. Regular festivals marked the anniversaries of Noli's seizure of power, the League of Prizren, and Skanderbeg's death. The regime opened a Palace of Culture in Tirana in 1966 and a massive National Museum, which dominates Tirana's Skanderbeg Square. Its mural depicts the Albanians' struggle through the ages. In addition to these initiatives the regime established the Institute of Folklore in 1960, which published several scholarly works and collected thousands of folk songs. There was also a desire to bring a larger culture to the countryside. Outside the major cities, numerous regional museums, cinemas, and small-scale cultural houses were built.

The most significant development in the cultural sphere during the communist era was far less positive: the Albanian Cultural Revolution (1966–1969). This was essentially Albania's own version of China's Cultural Revolution. It aimed to eliminate any form of potential power that could threaten the ruling Albanian Party of Labor and the communist regime. A number of campaigns were undertaken against religious beliefs, traditional customs, Western culture, and foreign influence, with the goal of creating national unity and modernization. In 1967 all religious institutions were closed, and Albania was declared the world's first officially atheist nation. The Albanian cultural revolution spread into the government itself, with the Party of Labor initiating attacks on the state bureaucracy, clan-based habits, and educational institutions. These policies highlighted the desire of Albania's ruling party and its leader, Enver Hoxha, to decrease the influence of the Soviet Union while at the same time promoting Albanian nationhood.

Ironically, the fall of communism has had a negative effect on the cultural sector in Albania. The fact that Albania was one of the most isolated states during the communist era has contributed to the widespread acceptance of foreign culture in Albania today. Attempts by the communist regime to limit foreign influence failed once the regime fell, and the siege mentality that was nurtured under the communists has all but dissipated. Nevertheless, Albanians still believe strongly in their connection to the ancient Illyrians, in Skanderbeg, and in the glory of their national awakening of the nineteenth century.

Financial difficulties, along with the quick embrace of all things Western, may have put strains on cultural developments, but figures such as the popular and often controversial mayor of Tirana, Edi Rama, have made efforts to develop the cultural life of the capital. A regular film festival has been started, and filmmakers like Kujtim Cashku have made their mark on international cinema. Cashku's *Colonel Bunker* (1996) captured Albanian life in the 1970s, as the siege mentality reached new heights.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

DEVELOPMENTS UP TO 1985: DEPENDENCE AND ISOLATION

The primary legacy of Albania's twentieth-century economic development is dependency. In the interwar period, Italy emerged as the country's main benefactor; in the communist period, Albania shifted alliances from Yugoslavia to the Soviet Union and finally to China, before embarking on a catastrophic period of self-reliance. Transition Albania has once again been forced to rely on outsiders, especially the United States and the European Union. Ordinary Albanians more often than not rely on remittances from family members working abroad.

When Albania obtained its independence in 1912, it was the least-developed country in Europe; it was a feudal society dominated by a few large landowners whose land was cultivated by an impoverished peasantry. Its economy was almost entirely devoted to subsistence agriculture; industry and regional and international trade were nearly nonexistent. The majority of Albanians were landless peasants. Travel through Albania was a daunting proposition: there were only 300 kilometers of road, of which only 185 kilometers were paved. The interwar period witnessed only minor economic development in Albania. Fan Noli's planned agrarian reforms would have resulted in the distribution of land to peasants, but he was ousted by Ahmet Zogu, later King Zog, before he could carry out his reforms.

Zog also undertook some modest agrarian reforms, but they did not significantly modify ownership patterns of the land or promote modern agricultural practices. Zog essentially held out the threat of agrarian reform as a means of keeping the landowning elite on his side. Zog looked to Italy to provide the capital needed for the development of Albania's economy. Italians undertook the exploitation of Albania's mineral resources, provided loans to the government, and financed the development of Albania's infrastructure. Italy secured domination of Albania's banking system, oil and mineral resources, and overseas shipping in exchange for its financial assistance. Nonetheless, the Albanian economy remained the least developed in Europe, and retained its primitive character. Economic changes only minimally impacted the Albanian population, with infrastructure remaining primitive and urbanization low; only 20 percent of Albanians lived in urban areas in 1930. The economy remained primarily based on agriculture, supplemented by the most basic manufacturing activity of the artisanal type. Foreign trade remained low, with Albania importing more goods than it exported, consistently resulting in a trade deficit.

At the end of World War II, the communists assumed control of a territory that was still only marginally developed and that had suffered heavy damage during the war. The major problem remained land reform, as Zog had more or less left the peasantry as he found them and Italian economic assistance was never intended to build the basis of an economically viable Albania. In order to rebuild the country, the communist leadership accepted aid from the United Nations Relief and Reconstruction Agency, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia. By 1946, the country's industrial production had caught up with its 1939 level, and by 1947 it had surpassed it by 60 percent, testifying to the narrowness of Albania's prewar industrial base. Lacking the capital necessary to develop the country, the communist leadership turned to more powerful communist states. Albania forged a close relationship with Yugoslavia in the years following the war, which manifested itself partly through the creation of numerous joint ventures. Yugoslavia invested significant sums in developing Albania's oil and mineral sectors, building the railway, and electrifying the country. Relations with Yugoslavia were ruptured in 1948 following the Tito-Stalin break; fear of Yugoslavia's apparent intentions to integrate Albania politically was clearly a factor. Albania then turned to the Soviet Union, becoming a Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA, or Comecon) partner. With substantial financial support from the USSR, Hoxha embarked on a Stalinist transformation of the economy, concentrating on developing heavy industry and collectivizing agriculture.

The Albanian leadership broke with the USSR in 1961. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's rejection of Stalinism threatened to discredit Hoxha. At the same time, Hoxha feared that Khrushchev's insistence that Albania should specialize in agriculture to fit in with the "international socialist division of labor" would make Albania dependent on the USSR. Albania partnered with China, with which it had been developing relations throughout the 1960s. This reorientation put a heavy strain on the economy, which had been engineered to fit into the CMEA system. While allied with the Chinese, the Albanian government took steps toward making Albania economically self-sufficient by renewing its focus on agricultural development to ensure a sufficient supply of foodstuffs, and by pursuing further development of heavy industry. Driven by Hoxha's fears of military invasion, industrial production was heavily geared toward defense. Chinese aid assisted in the continued industrialization drive, including the electrification of the country, which was completed in 1970. In the late 1970s China reached a rapprochement with the Soviet Union and the United States, which threatened to leave Albania politically stranded. The last straw was China's decision to reduce aid to Albania. Withdrawing from its alliance with China, the Albanian leadership committed the country to a policy of economic autarchy. This period of self-reliance was devastating for the Albanian economy and people. Cut off from vital foreign assistance, Albanians simply became poorer.

The communist era also left a significant mark on the agrarian economy. In 1945 Albania's largest landowners, who held about one-third of the country's land, saw their holdings expropriated, freeing a significant amount of land, which was then distributed to the landless peasantry, before being collectivized in order to create larger units of production. Due to resistance in the countryside, full collectivization was not achieved until 1967. The regime also implemented a program of crop diversification, regional specialization, and increased irrigation. Agricultural production was increased, mainly by expanding the surface area of arable land through desalination of marshlands and terracing of sloped terrain.

During the communist period, the country's transportation network was significantly improved; the highway system in particular was expanded to 6,900 kilometers of roads capable of carrying motorized vehicles. Port facilities at Durrës were upgraded, although they had limited tonnage in comparison to other European ports. A primitive railway system was also created, but rail traffic was exceedingly slow and did not reach most of the country. Domestic air transportation was virtually nonexistent. Through policies of improving health services, sanitation, and diet, the regime also made a significant contribution to raising average life expectancy to seventy-one years. Great emphasis was placed on education, so much so that illiteracy had been nearly eradicated by 1985.

1985–1992: ATTEMPTS TO PRESERVE THE SYSTEM THROUGH CONTROLLED CHANGE

Following Hoxha's death in 1985, the communist leadership, under Hoxha's successor Ramiz Alia, began to implement limited reforms, with the objective of preserving the system by reducing its inefficiencies, rather than transforming it. Albania's economy had shown signs of stagnation during the brief period of autarchy. Hoxha had been unwilling, unlike other Eastern European leaders, to deviate from Stalinist economic orthodoxy, and so in 1985 Albania possessed a highly dysfunctional centrally planned economy. Alia directed his efforts toward reducing the inefficiency of the system by increasing worker discipline and productivity and shifting production to consumer goods and services. He also worked toward improving relations with the West in the hope of establishing trade relations.

The reform process was accelerated by the momentous changes that swept over Eastern Europe in 1989. Albania lost many of its former trading partners within the Eastern bloc. Perhaps more significantly, the success of democracy movements in neighboring countries raised the risk of unrest, all the more threatening as Albania's economy was disrupted by recurring drought. Under mounting pressure, the Alia regime introduced private enterprise as a means of revitalizing the economy, legalizing private handicrafts and family businesses in July 1991.

1992–1997: TRANSITION—THE PRODIGIOUS RISE AND FALL OF THE ALBANIAN ECONOMIC MIRACLE

The Democratic Party was elected in March of 1992 on the promise of carrying out a Polish-style "shock therapy" transition to a free market economy. It immediately set about stabilizing the economic situation by applying restrictive monetary policy, liberalizing prices and foreign trade, and building the embryonic institutions of a market economy. The objectives of these policies were to monitor inflation, minimize the budget deficit, solve the foreign debt problem, and create a two-tier banking system. These measures were in line with the program advocated by the IMF and World Bank for Eastern European countries in transition. By the end of 1992, Albania's macroeconomic indicators had not only stabilized, but showed signs of growth, leading international financial institutions and observers to qualify Albania as an economic miracle.

Privatization of Land The government also pursued and accelerated the privatization process begun under the previous leadership. The first sector to be privatized was land, with legislation being put in place in 1991. Peasants had already (of their own volition) taken over much of the land and seized machinery during the unrest of the first years. Cooperative land was distributed among the members of each cooperative. An attempt was made to transform some state farms into joint ventures, but most of these enterprises failed, and a decision was made to sell the land to the farms' workers. The progress of land privatization was swift. Only 3 percent of land was in private hands in 1989; by 1996, this percentage had increased to 95 percent, with private farms providing 95 percent of the total agricultural output.

The approach taken to ownership transformation has resulted in the creation of very small properties: more than 95 percent of the land was divided up among some 490,000 individual private farms in at least 1.9 million parcels, with an average of 3.3 separately located parcels per farm, such that the average property size is only 1 hectare. Farms of such small size cannot make use of economies of scale; 42 percent of farms operate with only human and animal power. The prospects for improvement are slim, since the institutions that could promote growth, such as credit-lending institutions, are by and large absent. Legislation freezing the right to buy and sell land has hampered the consolidation of small plots into potentially more productive units. Thus Albania's agricultural industry remains crippled by the small scale of farms and their low productive capacity, in contrast to other Eastern European countries in which large-scale cooperatives, joint-stock companies, and limited liability companies play an important role.

Unlike other Eastern European countries, individuals who owned land prior to the communist land reforms were unable to obtain restitution of their land. The Property with Justice movement, representing the interests of pre-1945 owners, has only succeeded in obtaining either financial compensation or physical compensation in the form of seaside and tourist-site properties. A complete return of land to prewar owners would have spelled disaster for Albania, since the country was essentially feudal prior to 1939.

Privatization of Industry The new government also launched the process of privatizing industry. Different strategies were employed, depending on the size of the business. Small businesses (primarily retail trade, services, restaurants, warehouses, and independent smaller units of manufacturing firms) were for the most part privatized by allowing their employees to purchase them. The privatization of small and medium enterprises (SMEs), defined as enterprises with a book value of up to 500,000 U.S. dollars or 300 employees, was overseen by privatization boards and was carried out through various means, such as auctions and informal arrangements. The approach adopted resulted in the appearance of a large employee-owned sector, with all its associated problems.

In May 1995 it was decided to use a simplified voucher scheme in the privatization of the large state-owned enterprises (SOEs). A number of enterprises were selected on the basis of their relatively healthy financial status and operation in the more promising sectors of the economy. All citizens over eighteen years of age were eligible to receive vouchers. Plans were made to distribute the vouchers in three installments, originally with the stipulation that vouchers must be used before the next batch was issued, allowing the state to monitor the flow. The program was at first popular: 76 percent of the eligible population collected their vouchers in the first installment. However, the percentage decreased to 64 percent for the next installment, partly because of the unrest following the collapse of the pyramid schemes in 1997 and the very low market value of the shares. Moreover, the voucher system was fraught with irregularities. Few enterprises slated for participation were ever put up for sale, resulting in a significant voucher overhang. A full list of the companies involved was never published, and so buyers were not informed about potential alternatives. The first group of companies was put up for sale before all participating buyers had received their vouchers. Undoubtedly scuttled by the breakdown of order that accompanied the end of the pyramid schemes, voucher privatization was a complete failure. By the end of 1997, only 5 percent of all SOEs had been privatized in this fashion.

In November 1996 the government altered its strategy, putting up large packages of shares in auctions to single buyers. This approach was expected to attract the interest of foreign investors. In March 1998 a law setting out the procedure for the privatization of important branches (such as utilities, telecommunications, and mining) was passed. Strategic partners have been sought, with payment in vouchers limited to a maximum of the value of each company. According to this scheme, partners hold a majority stake. Employees in the companies have been allocated vouchers, different from those already on the market, allowing them to buy shares. This evolution has rendered the vouchers distributed prior to the law worthless.

Other Reforms and Initiatives Another sector that the new government chose to privatize was housing. The housing that had been produced under communism was of low quality, with most houses lacking running water and central heating. By 1992, there was a chronic housing shortage, and several generations typically lived together in a crowded apartment. The January 1993 Law on Privatization of Housing in Urban Areas provided for the transfer of ownership of some 230,000 flats to their tenants (34 percent of all houses and flats). One-room flats built before 1970 and two-room flats built before 1965 were given to their occupants free of charge. Larger or more recently built flats were transferred to their occupants for a fee of 2,600 lek to 40,000 lek ($26–400). By November 1993, the ownership of 97 percent of flats had been transferred to residents.

Efforts were directed at encouraging investment, both from Albania and abroad. As part of its bid to encourage growth in the private sector, the government offered some financial support to SMEs. New policies were introduced in an attempt to attract foreign direct investment (FDI); in August 1990 a law on joint ventures was introduced, allowing foreign partners to hold up to 99 percent of the company and giving them foreign trade rights, legal protection against expropriation and nationalization, and substantial tax incentives. The need to simplify bureaucratic procedures was also acknowledged. Confusion over land ownership and general instability in the Balkans hindered foreign investment further.

The Albanian government recognized that measures were needed to set up the institutional framework necessary for a capitalist economy. In 1991–1992 a two-tier banking system was put in place. The Central Bank of Albania was given exclusive control over monetary policy, the issuing of money, and the setting of the exchange rate. Three second-tier banks were created to offer commercial banking services: the National Commercial Bank, the Rural Credit Bank, and the Savings Bank.

Behind the Facade, a Weak Economy Because of their tendency to rely on macroeconomic indicators to evaluate the economic health of a country, international organizations had only praise for Albania, ignoring more worrisome indicators that painted a much bleaker picture of the Albanian economy. Much of the industrial sector had not survived restructuring and privatization, creating massive unemployment. Many of those enterprises that continued to operate officially kept the same payroll, but put many of their employees on part-time or unpaid leave.

To make matters worse, Albania had difficulty in attracting the capital necessary to revive its economy. Despite the government's extremely favorable policy toward foreign investors, FDI came in much more slowly than it has into other Eastern European countries, and was concentrated in export-oriented activities, which do little for the growth of the Albanian economy. For example, Italian investors took (and are still taking) advantage of the cheapness of Albanian labor, importing Italian textiles to be made into clothing, then exporting them back to Italy. Remittances have played (and are still playing) a much larger role in the Albanian economy than does FDI; revenues from emigrant workers for the period 1992–1996 alone amounted to roughly $1.6 billion, compared to $270 million in cumulative FDI by May 1996. Investment took place primarily in the service sector, particularly in the establishment of restaurants and bars and small trade, prompting observers to warn that Albania has developed a "kiosk economy." The gap between Albania's weak export economy and its imports increased yearly, and has continued to increase. Albania's main trading partners have been EU (European Union) countries, accounting for 78.8 percent of its imports and 85.5 percent of its exports in 2000, according to the Albanian Institute of Statistics.

Because of the government's policy of tightly controlling wages while liberalizing prices, the wages of employed Albanians were not able to keep up with the cost of living. Poverty was (and is) most prevalent in rural and mountainous areas. Furthermore, Albania suffered from high unemployment. The official figures from INSTAT for 2003 was 15 percent; the real percentage of unemployed was most certainly nearer 30 to 40 percent. Albania lost some of its youngest, most skilled, and most flexible labor, as Albanians flooded out of the country to find jobs. The EU has estimated that from 500,000 to 600,000 people have left since 1990, with the vast majority going to work in Greece. The "brain drain" has hit Albania particularly hard, as some of the country's best and brightest have left the country.

Efforts at institutional development to support a market economy were never wholly successful. The banking sector was not able to keep up with the demand for credit, which encouraged the flourishing of informal credit, such as the pyramid schemes that proliferated until 1997. It appears that the informal credit sector was used for illegal activities such as money laundering. Indeed, in part as a result of the sanctions placed on Yugoslavia from 1992 to 1995 and again from 1998 to 2000, Albania has become a hub for illegal activities, ranging from smuggling to the drug trade to prostitution. The NGO (nongovernmental organization) Useful to Albanian Women estimates that there are 10,000 Albanian prostitutes in Italy and Greece alone. Albania is also an important transit zone through which goods and prostitutes make their way into Western Europe. The international community has attached considerable importance to strengthening the rule of law and ending Albania's pivotal role in the illegal trafficking of arms, people, and drugs.

During the period of apparent success, and afterwards, Albanians have shown themselves unwilling to form associations or interest and lobby groups, seeing them as an extension of the hated collective, thus perpetuating another institutional weakness. The agricultural sector, already weakened by the extreme fragmentation of arable land, is kept back by farmers' unwillingness to form associations that could make irrigation, processing, and marketing feasible and affordable. Similarly, trade union activity, which could play an important role in voicing workers' concerns, is very weak.

Collapse of the Pyramid Schemes The reforms implemented by the government and the changing nature of Albania's economy provided the conditions for the flourishing of pyramid schemes, which ended in disaster for the country. Encouraged by lax banking rules, pyramid schemes began to multiply throughout the country in the early 1990s, as they did in many other Eastern European countries. Some of the funds marketed themselves as charitable organizations; that is the case of Xhaferri, Populli, and Sude, while others such as Vefa, Gjallica, and Kamberri invested some of their earnings in legitimate business activities. Attracted by phenomenal interest rates, Albanians from all social classes invested their savings, mostly remittances sent by their relatives employed abroad, in these schemes. The government did not condemn these schemes, nor did it prevent them from operating by using existing banking legislation. Both the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party have been linked with pyramid schemes, which may help to explain why there was no political debate around the schemes. It seems the government was also afraid of the impact that an action against the schemes would have on the economy, which had become increasingly dependent upon the schemes. Pyramid schemes were allowed to operate unhindered for several years. At the time of the collapse, it is estimated that between one-sixth and one-half of the total population of Albania was involved in one way or another with the pyramid schemes.

Finally, on 12 January 1997, responding to pressures from the increasingly concerned International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the government made its first move against the funds, freezing $255 million in state-owned banks belonging to Populli and Xhaferri. A week later, it formed a commission to investigate the schemes. Over the next few months, the various funds stopped their operations, some declaring bankruptcy, and their managers were arrested or fled the country. The assets of the companies were found to be much lower than their liabilities, in some cases constituting less than 10 percent.

The popular reaction to the government's decision was immediate. A week later, 3,000 people marched in Tirana to protest the freezing of the funds. Most of the anger was directed at the government; the popular perception was that if the state hadn't intervened people would not have lost their savings. The opposition capitalized on this anger, articulating it into political demands, but failing to quell the fury. However, unrest quickly spread through the country. Widespread rioting resulted in property damage and the loss of some five hundred lives in the following six months. The state lost effective control of the country, leaving some regions at the mercy of armed bands. Albanians fled the country in large numbers, estimated at 14,000. The extent of the crisis garnered international attention, and an international humanitarian intervention force was sent in. Twice in just a decade, Albanians turned on their state and destroyed much of what had been built, and the country's already dubious international image was made worse. The victory of the Socialist Party in the June 1997 elections signaled a return to normalcy.

The collapse of the pyramid schemes and the ensuing chaos had a profound impact on the already fragile Albanian economy. The amount of money lost has been estimated between $300 million and $1.2 billion. Principally, it eliminated the economic progress that Albania had made since 1992. Less tangible, but equally important, was the damage done to Albania's already poor international reputation by the ensuing lawlessness and wanton destruction of property, hardly the type of stability that foreign investors were seeking. The national currency lost significant value, the budget deficit increased, and the economy contracted by 8 percent.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The political and economic transition of Albania, which really only started with any seriousness in 1992, has been fraught with setbacks—it had been, at least until 1998, without any substantial gains and very much a matter of one step forward, two steps back. Albanians found that there were always new lows the country could sink to and that even though they had obtained substantial new freedoms, poverty, emigration, and corruption defined their existence. Although the Democratic Party made some gains between 1992 and 1997, all was lost with the pyramid collapse. What is certain is that the legacy of Sali Berisha's rule is not a positive one. Despite the optimism that accompanied his victory in 1992, his government was characterized by intolerance, as he sought to defeat his opposition, not by persuading the voters but by extralegal methods. Despite initially optimistic reports on the economy, success was built on the shakiest of foundations. It remains to be seen if Albania has finally embarked on what can be called a serious transition. Albania's main problem is that its politicians are not all that committed to Albania's transformation; there is a profound lack of political will. If we look at Albania now, we are still confronted with a state that is failing to meet its citizens most basic needs—water, safety, and electricity.

After the chaotic elections in 1997, the Socialists governed for four relatively successful years, until new elections in June 2001. Their main legacy was improved stability and security, although the political climate was extremely polarized between Socialists and Democrats. The issue of the return of the monarchy was solved through a referendum that accompanied the 1997 vote. More than 65 percent of Albanians rejected the restoration of the monarchy, although monarchists claimed the vote was rigged. Zog's son and heir, Leka, returned to live in Albania in 2002. The government gave him a token role, such as opening events and the like, but he has no chance of becoming a serious political figure in Albania in the way that Bulgaria's Simeon II did in 2001.

Despite the resolution of some key issues, organized crime, criminality, and corruption still dominated. Intraparty relations between the Socialists and Democrats were terrible, as neither the Socialist Party chairman nor Sali Berisha seemed able to give up their enmity. After the murder of DP cofounder and activist Azem Hajdari in September 1998, Berisha's militants briefly attempted a coup of sorts, having blamed the Socialist government for Hajdari's "assassination." During the funeral on 14 September 1998, some 2,000 Democratic Party militants took to the streets, setting fire to cars and briefly seizing the office of the prime minister. Nano, who should have

The Pyramid Schemes

In 1996–1997, the dramatic rise and collapse of several huge financial pyramid schemes convulsed Albania. The pyramid scheme phenomenon in Albania is important because its scale relative to the size of the economy was unprecedented, and because the political and social consequences of the collapse of the pyramid schemes were profound. Many Albanians—about two-thirds of the population—invested in them. When the schemes collapsed, there was uncontrollable rioting, the government fell, and the country descended into anarchy and a near civil war, in which some 2,000 people were killed.

The widespread appeal of pyramid schemes in Albania can be attributed to several factors, including Albanians' unfamiliarity with financial markets and the deficiencies of the country's formal financial system, which encouraged the development of an informal market and, within this market, the growth of the pyramid schemes themselves. There were also governance problems, both in the financial sector and more generally. The regulatory framework was inadequate, and it was not clear who had responsibility for supervising the informal market. Even after the approval of a banking act in February 1996 that appeared to give the Bank of Albania the power to close illegal deposit-taking institutions, the central bank could not obtain the government's support. In short, the government did not possess the political will to avoid the looming crisis. There were allegations that many government officials benefited personally from the companies. During the 1996 elections, several of the companies made campaign contributions to the ruling Democratic Party.

In a typical pyramid scheme, a fund or company attracts investors by offering them very high returns; these returns are paid to the first investors out of the funds received from those who invest later. The scheme is insolvent—liabilities exceed assets—from the day it opens for business. Nevertheless, it flourishes initially, as news about the high returns spreads and more investors are drawn in. Encouraged by the high payouts, and in some cases by showcase investments and ostentatious spending by the operators, still more people are drawn in, and the scheme grows until the interest and principal due to the early investors exceeds the money paid in by new investors.

Some of the Albanian companies met this definition exactly: they were pure pyramid schemes, with no real assets. Other cases were more ambiguous. Some of the largest of the companies—in particular VEFA, Gjallica, and Kamberi—had substantial real investments. They were also widely believed to be engaged in criminal activities—including violating United Nations sanctions by smuggling goods into the former Yugoslavia—that were thought to be the source of the high returns they paid.

By November 1996, the face value of the schemes' liabilities totaled $1.2 billion by World Bank estimates. Albanians sold their houses to invest in the schemes; farmers sold their livestock.

Throughout the year, the government was a passive spectator to the unfolding crisis. And despite repeated warnings from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the finance ministry did not warn the public about the schemes until October. Even then, however, it drew a false and misleading distinction between companies with real investments, which were believed to be solvent, and "pure pyramid schemes."

By March 1997 Albania was in chaos. The government had lost control of the south. Many in the army and police force had deserted, and one million weapons had been looted from the armories. Evacuation of foreign nationals and mass emigration of Albanians began. The government was forced to resign. President Berisha agreed to hold new parliamentary elections before the end of June, and an interim coalition government was appointed.

As important as its impact was on the Albanian economy, the collapse of the pyramid schemes had perhaps an even greater impact upon society. The social toll was incalculable, as it seems that almost everyone in the country had some money invested. In addition to the loss of life, thousands of people were impoverished, either by their unwise investments in the pyramid schemes or by the destruction of their property in the ensuing violence. What also suffered seriously was Albania's international image. Before this, many observers had called Albania an economic miracle; now the pyramid collapse and the spiral into mass violence did little to encourage outside investors. Albania, from the point of view of the outside world, remained a dangerous place.

remained during the strife, abandoned his post and fled to neighboring Macedonia.

Nano subsequently resigned from his post as prime minister and was replaced by the thirty-one-year-old secretary general of the Socialist Party, Pandeli Majko, who represented a younger generation of leaders, less compromised by the past. However, Nano's career was far from over, as he remained the principal figure in the Socialist Party, despite growing rifts between him and the younger generation of Socialist Party members. Albanians had thus to contend with a divided ruling party, which meant that there was no continuity in government, but the principal problem in the period was that Albanians still lacked a real opposition party. In fact, the entire transition was marked by the near total dominance of a single ruling party. Berisha's Democratic Party essentially abstained from participating in almost all aspects of government. The boycott, which Berisha had so denounced when the Socialists used it when he was in power, became the DP's principal weapon. Berisha and his increasingly small group of militants preferred the street protest to the parliament.

What became the principal dilemma between 1998 and 1999 was the growing conflict in neighboring Kosovo. As the conflict intensified between the Kosovo Liberation Army and the Yugoslav Army and paramilitaries, followed by the subsequent intervention of NATO in late March 1999, Albania briefly moved again to the center of the stage, as some 450,000 Kosovo Albanian refugees flooded into the country. Despite Albania's acute poverty, unstable domestic policy, and lack of law and order, many Albanians opened their homes to provide shelter to the incoming refugees, and the government organized humanitarian relief and welcomed international humanitarian organizations to aid in provision of basic services for refugees.

The refugee influx had positive and negative consequences for the Albanian economy and political situation. The International Crisis Group (ICG) reported that according to the Bank of Albania, the Kosovo crisis had a positive effect on the Albanian economy. The arrival of Western aid, along with a NATO force that set about fixing Albania's roads and airports, helped the country considerably. The fact that several hundred journalists came along was also a boost, as for the first time, Albania appeared in the international media in a positive light. On the other hand, as soon as the crisis was over and the refugees had left, Albania was marginalized again, as all eyes (and cash) went to Kosovo and then Macedonia, when conflict erupted there between Macedonians and Albanians.

On the foreign affairs front, the Socialist Party government worked hard to make Albania a good neighbor. During the wars in both Kosovo and Macedonia, Albania played a decidedly neutral role. This neutrality was essentially the result of two factors: Albania was no doubt told by its benefactors to avoid making the problems worse, and Albania lacked the power to influence events in either Kosovo or Macedonia. Still, Albania did receive wide international praise for its commitment to a peaceful resolution to both these conflicts.

In the summer of 2001 Albanians again went to the polls, and these elections marked a turning point of sorts. First of all, the Socialists, with Nano as the Party's secretary general, won easily, in what were not exactly "free and fair" elections. The DP, which ran together with other rightist parties, was easily defeated. For a brief time, it appeared that the much needed third force had finally gained some ground in Albania, as Berisha's former spokesperson, Genc Pollo, who headed up the New Democratic Party, did surprisingly well in the vote. However, Pollo, whose legacy is far from good after serving President Berisha for so many years, has been unable to move beyond the periphery of Albanian political life. The simple fact that Berisha continued to dominate has served to keep the Democrats out of power, as too many people identify Berisha with the loss of their savings in 1997.

As one analyst noted, it was the most tranquil election campaign in ten years of transition. Observers had expected the worst, as the Democrats had made clear that if they did not win, it meant the elections were rigged and there would be trouble. The fact that violence did not accompany the vote merits praise. It seems clear that the international community cautioned Berisha to avoid inflaming the situation. The Democrats did cry foul, and counting took weeks, but in the end, since both sides cheated so much, the result probably reflected the political scene accurately. Voter turnout was surprisingly low, reflecting the general apathy that characterized much of the population. After all, it was ten years into the transition, and the very same figures who had battled it out in 1991 were still there front and center in Albanian political life.

Three big questions loomed after the elections, the anwers to which were to determine whether Albania could remain on a path that was inching the country ahead. What was the future role for Socialist leader Fatos Nano? Would the Nano-Berisha conflict continue to dominate Albanian political life? Would the election of a president in 2002 spell the end of the Socialist government and force new elections?

Amazingly, Albania answered all three without chaos, although not without crucial intervention from the European Union (EU). Failure to agree on a new president might well have forced new elections, and the EU wanted to do everything possible to avoid that outcome. After considerable pressure from the international community, especially the European Union, both major parties agreed on a candidate for president—Alfred Moisiu—a relative nobody from the army, on whom everyone could essentially agree. Nano, who endured challenges to his leadership from within, managed to emerge as the country's prime minister in July 2002. This was his third stint as premier. After years of not speaking, Nano and Berisha basically called a truce. Thus, at least on the political level, Albanians had achieved a level of stability that had eluded them to date.

Albania's principal foreign policy goals have been membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union. Albania was one of the first countries to apply for membership in NATO's partnership for peace plan, but NATO membership eluded them, and they were denied admission at NATO's Prague Summit in November 2002. Talks on a Stabilization and

Refugees arrive at the Morine border post between Albania and Kosovo, 6 May 1999. (Les Stone/Corbis)

Association Agreement with the EU began in 2003, but negotiations are expected to be long and comments by EU officials suggest that Albania has much work ahead of it. Most Albanians seem to understand that membership in the EU may well be a long way off. The EU has been especially critical of Albania, demanding Albania take more action in the fight against corruption and organized crime, as well as the strengthening of the judicial system and public administration.

The primary legacy of Albania's twentieth-century economic development is dependency, as it has never proven to be a viable economic entity. In the interwar period, Italy emerged as the country's main benefactor; in the communist period, Albania shifted alliances from Yugoslavia to the Soviet Union and finally to China before embarking on a catastrophic period of self-reliance. During the transition, Albania has once again been forced to rely on outsiders, especially the United States and the European Union. The economic viability of Albania, like that of Kosovo, is doubtful. For both, it is remittances, international aid, and illegal activity that provide sustainability. Economic development in the transition has been extremely uneven—cities like Tirana and Durrës have appeared to thrive, while the north has been largely left in poverty. This split has led to intensive rural-urban migration, as people have sought opportunities, especially in the grey and black markets, in Tirana and other cities. It is estimated that the population of the Tirana district (Tirana and its environs) had grown from 370,000 to 520,000 by 2003.

To return to the background of the current situation in more detail, the collapse of the pyramid schemes and the ensuing civil disorder captured worldwide attention, changing perceptions of Albania from the poster child for shock therapy to the basket case of Europe. For Albanians, however, the transition from the start was a difficult experience; as some have ironically commented, "All shock, no therapy." The high unemployment and underemployment that resulted from the breakdown of the industrial sector, together with the inability of most farmers to translate their landownership into meaningful economic gain, have meant that most Albanians must look to other sources of income to earn enough to support their families. Such sources include government pensions, unemployment benefits, private business (not always legal), and remittances, as well as whatever foodstuffs they can grow on their land.

Not all Albanian families are able to muster sufficient income to remain afloat. According to a 2002 World Bank technical report, 29 percent of Albanians say that they do not make enough to feed and house their families, and a further 29 percent estimate that they can attend to these needs but are not able to secure clothing and shoes for their families. Poverty is direst in mountainous and rural areas, particularly in the north, but it is also becoming a major problem in the slum areas that have formed around major cities as a result of the massive rural exodus since the early 1990s. Not only are poor Albanians more likely to suffer from malnutrition, poorer health, and inferior living conditions, their condition is also psychologically stressful, bringing feelings of hopelessness, despair, and vulnerability, and it isolates them from both the social and economic life of their peers. As elsewhere in the region, even in those areas where the transition has been most successful, its impact has been very uneven, and a huge gap has developed between rich and poor. Many people, especially the youth, have opted for the fast money available in various illegal sectors.

The Albanian government is ill equipped to identify and assist families in poverty. The Ndihme Ekonomike (Economic Assistance), created by the government in 1993 as a cash assistance program to assist poor families, reaches only a fraction of those in need, and gives those it does reach much less than they need. Albanians have developed coping mechanisms to stave off poverty. One such system is the "list": shopkeepers allow customers on the list to purchase items on credit, in the expectation that they will pay their debt when they receive some sort of income.

Another very significant strategy, which enables the list to function, is the migration of massive numbers of Albanians in search of employment. Migrants are overwhelmingly young males between the ages of fourteen and forty. Migration occurs internally, from the countryside to the city, and externally to Italy and even more to Greece. Most migrants consider migration to be temporary, and indeed most return to their village with their earnings after less than six months, only to migrate again when the money runs out. Most emigration abroad is clandestine. This strategy allows families to supplement their income substantially. Much remittance money was sunk in the pyramid schemes that collapsed in 1997, and today remittances go toward consumption (especially construction and the purchase of household appliances) rather than investment. In any case, emigration is not an option available to all; it is an expensive proposition, so that wealthier families are more likely to be able to afford it. Larger families with more able-bodied men are also at an advantage.

Although migration allows Albanian families to make ends meet, it comes at a substantial social cost. The encroachment of poverty, combined with the destabilizing effect of mass migration on Albanian social structures, has created a number of vulnerable groups. The departure of able-bodied men from a family leaves women and the elderly vulnerable during their absence. The marginalization of women has manifested itself in the increasing numbers of women drawn into prostitution. Furthermore, youth convinced that schooling will not give them an advantage in the labor market are apt to choose migration over education.

Transition in Albania is thus on the whole a dismal failure, and the blame for that falls on a class of politicians who opted for quick wealth instead of the national interest. In 1992 Albanians were, like Poles, ready to suffer some terrible economic pains for the sake of a better future. The government offered only polemics and an economic revival based on kiosks, along with the same type of rhetoric that had characterized the communist past. Given that the people who rose to the top in Albania were raised in the worst period of Albanian communism, it seems that that was really the best they could do. It is ironic that Albania, which as the most homogeneous country in the region did not suffer ethnic war, needed the international community to come to its aid just as often as states torn by ethnic conflict—only it was to mediate disputes between Albanians. This fact indicates an astonishingly low level of political maturity.

At one point it seemed that there might be light at the end of the tunnel—the compromise between Nano and Berisha calmed things considerably. Unfortunately, however, the truce has lost momentum, and tedious squabbling has again become the norm. One can only hope that the dominance of these two men in Albanian political life cannot last much longer, as the poisoned political atmosphere has virtually devastated the country's transition. Certainly for ordinary Albanians, especially in the villages, life has not improved that much, especially since the state still cannot meet their basic needs, and few governments have succeeded in delivering any optimism to a people who by and large consider emigration as the most likely way to advance themselves. The way ahead will continue to be difficult.

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CHRONOLOGY

1403	Gjergi Kastrioti born; later becomes Albanian national hero known as Skanderbeg.
1443	After losing a battle near Niš, Skanderbeg defects from Ottoman Empire, re-embraces Roman Catholicism, and begins holy war against the Ottomans.
1444	Skanderbeg proclaimed chief of Albanian resistance.
1449	Albanians, under Skanderbeg, rout Ottoman forces under Sultan Murad II.
1468	Skanderbeg dies.
1478	Krujë falls to Ottoman Turks; Shkodër falls a year later. Subsequently, many Albanians flee to southern Italy, Greece, Egypt, and elsewhere; many who remain convert to Islam.
Seventeenth–eighteenth centuries	Some Albanians who convert to Islam find careers in Ottoman Empire's government and military service; about two-thirds of Albanians convert to Islam.
1822	Albanian leader Ali Pasha of Tepelenë assassinated by Ottoman agents for promoting an autonomous state.
1835	Ottoman Sublime Porte divides Albanian-populated lands into vilayets of

	Janina and Rumelia with Ottoman administrators.
1861	First school known to use Albanian language in modern times opens in Shkodër.
1877–1878	Russia's defeat of the Ottoman Empire seriously weakens Ottoman power over Albanian-populated areas.
1878	Treaty of San Stefano, signed after the Russo-Turkish War, assigns Albanian-populated lands to Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia; but Austria-Hungary and Britain block the treaty's implementation. Albanian leaders meet in Prizren, Kosovo, to form the Prizren League, initially advocating a unified Albania under Ottoman suzerainty. During the Congress of Berlin, the great powers overturn the Treaty of San Stefano and divide Albanian lands among several states. The Prizren League begins to organize resistance to the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin that affect Albanians.
1879	Society for Printing of Albanian Writings, composed of Roman Catholic, Muslim, and Orthodox Albanians, founded in Constantinople.
1881	Ottoman forces crush Albanian resistance fighters at Prizren. Prizren League's leaders and families arrested and deported.
1897	Ottoman authorities disband a reactivated Prizren League, execute its leader later, then ban Albanian language books.
1906	Albanians begin joining the Committee of Union and Progress (Young Turks), formed in Constantinople, hoping to gain autonomy for their nation within the Ottoman Empire.
1908	Albanian intellectuals meet in Bitola, at the Congress of Monastir, and choose the Latin alphabet as standard script rather than Arabic or Cyrillic.
May 1912	Albanians rise against the Ottoman authorities and seize Skopje.
October 1912	First Balkan War begins, and Albanian leaders affirm Albania as an independent state.
November 1912	Muslim and Christian delegates at Vlorë declare Albania independent and establish a provisional government.
May 1913	Treaty of London ends First Balkan War. Second Balkan War begins.
August 1913	Treaty of Bucharest ends Second Balkan War. Great powers recognize an independent Albanian state ruled by a constitutional monarchy.
March 1914	Prince Wilhelm of Wied, a German army captain, is installed as head of the new Albanian state by the International Control Commission, arrives in Albania.
September 1914	New Albanian state collapses following outbreak of World War I; Prince Wilhelm is stripped of authority and departs from Albania.
1918	World War I ends, with Italian army occupying most of Albania, and with Serbian, Greek, and French forces occupying the remainder. Italian and Yugoslav powers begin struggle for dominance over Albanians.
December 1918	Albanian leaders meet at Durrës to discuss presentation of Albania's interests at the Paris Peace Conference.
January 1919	Serbs attack Albania's inhabited cities.
January 1920	Albanian leaders meeting at Lushnjë reject the partitioning of Albania by the Treaty of Paris, warn that Albanians will take up arms in defense of their territory, and create a bicameral parliament.
February 1920	Albanian government moves to Tirana (Tiranë), which becomes the capital.
September 1920	Albania forces Italy to withdraw its troops and abandon territorial claims to almost all Albanian territory.
December 1920	Albania admitted to League of Nations as a sovereign and independent state.
November 1921	Yugoslav troops invade Albanian territories they had not previously occupied; League of Nations commission forces Yugoslav withdrawal and reaffirms Albania's 1913 borders.
December 1921	Popular Party, headed by Xhafer Ypi, forms government with Ahmed Zogu, the future King Zog, as internal affairs minister.
August 1922	Ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople recognizes the Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania.
September 1922	Zogu assumes position of prime minister of government; opposition to him becomes formidable.
July 1924	An insurgency wins control of Tirana; Fan S. Noli becomes prime minister, promising land reform; Zogu flees to Yugoslavia.
December 1924	Zogu, backed by Yugoslav army, returns to power and begins to smother parliamentary democracy; Noli flees to Italy.
1925	Italy begins penetration of Albanian public and economic life.
November 1926	Italy and Albania sign First Treaty of Tirana, which guarantees Zogu's political position and Albania's boundaries.

August 1928	Zogu pressures the parliament to dissolve itself; a new constituent assembly declares Albania a kingdom and Zogu becomes Zog I, "King of the Albanians."
1931	Zog, standing up to the Italians, refuses to renew the First Treaty of Tirana; Italians continue political and economic pressure.
1934	After Albania signs trade agreements with Greece and Yugoslavia, Italy suspends economic support, then attempts to threaten Albania.
March 1939	Mussolini delivers ultimatum to Albania.
April 1939	Mussolini's troops invade and occupy Albania; Albanian parliament votes to unite country with Italy; Zog and his family flee to Greece; Italy's King Victor Emmanuel III assumes Albanian crown.
1940	Italian army attacks Greece through Albania.
October 1941	Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslav communist leader, directs organizing of Albanian communists.
November 1941	Albanian Communist Party founded; Enver Hoxha becomes first secretary.
September 1942	Communist Party organizes the National Liberation Movement, a popular front resistance organization.
October 1942	Noncommunist nationalist groups form to resist the Italian occupation.
September 1943	German forces invade and occupy Albania.
January 1944	Communist partisans, supplied with British weapons, gain control of southern Albania.
May 1944	Communists meet to organize an Albanian government; Hoxha becomes chairman of executive committee and supreme commander of the Army of National Liberation.
October 1944	Communists establish provisional government with Hoxha as prime minister.
November 1944	Germans withdraw from Tirana; communists move into the capital.
December 1944	Communist provisional government adopts laws allowing state regulation of commercial enterprises, as well as foreign and domestic trade.
January 1945	Communist provisional government agrees to restore Kosovo to Yugoslavia as an autonomous region; tribunals begin to condemn thousands of "war criminals" and "enemies of the people" to death or to prison. Communist regime begins to nationalize industry, transportation, forests, and pastures.
April 1945	Yugoslavia recognizes communist government in Albania.
August 1945	Sweeping agricultural reforms begin; about half of arable land eventually redistributed to peasants from large landowners; most church properties nationalized. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration begins sending supplies to Albania.
November 1945	Soviet Union recognizes provisional government; Britain and United States make full diplomatic recognition conditional.
December 1945	In elections for the People's Assembly, only candidates from the Democratic Front are on ballot.
1946	People's Assembly proclaims Albania a "people's republic"; purges of noncommunists from positions of power in government begin; People's Assembly adopts new constitution, Hoxha becomes prime minister, foreign minister, defense minister, and commander in chief; Soviet-style central planning begins.
July 1946	Treaty of friendship and cooperation signed with Yugoslavia; Yugoslav advisers and grain begin pouring into Albania.
October 1946	British destroyers hit mines off Albania's coast; United Nations (UN) and the International Court of Justice subsequently condemn Albania.
November 1946	Albania breaks diplomatic relations with the United States after latter withdraws its informal mission.
May 1947	UN commission concludes that Albania, together with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, supports communist guerrillas in Greece; Yugoslav leaders launch verbal offensive against anti-Yugoslav Albanian communists, including Hoxha; pro-Yugoslav faction begins to wield power.
June 1948	Cominform expels Yugoslavia; Albanian leaders launch anti-Yugoslav propaganda campaign, cut economic ties, and force Yugoslav advisers to leave; Stalin becomes national hero in Albania.
September 1948	Hoxha begins purging high-ranking party members accused of "Titoism"; treaty of friendship with Yugoslavia abrogated by Albania; Soviet Union begins giving economic aid to Albania, and Soviet advisers replace ousted Yugoslavs.
November 1948	First Party Congress changes name of Albanian Communist Party to Albanian Party of Labor.
February 1949	Albania joins Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon); all foreign trade conducted with member countries.
December 1949	Pro-Tito Albanian communists purged.

1950	Britain and United States begin inserting anticommunist Albanian guerrilla units into Albania; all are unsuccessful.
July 1950	A new constitution is approved by People's Assembly. Hoxha becomes minister of defense and foreign minister.
1951	Albania and Soviet Union sign agreement on mutual economic assistance.
July 1954	Hoxha relinquishes post of prime minister to Mehmet Shehu but retains primary power as party leader.
May 1955	Albania becomes a founding member of the Warsaw Pact.
February 1956	After Nikita Khrushchev's "secret speech" exposes Stalin's crimes, Hoxha defends Stalin; relations with Soviet Union become strained.
June 1960	Albania sides with China in Sino-Soviet ideological dispute; Soviet economic support to Albania is curtailed, and Chinese aid is increased; Hoxha rails against Khrushchev and supports China during an international communist conference in Moscow.
February 1961	Hoxha harangues against the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia at Albania's Fourth Party Congress.
December 1961	Soviet Union breaks diplomatic relations with Albania; other Eastern European countries severely reduce contacts but do not break relations; Albania looks toward China for support.
1962	Albanian regime introduces austerity program in attempt to compensate for withdrawal of Soviet economic support; China incapable of delivering sufficient aid; Albania becomes China's spokesman at UN.
February 1966	Hoxha initiates Cultural and Ideological Revolution.
March 1966	Albanian Party of Labor "open letter" to the people establishes egalitarian wage and job structure for all workers.
1967	Hoxha regime launches Cultural Revolution to extinguish religious life in Albania; by year's end, over two thousand religious buildings have been closed or converted to other uses.
August 1968	Albania condemns Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia; subsequently Albania withdraws from Warsaw Pact.
1976	Hoxha begins criticizing new Chinese regime after Mao's death; a new constitution is promulgated superceding the 1950 version; Albania becomes a people's socialist republic.
1977	Top military officials purged after "Chinese conspiracy" is uncovered.
1978	China terminates all economic and military aid to Albania.
1980	Hoxha selects Ramiz Alia as the next party head, bypassing Shehu.
1981	Shehu, after rebuke by Politburo, dies, possibly murdered on Hoxha's orders.
November 1982	Alia becomes chairman of Presidium of the People's Assembly.
April 1985	Hoxha dies; replaced by Alia.
November 1986	Alia featured as party's and country's undisputed leader at Ninth Party Congress.
September 1989	Alia, addressing the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, signals that radical changes to the economic system are necessary. Communist rule in Eastern Europe collapses. Ramiz Alia signals changes to economic system.
January 1990	Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee; demonstrations at Shkodër force authorities to declare state of emergency.
April 1990	Alia declares willingness to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the United States.
May 1990	The Secretary General of the UN visits Albania. Regime announces desire to join the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. People's Assembly passes laws liberalizing criminal code, reforming court system, lifting some restrictions on freedom of worship, and guaranteeing the right to travel abroad.
Summer 1990	Unemployment throughout the economy increases as a result of government's reform measures; drought reduces electric power production, forcing plant shutdowns.
July 1990	Young people demonstrate against regime in Tirana, and 5,000 citizens seek refuge in foreign embassies; Central Committee plenum makes significant changes in leadership of party and state. Soviet Union and Albania sign protocol normalizing relations.
October 1990	Ismail Kadare, Albania's most prominent writer, defects to France.
December 1990	University students demonstrate in streets and call for dictatorship to end; Alia meets with students; Thirteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the APL authorizes a multiparty system; Albanian Democratic Party, first opposition party, established; regime authorizes political pluralism; draft constitution is published; by year's end, 5,000 Albanian refugees have crossed the mountains into Greece. Thousands more seize ships at port and sail illegally to Italy.

1991	In multiparty elections, the Party of Labor and allies win 169 of the 250 seats; the newly formed Democratic Party takes 75. General amnesty announced for political prisoners. First opposition newspaper published. Alia reelected president. Prime Minister Fatos Nano resigns after protests against economic conditions and killing of opposition demonstrators.
1992	Democratic Party wins elections. Party leader Sali Berisha, a former cardiologist, becomes first elected president. Aleksander Meksi is prime minister.
1994	Ex-communist leaders, including Fatos Nano and Ramiz Alia, convicted and jailed for corruption.
	National referendum rejects new constitution, which opponents say would allow president too much power.
1995	Alia released from prison following ruling by appeals court.
1996	Democratic Party general election victory tainted by accusations of fraud.
1997	Leka, son of late King Zog, returns from exile in bid to take throne. Referendum on restoration of monarchy fails. He is accused of trying to stir up an armed insurrection and flees back into exile. Fraudulent pyramid investment schemes collapse, costing thousands of Albanians their savings and triggering antigovernment protests. Government resigns, and Socialist-led coalition sweeps to power. Fatos Nano, now released from prison, returns as prime minister. Sali Berisha resigns as president in wake of financial crisis, succeeded by Socialist leader Rexhep Mejdani.
1998	Escalating unrest in Kosovo sends refugees across border into Albania.
September 1998	Violent antigovernment street protests after prominent opposition Democratic Party politician, Azem Hajdari, is shot dead by unidentified gunmen. Fatos Nano quits as prime minister. Former student activist, Pandeli Majko, named as new prime minister.
1999	NATO air strikes against Yugoslav military targets. In Kosovo thousands flee attacks by Serb forces. Mass refugee exodus into Albania.
October 2000	Majko resigns as prime minister, after losing Socialist Party leadership vote. Thirty-year-old Ilir Meta becomes Europe's youngest prime minister.
January 2001	Albania and Yugoslavia reestablish diplomatic relations broken off during the Kosovo crisis in 1999.
July 2001	Ruling Socialist Party secures second term in office by winning general elections. Meta names European integration and an end to energy shortages as his priorities.
January 2002	Meta resigns as prime minister after failing to resolve party feud.
February 2002	Majko becomes premier and forms new government, as rival factions in Socialist Party pledge to end infighting.
June 2002	Parliament elects Alfred Moisiu president after rival political leaders Nano and Berisha reach compromise, easing months of tension; royal family returns from exile.
August 2002	Nano becomes prime minister after the ruling Socialist Party decides to merge the roles of premier and party chairman.
January 2003	Albania and EU begin Stabilization and Association Agreement talks, seen as possible first step in long road to EU membership.

ROMANIA

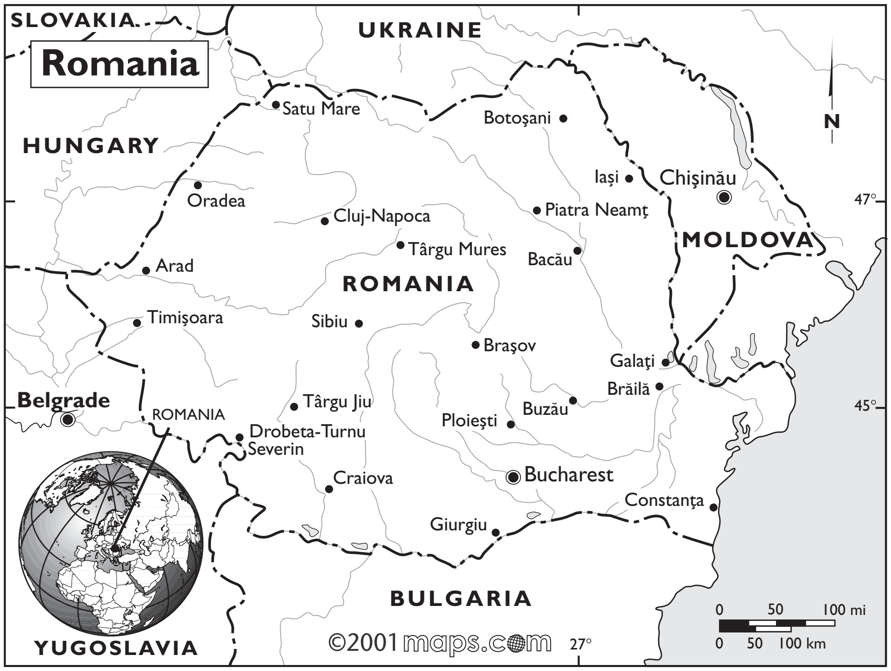
JAMES P. NIESSEN

LAND AND PEOPLE

Romania's 237,500 square kilometers make it the second largest country in the area between Germany and the former Soviet Union. Bodies of water constitute more than half of the Romanian frontier. The River Prut and the Danube Delta form the border with Moldova and Ukraine to the northeast, and there is Black Sea coast to the east for 245 kilometers. The Danube separates the country from Serbia, then Bulgaria to the south before flowing northward across the country to the Ukrainian border. The Danube accounts for more than half of the water frontier, and it is navigable for riverine shipping throughout its Romanian course.

Mountains constitute one-third of Romania's territory. The principal mountain chain consists of the Eastern and Southern Carpathians, which form an arc that is more than 750 kilometers in length, open toward the northwest and with its point close to the country's center, extending southeastward from near the Ukrainian border, then west to the Iron Gate that frames the Danube's entry into Romania. The Eastern Carpathians extend into Romania from the Ukrainian Carpathians to the north, with a spur westward into Transylvania called the Rodna Mountains. Where the Eastern Carpathians extend southward between Transylvania and Moldavia, their western side features Alpine meadows and lakes of volcanic origin, notably Red (Roşu) and St. Ana Lakes. Two major passes pierce them. The first, the Bârgău Pass, connects Bistriţa in northern Transylvania with the valley of the Moldavian river also named Bistriţa and is immortalized in the opening scenes of Bram Stoker's *Dracula.* The second, the Predeal Pass, provides the rail route for most travelers from central Transylvania to Bucharest with dramatic views of the Bucegi Mountains. Smaller passes between these, through the Bicaz Gorge near Red Lake and the valleys of the Oituz and Buzău, connect the Székely region of eastern Transylvania with central Moldova. The Southern Carpathians (or Transylvanian Alps) are less accessible to travelers because they have fewer passes and are bypassed by major thoroughfares. West of Bucegi, the Făgăraş massif (including Moldoveanu, the country's highest peak at 2,543 meters) presents an almost impenetrable barrier, of which air travelers between Sibiu and Bucharest may gain an uncomfortably close view. Equally hair-raising is the Trans-Făgăraş Highway, built in the 1960s south of Sibiu, which rises up and through the range near its highest point. Further west, the Olt River Gorge provides the only passage of a major Transylvanian river through the Carpathians at Red Tower Pass. The Făgăraş, Paring, and especially the Retezat massif and its national park, west of the Olt, attract hardy mountaineers to their glaciers, lakes, and wildlife: brown bears, chamois, and lynx.

After the Carpathians, lower, older mountain ranges present less substantial


SLOVAKIA
UKRAINE
Romania
Satu Mare
Botoşani
HUNGARY
N
Iaşi
Chişinău
47°
Oradea
Cluj-Napoca
Piatra Neamţ
MOLDOVA
Târgu Mures
Bacău
Arad
ROMANIA
Timişoara
Sibiu
Braşov
Galaţi
Brăilă
Belgrade
Târgu Jiu
Buzău
45°
ROMANIA
Drobeta-Turnu Severin
Ploieşti
Bucharest
Craiova
Constanţa
Giurgiu
BULGARIA
0 50 100 mi
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YUGOSLAVIA
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27°

obstacles within the historic provinces: the Moldavian and Getic Subcarpathians to the east and south, and the Western Mountains (Munţii Apuseni, sometimes called the Western Carpathians) in several ranges from north to south, to the east of the present Hungarian border. Only the highest of the Western Mountains, the Bihor range, reach heights above 2,000 meters. Unlike these other mountains, for most of recorded history the Eastern and Southern Carpathians constituted a political and cultural frontier between Hungarian lands and the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, where Romanian statehood first arose.

Wallachia (Ţara Românească) arose from the historical regions of Oltenia and Muntenia, to the west and east of the Olt, formerly seats of viceroys but for many centuries no longer distinct administrative units. The northern part of Wallachia is mountainous country populated seasonally by shepherds and their flocks, by occasional hermitages or larger monastic establishments, and the first capital towns of the medieval and early modern era. The Alpine country gives way to hills and tableland, conducive to fruit (especially plums and apples) and viticulture, punctuated by a series of rivers that broaden as they flow south or east into the low, fertile (Romania's maize and wheat are grown here) plain of the Danube: the Motru, Jiu, Olteţ, Olt, Vedea, Teleorman, Arges, Dîmboviţa, and Ialomiţa Rivers. Ancient and medieval accounts reveal that the Danube plain was previously covered with forests, as are the foothills today. The draining and rerouting of river backwaters has also made the Danube plain less productive for fishing than it once was.

Oltenia's principal city, Craiova, rose to prominence as the seat of a viceroy when he moved down from the hills to the newer town on the middle Jiu that was better situated for east–west communications. Its major industries in recent decades have been automobiles, aircraft, and thermal power. Târgu Jiu, in the northwestern mountains, is the country's main mining center. After heavy development under the communists, it is now environmentally blighted and has been the site of industrial unrest in recent decades. Drobeta-Turnu Severin, whose name refers to its ancient origins (remnants of its Roman bridge across the Danube are still visible), is a transport center east of the Iron Gates and known for the rose gardens in its city center. Muntenia constitutes two-thirds of Wallachia's territory. Bucharest (Bucureşti), the capital, is the cultural and industrial center. Other urban and industrial centers are Ploieşti (long one of the major oil-extracting centers of Europe) and Piteşti (auto manufacturing and textiles) to the north and west. Giurgiu is a smaller industrial center (chemicals) and port on the Danube that was heavily polluted under the communists. Several of Romania's largest lakes are backwaters of the Danube in southern Wallachia.

North of Wallachia and facing the Carpathians from the east, Moldavia bears the same name in Romanian—Moldova—and the same historical origin as the independent state to its northeast on the other side of the Prut. As in Wallachia, Moldavia's Carpathian borders slope irregularly to lower mountains, hills, and the plains. Relatively few rivers (the Bistriţa, Oituz, Trotuş, and Buzău) flow down from these mountains, and the principal rivers, the Siret and Prut, run parallel to them and form a maize-growing plain before emptying into the Danube. Romania's largest Danubian ports are in Moldavia, Galaţi, and Brăila. Galaţi is also an iron and steelmaking center, and its deep harbor enables it to service oceangoing vessels. The hill country of Moldavia boasts two of Romania's most important wine regions, Vrancea in the south and Cotnari northwest of Iaşi. Iaşi, the historical capital of the province, is the country's second largest city and, like Bucharest, a center of diverse branches of industry. The independent nation of Moldova, largely but not completely synonymous with Bessarabia, is a lowland between the Prut and the Dniester. Modest hills in its center are home to major winegrowing regions, but Moldova's principal crops are maize and sugar beets. The capital city is Chişinău (Slavic: Kishinev). The Transdniester (primarily Slavic) and Gagauzi regions of Moldova, near its southeastern border with Ukraine, are virtually though not de jure independent. The area across the border, which was ceded to Ukraine in 1940, has a Romanian minority.

A third major region is Dobrogea (Slavic: Dobrudja) in the southeast, bounded by the Danube, the Bulgarian border, and the Black Sea. The two major coastal towns were founded by the ancient Greeks and contain extensive archeological remains: Mangalia (Greek: Kallatis) near the Bulgarian border and Constanţa (originally Tomis) further north, Romania's largest Black Sea port and near the mouth of the Danube–Black Sea Canal, completed in 1984. The inland of Dobrogea is dry, with a few ranges of hills and a restored Roman monument at Adamclisi to the conquest of the area from the Dacians by Emperor Trajan. Further north, Histria was a Greek port at the mouth of the Danube before it silted up in the seventh century. For most of the modern era this region was ruled directly by the Ottoman Empire, as evidenced by the presence of mosques and Turkish place-names such as Techirghiol and Medgidia, the latter founded under Sultan Abdul Mejid in 1840. Still further north, the Danube Delta is not a part of Dobrogea either historically or geographically but is commonly included with it. East of the port town of Tulcea on the Ukrainian border, the Danube divides into three arms before it reaches the sea. The Chilia arm forms the border and is the longest, frequently branching arm; the Sulina arm, artificially straightened, is favored by shippers but requires periodic dredging, while the St. George arm is furthest south. This is a sparsely populated region of reedy marshes with more than three hundred species of birds. South of St. George, Lakes Razim and Sinoie are salt-water lagoons. After excessive harvesting of the reeds, overfishing, and an ill-conceived project to gain cropland through draining the area, UNESCO inspired the establishment of the Danube Delta Biosphere Reserve Authority in the 1990s that controls development and tourist access.

Bucovina, historically part of Moldavia, was created in 1775 through the cession of this territory northwest of Iaşi to Austria. While it came to united Romania in 1918, its northern part, with a large Romanian population, was ceded to Soviet Ukraine in 1940. Southern Bucovina is in the northernmost part of current Romania, in the upper reaches of the Siret, Suceava, and Moldova Rivers. Due to isolation near the frontier and the Carpathian barrier to the west, the region is relatively undeveloped. This, along with UNESCO designation as artistic treasures, has helped preserve Bucovina's painted monasteries, founded by Moldavian Prince Stephen the Great in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The influence of 143 years of Austrian rule may be detected in a residual German element of the population and in the appearance of some of the towns.

The mountains extending into Ukraine from Romanian Bucovina separate it from the region of Maramureş, known in Hungarian as Máramaros. Maramureş and three other regions formed part of Hungary from the high Middle Ages until 1918: Crişana, Banat, and Transylvania. All four regions already contained a predominant Romanian element at that time. With the assimilating impact of the Romanian educational system and economic development, their adherence to Romania is secure today, but the influence of their earlier history is evident in the religion, work ethic, political preferences, and customs of all groups of society, as well as in the appearance of the towns. Superior rates of economic development benefited the Romanians and the non-Romanian populations, there were superior educational opportunities, and the legal and administrative framework favored the development of civic awareness.

In Maramureş, as in Bucovina, geographic isolation because of the mountains and the proximity of the frontier has limited the development of industry in recent decades and enabled rural communities to maintain their character. The Guţai, Ţibleş, and Rodna Mountains separate the province from Transylvania to the south, and administratively it formed part of Hungary proper rather than the relatively autonomous Transylvania. The earlier self-governing villages of free peasants and minor nobility have retained their separate consciousness, folk customs, and traditional garb to a surprising extent. These villages populate the valleys of the Iza and Vişeu Rivers, while to their north the upper Tisa (Hungarian: Tisza) River forms part of the Ukrainian border before flowing into the Hungarian plain. The major town, Baia Mare (Hungarian: Nagybánya), is a mining center whose population suffered severely through the construction under the communists of metallurgical plants upwind of the city center. The second city, Sighet (Hungarian: Máramarossziget), on the Ukrainian border, was the site of the country's main detention center for political prisoners in the 1950s.

Crişana (Hungarian: Körösvidék), further south, unlike Maramureş and Transylvania, was not a historical region but a term of convenience for parts of several counties separated from Hungary in 1918 around the Someş (Hungarian: Szamos) and the three branches of the Criş (Hungarian: Körös) Rivers. This region is geographically indistinguishable from the great Hungarian plain. It is a maize-, wheat-, and rye-growing area. Its major towns, Satu Mare (Hungarian: Szatmár) on the Someş and Oradea (Hungarian: Nagyvárad) on the Crişul Repede are seats of Roman Catholic bishoprics, hard on the Hungarian border, that bear the imprint of baroque and fin de siècle architecture.

Religious freedom, 1991: The local bishop of the legalized Greek Catholic Church celebrates a liturgy on the central square in Cluj to remind onlookers that his former cathedral is still in the hands of the Orthodox Church. In the background are the 1903 statue of a medieval king of Hungary and the Gothic St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church (1432). (Courtesy of James P. Niessen)

The Banat (Hungarian: Bánát or Bánság) originated as a regional governorship that emerged in the Hungarian Middle Ages but gained its modern dimensions after the Austrians reconquered the area from the Turks in 1716. Having been depopulated by centuries of Turkish-Christian warfare, it was now colonized by the Habsburgs with German, French, Romanian, Serbian, and other settlers who received incentives to develop agriculture and crafts. The major towns, Arad on the Mureş (Hungarian: Maros) and Timişoara (Hungarian: Temesvár), were largely rebuilt by the Habsburgs, with French-style fortifications and Central European squares. The Mureş and Timiş Rivers both flow into the Danube on Hungarian territory. The southern plain meets the Danube in the Banat by the old town of Oraviţa, while further east the mining town of Reşiţa is a foretaste of Târgul Jiu.

Transylvania (Romanian: Transilvania or Ardeal; Hungarian: Erdély; German: Siebenbürgen) was associated with the Hungarian Crown from its first documented mention in the twelfth century until its union with Romania in 1918.

Alba Iulia and the Mureş River Valley in Transylvania: The towers of the Orthodox and Catholic cathedrals are visible within the citadel of the former Transylvanian capital, partially obscured by the housing developments of the communist era. (Courtesy of James P. Niessen)

The geographic unity of the province greatly contributed to the separate identity it enjoyed over the centuries, and to some extent still does today. The Eastern and Southern Carpathians formed a natural frontier toward Wallachia and Moldavia, while the Western Mountains performed this function to a much lesser extent toward Hungary proper. North of the Bihor Mountains, the hills do not pose much of a barrier. The Someş flows through a wide valley to Satu Mare, while south of these mountains the Mureş, the longest river of Transylvania, flows through an even wider valley before entering today's Hungary near Arad. Central Transylvania is a well-watered plateau with several major river basins, north to south the Bistriţa, two branches of the Someş, two branches of the Mureş, two branches of the Târnava (Hungarian: Küküllő), and the Olt, that helped, along with the defense needs of Hungarian kings, to define administrative and cultural units in this extremely diverse region. In the north, the headwaters of the Someş and Bistriţa became the seat of a Saxon district, while further east the headwaters of the Mureş and Olt formed the core of the Székely or Szekler district, the middle expanse of the Olt formed the bulk of the Saxon zone, and border regiments of Székely and Romanians guarded the Carpathians to the east and south. Central Transylvania too has its characteristic administrative and ethnographic regions. The major towns, Cluj-Napoca (Hungarian: Kolozsvár), Sibiu (German: Hermannstadt), Tărgu Mureş (Hungarian: Marosvásárhely), and Braşov (German: Kronstadt; Hungarian: Brassó) are largely Romanian today but with significant remnants of the ethnic groups associated with much of their older Gothic, baroque, and art nouveau architecture.

Gold, salt, iron, and copper mining are significant in various parts of Transylvania. Partly in consequence, some of the most polluted towns are in the metallurgical centers Zlatna and Hunedoară and the carbon works at Copşa Mică. Transylvania's relatively high altitude means it has shorter growing seasons than the rest of the country does, but it is well watered and hence well suited for livestock as well as rye, maize, plums, and vineyards. Plum brandy *(ţuica)* is the Romanian national beverage, and it is produced in every region.

PEOPLES

The differing history and date of integration into Romania of its regions has contributed in large part to its ethnographic variety. According to the 1930 census, minorities made up 28 percent of the population. Much of the minor-

Modern and ultramodern in Bucharest: The CEC building (Romanian Savings Bank, 1894–1900) with the incongruous Bancorex building behind it. (Courtesy of James P. Niessen)

ity population was permanently lost in 1940 with the secession of Bessarabia, but powerful assimilationist trends have also been at work. Ethnic self-identification, language, and religion must all be considered in describing the population of Romania. In March 2002 Romania held its twelfth census since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In terms of ethnicity, mother tongue, and religious identification, the census showed the following:

Romanians Romanians are the predominant ethnic and linguistic group in every region of the country. While there is no consensus among scholars about the length of their residence in the country's territories, their presence is documented since the thirteenth century.

Most Romanians belong to the Romanian Orthodox Church, which is contiguous with the territory of the country, led by a patriarch in Bucharest, and divided into thirteen archbishoprics and bishoprics. Romanian Orthodoxy, with its Byzantine rite liturgy chanted in Romanian, rich tradition of icon painting and architecture, and association with dynastic and military history, is closely associated with national identity. The church, having collaborated with communist authorities after 1945, was the beneficiary of the suppression of the Romanian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in 1948. It enjoyed an expansion of Orthodox seminaries and publishing, but it also meekly accepted the destruction of many historic churches in the 1980s. This attitude damaged the prestige of the church among many Romanians, and consequently it has not been in a position to aid in the restoration of Romanian morale in the face of social and economic stagnation since the fall of communism.

Greek Catholics, whose church was organized in 1700 in Transylvania, live overwhelmingly in that province and are mostly Romanian. Their liturgy and artistic traditions resemble those of the Orthodox, but they recognize the authority of the pope. They numbered roughly 1.4 million, about half the Romanian population in the lands formerly part of Hungary, at the time of the suppression of the church in 1948. Although the church was restored to legality in 1990 and its previously clandestine bishops returned to public life, it has failed to regain possession of most church buildings expropriated in 1948. Doubts raised by the Orthodox about the loyalty of the church to the nation (ecclesiastical ties to the Roman Catholics made it relatively open to Hungarian cultural influence, although Uniate schools and writers were generally bulwarks of Romanian culture under Hungarian rule) and stubborn defense of Orthodox Church property have kept the Uniates on the defensive. To some degree neo-Protestant churches have filled the void, attracting members from the traditional but embattled Romanian churches: the more than half million strong Pentecostal, Baptist, Seventh-Day Adventist, and Evangelical Churches have grown rapidly since 1990 and are primarily Romanian. Roman Catholic Church members are mostly Hungarian but include growing Romanian minorities in Moldavia and to a lesser extent in Wallachia, where Latin rite parishes and bishoprics function in the Romanian language.

There are many Romanian ethnographic regions with distinctive folk arts that have inspired writers, painters, and composers. To mention only a few, Vrancea in southwestern Moldavia is known for its folk music, Gorj in Oltenia for its architecture, Ţara moţilor in the Western Carpathians for its carved wooden objects and annual mating fair, and Maramureş for its carved wooden gates. The monasteries and villages of the Carpathians and especially their shepherds *(ciobani, păcurari, mocani)* are powerful images in Romanian culture.

Hungarians The large Hungarian minority is a legacy of the lands ceded from Hungary after World War I, where Hungarians had settled in medieval times. Though Romanians have predominated in these lands throughout the modern period and into the present, there is a Hungarian majority in two counties of the Székely region of Transylvania and substantial minorities in most other counties that formerly belonged to Hungary. Miercurea Ciuc (Hungarian: Csíkszereda) and Sfîntu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy) are the largest towns with Hungarian majorities, but Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhély) and Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) have large Hungarian minority populations. The decline of

Table 3.1

Ethnic Identity			*Mother Tongue*			*Religion*		
Total	21,698,181	100						
Romanian	19,409,400	89.5	Romanian	19,741,356	91	Orthodox	18,806,428	86.7
Hungarian	1,434,377	6.6	Hungarian	1,447,544	6.7	Roman Catholic	1,028,401	4.7
Roma	535,250	2.5	Romanes	241,617	1.1	Greek Catholic	195,481	0.9
German	60,088	0.3	German	45,129	0.2	Reformed	698,550	3.2
Ukrainian	61,091	0.3	Ukrainian	57,593	0.3	Lutheran CA	11,203	0.1
Serbian	22,518	0.1	Serbian	20,377	0.1	Lutheran SB	26,194	0.1
Turks	32,596	0.2	Turkish	28,714	0.1	Unitarian	66,846	0.3
Tatars	24,137	0.1	Tatar	21,482	0.1	Baptist	129,937	0.6
Slovaks	17,199	0.1	Slovak	16,108	0.1	Pentecostal	330,486	1.5
Jews	5,870		Yiddish	1,100		Seventh-Day Adventist	97,041	0.4
Russians/ Lipovans	36,397	0.2	Russian	29,890	0.1	Muslims	67,566	0.3
Bulgarians	8,092		Bulgarian	6,747		Evangelical Christians	46,029	0.2
Croats	6,786		Croatian	6,355		Old Believers	39,485	0.2
Greeks	6,513		Greek	4,146		Evangelicals	18,758	0.2
Czechs	3,938		Czech	3,339		Jews	6,179	

The Stavropoleos Church (1724), Bucharest: Monument of the Brâncoveanu style and the Phanariot era in Wallachia. (Courtesy of James P. Niessen)

the Hungarian population below 1.5 million in the 2002 census is attributed by both Hungarians and Romanians to emigration, especially to Hungary, but economic stagnation and emigration have caused an absolute decline in the Romanian majority as well. The Hungarian political party, the Democratic Union of Hungarians of Romania, provides Hungarians with a large degree of political unity, and their cultural institutions enjoy the support of the Hungarian government, in which the Romanian government increasingly acquiesces. Hungarian churches and bishops have served as protectors of minority culture. Most members of the Roman Catholic, Reformed (Calvinist), Unitarian, and Synodal Lutheran Churches are Hungarians. There are small Hungarian minorities in Moldavia and Wallachia.

Two special ethnographic groups of the Hungarians are the Székely (or Szekler) people and the Csángós. The Székely owe their origins to a Turkic people that was once distinct from the bulk of the Hungarians, but in modern times it has spoken a form of standard Hungarian and expressed Hungarian political consciousness. Székely towns and rural communities are prized by Hungarians for the traditions of their schools and churches as well as (like the Maramureş Romanians) their carved wooden gates. The Csángós (Romanian: Ciangăi) are a Roman Catholic people living in the valley of the Trotuş River and around the towns of Bacău (Hungarian: Bákó) and Târgu Ocna (Aknavásár) in south central Moldavia. The Csángós are probably of Hungarian origin, though today most speak a local variant of Romanian and are distinguished primarily by their strong Roman Catholic faith. A subgroup of Csángós lives in southeastern Transylvania near the town of Braşov.

Romanian Language

Romanian is a Romance language spoken in Romania, as well as by 65 percent of the population of the Republic of Moldova and much smaller portions of the population of Hungary, Serbia, and other parts of the Balkans. Romanian or Daco-Romanian is the largest variety of the Balkan Romance languages. The others, spoken by small minorities to the south, are Aromanian or Macedo-Romanian, spoken in parts of Albania, Macedonia, and northern Greece; Megleno-Romanian, spoken near Thessaloniki in northern Greece; and Istro-Romanian, spoken in some villages in the Istrian peninsula. Traditionally there have been regional variations of pronunciation (rarely a barrier to comprehension) in the Romanian spoken within Romania, which may be placed into three groups, associated with Moldavia and northern Transylvania, southern Transylvania and Wallachia, and Banat. Among these variants, the Oltenian one became painfully well known through the stuttering, interminable speeches of Nicolae Ceauşescu. The Romanian spoken in the Republic of Moldova, and especially in the separatist region of Transdniestria, is strongly influenced by Russian and Ukrainian, with the soft vowels characteristic of those languages. The constitution of the Republic of Moldova designates the state language as "Moldovan" rather than Romanian.

Romania has a greater grammatical similarity to Latin than do Latin-based Western languages such as French and Spanish, thereby buttressing the theory that the ancestors of the modern Romanians resided continuously on their present territory from Roman times. The earliest surviving Romanian text dates from 1521. Statistical analysis of Romanian dictionaries and usage indicates a majority of the words are of Latin origin (this includes modern French imports), but a large minority is not. Many older words that are associated with agriculture and nature have Slavic, Turkish, Albanian, or Hungarian origins and may be paired with Neolatin forms that were preferred by linguistic reformers. The postpositional direct article (as in *Luceafărul,* The Evening Star, a poem by Eminescu) does not exist in other Romance languages.

The spelling of contemporary Romanian is nearly phonetic. The partial exception is due to the application of linguistic reforms in 1994 and prior to 1945 that sought to emphasize the Latin etymology of Romanian words. While the Romance origin of Romanian is not in doubt, until the nineteenth century it was usually written in Cyrillic. The Danubian Principalities introduced the Latin alphabet in 1860. The use of Cyrillic continued longer in Bessarabia, and it was restored there during the period of Soviet rule between 1940 and 1990. Today Romanian uses a Latin alphabet containing thirty characters. Politically motivated changes in orthography during the twentieth century principally affected the vowels *â* and *î,* as in the word *Român,* later *Romîn* (Romanian). The first form has been standard for most of the twentieth century, but the second, emphasizing the possible Slavic origin of the sound, was introduced in 1954. Since 1965 R*o*mania has replaced R*u*mania as the preferred English form of the country's name. New Romanian spelling rules were instituted in 1994 concerning additional uses of the vowels *â* and *u: sânt* (are) once again became *sunt,* as in Latin.

Roma (Gypsies) The enumeration of Romania's Roma, or Gypsies, is difficult. The Budapest-based European Human Rights Foundation estimates the Roma population at 1.9 million, the largest in any country. Official census figures are much lower, but it is likely that anti-Roma sentiment in the general population discourages many Roma from declaring this identity to census takers. Market conditions after 1990 have enabled some Roma to do quite well in business or music and to build gaudy "palaces" in the Roma quarters of some towns, but even larger numbers of Roma have failed to establish a firm footing in the Romanian economy. They suffer from poverty, homelessness, and inadequate education. Tens of thousands of Roma from Romania died in the camps in Auschwitz and Transnistria in World War II. Discrimination against Roma today, including mistreatment by the Romanian police, has been documented by Amnesty International.

The variety of ethnic groupings among the Roma also weakens Roma identity. The 2002 census reveals that only half the self-identified half million Roma indicated Romanes as their mother tongue. Most of the others are speakers of Romanian and, in Transylvania, Romanian or Hungarian. The Roma are politically disunited, with at least four Roma political parties in the country and a rival "king" and "emperor" in the Transylvanian town of Sibiu. Roma are distributed among the churches dominated by the Romanians and Hungarians in their respective regions. "King" Florin Cioaba is a Pentecostal minister. The majority of Roma live in settled urban or rural communities, and only a minority still follow a migratory lifestyle.

Ukrainians and Russians The 100,000 eastern Slavs in the country are concentrated in two regions, the Ukrainians in Maramureş and adjoining parts of Bucovina, and the

Traditional Gypsy (Roma) metalworkers in a Saxon town of southern Transylvania. (Corel Corporation)

Russians (Lipovani) in the Danube Delta. The political importance of these minorities is heightened, and their status either worsened or improved, according to the nature of Romania's relations with Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, where Ukrainians and Russians exercise strong influence over the fortunes of the Romanians living in those countries. The Ukrainians in Romania's northwest adhere primarily to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, but a minority are Greek Catholics. The Lipovani are Russian Orthodox Old Believers, who came to the delta at the time of Peter the Great to escape religious persecution.

Germans At its height, during the interwar period, Romania's German minority was ten times larger than its current size. The ancestors of some Germans were brought to Transylvania by Hungarian kings in the thirteenth century to settle and defend the southern borderland of the province, while others came in the eighteenth century to help revive the economy of southeastern Hungary after its liberation from the Turks. Today perhaps two-thirds of the Germans are Roman Catholic Swabians (Schwaben) residing in the Banat, while less than 20,000 Lutheran Saxons (Sachsen) remain in southern Transylvania. Many Germans fled westward at the end of World War II, and a large portion of those who remained were deported to the Soviet Union. Most deportees returned to Romania in the 1950s but began to emigrate in the 1970s with the collusion of the Romanian and West German governments, which paid a ransom (nominally in remuneration for their education in Romania) for each person. Although the ransom system ended with the fall of communism, German emigration became a flood in 1990. Many abandoned Saxon villages have been occupied by Roma, while their historic churches are preserved by foundations based in Germany or have been purchased by Romanian congregations.

Turks and Tatars Turks and Tatars are remnants of larger settlements in Dobrogea and the Lower Danube that arose during the period of Ottoman domination in Wallachia and Moldavia. Their Muslim religion has proven more tenacious than their language and ethnic identity. Two mosques in Constanţa were built in 1868 and 1910; there are older mosques in Mangalia and Babadag. Romania's growing economic relations with Turkey have helped ensure the preservation of these monuments and modest support for Turkish and Tatar cultural organizations.

Jews Romania's Jewish population, like that of the Germans, was once much larger. Jews were a majority of the population of Iaşi in the late nineteenth century, and they accounted for much of the commercial activity in Moldavia. Romanian anti-Semitism was correspondingly strongest there. It gained powerful influence in Romanian political life during the interwar period, although Jewish–Christian relations had been relatively peaceful in Bucharest. Jews east and south of the Carpathians were Sephardim, while those in the formerly Habsburg lands were Ashkenazim. The Holocaust took a heavy toll on both these groups, the former being deported by Romanian troops to Transnistria and the latter by the Hungarians to Auschwitz. Still, more Jews survived the Holocaust in Romania than in any other country in the region. As with the Germans, a ransom system (financed by Israel) facilitated the emigration of most survivors by the 1980s. Fewer than 10,000 Jews remain in Romania, but the country's ultranationalists still find anti-Semitism (often paired with anti-Hungarianism) a useful tool.

HISTORY

The territories that now compose Romania came together between 1859 and 1918. Although there were intermittent attempts and one brief early success at uniting these lands because of their geopolitical position, the idea that they constituted a Romanian nation arose only in recent centuries. The first published reference to this "Romania" occurred in the early nineteenth century. If we nonetheless project the history of the country further back in time, it is with the understanding that these territories' association with each other was most of the time no stronger than their association with lands that are now outside the borders of Romania. A two-thousand-year history of Romania in this sense is still not totally anachronistic because the cultures in today's country owe much to earlier history. Historians simply disagree about how.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

The Thracians, an Indo-European people, lived in much of the area as far south as Homeric Greece in the Iron Age. Greeks established trading colonies along the Black Sea coast of Dobrogea at the end of this period, and reported the presence in the hinterland of Getae and Dacians. They spoke the same language; hence writers today use the term "Geto-Dacians" for this Thracic people that lived in an area resembling modern Romania. Herodotus and other Greek writers have left descriptions of their monotheistic religion and social organization. Small Geto-Dacian kingdoms coalesced into a Dacian "empire" under Burebista in the first century B.C.E., which extended far into modern Hungary and Slovakia. Burebista's capital for a while was Argedava in Wallachia south of today's Bucharest, then later at Sarmizegetusa in southern Transylvania. This empire fell apart after Burebista sided with Pompey in the Roman civil war and was assassinated. The Roman poet Ovid was exiled to the Greek town of Tomis on the Black Sea, at the beginning of the first century. We know he was not happy to be there. A collection of his poems from the years in Tomis is entitled *Tristia* (Poems of Sadness).

Hostilities between Rome and the Dacians increased, in part over control of the rich deposits of gold in Transylvania. Rome annexed Dobrogea to its province of Moesia in 46 C.E. Later in the century, the Dacian kingdoms reunited and fought a series of wars against the Romans before suffering final defeat by the Roman Emperor Trajan in 106, when the Dacian ruler Decebalus (Decebal in Romanian) committed suicide while in flight. In the course of these campaigns, the Romans erected two structures whose ruins have survived to the present: a bridge across the Danube at Drobeta-Turnu Severin in the west, and a monument to the Roman victory in Dobrogea at Tropaeum Traiani, today's Adamclisi. Tropaeum Traiani and the narrative history of the campaign on Trajan's Column in the Roman Forum give us an idea of how the Dacians may have looked. Sources disagree as to whether the Dacian population of the province survived the conquest.

The period of Roman rule over Dacia varied by region: six centuries for Dobrogea, four and a half centuries for southern Oltenia and Banat, 160 years for most of Oltenia, Banat, and Transylvania. Roman rule in Muntenia and southern Moldavia lasted barely a decade. Northern Moldavia and two-thirds of Bessarabia were never occupied, the Romans settling only for military outposts near the mouth of the Danube and nearby Greek colonies, and today's Maramureş was not occupied either. "Free Dacians" in the unoccupied area, Costoboci and Carps, and Germans attacked the Romans repeatedly. Roman Dacia had one of the longest borders of any province facing the *barbaricum*—the Free Dacians and Sarmatians to the north and east and the Sarmatians west of the gold mines in central Transylvania that were the source of the province's wealth.

Given the importance of its mineral treasure and exposed position, Roman Dacia required a substantial military presence. The contested eastern frontier followed the Carpathians, then the line of the Olt River south to the Danube. After the loss of Muntenia, a defensive line was built to the east of the Olt, the *limes transalutanus,* fortified by fourteen military camps from Cumidava, inside the Bran Pass in Transylvania, to Flămânda on the Danube. The frontier of Moesia was similarly defended along the line of the lower Danube, and there were large camps on the Danube south of the Banat and the Mureş, Criş, and Someş in Transylvania. In the interior of Transylvania, Apulum (now Alba Iulia) and Napoca (now Cluj-Napoca) were regional capitals, Apulum housing one legion, while further south Sarmizegetusa, then Berzobis in the Banat housed another. There were up to 55,000 Roman soldiers in Dacia in the late second century, and 10,000–15,000 in Dobrogea.

Most of the estimated 600,000 to 1 million inhabitants of Roman Dacia were civilians, many of them officials brought in from other parts of the empire. After a century of Roman rule, five cities had an estimated population over 10,000, plus three more in Dobrogea. There was extensive construction: aqueducts to supply the major cities, baths, and mineral baths in places like Băile Herculane and Germisara that possessed this resource. The Romans connected their major camps with roads paved in stone, one of which an Austrian map of 1722 suggests was still in use at that time. Inscriptions that have survived on funerary monuments and elsewhere suggest the principal language of the cities in Dacia was Latin and a mixture of Greek and Latin in the towns of Dobrogea, whereas in the rural communities people must have continued to speak Dacian. The objects of religious worship were generally Greco-Roman deities.

During an invasion of western Transylvania in 167, workers in a gold mine at Alburnus Maior (now Roşia Montana) hid a number of wax tablets documenting the accounts of the mine. The special conditions in the mine shaft enabled these tablets to survive intact until their celebrated discovery in 1786 and later. The inscriptions, dating between 131 and 167 (mostly in Latin with some in Greek), are often signed by persons who identify themselves as scribes, but other inscriptions are unsigned, suggesting that Latin literacy characterized more than just a narrow segment of the population. The exploitation of gold, begun under the Dacians, was expanded under the control of the imperial treasury with skilled Illyrian miners. Stone, salt, grain, vegetables, and fruit were also produced in Dacia, some on major farms, and exported to other provinces.

Much of the construction and economic growth of Roman Dacia took place in spurts during isolated decades of peace between periods of invasion and war. Disorder at the heart of the empire compounded the impact of the invasions, with new emperors, often imposed by the army, succeeding one another in quick succession. At times, they withdrew troops from Dacia to meet incursions elsewhere. After winning a military victory on another front, Aurelian used the ensuing respite to organize an orderly retreat of his troops and administration from Roman Dacia by the end of his reign in 275. It appears likely that the bulk of the wealthy city dwellers and colonists withdrew with the troops, while there is disagreement as to whether many of the peasantry and common people stayed behind. The central portion of Moesia south of the Danube accommodated many of the refugees.

Roman Dacia survived longest in the south. The bridgeheads on the northern shore of the Danube were maintained and even expanded in the fourth through sixth centuries, and Emperor Justinian built major Christian basilicas in Sucidava (Celei) in the west and Tomis in Dobrogea. Latin remained the language of the Eastern Roman Empire until the late sixth century, or shortly before the Byzantines finally abandoned Dobrogea after a rule of six centuries.

Compared to the extensive written and archaeological remains of Roman Dacia, far less is known about the rulers, and even less about the population, of the non-Roman area and Romania in the following centuries. Funerary practices have given rise to varied conclusions based on the idea that the Romans or Romanized peoples buried their dead, while the Dacians and others cremated them. The ethnic origin of ceramic finds is difficult to establish. Major hoards of fine jewels and weapons from the post-Roman era are more easily identified with the temporary Germanic and Turkic rulers of the day.

Six dominant peoples succeeded each other in much of the region, on either or both sides of the Carpathians, before the arrival of the Hungarians in the ninth century: Goths, Huns, Gepids, Avars, Slavs, and Bulgars. The first successors were the Visigoths, a Germanic people under whom a shadow of Roman urban civilization continued in the area. Many of the Goths adopted Christianity, and their martyr, St. Sava, is venerated throughout the region. Next came the Huns, a Turkic people from Asia who destroyed much of the remaining urban life and exacted tribute as they moved their power center with time from Wallachia to Pannonia in the west. After the defeat of the Huns in 454, the Gepids, another Germanic people who had been their vassals, succeeded them in Wallachia and Transylvania. A century later, they were overturned by the Avars, another Turkic people. The Avars dominated the areas formerly known as Pannonia and Dacia for two centuries, until their defeat in the West by the Franks in 827.

These peoples left virtually no written records, though Ulfila the Goth, an Arian bishop, created the first vernacular translation of the Christian Bible. They kept no archives, had no stable administrative seat on Romanian territory, and erected no buildings that have survived.

The Daco-Roman population left little evidence of its continued existence here. Coin hoards show that Roman coins circulated after the Romans left, as they did in regions the Romans had never occupied. Archaeologists have found graves from the fourth and fifth centuries that followed Roman burial ritual. There is little evidence of the practice of Christianity in Roman Dacia, though subsequently a degree of Christianization of the common people took place after Christianity became the state religion of Rome, thirty years after the legions departed. Altars of Roman origin were recarved with Christian symbols, and a candelabrum with a Latin votive inscription suggests some of these Christians spoke Latin. Such evidence is lacking for the following centuries. In a Roman envoy's account of his journey through the Banat in 448, he writes that he was given a beverage called "in the local language" *medos,* which might indicate the Latin *medus,* mead. A chronicle reports that a native soldier south of the Danube in 587 was heard to utter a Latin phrase "in the local language," *torna, torna, frater* (turn around, turn around, brother).

The Slavs settled in the Balkans, for the most part peacefully, as farmers. Place-names in Moldavia and Wallachia suggest Romanians and Slavs may have coexisted, as the name of the region Vlaşca (referring to Vlachs) and of the River Dâmboviţa, on which Bucharest is situated, appeared to be of Slavic origin. The large number of words of Slavic origin among Romanian agricultural terms also supports this possibility. In 679 a horde of Turkic Bulgars occupied the Byzantine province of Moesia (with Dobrogea) and subjugated the Slavs who lived there but became assimilated in turn by the Slavic majority. In the ninth century the Bulgars occupied most of the Avar lands, refortifying and renaming Belegrad (Bălgrad in old Romanian), the former Apulum. By the 870s, the Bulgarian rulers accepted Christianity and a Cyrillic alphabet from the Byzantine Greeks.

The adherence of the Romanians to the Eastern Church, and use of the Slavonic language in their liturgy, may date from this period of Bulgarian influence. We are not yet on firm documentary ground, however, because the Romanians lacked a state of their own while the lands between the Danube and the Carpathians were under the domination of the Pechenegs, another preliterate Turkic people. This was the state of affairs when the more stable Hungarian rule began to assert itself in Hungary, then by stages and from the west, in Transylvania. Hungarians gave Transylvania this name because it was beyond the wooded hills that formed a modest barrier to their penetration.

Were the Romanians in these lands when the Pechenegs and Hungarians imposed their rule? Modern Romanian historians assert that a Latin-speaking population developed in Dacia under Roman rule and their descendants have occupied the same territory more or less continuously. In support of this thesis are the unquestionably Latin character of the Romanian language, the archaeological evidence of continued Latinate population for a few centuries, and references in Armenian, Byzantine, Hungarian, Norman, and Russian chronicles, beginning in the ninth century, to Vlachs (probably meaning Romance speakers) in the northern Balkans and Romania. Others, however, above all Hungarians, maintain that the thesis of Daco-Romanian continuity on Romanian territory is not proven by available evidence. In support of a countervailing thesis that Romanian-speaking Vlachs came to Romania from the south, they cite linguistic evidence, the substantial absence of German and Turkic elements in modern Romanian that would have resulted from living under the domination of Visigoths, Huns, Gepids, and Avars, and certain similarities to Albanian that would suggest they lived an extended period in the south. In addition, they cite references in Hungarian documents to Romanian immigration from the south after the establishment of Hungarian rule in Central Europe.

THE LATE MEDIEVAL STATES AND OTTOMAN CONQUEST

There can be no doubt of the presence of substantial numbers of Hungarians and Romanians on the current territory of Romania no later than the twelfth century. Fleeing attacks from the Turkic Pechenegs, the Hungarians entered the central Carpathian basin from the north at the end of the ninth century. The chronicle of the anonymous notary of King Béla III, *Gesta Hungarorum,* presents a version of the Hungarian conquest of Transylvania, written in the last decade of the twelfth century and widely accepted by Romanian historians today, in which the Hungarians had to overcome Romanian military resistance to establish control. Hungarian historians question this account, noting that Anonymus wrote more than two centuries after the events he describes and the purported presence of Romanians at the time of the conquest is not corroborated elsewhere. It appears more likely that occupation by the Hungarian king took place over a period of two centuries, overcoming Bulgarian military outposts and local Hungarian leaders of mixed ethnicity. Writing in the late 1190s, Anonymus likely had some contemporary knowledge of the substantial presence of Romanians in Transylvania. The Hungarian documents mention Romanian military servitors on the royal estates in Transylvania, and they were also reported in Hungarian retinues that fought the Bulgarians in the Balkans. These Romanians may have settled in the recent past or their ancestors may have inhabited the region already. From this time on, for most of eight centuries, the Carpathians would constitute a political frontier between the main concentrations of Romanians.

In establishing their control over Transylvania, the Hungarian kings ratified several characteristics of the province that would evolve and survive into the nineteenth century and distinguish it from the lands across the mountains. First, Transylvania was a voivodate (Crown land) with its own voivode (viceroy). Second, it was ethnically diverse, with Hungarians, Székelys (a Turkic people that soon adopted the Hungarian language), Saxons (Germans who came originally not from Saxony but from the Low Countries), and Romanians. Third, conditioned by geography and the local needs of military defense and economic development, these peoples developed distinctive social structures and administrative autonomies within their regions: Hungarian landed nobility dominated the peasantry in the counties, the gentry and free peasantry had self-government in the Székely region, and the Saxons enjoyed autonomy and substantial mercantile privileges in theirs. Romanian regions in the north (Maramureş) and south (Haţeg and Făgăraş) had a more contested constitutional status.

Contention over the Romanians arose from the Catholic policy of the Hungarian kings. The Hungarian kingdom prized the prestige accorded it by papal recognition in the year 1000. The Catholic clergy and faith allied with royal power, demanding religious as well as political fealty from the king's subjects. Participation in the social status and political privileges of the nobility required adherence to Catholicism, prompting the resistance of pre-Christian Hungarians and Cumans in Hungary, then increasingly of the Orthodox Romanians after the East–West church schism of 1054. Romanians participated as one of the four estates in the Transylvanian diet between 1291 and 1355, then they were excluded thereafter. A peasant revolt in 1437–1438, while not exclusively ethnic in character, drew sufficient Romanian support that the three privileged nations responded after its defeat by concluding a *unio trium nationum* that explicitly excluded a Romanian nation from the Transylvanian constitution. But *nation* should not be understood in the modern ethnic sense. Romanian notables could join the Hungarian nobility (primarily through conversion to Catholicism) without assimilating linguistically.

Contemporary sources support the substantial presence of Romanians between the Carpathians and the Danube after the tenth century. The Byzantine Empire experienced a final resurgence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, defeating the First Bulgarian Empire, regaining the Danube frontier, and recapturing Dobrogea. Their adversaries to the north were the Turkic Cumans and Pechenegs, who occupied most of the land between the Dniester, the Carpathians, and the Danube. The evidence of place-names and archaeological remains indicates there was a mixed population of Slavs, Romanians, and Turkish rulers. In 1185–1186 an anti-Byzantine rebellion established the Second Bulgarian Empire under a Romanian–Slavic dynasty. These circumstances may explain the increased documentary evidence of a Romanian presence north of the Danube.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, the Hungarian king established the Banat (or military province of Severin) and the voivodates of Litovoi and Seneslau as outposts of his power south of the Carpathians. Mongol invasions prevented the Hungarians from consolidating their position and led to decades of disorder in Hungary. Meanwhile, the voivodes in Wallachia sought to increase their autonomy. In 1277 Litovoi refused to pay tribute to the king of Hungary and was killed in battle.

The suppression of the autonomy of Făgăraş and assertion of royal power in southern Transylvania led indirectly to the foundation of the Wallachian state. According to Romanian tradition, a leader in Făgăraş, rather than submit, traveled across the Carpathians with his retinue and established a new authority in the town of Câmpulung. Wallachia was called in Hungarian Havaselve (Across the Mountains) and in Romanian Ungrovlahia or Ţara Românească (the Romanian Land). Wallachia under Prince Basarab (ca. 1310–1352), the founder of the dynasty, recognized Hungarian suzerainty for the first half century of its existence. The Hungarian king sought to suppress the principality's growing autonomy, launching an attack in 1330 on Basarab's second capital, Curtea de Argeş. The Hungarian king failed to capture Basarab and barely escaped with his life after a devastating Wallachian ambush of the retreating Hungarian troops at the battle of Posada, which is recorded in the *Illustrated Chronicle of Vienna.* Basarab united the Wallachian voivodate and the

Banat of Severin, and then asserted independence from Hungary in 1359. Basarab briefly extended Wallachian territory as far as the port cities of the Danube mouth. Hence the territory that would be annexed by Russia in 1812 from Moldavia drew its name from a Wallachian prince.

The foundation of the Moldavian state proceeded like that of Wallachia, but later. Having defeated the Tatars east of the Carpathians in the early fourteenth century, the Hungarians made use of Romanian leaders from Maramureş. According to legend, the founder of the state, Dragoş, came here in pursuit of an aurochs (a European bison), later depicted in the seal of Moldavia. For several decades the region was under Hungarian suzerainty. In 1359 Bogdan, the leader of the Romanians who opposed Hungarian authority, deposed the descendants of Dragoş and established Moldavian independence. Moldavia drew its name from a minor river in the region but was also called Moldovlahia and, by the Turks, the Land of Bogdan. Like Wallachia, the new state created an effective military force with remarkable speed. The first capitals of Moldavia, Siret, Baia, and Suceava, like those of Wallachia, were not far from the mountain frontier. By the end of the fourteenth century, Moldavia controlled the mouth of the Danube.

It is anachronistic to label the three Carpathian provinces "Romanian lands," in anticipation of the later unification of Romania. The ethnic composition of the Transylvanian population in the Middle Ages is hotly contested, whereas the rulers of the province were clearly Hungarians, Szeklers, and Saxons. The term is problematic in the case of Wallachia and Moldavia. Under Basarab and Bogdan, these states established a status close to independence, and Romanians were almost certainly the dominant element in their societies and government. Yet contemporaries did not refer to them as Romanian states. The language of the princely chanceries, reflected in surviving documents from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, was Slavonic (the language of medieval Bulgaria and of the Orthodox liturgy) written with Cyrillic characters. Amlaş and Făgăraş, Romanian regions in Transylvania, were held by the princes of Wallachia until 1476, and two years later Stephen the Great of Moldavia referred to Wallachia as "the other Romanian country." But a preferable collective term for Wallachia and Moldavia, which reflects their similar geopolitical situation, is Danubian Principalities.

The political model of the Danubian Principalities was Byzantine autocracy. In styling themselves sovereign ruler and by the grace of God *(somoderzhavnoi, bozhiiu milostiu),* the prince (*voivod* or *hospodar*) asserted independence from erstwhile suzerain powers, but also the native nobility that claimed the right to elect him and his successors. The ruler asserted eminent domain over all the land in the principality and ultimate judicial power as well. The main officials, who all served at his personal pleasure, derived their names and functions from Byzantium and Bulgaria: the chief secretary or chancellor *(logofăt),* treasurer *(vistier),* head of the judiciary *(vornic),* chief diplomat or master of ceremonies *(postelnic, portar, uşar),* and various household functions *(paharnic, stolnic, comis, clucer, sluger, pitar).* The chief military adjunct of the prince was named *spătar* in Wallachia, while in Moldavia his title probably came from the Polish realm, *hatman.* The prince called occasionally on a princely council, made up of major landowners and, increasingly, officials. Unlike in Transylvania, there were occasional noble assemblies but no periodic diets in the Danubian Principalities or constitutionally established regional autonomies. The only important regional subdivision was Oltenia, whose *ban,* residing in Craiova on the Jiu River, was the successor of the *bans* of Severin and a leading member of the princely council who for many decades challenged the Basarab family for the Wallachian throne.

The Principalities also emulated Byzantium in the role assigned to the Orthodox Church. In 1359 the emperor recognized the creation at Curtea de Argeş of an Orthodox metropolitanate for Wallachia, which until the twentieth century was called Mitropolia Ungrovlahiei. Similarly a metropolitanate was established by the Moldavian prince in Suceava in the late fourteenth century with Byzantine sanction. The princes built many churches and monasteries where Greek and Slavonic religious texts were transcribed, and they encouraged their nobility to emulate them. The many Moldavian church foundations of Prince Stephen the Great in the second half of the fifteenth century included the now UNESCO-protected "painted monasteries" of Bucovina, with colorful external murals depicting biblical scenes and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The church in Wallachia, and to a lesser extent in Moldavia, ordained or consecrated many Orthodox clergy and bishops for the Romanians in Transylvania. The Wallachian princes also became patrons of one of the monasteries on Mount Athos in Greece.

The international position of the fledgling Danubian Principalities was determined in large part by their role in riverine trade. Transit of ships through the Iron Gates of the Danube in the west was not yet feasible, so that an overland connection to the Principalities' entrepôts was crucial for Central Europe. For Wallachia the key port was Brăilă, at the point in the river closest to the bend in the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Saxon town of Braşov (German: Kronstadt), while for Moldavia Cetatea Albă (Akkerman), near the mouth of the Dniester and Chilia in the Danube Delta, were the outlets for trade toward Lwów and Poland. The princes' concessions to the merchants of Braşov and Lwów conditioned in large degree the relationship of Wallachia and Moldavia with Hungary and Poland respectively. At times the Principalities recognized the suzerainty of the larger state explicitly; at other times they acted as allies or outright adversaries. These client relationships with the great powers of East Central Europe helped solidify and perpetuate the existence of the principalities as distinct states with their own interests despite their similar Romanian population and Byzantine system of church and state.

The rising Ottoman power confronted Catholic Hungary and Poland and, more directly, their Orthodox client states. A series of princes filled the role of crusader against the Turks on behalf of Christian Europe. Mircea the Old, prince of Wallachia (1386–1395; 1397–1418), fought the Turks at the battle of Rovine in 1395; during the interregnum he joined the Christian forces at the battle of Nicopolis in

1396, and then later he intervened in the Ottoman succession struggles after 1402 to support the less expansionist candidate against the later Mehmed I. After Mehmed's succession to the throne, however, Mircea was forced in 1415 to recognize Ottoman suzerainty and pay an annual tribute. Wallachian princes would contest this suzerainty repeatedly in the coming centuries, often paying for their resistance with their thrones or their lives. The act of 1415, emulated later in Moldavia, guaranteed the Principalities' internal autonomy and statehood, in contrast to the former Christian states to the south, now reduced to pashaliks.

The union of Christian forces was the byword at the meeting at Florence in 1437 that declared a union of the Eastern and Western Churches under the pope, with the retention for the Eastern Churches of the Byzantine liturgy. The bishops from Wallachia and Moldavia, like those from Byzantium, subscribed to the church union. The ensuing Christian military assault, however, led to disaster at the battle of Varna, on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, in 1444. The Hungarian military leader, a South Transylvanian of Romanian origin known in English as John Hunyadi, won a series of stirring Christian victories over the Turks at midcentury despite the fall of Constantinople, most notably at the battle of Belgrade in 1456, at which he was killed. The brutal Vlad the Impaler (Vlad Ţepeş), Vlad III Dracula, prince of Wallachia (1448, 1456–1462, 1476), continued the principality's crusading tradition with intermittent Hungarian support but against increasing odds, twice forced from the throne by domestic partisans of the Turks but dying in battle. Moldavian Prince Stephen the Great (1457–1504) won a brilliant victory over the Turks at Vaslui in 1475 and was proclaimed Athlete of Christ by the pope. Even so he had to fight the Hungarians and Poles to maintain his position, and in 1485 he recognized Ottoman control over Cetatea de Albă and Chilia.

The successors of Hunyadi, Vlad, and Stephen were forced to recognize Ottoman superiority. Hungarian society was weakened by social conflict. A projected new crusade in 1514 ended in bloody repression when the peasant host turned against the landlords. The suppression of the revolt led to a strengthening of serfdom. A minor Székely nobleman, György Dózsa, led the rebels and the heaviest fighting was in Transylvania. An Ottoman assault on Vienna in 1521 was turned back, but the king of Hungary died fleeing the battlefield after defeat at the hands of the Turks in Mohács, Hungary, in 1526. These events enabled the Turks to formally establish suzerainty over Moldavia in 1535 and establish a pashalik in Hungary and a client relationship with Transylvania in 1541. The role of the Principalities as commercial connectors between the Balkans and Central Europe was at an end. To ensure better control from Constantinople, the Wallachian and Moldavian capitals moved to the lowland towns of Bucharest and Iaşi.

OTTOMAN DOMINATION AT ITS HEIGHT (SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES)

For over 250 years in the case of Hungary and Transylvania, and more than four centuries in the Danubian Principalities, the Ottoman sultans exercised ultimate authority over these lands, directing their trade toward the southeast and draining their resources through financial levies. Unlike Hungary proper and the lands south of the Danube, however, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia were governed by their own Christian princes rather than Ottoman pashas and local elites. Though the Turks often exercised decisive influence on the selection of the princes, these princes maintained their own armed forces and more or less independent foreign policies. Only relatively small contingents of Ottoman troops were stationed in the principalities, and they were not subject to Islamic law or the child levy *(devshirme)* for the supply of the Ottoman armed forces. Foreign exploitation was more extreme in the case of the Danubian Principalities than in Transylvania, but even there Romanian culture made important advances. The relatively light Ottoman yoke in Transylvania permitted the Hungarian and Saxon rulers to avoid both Habsburg and direct Ottoman rule, which caused Hungary proper to be divided between the two rival empires.

The outstanding Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga, in one of his most influential writings, characterized the system of rule in the Danubian Principalities during these centuries as Byzantium after Byzantium *(Byzance après Byzance).* The phrase signifies the remarkable survival of Byzantine tradition in the Principalities after the demise of the Byzantine state as well as the other Balkan Orthodox states that, like the principalities, had been modeled on it, Serbia and Bulgaria. The Orthodox Church continued as before under the authority of Danubian princes, rather than the Greek patriarch in Constantinople, but the ties between the Romanian church and the monasteries on Athos survived and prospered. Greek scholars, noblemen, and merchants as well as churchmen found refuge in the Principalities, and the princes saw themselves as the protectors of Byzantine imperial tradition.

Nomination of the prince originated formally in the noble assembly but was normally contingent on Turkish approval, which required the payment of a fee to the Porte, at times hundreds of thousands of gold ducats, as well as the assumption of the previous ruler's debts. New rulers went into debt to acquire their throne, then sought to recover their investment through the taxation of their subjects. An increasing variety of other payments *(pescheşuri)* accentuated the tendency toward corruption. The annual tribute to the Porte or *haraci,* principal symbol of Ottoman suzerainty, rose from 10,000 ducats in the fifteenth century to 65,000 ducats in Moldavia and 155,000 ducats in Wallachia by the end of the next. The principalities were required to supply a percentage of their produce in wheat and livestock to the Porte, a payment that led in time to farmers instead planting American corn or maize, not subject to the levy. The principalities no longer enjoyed the right to their own coinage as earlier. Polenta *(mamaligă)* became the staple of the Romanian commoner's diet during these years.

The princes' tenure in office tended to be short, both because the Porte sought to collect additional payments and because the princes' repeated involvement in anti-Ottoman alliances led to their execution or death in battle. Despite

Vlad III Dracula, or Vlad the Impaler (ca. 1429–1476)

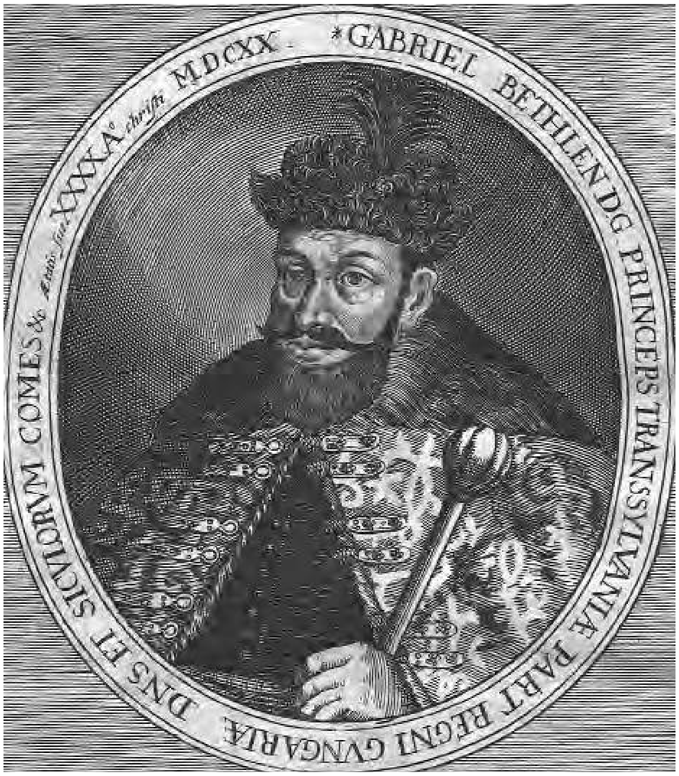
This medieval ruler of Wallachia is remembered primarily for his role in the bloody struggle against Turkish domination in the fifteenth century, and for a fictitious character with whom he had no connection in fact.

His era was a period of extreme political instability due to the lack of a clear law of succession and the interference of outside forces. Between 1418 and 1476, eleven princes had twenty-nine separate reigns, for an average of only two years. Vlad III Dracula was the son of Wallachian Prince Vlad II Dracul (ruled 1436–1442, 1443–1447), whom Emperor Sigismund inducted into the Order of the Dragon; Dracula meant the "son of the dragon" (or "devil"). The son lived four years as a hostage in Ottoman captivity and became the Turkish favorite for the throne after his father was assassinated at the instigation of the Hungarian commander, János (John) Hunyadi. He had three periods as Prince of Wallachia: (1448, 1456–1462, 1476). The first period was brief: while Prince Vladislav II was away on campaign, he seized power with the support of the Turks. Paradoxically, Vlad chose to take refuge in the Kingdom of Hungary, the great adversary of the Turks, when Vladislav ousted him from the throne. Hunyadi then helped him regain the throne eight years later. During this second reign Vlad achieved a bad reputation for his brutal treatment of internal boiar opponents, Transylvanian Saxon commercial rivals, and Turkish invaders. Impalement was not unique to him; it was practiced elsewhere in the contemporary Balkans. In 1461–1462 Vlad refused to pay tribute to the Porte and attacked Ottoman positions along the Danube and in Bulgaria, winning stunning victories that made him famous in Christian Europe. A massive Ottoman counterattack ousted Vlad a second time and forced him to retreat to the Carpathians, where the Hungarians captured and imprisoned him on suspicion of collusion with the Turks. The Hungarian king helped him regain the throne a third time. Once again his reign was short, and he died in battle during the Turkish counterattack.

For many, Vlad's afterlife is more interesting, and it is certainly better documented, than his confusing political career. German, Russian, and Romanian legends emphasized his cruelty or his sense of justice, while modern Romanian historians seeking national heroes highlighted his military brilliance and political leadership. Vampire beliefs existed in the region too, but it was the British writer Bram Stoker who united them in his novel *Dracula* in 1897. Among the many celebrated dramatic portrayals of Dracula were F. W. Murnau's silent film *Nosferatu* (1922), Tod Browning's talking film *Dracula* starring Bela Lugosi (1931), Carl Dreyer's *Vampyr* (1932), Terence Fisher's *The Horror of Dracula* starring Christopher Lee (1958), John Badham's *Dracula* starring Frank Langella (1979), and Francis Ford Coppola's *Dracula* starring Gary Oldman (1992). Scores of fiction writers have reworked the story as well. Dracula tourism has untapped economic potential for Romania. A businessman formerly employed by the Ministry of Tourism has been marketing "Dracula tours" since 1993. Plans to build a theme park near the picturesque Transylvanian Saxon town of Sighişoara, Vlad's birthplace, were set aside in 2003 after protests by Britain's Prince Charles and other preservationists. However, the government has approved a backup plan to build it in Snagov, where an Orthodox monastery outside Bucharest contains Vlad's grave. An Austrian brewery and a Greek subsidiary of Coca-Cola have signed on in exchange for ten-year concessions.

overwhelming Turkish military superiority and Turkish control of important military installations on the Danube at Giurgiu and Brăilă to the south and the former Black Sea outlets of Moldavia to the north, the two states participated in military actions on the side of the less vulnerable, wealthier Transylvania and Poland. In small recompense for these alliances, the central Transylvanian estate and fortress of Cetatea de Baltă (Hungarian: Küküllővár) was deeded to the principalities for extended periods. From 1508 to 1593, twenty-three princes of Wallachia had thirty-four separate periods of rule, while from 1504 to 1606 twenty-one princes of Moldavia had twenty-eight periods of rule. Children of leading politicians were frequently held hostage as a guarantee of political reliability: thus Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania from 1613 to 1629, and Dimitrie Cantemir, prince of Moldavia (1693; 1710–1711), both acceded to the throne after many years lived in Constantinople. Still, the principalities' military success and international agreements enabled them to ward off Ottoman plans to annex them, causing the sultan instead to withdraw most occupying troops and recognize the ruling princes.

To the north, Transylvania evolved from an autonomous territory of the Hungarian kingdom to a virtually independent principality. An interregnum in Hungary followed the destruction of the royal army and death of the king at Mohács in 1526. Two claimants to the throne arose: Ferdinand of Habsburg on the basis of an inheritance treaty concluded in 1515, and János Szapolyai, a major Hungarian landowner and military leader, as the choice of home-rule advocates in the Hungarian diet. To prevent a Habsburg occupation of


MDCXX GABRIEL BETHLEN D.G. PRINCEPS TRANSSYLVANIA PART REGNI UNGARIA DNS ET SICULORUM COMES &c Anno Christi XXXX

Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania (1580–1629). This Hungarian Protestant was the most successful ruler of independent Transylvania during its 150-year history. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Hungary, the Turks occupied central Hungary and in 1541 established direct rule over the region with a pasha in control in Buda. To the north and west, in current day Slovakia and Transdanubia, the Habsburgs established control in so-called royal Hungary. Szapolyai's forces were left with the remainder, out of the reach of the Habsburgs and a strategic backwater for the Turks, who had a negligible military presence in the principalities and could scarcely penetrate the well-defended Carpathian passes, while their main forces faced the Habsburgs to the west. Szapolyai's successors, selected by the Transylvanian diet and confirmed in office by the Porte, thereby achieved considerable freedom of movement, indeed added to their territory parts of Maramureș and Crișana (the Partium) that were part of Hungary proper. A semblance of dynastic succession was achieved among several Transylvanian Hungarian families, a strong princely authority was established, as well as a regularly convoked Transylvanian diet with substantial legislative power. The annual tribute paid to the Porte was a relatively modest 10,000–15,000 ducats.

The Protestant Reformation had a decisive impact on Transylvanian society and the emerging political system. First among the Saxons, then among the Hungarians, Lutherans gained control of many Catholic parishes and their properties. Later, the Reformed or Calvinist faith, then Unitarianism established themselves among the Hungarians. In 1568 the Transylvanian diet at Turda (Hungarian: Torda) proclaimed religious freedom for the four Christian churches of the Saxons and Hungarians: Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Unitarian. Protestant liturgies in the vernacular inspired early Bible translations, as well as religious and secular literature in the Hungarian, German, and Romanian languages, which were printed by new Transylvanian printing presses. The Lutheran Church became something like a national church for the Saxons, since church membership and the Saxon population were essentially the same. The situation of the Reformed and Unitarian Churches was similar in that nearly all their adherents were Hungarians. The churches and regional administrative autonomy became fundamental elements of Transylvanian political life. The tolerance edict of the Turda diet established an important international precedent but arose less from an abstract ideal of religious toleration than from a practical need for political equilibrium. The Romanian Orthodox population of Transylvania stood outside the religious as well as the political system. Transylvania was arguably the center of Hungarian culture in the sixteenth century, but it was not the center of Romanian culture.

International cooperation against the Turks increased after the Spanish naval victory at Lepanto in 1571. Following an appeal by Pope Clement VIII, various Christian states with Spain and the Holy Roman Empire led by the Habsburgs concluded a Holy League, and in 1594–1595 they secured the adherence of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul), the prince of Wallachia (1593–1601), as the most exposed ally, became the key protagonist in the first phase of the struggle. In the anti-Ottoman revolt led by Michael beginning in November 1595, he captured Ottoman fortresses on the lower Danube and defeated the Turks and their Tatar vassals in Bulgaria. Facing an Ottoman counterattack against Bucharest, Michael won his greatest victory at Calugăreni south of the city, a battle in which, alongside Moldavian and Wallachian forces, many of the troops were Székelys under the command of Sigismund Báthory, prince of Transylvania. Strengthened by these victories and a renewed campaign south of the Danube that was welcomed by the Christians there, Michael concluded a peace treaty with the Porte in 1598 and another with the Habsburgs, in which he recognized Habsburg suzerainty but no new obligations.

The victories were endangered, however, by changes on the Transylvanian and Moldavian thrones. In both lands, the new prince supported Poland and a more conciliatory policy. With the support of his Habsburg and Szekler allies, Michael marched into Transylvania and, after defeating the Transylvanian prince in October 1599, secured the homage of the Transylvanian diet. In May 1600 he ousted the Polonophile prince of Moldavia and secured the throne there as well. Although the Habsburgs reserved the Transylvanian throne for themselves and their descendants, for now Michael was its occupant, and so in the summer of 1600 he styled himself "sovereign of Wallachia, Transylvania, and the whole of Moldavia." Thus for the first time the three lands had a single ruler, and he was a Romanian.

The union was short-lived. Michael increased the authority of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania;

but, as he had in Wallachia, he protected the interests of the large landowners by strengthening the serfs' bondage to the soil and their masters. In occupying his Transylvanian throne Michael appointed members of his Wallachian boiar retinue to his council and made them grants from the princely estates. This action and Michael's reliance on the Székely element, rather than any support for the Romanian masses and in the absence of any rhetoric about Romanian national unity, prompted the mass of Hungarian nobility to turn against him and, this time supported by the Habsburgs as well as the Poles, to turn him out of power in Transylvania and Moldavia. After a brief change of heart by the Habsburgs in which they again supported Michael, he defeated his opponents in Transylvania and again claimed the throne in Alba Iulia. However, the Habsburg commander had him assassinated in August 1601.

Michael's military exploits prompted considerable contemporary interest in Europe. Some Romanian historians have celebrated him anachronistically as a champion of national unity. Despite the brevity of his Balkan victories and his rule, however, the following decades did bring an amelioration in the status of the principalities. In 1606 the Porte for the first time recognized the Holy Roman Empire in concluding the Peace of Zsitvatorok. The next forty years were ones of relative stability for Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia with longer reigns in each state. The annual tribute paid by Transylvania declined to 10,000 ducats, and the levies on the Danubian Principalities became less onerous than they had been prior to Michael the Brave. Several rulers entertained the thought of uniting the three states under their rule, although none could achieve it. The motivation, as in Michael's case, was the concentration of forces to resist foreign intervention, and this is why the powers opposed it. Transylvania, as the least vulnerable and wealthiest of the three states, was recognized as the most powerful by the Porte, which granted its emissary in Constantinople the right to treat on behalf of all three. Gabriel Bethlen aspired to lead a union of the states called the Kingdom of Dacia. Vasile Lupu, the prince of Moldavia from 1634 to 1653, hoped to gain the Wallachian and Transylvanian thrones, fighting an unsuccessful campaign against Wallachia. He wrote in 1642 that a conquest of Transylvania by Wallachian and Moldavian troops would be possible because "in Transylvania more than a third [of the population] are Romanian, and once they are freed we will incite them against the Hungarians."

Transylvania attained the height of its wealth and independence under Gabriel Bethlen and the two Rákóczi princes, George I (1630–1648) and George II (1648–1657). They strengthened princely power by increasing the amount of land under their own control but also favored urban crafts, economic development, and education. The Transylvanian coinage of the seventeenth century, silver talers and gold ducats minted for the payment of Ottoman tribute and foreign mercenaries, featured striking portraits of the ruling princes. The Protestant character of the principality became more pronounced, the Roman Catholic Hungarian bishop being banished from Transylvania and efforts made through the translation of religious literature into Romanian to convert the Romanians to the Reformed religion. The Orthodox metropolitans resisted these efforts with the help of churchmen on the other side of the mountains. Transylvania participated intermittently on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War, gaining territory in northern Hungary from the Habsburgs and recognition, at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, of Transylvanian independence.

Moldavia under Vasile Lupu and Wallachia under Matei Basarab (1632–1654) experienced their most peaceful and prosperous period of the century. The entry of Greek merchants into the principalities and their acquisition of land and ecclesiastical and political office were facilitated by the Porte, prompting the resistance of native boiars. Basarab came to power as the result of an anti-Greek movement of the boiars. Like Michael the Brave before him, Matei increased the dependence and fiscal obligations of the peasantry. Lupu, an ambitious politician of Albanian origin and Greek education, also came to power as the result of an anti-Greek action of the boiars. He fought several short wars against his Wallachian counterpart but in other respects followed similar internal policies.

The Romanian language, still written in the Cyrillic alphabet, became the standard in the princely chanceries first, then later in the Orthodox liturgy and religious publications. The princes and several boiars were patrons of ecclesiastic and civic architecture, publishing, and schools. The seventeenth century saw the evolution of Romanian historiography from simple chronicle literature to more sophisticated historical accounts. The outstanding innovators were Moldavians who profited from that land's traditional ties to Poland to study in Polish schools and familiarize themselves with the Polish constitution and humanistic scholarship.

The wars of the 1650s brought an end to this period of stability and progress. Vasile Lupu joined a Polish alliance against the Turks but was punished by Tatar and Cossack raids, forced to abdicate by Transylvanian and Wallachian forces and take refuge in Constantinople. The second Rákóczi invaded Poland in a rash attempt to mount the Polish throne; not only was he repulsed but he was then punished by an invasion of Transylvania by the Porte's Tatar vassals and the replacement of Rákóczi by a more subservient leader. Transylvania was also hemmed in by the Turkish annexation of Oradea (Hungarian: Nagyvárad) and the creation of a new pashalic in 1660. Only the more prudent Matei Basarab died while still on the throne, being succeeded in Wallachia by his illegitimate son.

The succeeding decades were a period of aggressive Ottoman military activity on the Polish frontier north of Moldavia and in Hungary to the west. Troops of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia joined as Ottoman vassals in the siege of Vienna in 1683. The repulse of the siege led to the formation of a new Holy League and an assault on several fronts that achieved notable successes. The liberation of Buda in 1686 led to the establishment of Habsburg rule in central Hungary and an allied advance into Transylvania, where the diet recognized Habsburg rule already in 1687. After changing military fortunes in southern Hungary for several years, by the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699 the Turks were forced to recognize Habsburg control of Hungary and Transylvania.

The Habsburg dynasty secured the adherence of the Transylvanian diet by agreeing to observe its constitution, legislation, and regional autonomies. Habsburg rule in Hungary meant full state support for Catholic restoration, however. The reestablishment of the Roman Catholic bishopric in Transylvania was one aspect of this policy, and the sponsorship in 1697 of a union of the Romanian Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church recognizing the primacy of the pope, on the model of the Union of Florence, was another. While many Saxons welcomed Habsburg rule because it was German and most Romanian churchmen adhered to the union because of the promise of schools and social advancement, these measures were resisted by Hungarian Protestants, the Hungarian and Romanian nobility, and Orthodox believers who rejected the union. The Rákóczi Rebellion, led by the grandson of George II and fought in the Partium and many parts of Transylvania as a civil war, lasted until the conclusion of a compromise peace in 1711.

Russia under Peter the Great joined the alliance against the Turks but had less success. The alliance of Peter's Russia and Dimitrie Cantemir's Moldavia suffered an overwhelming defeat in 1711 at Stănileşti on the Prut and Cantemir's removal from the throne. The long-ruling Constantin Brâncoveanu in Wallachia was more cautious, promising his support for the allies but then withholding it. This enabled him to hold onto his throne for a few more years, but in 1714 he was called to Constantinople to witness the beheading of his four sons before experiencing the same fate himself. The Turks had had enough of patriotic Romanian tendencies, choosing to install loyal subjects (mostly Greeks) from the Phanar district of Constantinople on the princely throne of Moldavia and Wallachia for the next hundred years. Renewed Habsburg attacks were meanwhile crowned with further success: by the Peace of Passarowitz the Habsburgs annexed the Banat of Timişoară and the Wallachian province of Oltenia. A demarcation line between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires now divided the lands of today's Romania along the Carpathians and the Olt. This line shifted twenty-one years later, in 1739 when Oltenia was restored to Wallachia and Ottoman rule.

IN RIVAL EMPIRES: HABSBURG AND GREEK PHANARIOT ABSOLUTISM

The eighteenth century interrupted the indigenous political and cultural patterns observable in Transylvania and the Danubian Principalities during previous centuries. Despite formal recognition of its constitution, Transylvania was now controlled by Habsburg officials. The Habsburg ruler ended the line of independent Transylvanian princes, absorbed the Transylvanian armed forces into the Austrian army, packed the provincial diet with imperial appointees, and appointed a closely coordinated provincial governing council and court chancellery. Political subjection was resented by the Hungarians and the newly favored position of the Catholic Church by Hungarian and German Protestants, but growing taxation and labor services were especially onerous for Romanian commoners. An estimated 60,000 of them fled across the mountains, enough to found a series of villages whose names reflect their origin but not enough to alter the ethnic balance in either province.

The new Uniate (or Greek Catholic) Church of the Romanians gained a firm economic base in the landed estates around Blaj in central Transylvania granted it under its energetic bishop, Ion Inochentie Klein. Klein's campaign to secure the social benefits that had been promised to his clergy were rejected by the authorities, however. Exploiting this disappointment, Orthodox clerics insisting on adherence to Oriental tradition led two popular revolts against the union at midcentury. The revolts made little headway against the church union in northern Transylvania, but effectively overturned it in the south. In recognition of this fact, the authorities reestablished the Romanian Orthodox bishopric in 1760. For the next 190 years, Transylvanian Romanians would be equally divided between the two churches.

Partial Westernization to the north of the mountains contrasted with an opposite trend to the south. In the Principalities, the pressure to conform with Constantinople was so powerful that the elites for several generations abandoned Western styles of dress, donning instead oriental caftans and robes. Although the Romanian language was supplanting Slavonic in the Orthodox liturgy, educational institutions founded by the Phanariots helped establish for more than a century the primacy of the Greek language in the Principalities' secular culture. Exorbitant payments, as much as aptitude and loyalty, and not election by the boiars were now required to attain the Wallachian and Moldavian thrones. In 110 years, the throne changed hands forty times in Wallachia and thirty-six times in Moldavia. Once in office, the princes distributed dignities among their family members and plundered the country to recover their investment. While the annual tributary payments to the Porte stabilized, annual and triennial payments by the successful bidders for the throne skyrocketed. Additional contributions *(peşcheşurile)* and shipments of grain, cattle, and lumber increased dramatically. The export of cattle and animal products was prohibited except to the Ottoman Empire. The widespread cultivation of maize (corn) among the Romanians arose at this time due to the Turks' lack of interest in this food. Peasant flight to escape exploitation occurred here too, less than from Transylvania and primarily across the Danube to the south.

The Phanariot princes abolished the separate military organizations that had permitted the principalities to follow independent foreign policies and even ally with the sultan's enemies. Ottoman forces themselves undertook the defense of the Principalities against Austrian and Russian invasions, fighting no less than seven wars on their territory between 1711 and 1829 and expropriating military supplies from the population each time.

As elsewhere in eighteenth-century Europe, the enhancement of state revenue to support military expenditures was the initial motive for absolutist reform measures. The onset of social unrest and peasant flight prompted further reforms of an ameliorative nature, regularizing monetary exactions and labor services for the common people.

These measures are associated in the Principalities primarily with the name of Constantin Mavrocordat, who alternated on the Wallachian and Moldavian throne between 1730 and 1769. In 1746–1749 serfdom was abolished, though the effect was to stabilize rather than liberate the peasant population. Modest reforms in Transylvania under Maria Theresa and Joseph II could not prevent the violent peasant revolt in 1784 led by a Romanian named Horia. The brutal suppression of the revolt was followed by the abolition of personal servitude, once again not a decisive liberation but a measure that succeeded in stabilizing the rural population. Economic and educational reforms led to an increase in production and well-being in Transylvania, which was spared the frequent military incursions suffered by the Principalities.

The turbulent eighteenth century, while full of hardship for the bulk of Romanian commoners, gave birth to the ideological roots of Romanian unification two centuries later. It is not easy to determine which side of the mountains contributed more to this development. Many historians give the nod to Transylvania, whose vibrant churches and schools provided access to Western education and produced a group of highly influential historians and linguists now known as the Transylvanian School. Phanariot rule and military depredations offered a less promising arena. Yet the Greek schools and culture were conduits for Enlightenment thought, and the declining Ottoman power presented an opportunity for genuine political assertion that was lacking within a Habsburg realm at the height of its power and in provinces dominated by socially advantaged Hungarians and Germans.

One of the intellectual giants of the era was Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), the erstwhile ally of Peter the Great on the Moldavian throne. In Russian exile, he gained international renown and induction into the Prussian Academy for a series of important historical works. Best known of these was his history of the Ottoman Empire (1716, also translated into English), which argued correctly that the Ottoman state was in decline. Cantemir's works on Moldavia and on Romanian origins provided an erudite analysis of current society and the strongest statement yet of the Romanians' descent from the Romans. Works by scholars in the principalities later in the century were less original.

The members of the Transylvanian School, in contrast to earlier historians in the principalities, were not statesmen or associated with the princely court but churchmen. The ecclesiastical connection gave them the opportunity to study in Vienna and Rome, where they gained a strong impression of Roman civilization and the importance of Romanians' connection to it and, even more important, the intellectual arsenal with which to argue the political implications. They would argue that in light of their historical priority Romanians deserved the status of a constituent nation within Transylvania, a status that was denied them. The first modern census of the Hungarian lands that would later join Romania, conducted by the Austrians in 1784–1787, found that more than three-fifths were Romanians. Thus a demand for political emancipation, albeit merely proposing admission to status as an additional feudal nation and equal status for the Orthodox and Uniate Churches rather than democracy, had radical implications for the established order. The demand was raised in two lengthy Romanian petitions of 1791–1792 entitled *Supplex Libellus Valachorum,* rejected promptly by the authorities. The Hungarian nobility's resistance had already prompted Joseph II to withdraw most of his reforms, and it also sealed the fate of the *Supplex*. The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars produced a political reaction in the Habsburg monarchy that made it even less hospitable to political change.

Indigenous Romanian and long-settled Greek boiars resented the alien regime of the Phanariot princes, organizing several abortive revolts and petitioning repeatedly for the restoration of the Principalities' independence. During extended periods of military strife when the Phanariot rulers took refuge in Ottoman fortresses, political authority was exercised by a deputized divan of boiar leaders who repeatedly took the opportunity to issue declarations couched in terms of sovereignty derived from the writers of the French Enlightenment. The demand for the restoration of the Principalities' independence was increasingly supported by the Turks' chief enemy, the Russian Empire. The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji in 1774 granted Russia the right to intervene on behalf of the Christians in the Principalities. In ensuing years as Russia, Austria, and France established consulates in the Danubian capitals, boiar activists were emboldened to issue a growing stream of manifestoes demanding independence and, from 1772 on, the unification of the two Principalities.

Austria and Russia took advantage of the weakening Ottoman control over the principalities, respectively annexing Bucovina in 1775 and Bessarabia in 1812 and depriving Moldavia of more than half its territory. The real prospect of a complete partition, such as had taken place in Poland, increased the daring of Romanian militants. A conspiracy with the Greek revolutionary movement Hetairia Philiki placed Tudor Vladimirescu, a nobleman possessing military experience fighting the Turks with the Russian forces, at the head of an uprising in Oltenia in 1821. The plan relied on Russian support, but Tsar Alexander I shied away from supporting an antidynastic movement, even one against the Ottoman Empire. After this debacle, Vladimirescu's Greek allies turned on him and killed him. It was the end of the revolt but also the end of the Phanariot regime as the Porte returned to native princes for rulers. Meanwhile the Greek revolt, having foundered in the Principalities, raged on to the south. When it finally ended, the Russian protectors were in a position to fashion a new system in the Principalities.

CREATING THE NATIONAL STATE

The Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, signed after the successful conclusion of Russia's latest Balkan campaign, contained territorial, political, and commercial stipulations. Russia gained a part of the Danube Delta, and the Principalities gained control over Turkish fortresses on their territory as well as administrative autonomy. During an extended occupation, Russian authorities formulated what would become the first Romanian constitution, the Organic Statutes. Finally the commercial clauses reversed the closure of central Europe trade with the principalities by the Turks three centuries earlier. Ottoman suzerainty would remain for another half century. But a new era had begun that made possible the eventual establishment of the rule of law, autonomous political life, and full participation in European developments. The commercial opening led in time to a dramatic social transformation. Landowners and peasantry streamed into the newly secure Danubian plains, and grain production supplanted livestock and corn as the country's chief economic products. By the end of the century, Romania would become the fourth leading wheat exporter in the world.

The Organic Statutes were an imperfect constitution in the eyes of liberals. A narrow base of landowners elected a legislative assembly and an even more restricted body was to elect the two princes—but the Russians simply ignored this clause and appointed two Romanians of leading boiar families in whom they had full confidence. Boiar activists, many of them Greek-educated but now increasingly gravitating toward the French cultural sphere and studies in Paris, demanded the end of political interference by the Russian consuls and the unification of the two principalities. Admirers of everything French were ridiculed with the nickname *bonjurişti*.

North and west of the mountains there was also a liberal challenge to the authorities. The leading liberals here were members of the Hungarian nobility, which clamored in the Hungarian and Transylvanian diets for the observation of existing Hungarian laws, the primacy of Hungarian culture, and the emancipation of the serfs. The Hungarian movement prompted Transylvania's Romanians and Germans to organize their own movements, which under the influence of the Hungarian example increasingly emancipated themselves from conservative ecclesiastical leadership. Hungarians accused them of subservience to Habsburg reactionaries, but in fact many Romanian and German activists supported and stood to gain from proposed Hungarian social reforms.

One of the new features of politics on either side of the mountains was that it was carried out in public, through daily and weekly newspapers in the national languages. Patriots became more aware of events in neighboring countries and their implications for their own. The idea of unifying all Romanians in a single state was now heard occasionally.

The French Revolution of 1848 triggered similar outbreaks across the continent. The liberal opposition in the Hungarian diet, skillfully playing on fears of social upheaval, secured royal sanction for a series of constitutional reforms. Most of these attracted broad support also in Transylvania. In Moldavia, boiar leaders presented a series of liberal demands to the Russian-appointed prince, but they were rejected and the leaders imprisoned or exiled. In Wallachia, the liberal program gained the sanction of the ruler as in Hungary, but he then fled to Transylvania. Increasingly threatened by the Porte and Russia, the Wallachian revolutionary government barely survived the summer of 1848. Events were more dramatic in the Hungarian lands. The proposed union of Hungary and Transylvania caused the brief-lived solidarity among the nationalities in Transylvania to break down. Romanian leaders called, in three popular assemblies in Blaj, for resistance to the union. In October 1848 armed conflict broke out between the Hungarian government on one side and the Austrian authorities and various nationalities on the other. A civil war ensued in Transylvania, with serious atrocities and destruction of property on both sides. The Austrians had to request Russian military intervention to defeat the Hungarians. No upheavals took place in Russian-ruled Bessarabia.

Charles (Carol) I, prince (1866–1881) and king (1881–1914) of Romania. The Catholic Hohenzollern established the modern royal house. (Bettmann/Corbis)

The Russian and Austrian victories were costly and temporary. Defeated in the Crimean War (1853–1856), Russia had to return three counties of southern Bessarabia to Moldavia; then, in 1858, St. Petersburg saw its protectorate over the Principalities replaced by an international one. The powers provided for the coordination of the Principalities but not for their full unification under a single ruler. Romanian leaders took advantage of the opportunity presented by international disunity and French support to gain their optimal demands against Russian and Austrian opposition. Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the Moldavian military commander, was elected in turn prince of Moldavia, then

Carol I (1839–1914, r. 1866–1914)

Romania's second prince and first king was born Karl Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a member of the Catholic branch of the Prussian ruling family. The Prussian army officer came to the throne under adventurous circumstances. The deposition of Prince Cuza in 1866 made it urgent to find a replacement before the Austrians or the Turks could reverse the unification of the principalities. Ion C. Brătianu secured on behalf of the interim authorities the tacit assent of the prospective prince, whose candidacy was then approved overwhelmingly in a plebiscite. Karl traveled incognito through Austrian territory on the eve of the Austro-Prussian war. According to his memoirs, when he hurriedly debarked from a Danube ship at the first Romanian port with Brătianu, someone angrily called out after him: "By God, that must be the prince of Hohenzollern."

Carol I took charge of a totally unfamiliar country, whose domestic and diplomatic situation was very uncertain, and did a remarkable job. He was a strong ruler, but through his tact and circumspection he fostered the development of a stable parliamentary system in which the Liberal and Conservative Parties alternated in power without violence. Through his successful military leadership, Romania secured its independence from the Ottoman Empire after the war against the Turks, and he was proclaimed king in 1881. Carol's good relationship with the Central Powers served the country well both economically and diplomatically, although nationalists increasingly opposed it in his later years. In September 1914 a Crown Council rejected his proposal that Romania enter World War I on the side of the Central Powers. It was a hard defeat for him, but he accepted the decision of the council for neutrality.

Despite his achievements, the king did not establish a warm relationship with his subjects due to his disciplined, formal character. In an intensely Orthodox country, he remained devoted to his Catholic religion, and among his best friends in the country was a Swiss Benedictine, Raymund Netzhammer, who served as Catholic archbishop of Bucharest from 1905 until 1924. Carol's wife, the former Elisabeth von Wied, gained popularity through her fondness for Romanian folk costume and the poetry and collections of Romanian folktales she published under the pseudonym Carmen Sylva. The couple's relationship was strained, however. Because they had no surviving children, Carol adopted his nephew Ferdinand, who became king upon his death. Carol built the beautiful Peleş Castle in Gothic revival style at Sinaia in the Carpathians, which is now a museum.

also of Wallachia, in 1859. During the seven years of his rule, he completed the long-demanded administrative unification of the Principalities with the sole capital now in Bucharest, the secularization of monastic lands, and a land reform that was opposed by the boiars and introduced by decree after the dissolution of parliament. After he was overthrown in a coup, Romanians achieved another major objective, a foreign prince who would stand above the parties and enhance Romania's international standing, by the enthronement of Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as Prince Carol of Romania in 1866. In the same year a liberal constitution was proclaimed, modeled on that of Belgium.

In the Habsburg Empire, the Hungarians rather than the Romanians were to profit from Austrian weakness. Austria abandoned a ten-year attempt at centralized rule in 1859, then reluctantly restored Hungarian autonomy. After years of political silence under the centralist regime, Transylvanian Hungarians resumed their political activity and demanded the restoration of the laws of 1848, including the union with Hungary. Austria embarked on a risky game, enfranchising for the first time the Romanian majority of Transylvania to secure its support in the Transylvanian diet against the Hungarian opposition. The experiment was briefly successful, as the diet sent deputies, mostly Romanians and Germans, to the central parliament in Vienna. But it was impossible to rule the Habsburg monarchy without the support of the Hungarians, especially after the Prussian military victory over Austria in 1866. Therefore the dynasty concluded the Austro-Hungarian Compromise *(Ausgleich)* in 1867. Transylvania became an integral part of Hungary, and after having tasted political empowerment, Romanians now found themselves a minority in the larger state rather than a majority in Transylvania.

Renewed hostilities between Russia and the Porte in 1877–1878 provided another opportunity for Romania to enhance its international standing. Prince Carol provided Romanian support for the passage of Russian troops to the Balkan front. When the Russian siege of the fortress of Plevna was stalled, Carol answered a call for military assistance on the condition of assuming overall command of the front. After the ensuing allied victory, Romania annexed northern Dobrogea, and was recognized as an independent kingdom. Despite its indebtedness to Romania for its military contribution, Russia insisted on the return of the three south Bessarabian counties it had ceded to Moldavia in 1856. Within Bessarabia, Russification (the promotion of Russian culture) was harsher than anything Romanians had experienced under the Habsburgs. Romania turned now to

Austria-Hungary for an alliance, later increased by the adherence of Germany and Italy, that would be renewed repeatedly until World War I. This alliance was diplomatically and economically advantageous to Romania. Though its precise terms were kept a secret from the public, its existence was not.

Carol I proved effective in a long rule lasting until his death in 1914. The government was the most stable in the Balkans, with Liberal and Conservative ministries succeeding each other at five- to ten-year intervals. Governments ran elections *after* their appointment and the electoral law was restrictive, but the press was uncensored and the system did provide for some responsiveness to public opinion. Romanian education and culture made steady progress. The Brătianu family provided continuity to the Liberal Party and the country through a series of able leaders. A public system of education, decreed by Prince Cuza, began to become a reality late in the century after an energetic school-building program. A Mining Law in 1895 opened Romanian oilfields to foreign investment, as the result of which American, British, and especially German capital became influential in their production and exports. There was a vigorous debate about the proper balance between Westernization and traditional culture. Taking a more conservative position, but not rejecting modernization per se, was the highly influential Junimea literary movement, which warned against superficial Westernization or "forms without content." The greatest Romanian writer, Mihai Eminescu, was associated with this movement.

Romanians also made cultural progress in Hungary. The government took energetic steps after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise to support Hungarian culture in minority areas, founding a Hungarian university in Cluj in 1872 and subsidizing Hungarian education generally. But although national minorities had little political power, they were on average economically better off and enjoyed a higher rate of literacy than in Romania. Their own churches, schools, press, and banks enabled the Romanian minority to maintain and even enhance national identity. The Romanian National Party enjoyed the support of a growing Romanian middle class and produced a number of impressive leaders. While the few Romanians elected to the Hungarian parliament were generally in opposition, they were publicly loyal to Austria-Hungary and not vocal advocates of secession. Romanians were only one-third of the population in Austrian Bucovina, but they participated in the provincial diet and imperial parliament and enjoyed higher education in their own language at the trilingual university in the capital city, Cernăuţi. Romanian culture and political expression was weakest in Russian Bessarabia. Steady Russification reduced the Romanians by 1897 to less than half of the population. They were almost totally absent from political life until after the Revolution of 1905.

The Kingdom of Romania had its darker side, namely the treatment of its peasantry and Jewish minority. The land reform of 1864 gave peasants outright possession of their land, but its amount proved insufficient and had to be supplemented through sharecropping and arrangements that left peasants increasingly dependent and in debt. A peasant revolt in 1888 was a foretaste of a much more serious one in 1907, the worst on the European continent before the Russian Revolution. Thousands of peasants were executed in its brutal suppression. Jewish immigration to the principalities was welcomed during the first half of the century under the Russian protectorate, and this population made a substantial contribution to economic development. For many social conservatives like Eminescu, however, Jewish capitalists seemed to threaten national culture and exploit the poorest Romanians. Jewish farm tenants were a particular target of peasant violence during the outbreak of the revolt in 1907. In Bessarabia, Chişinău was the site of major pogroms in 1903 and 1905; as a result, thousands of Jews emigrated from Chişinău to the United States afterward.

Romania's alliance with the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) was supported by most politicians of the Conservative Party, but criticized by the Liberals and especially by nationalists who deplored Hungary's minorities policy and even demanded the liberation of Romanians across the Carpathians. On the eve of World War I, rising political tensions in both countries brought the national question to a head. Romania proved itself the strongest of the post-Ottoman states in the Second Balkan War, hosting the Peace of Bucharest in 1913 that awarded it southern Dobrogea (the Quadrilateral), a territory with few Romanians. The Liberal government declined to support the Central Powers when the European war broke out. This decision was a difficult blow for the native German King Carol, who died in the war's first months. His nephew Ferdinand, who succeeded him as king, was more amenable to change.

Romania negotiated an agreement with the Entente in 1916, by which in return for an invasion of Transylvania it was promised protection of its flanks by simultaneous Russian and French attacks and cession of the province after the war. The attacks by the allies did not take place; instead Romania was flanked by the Germans and Bulgarians. Romanian forces had to evacuate Bucharest in November. The court and government retreated to Iaşi, and although it won notable military victories over the Germans in 1917, Romania was forced to conclude a separate peace with the Central Powers in May 1918. The collapse of the Russian tsardom and then of Austria-Hungary created an optimal situation for Romania. The Central Powers recognized Bessarabia's decision to join Romania in March 1918; then in November Romanian troops marched into Transylvania after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian front. The union of the formerly Hungarian lands with Romania was proclaimed at a mass assembly in Alba Iulia on 1 December, whose anniversary would become Romania's National Day. The longed-for Greater Romania arose suddenly, through a remarkable coincidence of events.

GREATER ROMANIA

Through the demise of Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire, Romania doubled its territory and its population. While in the prewar census of Romania the population was more than 90 percent Romanian and Orthodox Christian, Greater Romania was a multinational state with nearly 30 percent minorities, including large numbers of Catholics and Protestants. The urban centers of the new provinces were dominated by the national minorities, who generally enjoyed a higher level of education and wealth than the Romanians and resented the sudden reversal in their political status.

The peasant revolt of 1907 had ushered in an era of social and political reform in the old Romania that was interrupted by the outbreak of war. With the upheaval of the Russian Revolution in his rear in 1917, King Ferdinand promised radical land and electoral reform after the war. Such was to be the case: after the introduction of virtually universal manhood suffrage, the most far-reaching land reform in Eastern Europe was enacted and the Conservative Party disappeared as a political force. More than 2 million peasants received land. Large landholding almost disappeared in all parts of the country, especially in the new territories where Russian and Hungarian aristocrats were targeted. Thus the land reform had its roots before the war but was also applied to the detriment of national minorities and of their cultural institutions.

Alien legal and administrative systems as well as ethnic minorities and their economic power increased the difficulty of integrating the newly acquired territories. Russian, Austrian, and Hungarian laws, civil servants, and currencies were adapted, or accommodated, or eliminated. The government expropriated the schools of the Romanian Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches of the former Hungarian lands, which had served to preserve minority culture but now had no place in a state where schools were administered by the government. The constitution of 1923, built in large measure on the constitution of 1866, stated explicitly that Romania was a unitary national state. This was a decisive rejection of any notion that Romania's historical regions could best be accommodated by a federal system, which in any case would have been a departure from previous Romanian practice.

The political beneficiary of these reforms was the Liberal Party. It no longer had to alternate power with its Conservative rivals and enjoyed enormous prestige as the original proponent of the electoral and land reforms and the wartime alliance with the Entente that achieved such brilliant success in 1918, and as experienced political partner of the royal house. The Liberal Party and its government officials rapidly and effectively expanded their political organization and membership into the newly acquired territories where they had never existed before. In terms of economic policy, the Liberals were advocates of the urban, industrial, and financial interests of the Old Kingdom and their expansion into the new territories. In support of these interests, they enforced protectionist commercial policies that developed Romanian industries and served to rupture the politically suspect ties of the new territories with their former homelands. Industrial imports declined steadily throughout the interwar period, while the rate of growth in industrial production, at over 5 percent, was one of the highest in Europe.

The hegemony of the Liberal Party began to crumble after the death of its leader, Ion I.C. Brătianu, and King Ferdinand in 1927. As important as their deaths was the emergence of a strong political alternative, the National Peasant Party. It arose in 1926 through the union of two parties, the Romanian National Party, founded in 1881 in Hungary, and the Peasant Party, founded by Ion Mihalache in 1918 on a platform of radical land reform. Throughout the decade, the National Party had attacked the Liberal regime for corruption and excessive centralization that violated the terms under which Transylvania and the new provinces had joined Romania. Transylvanian Romanians never for a moment regretted the unification of 1918 or favored Transylvanian independence, but some proposed that the capital of the country be moved to their province. The Peasant Party, the heir of earlier populist and pro-peasant movements in the Old Kingdom, contested the Liberals' claim as sole architect of the land reform and insisted that commercial and administrative policies take the rural majority of Romania into account. The regency that took office after Ferdinand's death saw no alternative to asking Iuliu Maniu, the Transylvanian president of the new party, to form a government. He accepted on condition that he be permitted to hold truly free elections, which were held in 1928 and returned parliamentary majorities for the National Peasants.

The National Peasant government held office for most of the period between 1928 and 1933. It was genuinely popular at its inception, especially due to the undeniable rectitude of its leadership, the measures it took to facilitate agricultural exports and credit, and a law providing for a modest degree of decentralization. It was difficult for the new party to master a state apparatus that had been created by its ousted rivals or to deal with the world economic crisis that lowered prices for Romanian agricultural exports and made industrial credit scarce. Many historians have faulted Maniu for excessive rectitude in his dealing with the controversy that arose over the eldest of Ferdinand's sons, known in office as Carol II. In contrast to his uncle and father, Carol was an undisciplined individual who liked racing cars and racy women. Twice, in 1918 and 1925, he renounced his succession to the throne after choosing to live with women considered unsuitable for him. Maniu, however, felt Carol had been abused by the Liberals and hence did not oppose his return to Romania after 1928. Once home, Carol ignored a promise to Maniu that he would stay out of politics, and reclaimed his throne amidst considerable popular sympathy for his cause. In protest against Carol's corrupting influence, Maniu resigned three times as prime minister, in 1930 and 1933. Party comrades who succeeded him enjoyed less authority and were no more effective in power. It is impossible to detect any consistent rationale for Carol's political actions, but in effect he undermined the institution of parliamentary democracy and progressively eliminated alternatives to his own personal rule.

As the experience of other Eastern European countries during the 1930s suggests, the weaknesses of Romanian democracy went far beyond the failings of Maniu and King Carol. The land reform of 1918–1921, like that of 1864, failed to permanently satisfy the peasants' hunger for land. The practice of dividing land among sons of the family meant that originally adequate landholdings quickly became less satisfactory. Interwar Romanian governments of all parties sought to assuage rural overpopulation by policies favoring industrialization to create urban workplaces. Industry grew. In the towns, Romanian schools and higher education expanded dramatically, especially in the new provinces where existing institutions were Romanianized and Romanians gained preferential employment in management and the civil service. As the economic motor sputtered, traditionalist voices, questioning the desirability of Western and urban civilization, became more audible. As before 1914, they often associated alien Western civilization with the Jews. Urban, middle class Romania was also strongly committed to defending the country's newly won borders against threats posed by aggrieved Hungarians and Bulgarians abroad and within, and anti-Semitism was also widespread in the urban population. Some followed the corporatist model popular in Central Europe, according to which state and economic production should be reorganized according to occupational groups. What contrasted nationalism in Romania from most surrounding countries was the degree to which the rural, traditionalist ideal prevailed.

Interwar Romanian literary movements, like those before 1914, included liberal, progressive, as well as traditionalist tendencies. As in the case of Junimea earlier, traditionalists produced more striking and influential writers, notably Nae Ionescu, Lucian Blaga, and Mircea Eliade. Unlike the personalities of Junimea, however, many traditionalists questioned the parliamentary system itself and were sympathetic to an outright break with Western models. Many also sympathized with the most distinctive Romanian extremist movement, whose political potential dominated the scene after Iuliu Maniu's second premiership ended in 1933: the Legion of the Archangel Michael, founded in 1927, and its offshoot founded in 1930, the Iron Guard. The leader of the Legionaries was the charismatic "Captain" Corneliu Zelea Codreanu (1899–1938), the former student of an anti-Semitic law professor at the University of Iași. Codreanu's student and peasant adherents fascinated contemporaries with their mystical rhetoric drawing on Orthodox Christianity and their rural volunteer work, but horrified them with daring acts of violence against Jews and political opponents.

The Iron Guard's political wing reached its high point in electoral politics (16 percent of the vote) in 1937. The Liberals and National Peasants could provide no strong political alternative to the Guard, in large degree because Carol II excelled in encouraging factions by offering power to secondary figures. The electoral gains of the Guard seemed to indicate that its real popular support was even greater since they were achieved despite the preference of the king (scorned by the Legionaries, among other reasons, because of his Jewish mistress) and his appointed government that ran the election. After this result, Carol proclaimed a new constitution and a royal dictatorship in 1938, with a weak legislature, the judiciary and executive under his own authority, and a National Renaissance Front that superficially resembled the Nazi and fascist parties but lacked any power or social base. Codreanu and 265 followers were arrested and murdered while in prison. Whatever pleasure Romanian democrats may have taken from this act, their own parties had been declared illegal.

Romania's international position had become precarious. As a beneficiary of the peace settlement, it favored strong relations with France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Out of ideological sympathy and in violation of the pro-French dogma of Romanian foreign policy, Corneliu Codreanu declared his support for an orientation toward Germany. This was not the position of King Carol, who declared Romanian neutrality after Germany attacked Poland in 1939. This took considerable courage because Romania had failed to mitigate Soviet hostility over Bessarabia, although it could not know that the secret protocol of the German-Soviet pact placed Bessarabia in the Soviet sphere. The partition that Romanian diplomats had feared ensued even as France was going down to defeat in 1940. In response to a Soviet ultimatum, Romania relinquished Bessarabia and southern Bucovina in June, and after threats from Bulgaria surrendered southern Dobrogea (Dobrudja for Bulgarians) to that country in September. More devastating than either of these events was the Second Vienna Award (known by Romanian historians as the Diktat of Vienna) returning northern Transylvania to Hungary. Facing a likely Hungarian attack and a disinclination by Germany to intervene, the divided Romanian Crown Council agreed to surrender the territory without knowing its exact extent. "Northern Transylvania" was a largely ahistorical creation that included a land bridge for Hungary to its strongest irredenta within Romania, the heavily Hungarian Székely region. Of the 2.5 million people in northern Transylvania, roughly half were Hungarians, half Romanians. Many Romanians and Hungarians fled across the hastily drawn borders. In all, Romania lost close to half of the territory gained since 1913.

Faced with widespread dissatisfaction over the Romanian concessions and an Iron Guard uprising, Carol turned to a war hero and former minister of defense to form a government: General Ion Antonescu. The new prime minister was no admirer of Germany or of the Iron Guard, but he was a realist and he despised Carol. Antonescu quickly demanded Carol's abdication and exile, and announced a National Legionary State with various ministries assigned to Legionaries, but himself in charge. Carol's son Mihai, who had ascended the throne temporarily during the regency of 1927–1930, again became king. He announced the new government, but Antonescu excluded him from real power.

Hitler and Antonescu knew that, in Romania's weakened and vulnerable state, it was dependent on German good favor for any possible border rectification in Transylvania. When they met, Hitler made no promise about rectification but suggested it might be possible after the war. The German interest in keeping Romania in thrall was twofold: access to Romanian grain and oil, and Romanian hostility toward the Soviet Union. Given these priorities, Hitler listened sympathetically when Antonescu reported at the beginning of 1941 on the harmful effects on the Romanian economy of the Iron Guard's mismanagement and use of power to settle scores with Jews and political opponents. Antonescu disarmed his erstwhile allies in short order, with

King Mihai (Michael), leader of Romania (1927–1930, 1940–1947). He lived in exile after his abdication under communist pressure before the 1948 royal wedding in Greece recorded here. (Library of Congress)

the tacit support of the Germans. After a brief Legionary uprising in Bucharest and some other areas, official reports cited 416 casualties, including 120 Jews.

It is doubtful the Germans were disturbed by a series of decrees by the Romanian government to deprive Jews in Romania of their rural (in the fall of 1940) and urban (after the expulsion of the Legionaries from the government in March 1941) property. Official statistics, perhaps intended primarily for German consumption, appear to have exaggerated the scale of the decline in the number of Jewish employees. Romania joined the attack on the Soviet Union with genuine popular enthusiasm. By August 1941, it had reoccupied Bessarabia (with an estimated 130,000 Jews fleeing before the Romanian and German troops into the Soviet Union) but did not stop there, participating in the Axis conquest of Odessa and the advance toward Stalingrad and the Caucasus. In addition to Bessarabia, with Hitler's acquiescence, Antonescu established a Romanian civil administration over a large territory between the Dniester and Dnieper rivers dubbed "Transnistria." Over 100,000 Romanian Jews were deported to Transnistria in 1941–1943, many thousands of whom died from the terrible conditions there. The majority, it appears, survived to be repatriated at the end of the war.

Some historians have engaged in a debate over whether Hungary or Romania treated its Jews more poorly. Contemporaries reported the Germans were horrified by the anti-Semitic violence of local officials in both Transnistria and Hungary during the deportations there in 1941–1943 and 1944, respectively. The mass deportation to Auschwitz of Hungary's rural Jews after the German occupation in March 1944 included those of northern Transylvania. Antonescu's government, on the other hand, was not subjected to military occupation and declined to participate in the deportations to the death camps. It appears likely that he prevented these deportations because, as early as the battle of Stalingrad at the end of 1942, he no longer believed in the prospect of Axis military victory. While Romanian troops continued to fight in great numbers on the retreating eastern front and Antonescu remained a respected collaborator of Hitler, he unofficially sanctioned peace feelers to the Western allies by his foreign minister and Iuliu Maniu. Negotiations intensified as Soviet troops approached prewar Romanian territory. At a point of crisis in the military campaign, on 23 August 1944, King Mihai had Antonescu and his closest associates arrested and declared a unilateral end of hostilities against the Soviet Union. The conspiracy, supported by the parties Antonescu had excluded from power (National Peasants, Liberals, Social Democrats, and Communists), was remarkably successful. Within weeks German forces were forced to vacate Romanian territory.

Romanian troops suffered over 300,000 casualties in three years of fighting on the side of the Axis, then 170,000 more up to May 1945 after changing sides to assist the Soviets in the capture of Transylvania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Just as Antonescu hoped the Romanian contribution would strengthen postwar claims to northern Transylvania, Romania now sought to gain Soviet sympathy for the restoration of the prewar frontier with Hungary, which fought with Germany to the last. There was no question of Romania retaining Bessarabia, which quickly became a Soviet republic (Moldova) once again. The Soviet Union would also exact heavy Romanian war reparations in materiel, demand the extradition of Bessarabian refugees in Romania, and require the forced labor service, for several years, of 80,000 Germans who were Romanian citizens. It turned out that all these contributions were insufficient payment for the return of northern Transylvania; it was also necessary that the government be communized.

After August 1944, Mihai entrusted the government to a succession of coalitions led by nonparty generals and composed, in rough numerical equality, by communist and noncommunist ministers. The popular support of the Communist Party was probably the weakest of any such party in Eastern Europe. In August party membership was no more than a thousand; the leaders had long been tightly controlled by the Comintern and drawn primarily from Romania's ethnic minorities. The party platform, rejecting Romanian control of Bessarabia and characterizing the peace treaties after World War I as imperialist in nature, had severely limited the party's appeal among ethnic Romanians. Now, the presence of the Red Army gave a tremendous boost to the Communist Party. Agitators supported by the communists and radical socialists created stoppages in factories, Communist Minister of Justice Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu engineered the exclusion of "reactionaries" who were political opponents, and the Allied Control Commission, dominated by the Soviet Union, demanded a leftward reconfiguration of the government. This happened in March 1945 with the appointment of the leftist Transylvanian Petru Groza as prime minister. A radical land reform and the beginning of the transformation of the economy began shortly thereafter. Minor members of the historical parties gave the government a small semblance of legitimacy, leading to its recognition by the Western allies in 1946. Archival records have now confirmed contemporary suspicion that the results of the elections of November 1946, awarding leftist parties 80 percent of the vote, were falsified. In February 1947 the Paris Peace Treaty recognized the return of territories to the Soviet Union but also Romanian sovereignty over northern Transylvania.

King Mihai opposed the communist takeover but was powerless to resist it. On 30 December 1947, he accepted an ultimatum to abdicate the Romanian throne, and left the newly declared Romanian People's Republic a few days later.

COMMUNIST ROMANIA

High on the agenda of the new regime were the elimination of opposition politicians and centers of power. Antonescu, his foreign minister, and the wartime governor of Transnistria were declared "war criminals" and subjected to a show trial and death by firing squad. Maniu, Mihalache, and many other former government ministers were arrested and concentrated in a special prison in Sighet, in the northwestern corner of the country. Just as the Soviet Union forcibly united the Greek Catholics with the Orthodox Church in its newly annexed western territories, the Romanian government did the same with the Uniates in 1948. The 1.4-million-strong Romanian Greek Catholic Church, which had contributed substantially to the definition and defense of national identity before 1918, found itself forcibly integrated into the Orthodox Church by the decision of a manipulated church synod. By this act and modest state support for its seminaries and publications, the Orthodox Church became an accomplice of the regime. Any social institution recognizing a supreme authority outside the country was unacceptable to the Communists. The Roman Catholic Church, however, enjoyed too much prestige and diplomatic support in the West, and its celibate clergy was relatively immune to blackmail through the intimidation of family members, to suffer the fate of the Uniates. Furthermore, in Romania this church was primarily Hungarian and German in its membership; therefore its outright suppression would have constituted a blatant violation of communist nationality policy. Thus, this church was neither suppressed nor coordinated like the others but survived in a semilegal state. Most Catholic bishops, of both the Latin and Greek rites, joined the former government ministers at the prison in Sighet.

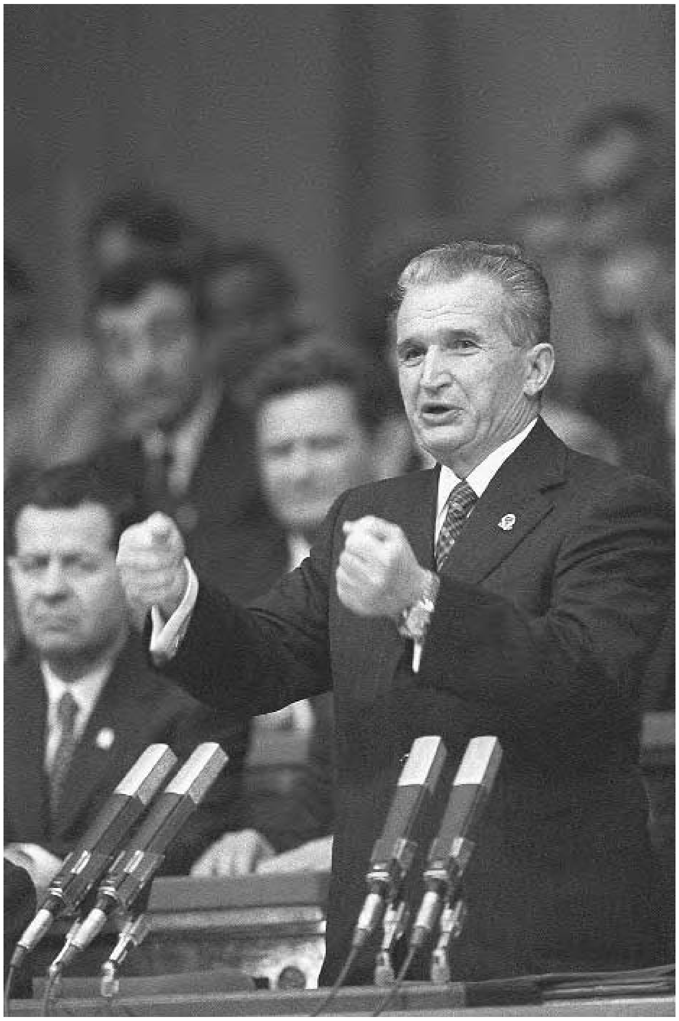
Imprisonment and hard labor was also the fate of social categories such as Serbs and Germans deported from the western Banat to the camps in the Bărăgan Steppe during the crisis in relations with Tito's Yugoslavia, peasants resisting collectivization who were put to work on the massive project to create a canal eastward from the lower Danube to the Black Sea, and ordinary citizens now arrested on trumped up charges to pull reeds in the Danube Delta for cellulose production. Many died or returned home with shattered health.

Terror affected the communists themselves. From a mere thousand in 1944, recruitment among former Legionaries, workers, and other social groups and a fusion with leftist Social Democrats swelled the ranks of the ruling party, renamed Romanian Workers Party in 1948, to over a million in that year. Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, the party's first liaison between King Mihai and the Soviets in 1944, was among the first to be purged. Then, following the Soviet-enforced model observable throughout the emerging bloc, broader purges within party ranks were ordained in order to cull undesirable "opportunistic" elements. If many recent recruits were undesirables, it followed logically that the party officials responsible for the recruitment were culpable. This meant for Romania first of all Ana Pauker, the leader of the "Muscovite" (former exile) wing of the party, a visible leader since her return to the country, the most powerful Jewish woman in the bloc, and foreign minister in 1947–1952 before being purged. Was Pauker a victim of an anti-Semitic campaign like the crackdown on the "Doctors Plot" in the Soviet Union? It is likely that being a rival for power of party leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, and not a veteran of the same in-country prison clique as the leader, was more important than her ethnic origin. The same is true for purged "Muscovite" communist minister of agriculture Vasile Luca, a Hungarian, and former minister of the interior Teohari Georgescu, a Romanian. The arrest of these leaders occasioned also the arrest and imprisonment of many party members and officials associated with them.

The Stalinist Party leader Gheorghiu-Dej managed to maintain and further concentrate his power after the death of Stalin in 1953 and the onset of de-Stalinization. The execution of Pătrăşcanu in 1954 eliminated the most plausible rival for party leadership; then two potential supporters of Khrushchev were ousted in 1958. Defying the Soviet leader's call for the separation of party and state leadership functions, Gheorghiu-Dej concentrated power in his own hands. Like Romanian leaders during the era of national unification, he adeptly exploited opportunities in the international arena to increase Romanian diplomatic independence. Unlike earlier leaders, he also used national independence to enhance his personal power. The successor chosen after his death in 1965, Nicolae Ceauşescu, learned from and further developed this technique.

In the first years of the communist regime it depended on its Soviet patrons and was totally subservient in its foreign policy. Ana Pauker was foreign minister; Gheorghiu-Dej was chosen above all East European leaders to deliver a speech formally condemning Marshall Tito, and Bucharest was chosen as the headquarters of Cominform, the successor to the Comintern, when Yugoslavia was expelled from this organization. Emil Bodnăraş, a Ukrainian and former Soviet agent, presided as minister of defense over the political coordination of the army. This closeness to the Soviets explains why it was Bodnăraş who first suggested on behalf of the Romanian leadership that Soviet troops were no longer needed in Romania after the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty in 1955. Romania strongly condemned the Hungarian "counterrevolution" in 1956, and hosted the interrogation of former Hungarian leader Imre Nagy before his execution in 1958. The withdrawal of Soviet troops the same year was to a large degree a recognition of Romanian loyalty and reliability.

Gheorghiu-Dej insisted that the Romanian leadership reject Khrushchev's de-Stalinization initiatives. The crucial opportunity for the expansion of Romanian independence was the Sino-Soviet dispute. Gheorghiu-Dej took a mediating position when the Chinese leadership presented its theses on independent paths to socialism. Romania chose an ideologically impeccable sally, the publication of a collection of research notes by Karl Marx denouncing nineteenth-century Russian imperialism in Bessarabia. The country dissented from a Soviet proposal for a differentiation of economic roles within the East European bloc, whereby Romania would remain a primarily agricultural country, and went public with its opposition to the secret Valev Plan for cross-border economic cooperation that seemed to threaten Romanian sovereignty over Transylvania. Cultural and economic agreements with Western countries further compromised Romania's position within the bloc.



Nicolae Ceauşescu (1918–1989). He became secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party in 1965 and president of Romania in 1974. The photograph shows his address to the last party congress a month before his ouster and execution in December 1989. (AFP/ Getty Images)

The new party leader, Nicolae Ceauşescu, continued and intensified these policies. During the Prague Spring, the period of liberalization and reform in Czechoslovakia, he declared in public speeches that the party leadership in that country was entitled to pursue its own path without Soviet

Neo-Stalinism: Ceauşescu and the Personality Cult

According to a thesis of the historian Nicolae Iorga, the culture of the Byzantine Empire survived in the Danubian Principalities after the fall of Constantinople, constituting a *Bysance après la Bysance* (Byzantium after Byzantium). The cult of the leader in the era of Nicolae Ceauşescu (1965–1989) constituted what Iorga might have called *Stalinisme après le stalinisme* (Stalinism after Stalinism). Another historian and political observer, Karl Marx, might have commented on this regime by recalling his witticism about the coup that brought Louis Napoleon to power: All great historical phenomena occur twice, the first time as tragedy, the second as farce.

This was a time when market reforms, collective leadership, and party pluralism emerged in other East European countries. In Romania, a policy of rotation of cadres was introduced to prevent the emergence of rivals. An English collection entitled *Romania on the Way of Completing Socialist Construction: Reports, Speeches, Articles* records the dictator's speeches in twenty-nine volumes. Beginning in 1973, several books compiled poetry and prose in praise of the leader and his wife. Two were published in 1981: *The Country with One Voice: Homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceauşescu* and *From the Depth of the Heart: Homage to Comrade Elena Ceauşescu*. Among the most fervent poets was Corneliu Vadim Tudor, the future leader of the Greater Romania Party. The sound track of the *Epoca de aur* (Golden Age) was the hymn, customarily performed with a large chorus, from which the following is an excerpt:

Partidul, Ceauşescu, România

We have in our lead a son of the country
The most loved and most obeyed
Who in the world, to the horizon
Is prized and honored by the people.
And these three wonderful words,
Words worthy like a tricolor,
We carry them engraved in our hearts
Towards Communism, in the coming years.
The people, Ceauşescu, Romania,
The party, Ceauşescu, Romania.

(Unpublished translation by James P. Niessen)

Ceauşescu's visit to the Chinese and North Korean capitals in 1971, followed by the disastrous Bucharest earthquake of 1977, helped inspire the idea of building a new city center. Its centerpiece would be a public palace, the House of the People, at the end of a new Avenue of the Victory of Socialism. The twenty-five-year-old architect Anca Petrescu won a contest to plan it, proposing a building that would be the second largest in the world after the Pentagon. Bulldozers began to clear away buildings from an increasingly lunar landscape beginning in 1984. Forty thousand people were evicted, some on six hours' notice; many committed suicide. Four hundred architects and twenty thousand workers built the outside of the palace in five years; one of their dead bodies was discovered by accident. Considering the victims, some found the spectacular project reminiscent of the construction myth *Meşterul Manole*. There was a call to destroy the palace after the revolution, but since it incorporated high-quality materials and workmanship, it became the Palace of Parliament in 1994. The interior, thirteen stories above ground and four below containing 1,100 rooms and 4,500 chandeliers, was finally completed in 1996. The total estimated cost was $1–3 billion.

interference. The threat that the Soviet Union would intervene militarily in Romania as well as Czechoslovakia in 1968 was apparently genuine. Ceauşescu's defiance of this threat at a mass rally in Bucharest won him enormous prestige among Romanian intellectuals and in the West. Romania established friendly diplomatic relations with West Germany, France, and the United States. Romania never became a true threat to the integrity of the Warsaw Pact, but as with France within NATO, its rhetorical neutralism annoyed the dominant power.

Defiance of the Soviets in 1968 opened for Ceauşescu the prospect of not only asserting domestic autonomy (in order to reduce Soviet interference with his control over the party) but also attaining a degree of popular support outside the party. This option was in marked contrast to the party's disregard for territorial integrity before 1944, as well as to its arrests of prewar political and cultural leaders in subsequent years. After 1948, the party stipulated an official version of history that exaggerated every instance of Romanian indebtedness to the Russian people, enforced socialist realism in literature, established museums, stores, and publishing houses to propagate Russian culture, and made the study of Russian mandatory in Romanian schools. An orthographic reform in 1954 changed the spelling of the Romanian *â* to *î,* thereby emphasizing its possible Slavic origin. The new Romanian foreign policy after 1960 found its domestic counterpart in the elimination of the Russian language requirement, the closing of many Romanian-Russian cultural institutions, and the reform of 1965 that restored the letter *â* and the name of the country from *Romînia* to *România.* More significantly, many noncommunist cultural figures were released from prison, and scholars regained the possibility of teaching and publishing. Strict ideological controls and censorship of the media remained in effect but were eased. More nuanced works of history began to appear, and literature dared to touch lightly on taboo subjects such as the worst abuses of Stalinism. After 1965, the party posthumously rehabilitated Pătrăşcanu and restored to the leadership some politicians previously purged. The second half of the 1960s was a hopeful period of relaxed control on public and cultural expression.

After 1971, ideological and political controls were restored and the brief period of liberalization came to an end. Ceauşescu had never been a true proponent of liberalization or pluralism but only accommodated it during a short-lived period of collective leadership. Returning from a visit to China and North Korea, he engineered a series of party resolutions, Romania's "little cultural revolution," modeled on what he had seen there. A less violent version of Stalinism was introduced, with fewer arrests and forced labor than the earlier period. Work on the Danube–Black Sea Canal, however, having been halted, was recommenced and completed in 1984. The party program approved in 1974 made mandatory the theses of the continuity of Romanian territory since ancient times and the unity of the Romanian people.

The revival of national traditions during the period of liberalization survived as an outlet for cultural activity and as a political tool. Some right-wing Romanian writers of the interwar period were republished, and national traditions were celebrated in history works, public speeches, and folklore festivals. The instrumentalization of nationalism was nowhere more evident than in the policy toward Romania's national minorities. The imposition of an anational communist regime had been a precondition for the Soviet authorities agreeing to restore Romanian sovereignty over northern Transylvania in 1945. There was no true national autonomy under these political circumstances, but Hungarian language education and publishing attained a quantitative level not seen in the interwar period. Hungarian was the primary language of administration in a newly established Hungarian Autonomous Region encompassing the bulk of the Szekler Region. Authorities merged the Hungarian university in Cluj with the Romanian one in 1959. The administrative reform of 1967, by which the precommunist era counties replaced the regions, was the pretext for eliminating the autonomous region. A new push to industrialize areas inhabited by national minorities, presented as an initiative to share the benefits of socialism, also worked against the Hungarians: newly established industries attracted large numbers of Romanian workers. Emigration policy also served to further the domination of the Romanian ethnic element. The majority of Romania's remaining Jews and Germans, nearly a million, were allowed to emigrate to Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany in exchange for the payment of a fee in compensation for the cost of their education, usually by both the émigré and the receiving country. Thereby the government rid itself of two minorities and also generated substantial revenue in hard currency.

Emigration to communist Hungary was not an option for the Hungarian minority. This minority still continued to enjoy the use of its language in media and education, but the sphere of this linguistic autonomy was progressively reduced. Hungarian citizens visiting relatives and friends in Transylvania learned firsthand about these changes, and contributed to a growing concern within Hungary about Romanian nationality policy. Beginning in 1978, writers of the two countries and occasionally the party leaders themselves engaged in polemics. A subtext of these exchanges was that the Soviet Union, in its anxiety over Romania's independent foreign policy, was using loyal Hungary as its surrogate. The comparative economic well-being of Hungary, and the historical legacy of the superior educational level of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, served to exacerbate sensitivities in the Hungarian-Romanian relationship.

The heightening of national tensions in the 1980s occurred at a low point in Romania's economic standing. The nationalized economy and collectivized agriculture served, with only occasional periods of relaxation in the 1950s and 1960s, to progressively impoverish the countryside and attract population to the increasingly industrialized, often environmentally polluted urban centers. Economic policy aimed to decrease reliance on neighboring socialist countries by establishing a strong Romanian industrial base and exports for hard currency. During the early years of Ceauşescu's rule, thanks to substantial Western credits, Romania attained some of the highest rates of economic growth in the industrial world. The development plan relied excessively on the petrochemical industry, however. After Romania's domestic oil production peaked and then declined, it was necessary to import oil at a time when the international price of oil was rising. The result was a rising indebtedness. In 1981 Romania nearly defaulted on its loans from the International Monetary Fund. In an act of national pride and spitefulness, Ceauşescu determined that, rather than accept any controls associated with a rescheduling of the debt, he would establish a harsh austerity regime of rationing and export for hard currency to pay off the debt in the shortest possible time. His last decade in power was one of shortages for the population of food, heat, light, and most necessities. It was also a period of increased scapegoating of national minorities and strained relations with Hungary and the Soviet Union.

PTUL FUNDAMENTAL
ARELOR LA VIATA
RTATE
NU ROCHETE IN EUROPA!

Peace demonstration organized by the government, Cluj 1983: The "No rockets in Europe" campaign was ostensibly directed at both the United States and the Soviet Union. (Courtesy of James P. Niessen)

The harshest expression of this dark period was the dictator's systematization plan. In blatant contradiction to the public celebration of Romanian village culture and folk music, the plan sought a drastic reduction in the number of rural communities and the concentration of the population in agro-industrial complexes. A frontal attack on the historic core of the capital city took place, demolishing fully one-third of the territory of the city center, destroying old monasteries and reminders of the nineteenth-century city in order to make way for the huge Palace of the People and the grand Boulevard of the Victory of Socialism. Bulldozers and a startling empty expanse dominated the affected area by 1988. Hungarians suspected the plan was directed against their villages, but the proposed impact on Romanian villages was devastating, and the destruction in Bucharest really happened. Abroad, the Romanian Villages movement raised awareness of rural systematization by pairing threatened villages with sister villages in Western countries.

DEMOCRATIZING ROMANIA

The fall of the regime in Romania on 22 December 1989, when Nicolae Ceaușescu escaped the Central Committee building by helicopter as crowds were entering it, was the only violent overthrow in the former Soviet bloc. The relative weakness of dissident activity and popular resistence gave rise to the witticism "*mamaliga* [a cornmeal porridge] does not explode," meant to contrast the Romanians with the Hungarians, Poles, and Czechs. The courageous resistance of demonstrators to armed repression, in Timișoara beginning on 17 December and then later in other cities and the capital, gave the lie to this thesis. According to official figures, 689 people died in these events around the country. It is therefore ironic that the political transition has been the most ambiguous and prolonged one in the region.

Romanians saw the new leadership emerge on national television with startling rapidity after the station fell into the control of the insurgents and successfully resisted armed assaults by adherents of Ceaușescu. Alongside a number of military figures and former dissidents, two individuals were more important than the rest: Ion Iliescu, a former communist official who had fallen out with Ceaușescu in the 1970s, and his prime minister, Petre Roman, a professor at the technical university in the capital and son of a prominent communist. They called their umbrella organization, successor to the Communist Party but initially including many noncommunists, the National Salvation Front to capitalize on the resurgence of religious feeling accompanying the fall of the regime. The capture of the Ceaușescus and their execution on Christmas day seemed superficially to also feed into this religious feeling. In fact the trial and execution were hasty and seemed to have been motivated in large part by a desire to obscure the connections between the old and new leadership. There were other trials of leading figures, but the common interest of the leaders and officialdom in self-preservation became increasingly evident. The Timişoara Declaration of March 1990, demanding full application of democratic liberties in the country, came in large degree into effect, but its demand that communists be excluded from the presidency was rejected by the National Salvation Front and, in the first open elections since 1947 in June, by the majority of voters who elected Ion Iliescu as president.

Political history since 1990 may be divided into three periods: the presidency of Ion Iliescu until 1996, that of the anticommunist Emil Constantinescu (1996–2000), and a second administration of Iliescu since then. During the first period, a large degree of freedom in elections and the press was established, but progress in economic reform was slow. Labor unrest was endemic throughout the decade. Iliescu and his allies frustrated reforms through two appeals to the miners of the Jiu Valley (whose two violent incursions into Bucharest in 1990–1991 have been ironically labeled as *mineriadas*), reliance on the self-interest of civil servants, and an appeal to Romanian nationalism that branded calls for ethnic tolerance as support for Hungarian separatism. In the elections of 1992 there was a partial return to the interwar electoral pattern, whereby support for the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party (the descendant of the National Peasant Party) was strongest in the formerly Hungarian regions. Many democrats, ironically, were monarchists who believed that the reestablishment of a constitutional monarchy under King Mihai would enable Romanian's to follow the example of post-Franco Spain. After 1992, Iliescu's government relied on the parliamentary support of nationalist parties.

Ion Iiiescu (1930–), socialist President of Romania, 1990–1996 and 2000–2004. He was a high party official under Ceauşescu before serving in more modest posts until 1989. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The 1996 elections brought victory for the Romanian Democratic Convention, a coalition of several anticommunist parties. The new government declared as its main goals economic reform and accession to the European Union (EU) but made more progress on the former than the latter. Disunity in the coalition and continued labor unrest (including three threatened marches of the miners on Bucharest) stymied reforms. The participation of the Hungarian Party in the government signified a breakthrough in interethnic relations, making possible improved diplomatic relations with Hungary and satisfying human rights concerns of the European Union. King Mihai's Romanian citizenship was restored, and after a peaceful visit to the country in 1997 he lobbied NATO member countries for Romanian membership. In 1999 Pope John Paul II visited Romania, the first visit of any pope to a primarily Orthodox country. The Yugoslav conflict inversely affected the economy by interrupting trade with Yugoslavia and along the middle Danube, and there was negative economic growth in 1997–1999. Romania's improved international standing and foreign loans could not prevent rising unemployment, repeated reshuffling of the government, and the collapse of its popularity by the time of the elections in 2000.

The second Iliescu presidency has been a period of greater political and social stability than the first. The threat of ultranationalist Corneliu Vadim Tudor's election in the presidential runoff prompted a pragmatic coalescence around Iliescu by most democratic parties. The new government, while a minority one, dominated the strengthened nationalist opposition with the support of the Hungarian Party. The pro-Western commitments of the Constantinescu presidency have continued. Romania has joined NATO, contributed forces to international peacekeeping efforts, appears likely to host American military bases, and is working steadily toward accession to the European Union.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The communist legacy left Romania comparatively ill-prepared for multiparty democracy and economic reform. Extreme centralism in economic policy and political administration, and even in the affairs of the ruling party, prevented the evolution of autonomous interest groups, decision making, and civic awareness. The Communist Party of Romania constituted the relatively largest of any country in the region. In 1988 official membership was 3.7 million or 15.8 percent of the population. The Communist Youth of Romania, pioneers for younger children, women's groups, trade unions, and workers councils of national minorities integrated large numbers of the population into the process of conveying the leadership's directives. The Securitate (secret police) may have included as much as a quarter of the population in the rolls of its employees and informants. The personality cult during the last fifteen years of Nicolae Ceauşescu meant not only that the leader's face and interminable speeches dominated the mass media, but that large numbers of cultural as well as political figures were forced into humiliating expressions of admiration for the "genius of the Carpathians" and the members of his family.

This experience left a deep impact on the Romanian psyche. Scapegoating, the shaping of opinion through rumor and informants, and direction from above were more familiar political techniques than tolerance and open debate. Thus it is not surprising that for the first half of the 1990s Freedom House ranked Romania substantially below other East European countries in terms of democracy and the rule of law. The Freedom House ranking improved dramatically in 1996 with the electoral victory of Emil Constantinescu and his allies. In 2004 Romania was ranked "free," which was good in a worldwide comparison. Among its "Nations in Transit" ranking of twenty-seven former communist states, Freedom House ranked Romania as intermediate.

Ceauşescu's legacy lends plausibility to the theory that what took place in 1989 was a skillfully engineered coup d'état rather than a revolution. How, given Romania's recent history, could the people have overthrown the regime on their own? The term "revolution" remains fitting because crowds of ordinary people spontaneously braved the danger of armed repression, and genuine dissidents greeted the overthrow of the dictator on national television. It is also true that the only genuinely oppositional voice within the Communist Party during 1989 was that of Silviu Brucan, a former ambassador to the United States and coordinator of official mass media who was demoted after 1965. Brucan was the author of the "Letter of the Six," an open letter released signed by six former communist leaders in the spring of 1989 that called for the replacement of Ceauşescu as party leader. The letter's authors were effectively isolated and not in a position to engineer the events of December, but the document would undermine efforts of anticommunists to tar all participants in the former regime with the same brush. Ion Iliescu was not one of the six, and after his demotion from the top leadership in 1984 he was director of the Technical Publishing House in

The Palace of Parliament in Bucharest. Its construction began under Ceauşescu, but its current name and function were adopted in 1994. (Corel Corporation)

Bucharest. His many connections within the establishment and his reputation as a moderate who had studied with Soviet leader Gorbachev enabled Iliescu to gain the support in December of party and military leaders who distanced themselves from Ceauşescu after his fall.

The transitional leadership, called the National Salvation Front (NSF), included Brucan, literary dissidents Ana Blandiana and Mircea Dinescu, and less-known individuals who gained sudden prominence during the revolution. Iliescu's inner circle made key decisions, excluding these others who in turn were dismissed or resigned. Forgetting earlier promises of nonpartisanship, the NSF transformed itself into a political party that coopted much of the former communist apparatus, and Iliescu emerged as its presidential candidate. Denied equal access to the broadcast media, the revived historical parties and the party of the Hungarian minority could garner only limited support against them in the elections of May 1990, which brought the NSF 65 percent of the votes cast. The new assembly drafted a constitution that was approved in a national referendum in December 1991.

The constitution resembles in many ways the precommunist constitutions of 1866 and 1923. Like these it provides for an elected Chamber of Deputies, a Senate, and a centralized administration with heads of the 41 counties appointed by the minister of interior. The constitution protects private property and the freedom of political parties and established churches. The head of state is an elected president who must not be a member of a political party, and there is no place for the former royal dynasty. A significant change was in the role of elections. Romanian kings had since 1866 appointed new governments that then managed elections so that they would provide the needed parliamentary support, and communist elections were a complete sham. The new constitution provides that the president appoints the prime minister and government only *after* elections have been held. Governments must secure the support of parliament for their confirmation and continued service. The president is elected for a renewable four-year term, chairs a security council, after an amendment in 2003 can call referenda, and can call for new elections if the government loses parliamentary support, but he cannot initiate legislative proposals or veto bills passed by both houses.

The three central bodies of the judiciary branch are the Constitutional Court, the Superior Council of Magistrates, and the Supreme Court of Justice. The Constitutional Court, which may review the constitutionality of all laws of parliament, consists of nine judges who serve nine-year nonrenewable terms; the president, Chamber of Deputies, and Senate each appoint three of its members. The two houses in joint session elect the members of the Superior Council of Magistrates to four-year terms, and the Council in turn proposes members of the Supreme Court of Justice for appointment by the president to renewable six-year terms. The Supreme Court is not only the final court of appeal but must also study and coordinate the activity of all other courts throughout the country.

The Romanian Parliament is today housed in the massive edifice begun before 1989 in a newly cleared area in southern Bucharest, formerly called the Palace of the People and now the Palace of Parliament. Deputies are elected to parliament for four-year terms by universal adult (age eighteen) suffrage based on proportional representation rather than personal mandates. The Chamber of Deputies has 343 members, of whom fifteen are guaranteed seats for recognized ethnic minorities, and the Senate has 143 members. The government or one or another chamber may initiate legislation, and the chambers sitting in joint session may initiate votes of no confidence against individual members of the government, the government as a whole, or the president. The number, names, and popular support of political parties represented in parliament have repeatedly shifted.

The principal socialist party, which formed the government during the first and second Iliescu administrations in 1990–1996 and since 2000, emerged in 1990 under the name of National Salvation Front. After dissociating itself from the former Stalinist regime and supporting the new constitution, the party now favors gradual economic reform. This is the party of Ion Iliescu, although the constitution stipulates that the president not be a member of a political party. Petre Roman, the son of a leading figure in the Communist Party, headed the government in 1990–1991. In September 1991 miners who had descended on Bucharest forced his resignation. His successors were two economists who had not been politically active, Teodor Stolojan and, after the elections of 1992, Nicolae Văcăroiu. The NSF divided in 1992, with Văcăroiu's faction becoming the Democratic National Salvation Front (DNSF) and a faction chaired by Petre Roman retaining the original name. The opposition NSF renamed itself Democratic Party–National Salvation Front (DP-NSF) a year later, and the DNSF became the Party of Social Democracy of Romania (PSDR). There is a small Stalinist party associated more explicitly with the legacy of the Communist Party, called the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) and led by Ceauşescu's one-time foreign minister, Ilie Verdeţ. After the 1992 elections, the government relied on parliamentary support from the SLP and the Romanian nationalists, described below. Later the DP-NSF simply became the DP.

The free market democratic parties originally centered on the historical parties that dominated Romanian politics before 1938, the National Liberal Party (NLP) and the National Peasant Party (NPP). The NLP leadership proved ineffective and it split into many groups, however, so the NPP, which later added Christian Democratic to its name (NPPCD) quickly became the standard-bearer of the opposition. The two principal leaders were Corneliu Coposu, a former secretary of Iuliu Maniu who spent seventeen years in communist prisons, and Ion Raţiu, member of a distinguished Transylvanian political family who had been a leader of the emigration and boasted ties to Western financial and political circles. The government sometimes played on popular xenophobia in emphasizing the NPPCD's foreign connections, support for the restoration of the monarchy, and advocacy for the restoration of its former churches to the Greek Catholic Church. Urban intellectuals not sharing either of these vulnerabilities formed a separate group of the free-market democrats, including the Party of the Civic Alliance (PCA). The NPPCD, NLP, and PCA, along with several smaller parties, formed the coalition Democratic Convention of Romania (DCR) on a platform of anticommunism and support for the principles of the Timişoara Declaration. The DCR's presidential candidate Emil Constantinescu, former rector of the University of Bucharest, lost the presidential elections in 1992 but won in 1996. Two members of the NPPCD served as prime ministers under President Constantinescu, Victor Ciorbea (1996–1998) and Radu Vasile (1998–1999), then were succeeded by the nonparty National Bank Governor, Mugur Isărescu. The DP and the Hungarian Party also participated in these governments.

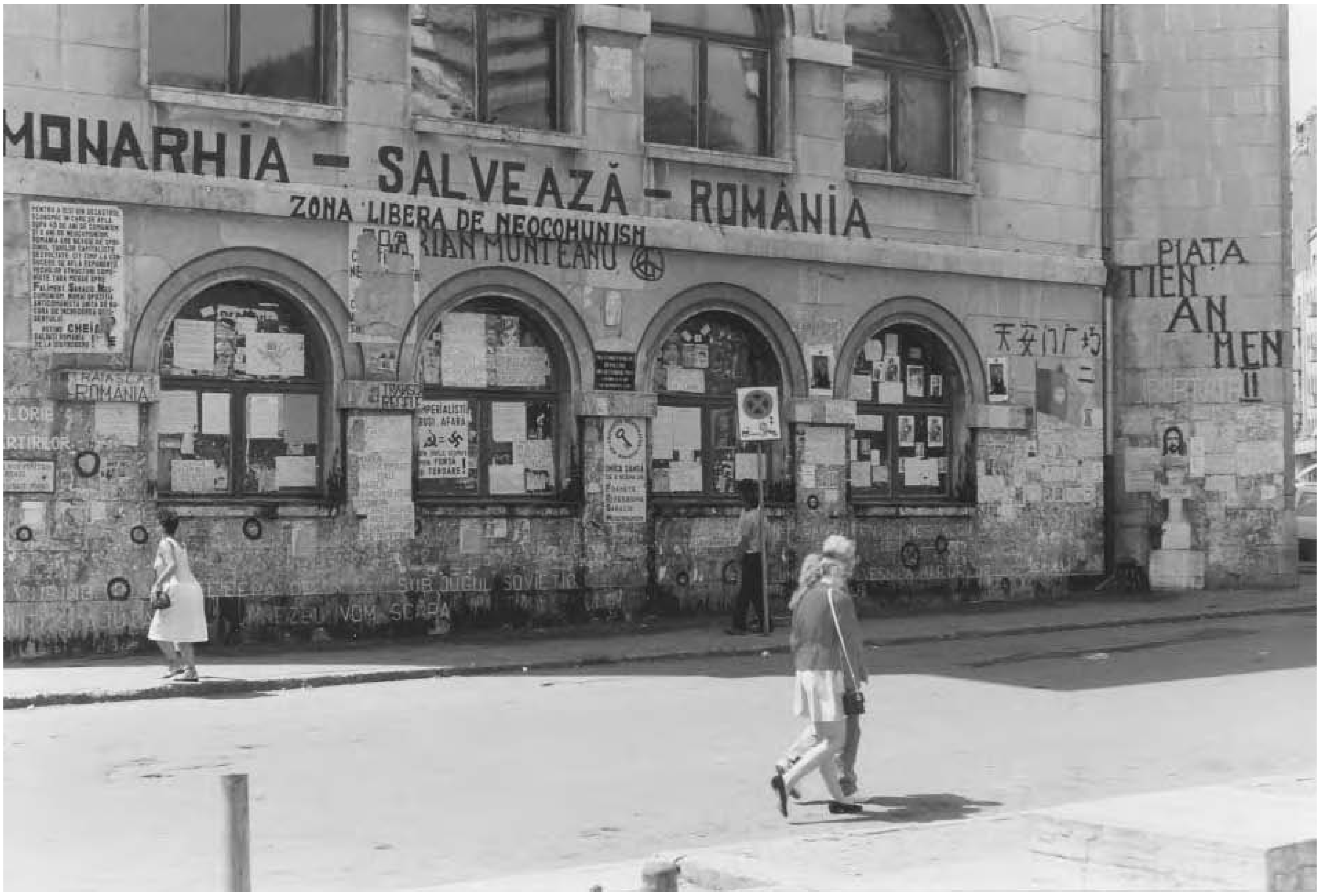
A week before the overthrow of Nicolae Ceauşescu on 22 December 1989, the spark for this result was given by demonstrations in Timişoara by citizens of various nationalities on behalf of a Hungarian Reformed cleric, László Tőkés. The clergyman's courageous but not chauvinistic defense of human rights in Romania, in particular those of the Hungarian minority, attracted the support of Hungarian congregants, then of Romanian and German residents of this multiethnic city when he was threatened with demotion and transfer to another town. This act of solidarity, and the Timişoara Declaration of March 1990, signified the hope that the revolution would usher in a new era of tolerance and fraternity in ethnic relations.

Emil Constantinescu (1939–), president of Romania, 1996–2000. The former rector of the University of Bucharest was elected as a candidate of the Democratic Convention of Romania. (Tami Chappell/Reuters/Corbis)

László Tőkés became a member of the National Salvation Front during its phase as transitional governing council, but, like other leading noncommunists, he soon left this body. On 25 December 1989, the Hungarian minority established its own political organization, the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR). The DAHR participates in local and national elections and takes positions on countrywide issues, but defines itself as a federation rather than a political party, with autonomy for its territorial organizations and various associated organizations. The first leader of the alliance was Géza Domokos, the former director of Kriterion, the state publishing house for Romania's ethnic minorities, while Tőkés took the position of honorary president. As chief representative of the Hungarian minority, the DAHR has enjoyed the overwhelming support of Hungarian voters in the elections since 1990. As a supporter of free-market democracy and the opening toward the European Union (EU), the alliance joined forces with the DCR in the 1992 and 1996 elections and took a seat in the government during the Constantinescu administration. The policy of collaboration with Romanian democrats has had the support of Domokos, his successor since 1998, Béla Markó, and, according to opinion polls, most Hungarians, but a minority led by Tőkés favors a more militant stance.

There have been three main tendencies of Romanian ultranationalism since 1990: the Legionaries, chauvinists in Transylvania, and Bucharest-based xenophobes. The revived Legionary movement emerged in 1990 under the initial leadership of Marian Munteanu, a charismatic student leader. This movement claims to continue the traditions and platform of the interwar Legionaries and has eschewed collaboration with the other nationalist groups, but it has fragmented into various groups and failed to gain sufficient votes to take a seat in parliament. The Transylvanian group had its origins in the so-called cultural organization Romanian Hearth and civil servants eager to rally Romanians against a supposed Hungarian threat. After Romanian Hearth took a role in the bloody Hungarian-Romanian clashes in Târgu Mureş (Hungarian: Marosvásárhely) in March 1990, the group organized into the Party of Romanian National Unity (PRNU) with the chief goal of opposing Hungarian interests. The PRNU entered parliament in 1992 but gained its greatest notoriety through the flag-waving and Hungarian-bating of former engineer Gheorghe Funar as mayor of Cluj, Transylvania's largest city, since 1992. The party subsequently elected him party leader but replaced him after disappointing results in the 1996 national elections.

The larger Bucharest-based organization is the Greater Romania Party (GRP). Its founder and still dominant personality is Corneliu Vadim Tudor, a poet and journalist who used the newspaper he founded, *România Mare* (Greater Romania), to build his base before establishing the party in 1991. The GRP mirrors the rhetoric of the PRNU equating Hungarian demands for cultural autonomy with territorial separatism but



Graffiti in University Square, Bucharest, 1994: The Monarch saves [i.e., will save] Romania; Neocommunist-free zone; Tien An Men Square II; Long live Romania, Long live the King; Glory to the martyrs. (Courtesy of James P. Niessen)

is anti-Semitic and glorifies wartime leader Marshal Ion Antonescu and Nicolae Ceaușescu. The party included several military officers among its leaders, and for much of the 1990s enjoyed special access to official documents on its political enemies that Tudor used to smear them in the party newspaper. More than the SLP of Ilie Verdeț, the GRP perpetuates the goals of the last years of Nicolae Ceaușescu to concentrate state authority against all purported enemies in the name of national security and territorial integrity. The PRNU and GRP provided support for the minority government of Nicolae Văcăroiu after the elections of 1992.

After the failure of the NPPCD in its leadership of the coalition government in 1996–2000, in the elections of 2000 the party individually and the DCR as a coalition did not even meet the threshold for representation in parliament. The NLP successfully regrouped and emerged stronger in these elections, but the chief victors were the resurgent PDSR and GRP. Tudor won a surprising second place in the presidential election with his advocacy of radical measures against corruption and separatism, prompting alternative forces to throw their support to Iliescu in the second round. Under the second Iliescu administration the GRP is the strongest opposition party by far but is isolated from the others, with whom it rarely collaborates. The PRNU also failed to enter the new parliament. With the initial tacit support of the fragmented free market democrats and the DAHR, the PSDR under Prime Minister Adrian Năstase has moved further to the center. In 2001 the PSDR merged with the successor of the prewar socialist party and took its name, becoming the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

Two features distinguished Romanian politics from other postcommunist states after 1990: street violence and the Hungarian question. The politics of the street signified the perception of many Romanians, Hungarians, and Roma that, having played a key role in the toppling of the dictator, they were unable to bring their concerns to bear through the press and formal political structure. In March 1990 Hungarians in Târgu Mureș, the largest city of the Szekler region, were assaulted by Romanians who had been brought into the city in chartered buses to suppress demands for Hungarian cultural autonomy. Several persons were killed in the riots, and the leading Hungarian playwright lost an eye, but official investigations blamed the Hungarians. Demonstrators in University Square in Bucharest established a "Communist-free zone," disrupted traffic in the city center for several weeks during the period of the elections, and attacked a government building on 13

June. In a tactic reminiscent of the communists' assumption of power, after his resounding victory at the polls Iliescu called on the miners to restore order against the "hooligans." Seven thousand miners and others (some were identified as policemen) descended on the capital, capturing the streets, trashing the headquarters of the NPP, killing several, and wounding thousands. More than a thousand were detained by authorities, most of them the aforementioned hooligans. Iliescu thanked the miners for giving the country a "lesson in democracy."

The efforts of Prime Minister Roman to enact economic reform prompted a second assault by the miners on Bucharest in September 1991, this time against the government. The miners demanded that Iliescu and Roman resign, and they ransacked the parliament building. After four deaths and hundreds of injuries in clashes with security forces, however, the miners settled for the resignation of Roman's government and withdrew. After this second lesson in democracy, Iliescu did not call on the miners again. Strikes, marches, and demonstrations were a regular feature of the subsequent years of declining popularity for the Iliescu administration before its electoral defeat in 1996.

Three times during the Constantinescu administration the miners threatened again to march on Bucharest. Privatization and the closure of unprofitable mines were a prominent feature of the coalition's announced program of reforms. An estimated 20,000 workers participated in nationwide strikes in 1997, and miners struck to demand pay raises. In response, the government increased the miners' pay and reversed the decision to close several enterprises. In 1998 and again in 1999, thousands of miners sought to march on Bucharest to protest proposed mine closures and judicial measures against their leader, Miron Cosma. The authorities succeeded in halting both marches, however, and successfully prosecuted Cosma. Labor unrest contributed significantly to the failure of the Constantinescu administration. The reviving economy and the concern of the Iliescu administration for Romania's image have served to reduce street actions and their abuse by the authorities in recent years.

The Hungarian problem is the other enduring, distinguishing feature of politics in Romania. There are also large Hungarian minorities in neighboring Slovakia, Ukraine, and Serbia, but the minority in Romania is by far the largest. As in the neighboring countries, the Hungarians' history of dominance and their sense of cultural superiority have inspired claims for cultural and regional autonomy. The distinctiveness of the Hungarians in Romania is that they live mostly concentrated in a region, Transylvania, with a long tradition of political autonomy that contrasts with the centralism of the Romanian state. During the interwar period, Transylvanianism had been a literary movement of the Hungarian minority that claimed opportunistically (in view of the impossibility of reunion with Hungary) that Transylvania's distinctive history and multiethnic population merited an independent or at least autonomous status. After the wartime division of Transylvania between Hungary and Romania, which prompted the flight of many Hungarians and Romanians across the new border, northern Transylvania returned to Romanian rule but on the understanding that nationality policy be revised in the Hungarians' favor. A Hungarian university was established in Cluj, and a so-called autonomous Hungarian region was established in the Székely district to the east. These measures were later reversed and there was no true ethnic autonomy in the communist era, but Hungarian language education and media enjoyed considerable latitude within the limits of party ideology.

Since 1990 there have been recurrent demands for enhanced Hungarian cultural autonomy and the devolution of state power to respect local particularities. The DAHR argues that Western European countries offer numerous examples of federalism, territorial autonomy, and the constitutional and institutional protection of ethnic minorities that would be more fitting for Romania than the current centralized and unitary model. The PRNU and GRP are quick to brand these demands territorial separatism, implying that they are a prelude to annexation of part of the country by Hungary. Ion Iliescu's party has repeated these false claims for its own political benefit. Federalism is a sensitive point in Romanian politics, but there has been some movement toward local self-government since 1990.

Ethnic relations improved after 1996 when a bilateral treaty with Hungary was concluded. Since 1996, the DAHR has actively or passively supported the government. Even so, cultural and administrative autonomy remains a sensitive issue. In response to outcries by Romanian nationalists and even moderates, the government backed away from commitments to create a Hungarian university in Cluj. On the other hand, the second Iliescu administration has reluctantly acquiesced in forms of sponsorship for the Hungarian minority by the government of Hungary. Subsidies are distributed to various educational and cultural organizations, and the Hungarian Status Law of 2002 provides for access by Hungarians from Romania and other successor states to education and other services in Hungary. As it did in the interwar period, the idea of Transylvanian regional autonomy even attracts a small amount of Romanian support in the associations and foundations established for this cause. Potentially more explosive are two Hungarian autonomist initiatives that are associated with the nationalist wing of the DAHR led by László Tőkés. They led to the first formal rupture in the organization after they were rejected by the leadership of the alliance.

Romania's foreign policy has been reoriented toward the West. In his early years as national leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu asserted a prominent diplomatic role for the country as intermediary between the blocs with the Israelis and Palestinians and the beneficiary of a special trade relationship with some Western countries. But the collapse of the economy in the 1980s brought an end to this role. The Soviet Union again became Romania's leading trade partner. In fact, Romania had never left Comecon, the Soviet trading network, or the Warsaw Pact and attended meetings of these organizations, though participation was limited in some areas. In 1975 the United States granted Romania Most Favored Nation status in recognition of the country's special opposition. After rising criticism of Romania's human rights record at the time of the annual renewal of MFN in Congress, Ceauşescu renounced it in 1988 in order to preempt its revocation.

Well-publicized human rights problems and delays in economic reform impeded Romania's desire to improve relations with the European Union after 1990. When President Iliescu traveled to Western countries, he was sometimes denied reception by other heads of state. The United States finally restored MFN in 1993 and made it permanent in 1996. Romania pursued an ambiguous policy toward Yugoslavia during its internal conflicts, mostly respecting but sometimes circumventing trade sanctions against that country. Treaties with Ukraine and Russia as well as Hungary have improved trade relations and clarified territorial issues with these countries. The relationship with Russia remains strained by Russia's retention of Romanian state reserves of gold, jewels, and art valued at $5 billion, which were sent to allied Russia during World War I for safekeeping.

Romania has acceded to the Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation and the Central European Free Trade Association with the Visegrad countries. The country was formally invited to join NATO in 2002, and is engaged in the protracted process of accession to the European Union with a target date of 2007. The United States is currently considering a move of its military bases from Germany to Romania and Bulgaria that would establish a special strategic relationship with these countries. Romania's two major ongoing issues in foreign relations however remain contentious: EU accession and the Moldovan question.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The twin foundations of popular and high culture in Romania are the traditions associated on the one hand with the peasantry and rural life, and on the other with Romania's religious communities. The artistic expressions that grew from these foundations are evident in the work of the leading artists and writers of modern Romania. A third foundation, national ideology, arose in the eighteenth century and has accentuated the distinctiveness of national cultures while undermining their commonalities. In addition to these three, external cultural influences have proven increasingly important with the onset of modern communications. Paradoxically, proponents of national integrity have enlisted French, German, and Russian political thought for their purposes.

The secular origins of Romanian folk culture should be sought in migratory shepherds *(ciobani)* in the Danubian Principalities before the rise of large-scale field agriculture beginning in the eighteenth century. The portrayals of ancient Dacians in Trajan's Column and the Roman monument at Adamclisi suggest they wore the same woolen breeches and fur caps as shepherds do today. It is much more difficult to establish other continuities with the Dacians. It is known that the unsettled military and political conditions south and east of the Carpathians, and the domination of Hungarians and Germans on the other side, left the development of an autonomous Romanian folk culture in the hands of migratory shepherds astride the mountains. Centuries of transhumance probably account for the lack of dialectal variation in the Romanian language. The archetypical Romanian ballad, *Mioriţa* (The Little Sheep), has been documented in different versions in many regions. *Meşterul Manole,* on the other hand, is the Romanian variant of a construction myth (walling-in sacrifice) that is well-documented in Southeastern Europe, also among the Hungarians. Landlords are absent from *Mioriţa,* as they were in the lives of free peasants in the foothill villages who helped preserve the *cioban* culture.

Settled village communities proliferated after the eighteenth century and multiplied the local styles of peasant dress, fabrics, woodcarving, and ceramics. The Hungarian, German, and Slavic communities were more sedentary and concentrated, but also developed variations in their designs as well as some interethnic influence in the use of colors or floral, vegetal, and geometric motifs. Peasant homes and their interiors became more ornate if an agricultural surplus permitted it. Well-off homes would feature little-used rooms heaped with embroidered pillows and bedspreads. Unless sumptuary laws forbade it, wealthier peasants might imitate the clothing and home decoration of the nobility or burghers. In ethnically mixed areas, social climbing prefigured and often motivated linguistic assimilation.

Religious communities were an important marker of ethnic identity in villages of mixed population. First, their ecclesiastical calendars determine the times of major fasts and feasts that set one community apart from the others. Aside from saints and observances particular to one church, the difference of more than a week between the Gregorian and Julian calendars meant that even the major feasts that the Christian churches shared were usually celebrated at different times. Therefore the religious difference between the Orthodox Christians (Romanians, but also Serbs, Ukrainians, and Russians) and the other Christians was particularly strong. Religious differences were at least as important as linguistic ones as an obstacle to intermarriage among ethnic groups in traditional communities. Differences of calendar and diet separated the Christians even more strongly from the Jews.

Liturgy and theology were also important elements in religious differentiation. The Orthodox liturgy is an intensely aesthetic creation several hours in duration, mostly chanted by the priest and congregation without musical instruments, in an environment of icons, murals, and incense. In all churches the clergy preached in the vernacular, but the Western Christian (Hungarian and German) liturgies were progressively less ritualistic and more textual in nature: those of the Catholics, Lutherans, Reformed, and Unitarians. Romanian Greek Catholics lived in two worlds, mostly in that of the Romanians with whom they shared the liturgy and most customs as well as language. They also lived in the Catholic world because of the shared recognition of papal primacy and, in some regions, study in shared seminaries, and the veneration of religious statuary that was atypical of Eastern Christianity. Each church participated through its clergy and bishops in an international communion, cen-

Folk dancers perform on a stage at a folk festival in the Maramureş region in the northwestern corner of the country. (Owen Franken/Corbis)

tered in the case of the Orthodox in the Balkans and Russia, in Rome in the case of the Catholics, in Germany in the case of the Lutherans, in Germany and the Netherlands in the case of the Reformed, and in the Anglo-Saxon countries in the case of the Unitarians. Gregorian chants among the Catholics, organs among the Lutherans, and varied canons of hymnody developed distinctive musical cultures. More than their doctrinal significance, these associations were important for the development of cultural influence in a broader sense. Until modern times the patriarchs of Constantinople consecrated the Orthodox bishops, and the monasteries of Mount Athos were influential in their spirituality and artistic traditions. Western Christian bishops were often educated abroad, and the Saxon Lutheran church of Transylvania even required a university degree from Germany for election to an ordinary pastorate.

Romanian popular religion included pre-Christian as well as Christian elements. The belief in vampires (*muroi* or *strigoi*) was native to Romania as well as many other countries, though widely deplored by Romanian clergymen and others well before Bram Stoker's *Dracula* appeared in 1897. There was a variety of other non-Christian customs. Shepherds celebrated a milking festival before leading the sheep into the mountains in the spring, played tunes called *şireaguri* during cheese making, and called to each other on the *bucium* (alphorn) or shepherd's horn. Whereas Western Christian villages knew the sound of church bells, in the Romanian ones worshipers were summoned by the drumming of a wooden sounding board called the *toacă.* Christmas, New Year, funeral, and wedding customs contain a mixture of Christian and non-Christian elements. Traditional Romanian funerals may include the procession with open coffin, a colorful ritual called the Wedding of the Dead, and public memorial feasts called *pomana*. Romanian Christmas carols *(colinde)* feature tonalities common to the Orthodox liturgy but, unlike the liturgy, address different occupational groups with distinctive verses. The rituals for the invocation of rain and at the time of the harvest are pre-Christian. Among Transylvanian Hungarians, the counterpart to caroling is the performance of vignettes from the Nativity by groups of young people called *bethlehemesek*. In many Hungarian villages even today, the wearing of elaborate traditional costume on Easter Sunday makes the religious feast an opportunity to celebrate ethnic identity.

There is also a wealth of folk music whose character is not religious. The *doina* is a slow and sad Romanian melody. Its style is different from the Hungarian military recruit's lament or *verbunk;* the word's origin from *Werbung* hints at the Habsburg German authorities who did the recruiting. Many Romanian regions have their characteristic styles of slow and fast melodies and song, which also owe much to styles elsewhere in the Balkans, showing the influence of the Serbs, Jewish *klezmer,* or Islamic music. The ring dance (or *hora)* is commonly practiced in many regions, as are lively dances such as the *sîrba* (its name reflects a Serbian origin) and the *învârtită* or spinning dance for couples. Dancers may shout out humorous, rhythmic verses called *strigături.* In southern Romania and parts of Bulgaria, a ritual involving dance and dramatic plays was called *căluş,* though it is dying out. Gypsy (Roma) music observes many of the same styles practiced by non-Roma but is often more energetic and the singing more high-pitched. The most renowned folk singers in twentieth-century Romania were the female Romanian Maria Tănase and the male Gypsy Fănică Luca. The village of Clejani near the Danube south of Bucharest is the home of some five hundred Gypsy musicians. The best-known ensemble from here, the twelve-piece Taraf de Haiduci or Taraf de Haidouks (Band of Outlaws), has made several acclaimed recordings.

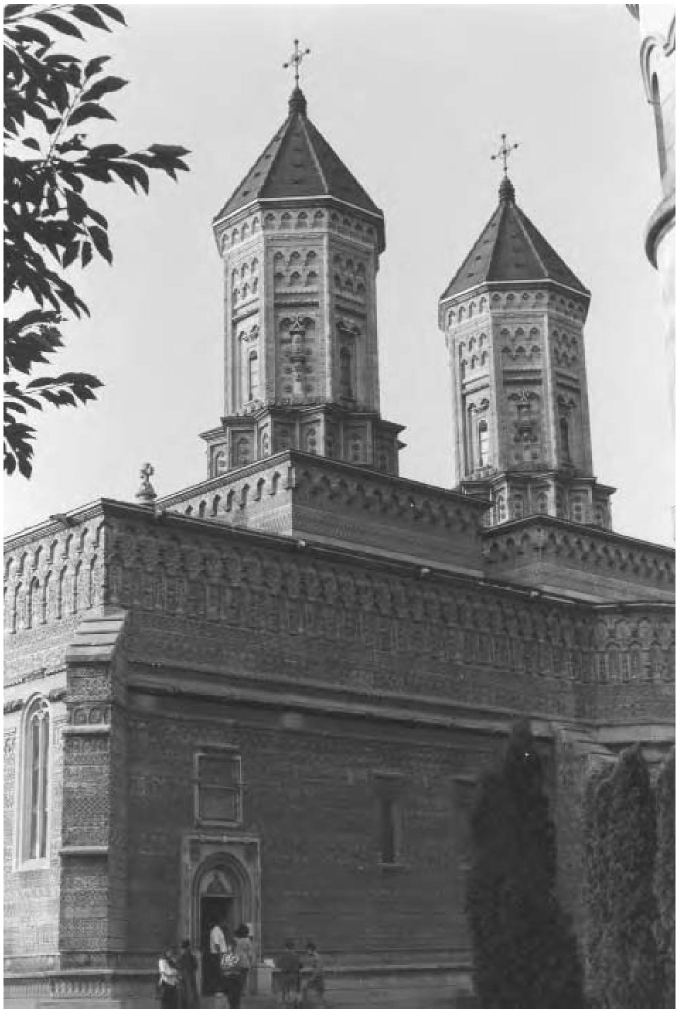
The similarities of Romanian folk music to that of the Middle East owe much to the period of several centuries of the Danubian Principalities association with the Ottoman Empire. There are various forms of flute, bagpipe, and cembalom. The *tekerő lant* (hurdy-gurdy) is peculiar to the Hungarians, while the best-known Romanian folk instrument is the panflute, or panpipe. Ancient depictions, including a passage in Ovid's *Tristia,* indicate the panflute was played by shepherds on the territory of the country already in Dacian and Roman times, though the Romanian term commonly used today for panflute, *nai,* may have come from Persia via the Turks. The earliest professional panflute association was registered in Bucharest in 1843. Fănică Luca was the first internationally known panflutist from Romania. He performed at the world fairs in Paris and New York in 1937–1939 and taught the instrument at the Music Lyceum in Bucharest for fifteen years before his death in 1968. His most famous student was Gheorghe Zamfir, whose recordings and performances are well known in North America. Damian Drăghici-Luca, a grand-grand nephew of Fănică Luca, has performed and recorded since the age of ten.

The documentation of folk customs and songs began in the nineteenth century. Authorities founded the Romanian Folklore Institute in 1949, and ethnography gained a respected place in scholarship. The institute sponsored the excellent folk music orchestra Barbu Lăutaru. The careful collection and study of folk music helped preserve it despite the rapid urbanization and industrialization of the communist era, but the genre also became an instrument of political manipulation. *Doine* of questionable origin lamented the plight of communists in Romanian prisons before 1945. Trade unions and houses of culture had organized a reported 44,000 music, dance, and dramatic ensembles by 1959. In 1975 the government established the cycle of organized music festivals called Cîntarea României (Song of Romania) that performed an amalgam of genuine folk music and paeans to the dictator. The more traditional performances were carefully shorn of any religious or otherwise politically objectionable content and recorded in the most spectacular costumes and scenery with dubbed audio. Because of the fakery associated with Cîntarea României and an excess of *Tezaurul folkloric* (The Folkloric Treasure) broadcasts on television during that era, many educated Romanians feel distaste for folk music despite the undeniable beauty and originality of the genre.

Formal or higher music owes a debt to ecclesiastical, folk, and Western formal influences. Valentin Bakfark (1507–1576) was a German/Hungarian lutenist from southern Transylvania whose compositions and performances were renowned during his time. Renaissance and baroque music was known in the courts of the Danubian Principalities as well as independent Transylvania. Baron Samuel Brukenthal invited the leading members of eighteenth-century Transylvania and Wallachia to performances of the works of contemporary German composers in his palaces in and near Sibiu. Transylvania's towns became provincial centers of the musical culture of the Habsburg monarchy in the nineteenth century, and philharmonic societies were founded in the principalities as well. In the mid-nineteenth century, Ciprian Porumbescu was the first distinguished modern Romanian composer. His few compositions were influenced by folk music. The foreign visitors Johannes Brahms and Franz Liszt toured the region and became aware of Romanian folk music, but its influence on the Hungarian composer Béla Bartók was even greater. He was born west of Arad and helped establish the folk music archives in the mixed Hungarian-Romanian region of Kecskemét in modern-day Hungary.

The master composer of the Romanians was George Enescu. A composer impressed by his precocity convinced his parents to enroll him in the Vienna conservatory at the age of seven; then upon his graduation he studied in the conservatory in Paris under the tutelage of Jules Massenet and Gabriel Fauré. Enescu composed his best-known works, *Romanian Poem* and the first two Romanian rhapsodies, with their strong folkloric elements, between 1898 and 1901. In addition to composing, Enescu was a distinguished conductor (including at the New York Philharmonic in 1937–1938), violinist, and tutor to Yehudi Menuhin. Other well-known musical performers of twentieth-century Romania have been the pianists Dinu Lipatt and Radu Lupu and the opera singers Ileana Cotrubas and Angela Gheorghiu. Several Romanian cities feature philharmonic orchestras and opera houses.

The key architectural monuments of the country are its churches and monasteries. The monasteries set the tone for Orthodox spirituality, with a clergy that (unlike that of the parishes) is unmarried, renowned for its otherworldliness, and attracts the faithful for festive liturgies in venerable, even grand surroundings. The oldest, fourteenth-century churches in Wallachia at Tismana, Cozia, and Curtea de Argeş are of Serbian and Byzantine inspiration, formed around a square Greek cross. The bishop's church in Curtea de Argeş dates from the early sixteenth century. The ballad *Meşterul Manole* concerns the construction of this church, whose fascinating decoration has Caucasian, Arabic, and Persian elements. The churches of Moldavia also follow the Byzantine model but are longer and higher with pitched shingle roofs and towers with cones at their top, showing a



The Trei Ierarhi Church (1639), Iasi: Architectural masterpiece of the old Moldavian capital, with its ornately decorated façade and conical towers.

Gothic influence in their shape that is unusual in the Orthodox world. This Gothic influence is much more pronounced across the Carpathians. The wooden churches of formerly Greek Catholic Romanian villages in Maramureş share not only the internal plan of other Orthodox churches but also high steeples found elsewhere only in Western Christian churches. Among the oldest surviving such churches is the one in Şurdeşti built in 1724 with a disproportionately high tower of forty-five meters that long made it the highest wooden structure in Europe. Lacking government patronage and even suffering destruction during the religious strife of the eighteenth century, Romanian monasteries were fewer and less influential in Transylvania than in the Principalities.

The elements of an Orthodox church floor plan have Greek names. The *pronaos,* or *exonarthex,* is the first chamber encountered on entry, which was in earlier times the part of the church to which female worshipers were restricted. The *naos* corresponds to the nave in Western churches, and is where the priest, choir, and most worshipers stand to chant the liturgy. At the end of the naos is the icon screen that separates the people from the altar sanctuary. Within each chamber there are standard iconographic elements, from the dedication of the church to scriptural personages and events. The humble wooden churches raised by poorer Romanian communities in Transylvania often contain charmingly naïve and apocryphal scriptural elements in their frescoes and icons. Monasteries produced for worshipers' domestic shrines in workshops for the painting of icons on wood and especially glass. Painting on glass was less expensive and also permitted brighter colors. Glass icons are the most distinctive element of religious folk art among the Transylvanian Romanians. The monastery at Nicula in northern Transylvania, which became a pilgrimage site in the seventeenth century because of a weeping Madonna, later housed one of the most important glass icon workshops.

Western Christian architecture in Transylvania followed the romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and baroque models of Catholic Europe. The Catholic cathedral of Alba Iulia has a romanesque tower dating to 1247–1256, a Gothic choir, and two Renaissance chapels. The second Gothic church in Transylvania is St. Michael's in Cluj, completed in 1432 with an impressive buttressed nave that dominates the main square of the city. These and the major Gothic churches of the south Transylvanian towns were actually built by the Saxons. Many Saxon churches, though abandoned by most of their congregants who have emigrated to Germany, still boast impressive winged altar paintings and Turkish carpets on the walls that recall the centuries when Saxon towns were outposts against Ottoman assaults. Saxons, and to a lesser extent Szeklers, fortified their rural churches with thick walls whose apartments could accommodate most villagers and their livestock in case of attack. The most impressive Saxon citadel churches are in Prejmer and Biertan. The focal point of small Hungarian towns in western Romania is often a Reformed church decorated with an ornate wooden cassette ceiling and a carved stone pulpit created by the Renaissance artist Dániel Sípos.

The reign of Stephen the Great in Moldavia (1457–1504) was one of the high points for Romanian ecclesiastical architecture. He built more than thirty churches and monasteries, many of which were in southern Bucovina and subsequently painted on their exterior as well as interior walls. The "painted monasteries" of Moldoviţa, Suceviţa, and Voroneţ are renowned for the brilliant colors and striking images of their exterior frescoes portraying Genesis, the Tree of Jesse, the Last Judgment, and the siege of Constantinople. Moldavian church architecture experienced another great period in the seventeenth century with the construction of the monasteries of Dragomirna (1609) and Trei Ierarhi (1639), notable for their ornate lacework facades. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the closer relations between the two Danubian Principalities were reflected in greater similarity of their church architecture.

Due to the unsettled conditions in the Danubian Principalities, more important secular buildings survived from earlier times in Transylvania. In the Gothic style, these include the town hall in Sibiu and the castles in Hunedoara (of which a partial replica exists in the Budapest city park since

The Painted Monasteries

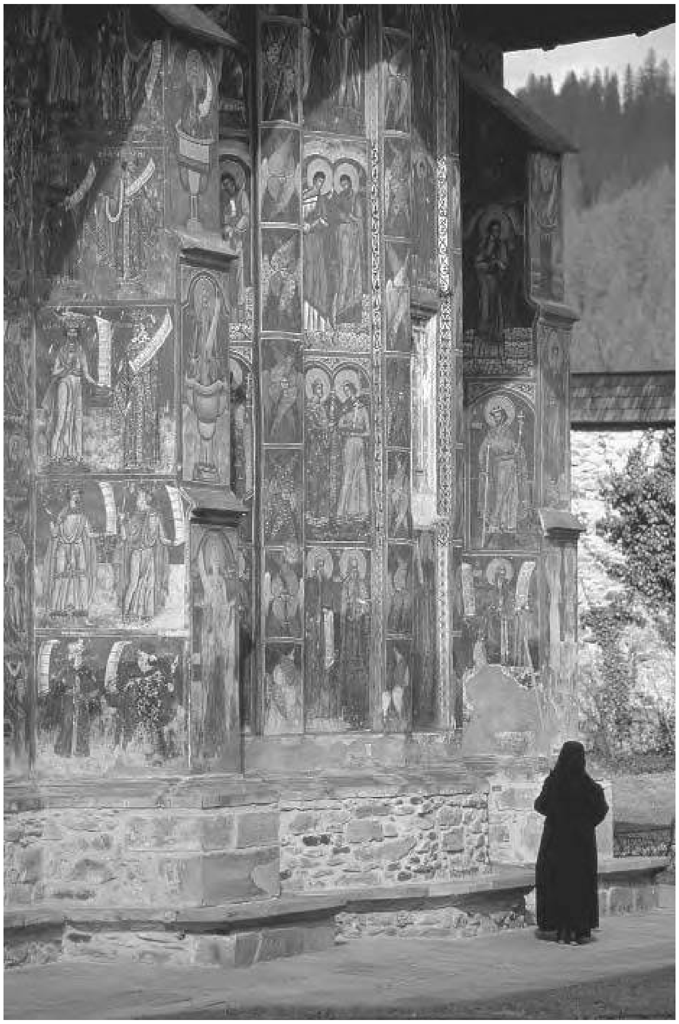
All Romanian monasteries have paintings on the inside. The term "painted monasteries" refers to the monastery churches of northern Moldavia that were painted on the outside during the sixteenth century. Moldavia benefited from greater stability than Wallachia, partly because it was not on the direct line between the belligerent Ottoman and Hungarian forces but also because it possessed two remarkable princes during whose long reigns the painted monasteries were created: Stephen the Great (1457–1504) and his son Petru Rareş (1527–1538, 1541–1546). Stephen was a more cautious and savvy politician than his contemporary Vlad III Dracula, navigating successfully between the more powerful Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Poland but winning battles against all three of them. He founded one church for each of his thirty-eight victories over the Turks. The largest of these was the monastery of Putna where he is buried, but those in Pătrăuţi, Voroneţ, St. Elijah near Suceava, and Bălineşti anticipated the style and themes of the later external murals through their style and themes. The influence of fifteenth-century Byzantine painting is evident, but there is also a greater realism and liveliness in the figures and harmony of colors and crusading spirit that distinguishes the external murals even more. A distinctive architectural style also developed, with pitched roofs and octagonal towers.

Stephen's first two successors were less able rulers and far less energetic patrons of the arts. Petru Rareş was a more worthy successor, an astute diplomat and military leader, and a well-traveled scholar and art lover. There is some evidence of exterior murals from the reign of Stephen, but they became widespread and characteristic of Moldavia under Petru Rareş. The external murals are brighter, as those inside benefited from few windows and have been darkened by centuries of soot from candles. The murals are better preserved on the south side of the churches than the north, which is more exposed to wind and precipitation. The most remarkable of the painted monasteries are at Humor, Moldoviţa, Arbore, Voroneţ, and Suceviţa. Several of the frescoes depict the siege of Constantinople by the Persians in 626. Although this successful Byzantine defense rather than the disaster of 1453 was the theme, the artists depict the besieging troops as Turks and Tatars. At Humor the artist signed his name below a Moldavian horseman attacking the Turks. Another striking motif is the Last Judgment, which features Turks and Tatars in their distinctive garb among the sinners. The Tree of Jesse appears several times, with a fascinating variety of figures and costumes. The church at Voroneţ is known for the striking blue of its murals and their large size, made possible by wide unobstructed surfaces on this church. It is likely that the political dominance of the Turks after 1550 accounts for the absence of the Siege of Constantinople in the murals at Voroneţ and Suceviţa; the latter was the last of the painted monasteries, completed in 1601. Austrian graffiti have marred the impressive Siege at Moldoviţa since the eighteenth century. In the 1950s UNESCO declared seven of the painted monasteries to be protected cultural sites.

the late nineteenth century) and Bran in the Carpathians south of Braşov. With its angular shape and prominence along the highway to Bucharest, Castle Bran is sometimes referred to as "Dracula's Castle" despite its tenuous connection with Vlad the Impaler. Renaissance monuments in Transylvania include private houses in Cluj and Sibiu and the royal fortress in the middle of the southern Transylvanian town of Făgăraş. Sibiu, whose Saxon inhabitants have largely emigrated, is architecturally the largest German town in Southeastern Europe, with a partially intact city wall and characteristic window vents known as roof eyes *(Dachaugen)* on the pitched roofs of older buildings. In the Principalities the major sixteenth-century fortress of Piatra Neamţ in Moldavia has survived, but there are only ruins from the Wallachian princely courts in Târgovişte and Bucharest.

Vernacular architecture became the dominant form in the eighteenth century. Wallachian prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714) was a great builder and introduced a new style that is named after him, marked by decoration using statuary, columns, arcades, and floral ornamentation. Notable examples are the Mogoşoaia Palace (1702) north of the capital and the Stavropoleos Church (1724) in central Bucharest. The arrival of the Habsburgs brought the baroque style to Hungary and Transylvania in numerous churches and the large city palaces of the Barons Bánffy in Cluj and Brukenthal in Sibiu, and on a larger scale the Vaubain-style fortresses in Alba Iulia and Arad. Neoclassicism made its appearance in the Principalities under Russian and French influence. The major buildings of the emerging national capital were built in the neoclassical style: the National Theater (1846–1852), the University (1869), and the Romanian Atheneum concert hall (1888).

There were regional styles in the domestic architecture of the common people. The porches in Brâncovenesc buildings may have arisen in imitation of Romanian homes. At the end of the nineteenth century, professional architects began to take more notice of popular styles and attempted a synthesis of folk and modern architecture in their work. The leading representative of this tendency in Romania was Ion Mincu, who built various restaurants and private homes



The "painted" monasteries of Moldavia were built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and present brightly colored biblical and historical scenes. (Gianni Baldizzone/Corbis)

in Bucharest and restored the Stavropoleos Church in 1906. The Transylvania Hungarian Károly Kós studied in Budapest, where he became an advocate of a style that resembled Mincu's in its objectives but sought to revive Hungarian regional styles. His most notable building is the Székely National Museum in Sfântu Gheorghe. The Palace of Culture in Târgu Mureş is another example of Hungarian folk revival architecture, whereas the National Theater in Cluj is an example of Habsburg art nouveau. Many Bucharest houses and even apartment buildings of the interwar period are examples of these styles. After 1920, Kós and the Bucharest sociologist Dimitrie Gusti worked independently for the preservation of folk architecture. Kós published a highly regarded collection of meticulous drawings of Transylvanian village architecture in 1929, while in 1936 Gusti founded the remarkable Village Museum in Bucharest that is a collection of village houses and wooden churches from all over the country. It was the third open air museum of its type in Europe. The Museum of the Romanian Peasant arose from earlier institutions founded in 1875 and 1906–1912. It was associated with the Village Museum after 1978 but became an independent institution once more in 1990.

The dominant trend in Romanian architecture since 1918 has been an international style that is largely functional. The communist era brought the great expansion of most cities, with prefabricated apartment houses accommodating a great influx of population from the countryside. The provision of modern housing and conveniences was a significant benefit to large numbers of people. There was a wide range of quality in these new buildings, both aesthetically and in their building materials and durability. The Scînteia House, the center of Romanian publishing built in the wedding-cake style of the Lomonosov University in Moscow, became the most characteristic monument to communist architecture until the construction of the Palace of the People during the 1980s. The Palace of the People, having been built with the best materials and for the ages, now houses the Romanian Parliament.

Sculpture is a less prominent art form than in many countries because Orthodox Christianity provided no place for religious statuary alongside icons and frescoes. Consequently for most centuries we find sculpted human figures in stone and wood only in association with the Western Christians of the former Habsburg and Hungarian lands. On the other hand, there was a strong tradition of stone carving for external decoration on church and secular architecture across the Carpathians. As previously noted, there was great regional variation in folk ceramics among the Romanians and other peoples. Objects for use were also carved from wood in the mountainous regions. The ornately carved wooden gates of traditional homes are a famous feature of Szekler communities in eastern Transylvania and Romanian ones in Maramureş. Equestrian statues and busts of historical personages arose on the streets of Romanian as well as Hungarian cities in the nineteenth century.

One name stands out among modern Romanian sculptors, Constantin Brâncuşi. Born in a three-room house with a wooden gate in a village in the Jiu Valley in 1876, he gained his first experience of carving in wood while tending the family's flocks. He attended crafts and arts schools in Craiova and Bucharest, winning awards for some of his busts of historical and contemporary personages. After a year in Munich, in 1904 he made a famous walking trip to Paris to study. Sculptures from this period show the strong influence of Auguste Rodin. After 1908, Brâncuşi moved from figurative art to abstract depictions of lovers kissing, birds in flight, and other themes. His most famous works are installed in a public garden in Târgu Jiu: the Endless Column, the Table of Silence, and the Gate of the Kiss. Continuing to live in France after World War II, the sculptor was declared persona non grata by the communist authorities. They tried unsuccessfully to pull down the 27.5-meter-high column, embedded in concrete, with an armored tank. After sixty years in the open air, the installations enjoyed a $3.7 million restoration project in 1999–2000. The studio of the artist, and many of his smaller works, are preserved today in Paris.

Modern secular painting in Romania has closely followed Western models. Romantic and realistic painters of the first half of the nineteenth century favored historical themes but increasingly devoted their attention to the life of the peasantry. Theodor Aman was the founder of modern Romanian painting and director of the art academy in Bucharest. His most famous successor, still known as the greatest Romanian painter of the nineteenth century, was Nicolae Grigorescu. After earning a living briefly as a self-taught painter of icons and then studying in Aman's academy, he spent several months in France where he learned to paint in the style of the Impressionists. Many of his works are pastoral landscapes, but he also painted realistic portraits of the Romanian peasantry and scenes from the War for Independence of 1877–1878, in which he participated as a war artist. Under the influence of the later Impressionists were Ştefan Luchian, Theodor Pallady, and the more abstract Iosif Iser.

Constantin Brâncuşi was the most famous Romanian contributor to the international avant-garde, but others included the painter and architect Marcel Iancu and the poets Tristan Tzara and Ion Vinea. Iancu, Tzara, and Vinea helped found the Dada movement in Zürich in 1916. Iancu returned to Bucharest in 1922 and created a sensation with an exhibition of his post-Cubist paintings. He founded the modernist journal *Contimporanul* (The Contemporary) and organized a notable modernist exhibition in 1924 featuring Brâncuşi, the surrealist Victor Brauner (who lived in Paris after 1930), and the Transylvanian Saxon Hans Mattis-Teutsch, a graphic artist influenced by the German expressionists. Iancu moved to Palestine in 1941 and lived out his days in Israel.

The tank assault on the works of Brâncuşi was inspired by the communist rejection of modernist art in general, many of whose exponents had already left for more congenial environments. The proletarian themes of socialist realism became the standard material of Romanian painters until complemented, beginning in the 1970s, with scenes of national greatness and tasteless images of the dictator with scepter in hand. Since 1990, there has been a modest revival of the interwar Romanian avant-garde.

As elsewhere in Eastern Europe, literary life has played a stronger role than the fine arts in the definition of Romania's ethnic and national cultures. The standardization of literary languages and the presentation of national ideals for popular consumption were necessary components of the process of definition. As with other art forms in Romania, however, the national literatures had their pre-Christian folk elements and Christian forms before they became national. They included sermons, saints' lives, and other religious texts.

The Protestant Reformation in the Hungarian lands inspired an expansion of vernacular publishing among the Hungarians and Germans that also affected the Romanians. Scripture and the liturgy were translated into Hungarian and German, and writings addressing controversial religious issues appeared in these languages. The Saxon scholar and Lutheran preacher Johannes Honterus (1498–1549) became the leading figure in Transylvanian German publishing, while with the patronage of the Transylvanian princes the Reformed preacher Gáspár Karoli translated and published the first complete Hungarian Bible in 1590. Under the influence of these initiatives, Transylvanians also published the first books in Romanian. In the seventeenth century the princes of Transylvania inspired the creation of a Romanian Reformed church, which failed to make lasting converts but further stimulated the use of the vernacular. Vasile Lupu, the prince of Moldavia, founded a printing press to counteract the influence of Protestant propaganda through the dissemination of Orthodox texts. Lupu was not yet printing in Romanian, however; the first publication in this language was a textbook printed in Transylvania in 1699.

The seventeenth century also brought the rise of the first important secular genre, historical chronicles and memoirs. The most important Romanian authors of these chronicles, not yet histories in the modern sense, were Moldavians: Miron Costin and Ion Neculce, while Dimitrie Cantemir, who also briefly ruled as prince of Moldavia, deserves the title of historian because of his much more sophisticated use of sources. His *Description of Moldavia* broke new ground not only in describing the country but in examining its early history. His *History of the Rise and Fall of the Ottoman Empire* was translated into many languages. Notable historians of the Transylvanian Saxons and Hungarians included Johann Troester, Lorenz Töppelt, István Szamosközy, and János Bethlen, often still writing in Latin rather than the vernacular and recording imaginative genealogies and contemporary reports rather than formal history.

French literary models of memoir literature were dominant in the early eighteenth century, mediated in the Principalities by the Greek ruling elite. Later in Transylvania, the influence of the Austrian Catholic Enlightenment was more important, giving rise to a more critical awareness of religious and ethnic identity. Historians give the name Transylvanian School to the group of Romanian linguists and historians active at this time. Its leading figures, Samuel Micu, Gheorghe Şincai, and Petru Maior, presented important findings concerning the Latin origins of the Romanian language and the history of the Romanians in Transylvania. The Transylvanian School had a lasting impact on Romanian national consciousness. The debate between Romanian and Hungarian writers about the theory of Daco-Romanian continuity has raged since this time. The implicit threat in the Romanian arguments to Hungarian cultural predominance in Transylvania contributed in large degree to the vigor of the response.

The center of Hungarian and Romanian literature moved from Transylvania, however, to Hungary proper and the Danubian Principalities. Romanian writers, many themselves graduates of Greek schools, rejected Greek and Russian influence and turned instead to France. Contemporary engravings of notables in the 1830s show an interesting mixture in costume that was emblematic of the culture's reorientation: some men wore Ottoman-style caftans and trousers, while others wore frock coats in the French style. Gheorghe Asachi in Moldavia and Ion Eliade Rădulescu in Wallachia were leading proponents of a national Romanian literature in the era of the Revolution of 1848. Later, but of more lasting influence, was Vasile Alecsandri, the author of popular patriotic verses at key points in the struggle for unification and a major playwright.

A debate about Romania's cultural roots and relationship with the West has enlivened Romanian cultural life since this era. The rejection of Ottoman costumes occurred within a generation, but the new debate lasted longer and was more ambiguous. Some polemics oversimplified the contest as one between Westernizers, who believed Romania must follow liberal, industrial Europe in order to prosper, and traditionalists who wanted to protect indigenous Romanian culture. The opposing camps had their cultural journals, Alecsandri's *România literară* (Literary Romania) on the liberal side and *Convorbiri literare* (Literary Conversations) on the side of the traditionalist Junimea (Youth) literary society, which was based originally in the Moldavian capital but then moved to Bucharest. The debate about language reform added an ambiguous note, with patriots in Transylvania favoring an unnatural spelling of the language to emphasize Latin origins, and the no less patriotic Junimea opposing it. The liberal Alecsandri was a notable collector of folklore, though Junimea placed more emphasis on village traditions. The greatest Romanian writers of the late nineteenth century were associated with Junimea: Mihai Eminescu, Ion Creangă, Ion Luca Caragiale, and Ioan Slavici.

These four classics of Romania's greatest literary era made distinctive contributions. Eminescu is known as the national poet. Influenced equally by his collecting of folk poetry in Moldavia and his study of German philosophy in Vienna, he is best characterized as a late romantic. Creangă recorded his childhood memories of his native village in northern Moldavia. Caragiale was a Bucharest writer of Greek origin who wrote popular plays satirizing the Romanian middle class, living his last years in Berlin when a wealthy inheritance permitted it. Slavici was born in the Banat and studied in Budapest and Vienna, then became a journalist, a leader of the Romanian National Party in Hungary, and author of stories of village life. All four lived tempestuous lives, and only Caragiale died in comfort. Slavici was persecuted by the Hungarian authorities for his political activity but sided with the Central Powers in World War I and documented his year of captivity in Greater Romania in the biting work *My Prisons.* As diverse as the traditionalist camp was among Romanian writers, within Hungary it found itself in ethnopolitical as well as philosophical opposition to the modernist and urban Hungarian writers. The Transylvanian poets of rural opposition to the Hungarian city were George Coşbuc and Octavian Goga. In contrast to Slavici, Goga took his opposition to the Hungarian government into exile in Bucharest in 1913 and lived twenty years in Greater Romania.

The two-sided struggle over Romania's cultural model took new forms after 1918. At one extreme were the modernists, sparked by the Dada movement in Zürich and the journal *Contimporanul* (The Contemporary). Tristan Tzara's irreverent Dada manifesto (1918) set the modernist agenda in Romania in its defiance of conventional ideas, but the author himself stayed in Paris after the war. The journal *Viaţa românească* (Romanian Life) and its leading literary critic, Eugen Lovinescu, represented the Europeanist mainstream of Romanian writers. This mainstream treated urban themes but was also comfortable with rural ones, as evidenced by the novelists who did their greatest work in this period, Liviu Rebreanu and Mihail Sadoveanu. Rebreanu's depiction of the peasant revolt in 1907, *The Uprising* (1932), is arguably the greatest Romanian novel.

The literary journal *Gîndirea* (Thought) had modernist tendencies at first but increasingly served as the focal point for the traditionalists. Among its youngest adherents was Lucian Blaga, the graduate of a Transylvanian Saxon high school who wrote a notable treatise on Romanian culture that idealized Romanian shepherd culture. Other *Gîndirists,* including Octavian Goga and the writer and historian of religion Mircea Eliade, were sympathetic to the fascist Iron Guard. Writers of the Hungarian and German minority in Greater Romania moved uneasily between these extremes. Rather than engage in one or another broad tendency, they aimed to preserve their ethnic communities as socially cohesive blocs. Many Hungarian and German writers, but few Romanians, favored the Transylvanianist movement's vision of ethnic coexistence as an alternative to the national state. The leading writer of the movement was Áron Tamási, whose portrayals of Székely village life are charming and good-natured.

The communist regime put an end to the creative explosion of the interwar years. Many writers of liberal and traditionalist persuasion were imprisoned, while others moved abroad. A handful of prominent interwar writers, including Sadoveanu and the modernist poet Tudor Arghezi, decided to accept the framework of party orthodoxy and flourished. In contrast to the monotony of socialist realism in Romania, the most important Romanian writing took place abroad. Leading writers of the Romanian exile were Mircea Eliade, the absurdist playwright Eugène Ionesco, and the German Jewish symbolist poet Paul Celan (pseudonymn for Paul Antschel). Despite harsh ideological and political controls, the Ceauşescu regime allowed some worthwhile Romanian and Hungarian writers to flourish. The novelists Marin Preda and Augustin Buzura managed to convey implicit criticism of their society in the novels *Most Beloved of Humans* and *Refuges;* the poet Ana Blandiana shocked the censors and the reading public in 1984 with the publication in a literary magazine of her poem "Everything," revealing the banality of everyday totalitarianism. Transylvanian Hungarians for their part used the Hungarian progressive tradition and Marxist principles as a shield for the minority-language publishing house, Kriterion. Chauvinistic writing also survived, in the emigration and increasingly with regime sponsorship, to complicate the revival of cultural life since 1990.

The development of Romanian theater is closely linked to that of literature. Theater provides the opportunity for spontaneous expression in oppressive societies. Traveling troupes of the Romanian minority in Hungary before 1918, and of the Hungarians and Germans after this, served this purpose. Vasile Alecsandri was the first director of the National Theater in Bucharest, and others were founded in Iaşi and Craiova. Theater was especially popular among the urban upper classes, although the comedies of Caragiale pilloried them. Every ethnic minority had its theater; communist Romania even boasted the only Yiddish theater in Eastern Europe.

Mihai (or Mihail) Eminescu (1850–1889)

Romania's national poet was born Mihail Eminovici in Botoşani, in northern Moldavia. His father was a tax collector who sent him for five years to schools in Czernowitz (Romanian: Cernăuţi) in Austrian Bucovina, where he acquired his excellent facility in German. He adopted the name Eminescu at this time in order to sound more Romanian, as he said. His first published poem, in 1866, was an ode to his teacher in Czernowitz, Aron Pumnul. Then a Romanian language newspaper in Hungary, *Familia* (The Family), published several more of his poems. In 1868–1869 Eminescu traveled with an itinerant theatrical troupe under the direction of the dramatist Caragiale, making the acquaintance of many regions of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. Then in 1869–1874 he studied at the Universities of Vienna and Berlin, meanwhile publishing poems to growing acclaim in *Convorbiri literare* (Literary Conversations), the journal of the Junimea literary society. After his return from Berlin, for three years he briefly held positions as a librarian, a school inspector, and a newspaper editor. During his longest period of employment, 1877–1883, he worked as an editor for the conservative newspaper *Timpul* (Time) in Bucharest.

Eminescu was a successful conservative journalist, some of whose pieces showed an anti-Semitism and xenophobia that were often part of Romanian nationalism when it was conceived of in terms of race. He also wrote short prose, notably a work of fantasy based on Greek mythology and a romantic love story. His greatest fame and most lasting contribution to world literature came from his poetry. It can be classified into philosophical verse, romantic nature poetry, and poetry that was political and social in character. "Doina" (1883) is his most nationalistic poem, including the central stanza:

He who loves the foes about
May his heart the dogs rip out,
May desert his home efface,
May his sons live in disgrace!
(Translated by Kurt W. Treptow and Irina Andone, Treptow 237)

Luceafărul (Hyperion, or Evening Star, 1883) is acclaimed as his masterpiece. Hyperion, the evening star, falls in love with a beautiful princess, but his nature does not permit him to descend to her. Elements of romantic literature, folklore, and Greek mythology are present in ninety-eight perfectly formed four-line stanzas.

Eminescu's travels, work experience, and especially his fluency in German and familiarity with German philosophy, all contributed to his unique literary voice. Also important, and celebrated in Romanian literary lore, was his ill-fated love affair with the poet Veronica Micle (1850–1889). The two became lovers while Micle was married, but after her husband died in 1879 they did not marry for reasons that have never been adequately explained. Eminescu's health deteriorated in 1883 from a combination of work and relationships with women, causing him to resign his position with *Timpul.* Not long after the publication of *Luceafărul,* the poet suffered a nervous breakdown. During his last six years, he experienced alternating periods of insanity and relative health, but he never returned to productivity. Thus ended romantically, and tragically, the hero of Romanian literature.

Cinema developed slowly in Romania. The first notable feature film appeared already in 1912, Grigore Brezeanu's *War for Independence.* Domestic production remained at a modest level however, and filmgoers preferred foreign productions. The communist regime set about creating a substantial film industry, building the Buftea Studios for this purpose outside Bucharest in 1950–1957. Liviu Ciulei won a prize at the 1966 Cannes Festival for his most famous film, *The Forest of the Hanged,* based on the World War I novel by Rebreanu. Sergiu Nicolaescu helped promote Romanian national themes with the epic *The Dacians* and the Oscar-nominated *Michael the Brave.* The darker, visually interesting films of Dan Piţa were notable achievements of the next two decades. One of the most promising producers of the 1960s generation, Lucian Pintilie, was denied the opportunity to direct major films and went into exile. He returned to prominence in 1992 with the French-Romanian production *The Oak,* depicting the moral and physical decay of the country in the last years of Ceauşescu.

The development of Romanian culture and Romanian identity was also tied to education. The earliest schools and colleges in Romania were ecclesiastical institutions, alongside the medieval cathedrals and monasteries. The Hungarian princes of independent Transylvania founded colleges under Reformed and Catholic auspices. The Romanian Orthodox Church established a Romanian school in Braşov in 1559, but it failed to reach the level of the better-endowed Lutheran schools. The Greek Catholic high school founded at the bishopric's new seat in Blaj, Transylvania, after 1754 made a lasting impact on the national sentiment of generations of Transylvanian Romanians, but Romanians also studied in significant numbers in the ecclesiastical schools of the Hungarians and Saxons. The Hungarian state founded the first modern university in Transylvania in 1872, the Hungarian-language University of Cluj. Because it was the policy of the Hungarian state to use its resources for the promotion of Hungarian culture, the government progressively took the place of the Hungarian churches in the administration of elementary schools. The Romanian churches maintained control of Romanian village schools. In defending ecclesiastical autonomy they also helped minority culture to survive.

The first high schools in the Danubian Principalities operated in the Greek language. A Transylvanian Romanian, Gheorghe Lazăr, founded the first Romanian language academy in Bucharest after settling there in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Prince Cuza founded the first Romanian universities, in Iaşi in 1860 and Bucharest in 1864. He introduced compulsory primary education in 1864, but illiteracy remained higher than in Transylvania. The role of the government in education increased further after 1918. The university at Cluj became a Romanian institution, and the government took control of Romanian primary education in the former Habsburg lands that had been run by the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches. The position of Romanian and Hungarian education in these lands now reversed, as the Hungarian churches provided institutional support for schools in the vernacular.

The expansion of Romanian education at all levels greatly accelerated in the communist era. There was a great need for training in new branches of the economy, but authorities enforced rigid controls and instituted ideological indoctrination as well. The state schools also took over almost all education in the minority languages, with the exception of a number of seminaries still managed by the churches. There has been continuous reform of the Romanian educational system since 1990. There are more than one hundred institutions of higher education in Romania today. Half of them are private ones founded since 1990, including some for the Hungarian minority, but the majority of students are still enrolled in the state-run universities.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Romanian economy experienced rapid growth and transformation during the communist period. Industrial output grew at an annual rate of 12.9 percent from 1950 to 1977, thanks largely to heavy reinvestment of capital gained by the central control of prices and consumption. The agricultural sector declined from 74.1 percent of the working population in 1950 to 28.6 percent in 1982, while that of industry grew from 12 percent to 36.5 percent in the same period. There was a corresponding shift of population to the cities, the largest of which multiplied in size. The arduous process of collectivizing agricultural land was 90 percent completed by 1962. Collectivization favored the mechanization of agriculture, but it still lagged behind the West because of low productivity and the disproportionate investment in the industrial sector. There was a downturn in the economy after 1976. A massive foreign debt led to rationing in 1981 and a dramatic decline in the standard of living in the following years that made it possible to retire the debt by 1989.

Economic development has been fitful since the revolution of 1989. Overall growth was negative in all sectors until recently, with high inflation and with unemployment hovering around 10 percent. The average retirement age, fifty for women and fifty-four for men, is one of the lowest in the world and serves to distort unemployment figures. Labor unrest, especially in the mining and heavy industry sector that stymied efforts to close unprofitable mines, produced on foreign television screens the horrifying sight of rioting miners on the streets of Bucharest, and helped, along with an unfavorable legal and political environment, to discourage foreign investment. Only during a few years in the middle of the 1990s, then again beginning in 2000, did the economy show positive economic growth. The privatization of land ownership was 75 percent completed by 1995—97 percent by 1999. There has been some privatization in the services sector, but privatization of industrial firms has proceeded much more slowly.

Government sources attributed the recession after 1996 to the democratic coalition's efforts at economic restructuring. Corruption and the mismanagement of state enterprises was a continuing problem in the Democratic Convention as well as socialist administrations. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and European Union (EU) signaled their dissatisfaction with reform efforts by repeatedly suspending financial support packages. By the turn of the century, the level of marketization, foreign investment, and standard of living compared unfavorably with almost all other East European countries. Incomplete reforms due to the successful resistance of many vested interests produced economic imbalances and negative growth in 1997–1999. Reforms became more serious in response to demands arising from the accession to the European Union and caused unemployment to reach 10–11 percent (by various indices) in 2002. The new socialist administration has been more successful in prosecuting balanced structural reform, leading to positive growth after it took office.

The privatization of agriculture, pursued by the socialist governments of the first Iliescu administration, was a popular demand of the opposition National Peasant Party, which completed it once in power, but it failed to achieve the desired improvement in productivity. Agricultural employment rose by varying indices to 34 percent of the labor force (masking industrial unemployment) thanks to privatization but contributed only 13 percent of the gross domestic product in 2000. Many new landowners were unprepared for independent farming, and landholdings were often too small.

The inadequacy of agricultural investment and agricultural markets, including agricultural protectionism in the EU, contributed to the problem. Crops fluctuated wildly due to serious droughts in 2000, 2002, and 2003. Corn (maize) accounts for 40 percent of crop output in metric tons, and potatoes and wheat are each about 20 percent. The leader in meat production is pork, but its percentage of tonnage declined to below half of meat production in 2002 while poultry rose to 30 percent. Despite its large endowment of fertile black earth soil, Romania is a net importer of agricultural goods, and this trade imbalance has increased in recent years.

Mining of coal, salt, iron, and other metals in Transylvania, and the exploitation of petroleum in Wallachia, have historically been sources of wealth. Oil was exploited heavily in support of Nazi Germany during World War II, then subjected to a joint Soviet-Romanian company for a few years afterward. Petrochemical industries were a centerpiece of Ceauşescu's development strategy, but production peaked in 1976 and has declined since then as Romania became a net importer. Production rose slightly after 1990, buttressed by increased exploitation offshore in the Black Sea. Romania remains the largest producer in Eastern Europe and has substantial proven reserves. The largest producer is the state-run SNP Petrom SA. The company has an annual turnover of $2 billion and is the largest taxpayer in Romania. Many domestic and foreign interests are involved in reports of corruption at the company. Discussions about the company's privatization had reached a critical point as this article was completed in 2003. An Austro-Romanian company was privatized in 1998 under the name Rompetrol-OMV group and has a growing number of distribution points and two refineries. The Russian company LukOil is increasingly active in Romania, having acquired a refinery in Ploieşti and many distribution points of its own. In response to price increases and reforms there has been some increase in investment in this sector, the reopening of shut wells, and exploration of new sectors in the Black Sea. Most refineries built under the communists are now considered obsolete, however. Natural gas reserves are also substantial, but production peaked in the 1980s and has declined by two-thirds since then.

Coal mining, concentrated in the Jiu Valley on the border between Transylvania and Wallachia, has provided another major energy source but is plagued by hazardous work conditions that prompt labor unrest that is compensated by wage increases that then endanger the financial viability of enterprises. In 1977 and then again in the miners' marches on Bucharest in 1990–1999, these structural problems produced major social unrest that endangered the political establishment, although miners were less than 2 percent of the civilian labor force in 1999. The government did succeed in closing 209 mines and quarries in 1997–1999, assisted in part by loans from the World Bank. Romanian coal is mostly not of export quality.

More than half of Romania's electrical production (down from over 80 percent in the 1980s) is served by petroleum, gas, and coal, both domestic and imported. There are thermal power plants in many parts of the country, but many are not operational due to damage caused by the declining quality of lignite fuel. The development of hydroelectric power began in the 1960s, with major stations at the Iron Gates on the Danube, Argeş, and elsewhere in the Carpathians supplying 35 percent of electrical production in 1998. The construction of Romania's first and to date only nuclear power plant began at Cernavodă on the Danube with Canadian partnership in 1979. Due to repeated delays the plant was not finally inaugurated until 1996, but by 1998 it accounted for an estimated 10 percent of Romania's energy production. A nuclear plant begun in Piatra Neamţ in 1986 has never been completed. Overall energy production and consumption in Romania has stagnated along with the economy. The country is a net importer of primary energy but has become a net exporter of electrical energy in recent years.

Industry (manufacturing, mining, construction, and power) accounted for 36 percent of gross domestic product in 1998. Bucharest was the leader of the ten most industrialized counties, but half of them were in the lands formerly belonging to Hungary. The largest portion of industry, accounting for 20 percent of the civilian labor force in 1999, was manufacturing in the metallurgical, mechanical engineering, chemical, and timber-processing industries. Industrial production declined by an annual rate of 2 percent in the 1990s, hampered by energy shortages as well as mismanagement and labor unrest. Importation of machinery for engineering industries is a particular source of the current trade imbalance. Most of the progress toward privatization in the industrial section has come after 2000.

Among the better-known industrial firms are Dacia, which has produced cars in Piteşti (Argeş County) with a license from Renault; Oltcit, which has produced cars in Craiova in a joint venture with Citroen since 1977 (the company was renamed Oltena in 1989); and the truck company in Braşov known since 1990 as Roman S.A. It had its origin as a manufacturer of railway rolling stock beginning in 1921, branched out to armaments, machine tools, and mining equipment, and produced its first trucks in 1954. Beginning in 1971, it produced trucks with a diesel engine licensed by the Man Company of Germany; then it became a joint stock company under its new name in 1990. Railroad cars and diesel locomotives have been a major industrial product and export item for decades, with plants in Arad, Bucharest, Caracal, and Craiova. They were heavily exported to the Soviet Union before the revolution but have found fewer buyers since then. Romanian chemical, especially petrochemical, industries were heavily favored but heavy polluters during the communist era but have scaled back due to unprofitability and environmental concerns.

There has been more privatization in the services sector, which accounted for slightly over half of gross domestic product in 2000 and 31 percent of the civilian workforce in 1999. Romanian tourism has failed to flourish despite the splendor of the natural environment and controversial attempts to exploit the interest of visitors in places associated with Dracula, Vlad the Impaler. One-fifth of foreign visitors during the 1990s were from neighboring Moldova. Economic activity in the service sector declined during the 1990s.

Industrial pollution: The iron and steel works in Hunedoara, Transylvania, in 1984. (James P. Niessen)

Transportation and communications are important factors in economic reform. The Romanian constitution stipulates that the transport infrastructure is the property of the state. This is not an unusual situation in Europe, but it does place limits on the flexibility of reforms and the infusion of market forces. A more unique constraint is the Carpathians, whose passes impose substantial detours on long-distance rail and road travelers. The Romanian Railways (Căile Ferate Române, CFR) control the fourth-largest railway network in Europe. The company was reorganized in 1998, with the freight services now open to private companies and denied subsidies but passenger services still subsidized. Ten private operators had gained a 20 percent market share of rail traffic by 2003. Several major routes with international connections are electrified, but most of the network is not. Even the major interurban highways are below international standards. The determination of the railbed through Transylvania to Romania in the nineteenth century had major implications for the development of cities, and the same may be the case with decisions made in 2003–2004 concerning highway construction. Despite the plans of the European Union for a southern route between Arad and Timişoara that would circumvent Transylvania, the Romanian government reached agreement with the party of the Hungarian minority for a highway to be built by the Bechtel Corporation through northern Transylvania. The intention to thereby better connect Transylvania with Bucharest and also with Hungary signified a new level of cooperation between the Romanian and Hungarian governments.

The completion of the Danube–Black Sea Canal in 1984, followed by the fall of the Iron Curtain, buttressed hopes for increased revenue for Romanian ports. Trade sanctions against Yugoslavia, then the closure of transport by American bombing, frustrated these hopes. The subsequent reopening of the Danube has yet to secure dramatic benefits for Romania. Most oil tankers are too large for the main channel of the Danube, let alone for the Danube–Black Sea Canal. The idea of a pipeline through Romania for crude oil shipped from the former Soviet Union to European markets had the double attraction of providing transit fees and even an opportunity for refining within Romania itself. The Romanian plan envisioned a pipeline from the port of Constanţa, which has a refinery and can receive four tankers at the same time, to Trieste on the Adriatic, where it would link to existing pipelines connecting Austria, Germany, and the Czech Republic. Romanian officials expressed optimism about the plan after talks with counterparts in Kazakhstan, Croatia, and other countries, but many diplomatic and financial details still required resolution.

Press and communications have changed dramatically since 1989. The telecommunication infrastructure, as in other countries of the region, is in need of substantial modernization. Not atypically, the total number and per capita telephone lines have risen rather slowly, whereas the number of personal mobile phone subscribers has skyrocketed, but the market is still far from saturated. Personal and institutional Internet use lags far behind Central European countries.

The freedom of the Romanian press has progressed unevenly. In dramatic contrast to the monotonous political press and more interesting but heavily censored cultural press of the communist period, private newspapers soon proliferated, some affiliated with political parties and others not. Censorship was a thing of the past, but the government attempted to limit access to supplies of newsprint for the opposition press. Soon this problem abated, and newspaper journalism critical of the government was important in the turning of public opinion against the socialists before the elections of 1996. Today the daily newspapers with the largest circulation, an estimated 200,000, are *Adevărul* (Truth) and *Evenimentul zilei* (Event of the Day). *Adevărul,* formerly the organ of the NSF and its successors, is a sober independent paper while *Evenimentul* is a tabloid known for investigative journalism of official abuses. Despite the apparent freedom of print journalism, there are serious allegations of violence against journalists who reported corrupt activities of socialist officials. In August 2003 a Romanian reporter won second place in Columbia University's Kurt Schork Awards for investigative journalism for his reports on government corruption.

Broadcast journalism has freed itself with greater difficulty, as licenses and technical facilities were more subject to government control. A National Audiovisual Council, established in 1992, is the sole issuer of licenses and reportedly uses its authority in conjunction with government revenue offices to create difficulty for opposition broadcasters. Private radio stations appeared first, then later in the decade private television stations as well. The emancipation of book publishing has had mixed benefits. Publishing suffered from censorship under the communists but benefited from subsidies that supported literary authors and accepted scholarship. The end of subsidies and the establishment of many new private publishing houses, most notably *Humanitas,* has opened Romania to precommunist and Western intellectual currents but also made the publication of many specialized scholarly works more difficult.

Romania's principal trading partners throughout the communist period were members of the Eastern Bloc, or Comecon. Their percentage share declined with the onset of a more independent foreign policy, from two-thirds in 1960, to under half in 1970, and 34 percent in 1980. Trade with advanced capitalist countries grew in the same period from 22 percent to 36 percent, then declined by 1980 with the onset of harder economic times to 33 percent. Trade with developing countries grew from 8 percent in 1970 to 25 percent in 1980. The Romanian plan to leverage differentiation from the Eastern Bloc for special access to Western technology and markets failed to make progress after 1976. Diplomatic efforts then shifted to the Third World and nonaligned movement, with corresponding commercial agreements. A trade surplus in machinery and industrial consumer goods during the 1980s made it possible to retire the foreign debt in 1989, at the cost of severe domestic austerity.

Trade shifted toward the European Union after 1990. Romania formally associated with the EU and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1993, then the Central European Free Trade Association in 1997. Germany and Italy vied for the status of leading commercial partner for most of the 1990s, with the latter taking the lead in later years. France supplanted Russia as the third leading source of imports and was consistently the third leading export country. Among the more interesting trends in foreign trade were Hungary's rise to fifth leading country for imports and Turkey to fourth for exports. Romania is pursuing improved diplomatic and commercial relations with these aspirants to EU membership as a complement to its own accession efforts. In contrast to the last years of communism, however, Romania had a serious foreign trade deficit. The country imported machinery and mineral fuels and exported clothing, transport equipment, and chemical products. Substantial remittances from Romanian nationals working abroad redressed the deficit somewhat.

Credits from the IMF and World Bank, along with the creation of joint trading companies with Western companies in the 1970s, fueled Ceauşescu's industrial ambitions but generated foreign debt and austerity later on. After the retirement of the foreign debt in 1989, Romania passed a law prohibiting the incurrence of foreign debt. This law was overturned after the revolution. Romania now also saw foreign direct investment, but its success paled by comparison with former bloc members to the west. Western fast food outlets made their appearance, but the slowness of privatization for larger firms and labor unrest discouraged major investments. Support packages of the IMF, intended to support the ambitious privatization program of the democratic coalition after 1996, were suspended due to failure to reach the agreed targets. In consultation with the World Bank, in 2001 the socialist prime minister announced a plan to privatize sixty-three state-owned enterprises. The second Iliescu administration has proven much more aggressive than the first one in pursuing privatization.

The Romanian economy operated before 1990 without a convertible currency or true market. Domestically, prices were set by administrative fiat and served to subsidize favored goods or accumulate capital for other ends. Foreign trade relied for the most part on bilateral agreements between states. A number of private banks arose after 1990, some of them engaging in pyramid schemes. The most infamous of these was the Caritas Bank. During the time of heavy inflation and unemployment in 1992–1994, an estimated 7 million Romanians and foreigners invested as much as $5 billion in Caritas and were guaranteed an 8-to-1 return as long as they brought new investors into the scheme. As in postcommunist Albania and Russia, the scheme fed on people's ignorance of capitalist finance and eagerness to improve their difficult situation. The survival of Caritas for two years raises questions about the connivance of the socialist government of the time; Caritas arose in Cluj and was allegedly connected to the nationalist Party of Romanian National Unity that was collaborating with the government.

The Romanian currency (singular *leu,* plural *lei*) has been freely traded since 1990, but due to poor budget balances it has fallen steadily against the U.S. dollar until recently. The National Bank of Romania controls the currency. Its governor is a member of the cabinet and served simultaneously as prime minister in 1999–2000. An agreement with the World Bank in 1997 slated six other state-owned banks for privatization. In 2003 the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the International Finance Corp (IFC) acquired a 25 percent interest in the largest remaining one, the Romanian Commercial Bank, which controls one-third of the country's banking sector.

Has the economic well-being of Romanians improved since the revolution? The severe rationing that preceded it is a thing of the past. Wages in many sectors remain low, and powerful trade unions in de facto collusion with state firms' officials looking out for their interests long delayed privatization.

Women's health has improved. Ceauşescu's Romania had enacted draconian sanctions against abortion and contraception, including regular, mandatory gynecological examinations, to encourage population growth. The impact on the birthrate was only moderate and temporary; apparently Romanian doctors violated the law. International and Romanian women's groups were relieved to see the legalization of birth control after the revolution. One consequence of pronatalist policies was that many unwanted children were deposited in orphanages. Their number (650 orphanages, with 98,872 children in 1998) and the poor conditions in these institutions attracted foreign investigative journalists, whose television documentaries gained unwelcome notoriety for Romania. Some unscrupulous adoption agencies took advantage of compassionate foreigners eager to adopt unwanted Romanian children despite the cost and in ignorance of illnesses such as AIDS and hepatitis. In response, a strict prohibition on foreign adoptions was enacted, and measures were taken to improve conditions. Romania's high infant mortality rate was reduced by 16 percent from 1996 to 2000.

There has been improvement in the state of the environment. Legislation or government initiative shut down or rehabilitated some of the most serious industrial polluters, notably the chemical and metallurgical plants in Copşa Mica, Zlatna, and Hunedoara in Transylvania. Concerns remain about the state of the fragile Danube Delta, where overharvesting of reeds for cellulose endangered wildlife habitats, and about the quality of water along the Black Sea coast. Concern for tourism, as well as standards imposed by the European Union, have served to encourage remedial measures. As elsewhere in Eastern Europe, emissions into the air per unit of energy produced remain above levels in the European Union. The EBRD is supporting efforts to increase energy efficiency and improve municipal water supplies. Emissions of greenhouse gases have declined significantly, and at the end of 2003 Romania joined other countries of the region in making commitments under the Kyoto Accords to further reduce them.

Romania and especially neighboring Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Ukraine experienced an environmental disaster in January-February 2000. On 30 January, Aurul, a Romanian-Australian joint venture extracting nonferrous metals from mining scrap, permitted cyanide- and metal-laced water to leach from a holding dam to a tributary of the Someş and Tisa (Hungarian: Tisza) Rivers near Baia Mare. From there the plume of water, estimated at close to 100,000 cubic meters, crossed the border into Hungary on 1 February. More than 100,000 kilograms of fish and many birds and other animals were killed in the more heavily populated Hungarian portion of the affected area, and the water supply of the Hungarian city of Szolnok was endangered. Melted snow and heavy rains led to three more spills in the same region later during the same winter and spring. Romanian and Hungarian environmental groups publicized events on their websites and organized demonstrations. This raised the awareness of the international and Romanian press to later cases.

Difficulties with the water supply have caused outbreaks of hepatitis and malaria. There is comprehensive health insurance provided by the state, but serious corruption mars health care delivery. The 2002 census revealed a decline in the country's population of 4.2 percent or one million to 21,680,974 since the census of 1992, due to an excess of deaths over births and to emigration. The emigration of the Hungarian and especially German minority peaked in the years before and after the revolution. Hungarian emigration is ongoing, and according to the census the decline in the Hungarian population exceeded the growth in the Roma population.

The per capita gross national income of Romania in 2003 was half that of Hungary but triple that of Moldova. The World Bank ranks Romania a lower-middle-income country based on this figure, above low-income Moldova but below upper-middle Hungary. The UN Technology Achievement Index ranks Hungary 22nd, Romania 35th, and does not rank Moldova. The same UN agency's Human Development Index, based on a correlation of life expectancy, literacy, and educational enrollment, ranked Romania 72nd out of 175 countries as a Medium Human Development country in 2001, below Hungary at 38th (high human development) but above Moldova (108th) in the same category. Romania's international ranking remained below that of 1985 but had improved slightly over 1990.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

One of the most prominent contemporary issues for Romania is its accession to the European Union (EU). The country had concluded textile and steel agreements with the European Economic Community in 1978 and a broader trade agreement in 1980. However, the country's steadily worsening economic and human rights situation led to its international isolation. Consequently the idea of a return to Europe attained powerful symbolic importance for Romanian democrats. Romania, the reasoning went, had been a normal, capitalistic European country before, and it should

Hay makers in traditional dress, Şugatag, Maramureş. (Corel Corporation)

become one again. Presumably economic well-being would follow. A trade and cooperation agreement with the EU was signed in 1990 and an association agreement in 1993. Romania also applied to the Council of Europe (a separate organization) and was initially rejected but then accepted after Hungary abstained in the vote. The socialist government submitted a formal application for accession to the EU in 1995.

The EU response to the Romanian application identified areas in which it expected improvement: harmonization of legislation with the EU in the areas of the economy and improvements in the treatment of ethnic minorities and relations with neighboring countries. The poor performance of the first Iliescu administration in these areas was not promising for Romanian accession hopes. In the elections of 1996, the Democratic Convention of Romania announced its intention to work hard for accession to the EU by addressing its concerns. The conclusion of a basic treaty with Hungary before the elections and of a treaty with Ukraine a year later, and improvements in minority policy enacted with the participation of the Hungarian Party in the government, were helpful but insufficient in the eyes of the EU. The organization finally issued a formal response to the application in 1997, which cited various Romanian failings in justification for deferring the start of negotiations. It found that the development of internal market relations and policy with regard to the environment, justice, and agriculture met a minimum threshold (the Copenhagen criteria) but were still inadequate. Romania lobbied hard to be included in some fashion in the accession process and achieved the establishment of an accession partnership in 1998. This agreement enumerated short-term objectives for the necessary reforms. The government then announced a National Program for Accession to the European Union that committed it to these reforms. Again, however, the annual EU assessment of Romania was critical. It cited government corruption, justice, individual liberties, and the rights of the Roma minority as special problem areas. In the next year's report, the EU asserted that Romania (along with Slovakia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria) was not yet a functioning market economy.

It was a success of the Constantinescu administration that, despite these repeated negative reports, Romania somehow remained on track for accession. His governments failed to deliver on the promised reforms due to internal discord and ineffectiveness. But, fortified by opinion polls indicating strong support for European integration, they created a new Ministry for European Integration and secured a commitment from the EU at the end of 1999 to begin formal accession talks in February 2000. It was a measure of the widespread consensus about accession that it was not a divisive issue in the 2000 elections. The new Iliescu administration, in contrast to the 1992–1996 governments, has taken its commitment to the European Union seriously. This commitment is signified by annual payments by the EU to Romania, for reforms in targeted areas, of no less than 600 million euros. The energetic measures of the second Iliescu administration with regard to privatization can only be explained by EU pressure.

Romania was invited to join NATO in 2002. Despite the temporary annoyance of some West European leaders at Romania's staunch support for American policy in Iraq, membership in NATO appears to add to the inevitability of EU accession. In its annual report for 2003 the EU once again chided Romania for its failure to eliminate corruption and enact administrative reforms and stated that Romania was approaching but had still not achieved a functioning market economy. The European Parliament's special *rapporteur* for Romania, Baroness Nicholson, repeated earlier criticisms in early 2004. She added new, graver details about corruption and adoptions that went counter to the official legal ban on adoptions demanded by the EU and promised by the current government. The response of EU officials seemed to ensure that the country's path to accession could not be derailed. The only uncertainty was whether the parties would adhere to the announced calendar, which called for the finalization of negotiations in 2004 and accession in 2007.

Moldova, and Romania's relations with the newly independent republic, is also a major contemporary issue. This country is constituted of two parts. The largest area, sometimes known as Bessarabia, is between the Prut and the Dniestr (Romanian: Nistru) Rivers. It formed part of the Principality of Moldavia (Romanian: Moldova) until its cession to Russia in 1812; it then was united with Romania in 1918–1940 and 1941–1944. The independent state also includes a strip on the side of the Dniester facing Ukraine that formed part of the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (MASSR) between 1924 and 1940 and was then attached to Bessarabia when the Soviet Union annexed Bessarabia. The united area was known until 1991 as the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR). The state began to call itself simply the Republic of Moldova in English language documents. The name has a half century tradition in its favor but is identical with the name Romanians give to the historical province, half of which is in today's Romania.

The time of domination by imperial Russia, the Romanian kingdom based in Bucharest, and then the Soviet Union contributed to the creation of Moldova's identity. While Romania experienced the union of the Danubian Principalities and the creation of national institutions in the nineteenth century, Bessarabia was a neglected province on the periphery of an alien autocratic state. Local Romanian elites gained little experience in self-governance or access to publications from across the Prut, whose importation was prohibited. Russian was the language of official business and public instruction. Figures from the Russian censuses in 1858 and 1897 indicated Romanians declined from two-thirds to less than half of the population, while East Slavs doubled to one-third. The other major ethnic group, at around 10 percent but much higher in Chişinău (Russian: Kishinev), were the Jews. The Russian anti-Semitic Black Hundreds precipitated pogroms in Chişinău in 1903 and 1905. After the Russian Revolution of 1905, Bessarabian Romanians entered the State Duma in St. Petersburg. In the turmoil of the 1917 revolutions, Bessarabian Romanians formed a provincial council and a year later voted for unification with Romania.

Bessarabian Romanians benefited from Greater Romania's land reform at the expense of local landholders as well as from energetic promotion of local infrastructure and Romanian schools. The region remained relatively undeveloped, however, and subject to administrative abuses by officials from Bucharest and the infiltration of Soviet agitators. The corruption and highhandedness of the Romanian administration in Bessarabia lent some plausibility to the Soviet demand for the liberation of the province, especially within its substantial Slavic minority. In 1924 the Soviet Union created the MASSR in an area of the Ukraine extending from the Dniester to the Bug River that included a large Romanian minority. MASSR would become a showpiece of Soviet-style industrialization and also a laboratory for the promotion of a new Moldovan-Romanian language and national identity that was different from the Romanian one. Soviet scholars conceded that the Moldovan Romanian language was virtually identical with Romanian, although within the MASSR it continued the use of the Cyrillic alphabet that had been abandoned south of the Prut during the nineteenth century.

After the humiliating Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and the execution or deportation of many Romanians in 1940–1941, Romania began its invasion of the Soviet Union alongside the Germans with the appeal by Ion Antonescu: "Soldiers, cross the Prut!" But the soldiers did not stop when they had liberated the province; they crossed the Dniester and even participated in the siege of Stalingrad. Romanian authorities headquartered in Odessa administered a zone between the Bug and the Dniestr that was called Transdniestria (Romanian: Transnistria) and liquidated at least 100,000 Jews there. Many Jews were deported to Transdniestria from south of the Prut, and only a portion of them survived to be repatriated after 1945. After Stalingrad, the Soviets reoccupied Transdniestria and Bessarabia, first exacting reprisals on the population once again, then forcing through Soviet-style collectivization. Economic development in the MSSR proceeded differently on either side of the Dniester. Most of the heavy industrial development took place to the east, attracting Ukrainian and Russian in-migration, while the Bessarabian economy was based on agriculture and light industry and the population was ethnically Romanian. The spoken and written Moldovan Romanian language largely converged with Romanian south of the Prut, despite Soviet ideological controls and the continued use of the Cyrillic alphabet. The MSSR constitution of 1978 made Russian the official language of the republic.

In the years of Soviet glasnost and perestroika (openness and restructuring), Moldovan Romanian activists agitated for a national revival in parallel to the more advanced movements in the Baltic republics. They protested against alleged

Russification and demanded the restoration of the Roman alphabet for Romanian, and the increased use of Romanian in the schools. The Slavic minority opposed this movement, voting in a referendum in 1990 for autonomy in the area beyond the river, or Transdniestria. The Gagauz (Turkish Christian) minority in the southeastern corner of the republic also demanded autonomy. At the time of the coup in Moscow in August 1991, the leadership of Moldova sided with Russian President Yeltsin. On 27 August, the Moldovan parliament declared the republic's independence from the Soviet Union, and four months later the republic joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). But in the interim, Transdniestria and Gagauzia declared their secession from the republic, proclaiming themselves separate republics within the Soviet Union.

The domestic and international travails of the Republic of Moldova have been a political topic in Romania since 1991. Many in Romania (roughly half in polls taken in 1991 and 1992), and not only supporters of the Greater Romania Party, expected the Moldovan Romanian majority of the new state to demand unification with Romania as it had in 1918. When this did not happen, it was easy to attribute it to the resistance of the minorities within Moldova in collusion with Russia and the post-Soviet military forces in Transdniestria—although opinion was divided among the Moldovan Romanians themselves. Thus Romanian nationalists, always on the lookout for foreign enemies of the nation, had new evidence of machinations by these elements. The situation was also opportune for Hungarian advocates of ethnic autonomy, who praised the autonomist tendencies in Moldova as an alternative to the centralist model in Romania. Various polls taken in Moldova indicate most Moldovan Romanians consider themselves Moldovans rather than Romanians.

The question of unification with Romania was settled fairly early in the decade. The Romanian-dominated Popular Front, later Christian Democratic Popular Front (CDPF), formed the first government of independent Moldova. The CDPF strongly advocated unification and formed a parliamentarian Moldovan-Romanian National Council for Reintegration. Transdniestria opposed reunification and launched militia attacks on Moldovan government outposts in order to back its claim to independence. Following counterattack by the weak Moldovan army, it was repulsed with the support of the heavily armed Soviet Fourteenth Army that was stationed in Transdniestria. Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, for a while Romania, and eventually Transdniestria all participated in the ensuing peace negotiations. The Moldovan government resigned in June 1992, in part because of the unpopularity of its unification stance. The Agrarian Democratic Party (ADP), a group of former collective farm managers, formed a government. The ADP declared its rejection of unification with Romania and support for ties with the CIS. In July 1992 Moldova concluded a peace agreement with Russia that accorded Transdniestria "special status."

The ADP won Moldova's first free elections in 1994. In March 1994 75 percent of eligible voters participated in a national referendum on Moldovan statehood, and 95 percent voted for continued independence. The one-sidedness of the result caused some suspicion that it had been falsified but was sufficient to discourage further referenda. Parliament adopted a new constitution in the summer of the same year. It granted "special autonomous status" for Transdniestria and Gagauzia, without precisely defining this status. The constitution also designated "Moldovan" as the state language. The CDPF protested, and students and faculty organized rallies in 1995 demanding the state language be called Romanian, but the parliament rejected this demand in 1996. Despite the ostensible resolution of these issues, the political situation in Moldova has remained unstable. Progress on economic reform was unequal in the two halves of the bifurcated economy, and the latent civil war between industrial Transdniestria and the rest of the country caused a permanent economic crisis. Moldova had been relatively prosperous while part of the Soviet sphere, but it now declined to the lamentable status of poorest country in Europe. Among the most disturbing manifestations of the country's poverty is the high incidence of trafficking in young women, who are lured abroad and forced into prostitution, and the sale of kidneys by people willing to take this desperate measure.

There have been halting steps toward the stabilization of Moldova's international position. Moldova and Russia concluded an agreement on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Transdniestria in 1994. Their number declined to an estimated 6,000 by 1997, but the final withdrawal of the remaining troops and their substantial weaponry has been repeatedly delayed despite the participation of Russia, Ukraine, and the OSCE in successive agreements and in peacekeeping forces. The arrest by Transdniestrian authorities of the Moldovan Romanian Popular Front activist Ilie Ilaşcu in 1992 and his continued detention, along with four other Moldovans, became a cause celèbre in Romania. Ilaşcu took Romanian citizenship while in prison and was elected to the Romanian Senate in 2000 as a member of the Greater Romania Party. Despite the plight of the prisoners, a basic treaty between Moldova and Romania was concluded in 1999. Ilaşcu was finally released in 2001 and promptly went to Bucharest to take his parliamentary seat. An agreement for the federalization of Moldova was concluded in 2003 that would provide, according to a statement of Moldovan President Voronin, for "an asymmetric federation with one center and two federal units." Half of Moldovans opposed federalization, however, and the communist Voronin backed away from the agreement. The government hoped the EU would participate in a lasting solution.

Finally there is the contemporary issue of history and public memory. In a region where history writing tends to be highly politicized, this is especially true in Romania. The Moldavian aristocrat Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817–1891) founded the first historical journal in Romania and was a leading liberal politician advocating the union of the Danubian Principalities. He served twice as prime minister during the decade of the unification and as foreign minister during the War for Independence in 1877–1878. Nicolae Bălcescu (1819–1852) had a much briefer career but was an even more militant advocate of unification. He was a member of the provisional government during the brief Wallachian Revolution in 1848 and worked unsuccessfully to bring peace between Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania. In exile, he prepared an important work on the Wallachian prince Michael the Brave, who temporarily unified the Danubian Principalities and Transylvania in 1600. This work is the strongest statement in Romanian historiography of the view, contested by more moderate historians, that Michael prepared the way for the unification of all Romanians through his actions in 1600.

Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940) and Constantin C. Giurescu (1901–1977) were much more prolific historians but also exemplified the continuing strong connection between historical scholarship and political engagement in the twentieth century. Iorga became a professor of history at the University of Bucharest at the age of twenty-three, attaining national and international acclaim for his original research and publication of sources. Incredibly, he authored 1,000 books and over 12,000 articles. Much of this output was serious scholarship, but his boundless energy did not permit him to stand aside from contemporary cultural and political debates. Iorga founded a literary school that glorified traditional peasant culture and a political-cultural journal entitled *Neamul românesc* (Romanian Nation), for which he wrote much of the content himself, directed the irredentist Cultural League beginning in 1908, and in 1910 cofounded the anti-Semitic National Democratic Party. Because of these activities, Iorga is considered one of the founders of Greater Romania. In 1931–1932 Iorga served a brief term as prime minister. To his lasting credit, he put aside his anti-Semitism after 1919 to condemn the Iron Guard and even play a role in the arrest and trial of its leaders in 1938. In retaliation, he was brutally murdered by Legionaries after they came to power in 1940.

Constantin C. Giurescu contested Iorga's leadership of the Romanian historical profession in the 1930s during a celebrated public controversy about errors in Iorga's works. The so-called "New School" associated with Giurescu's revolt against the master of Romanian history was distinguished primarily by its membership from a younger generation rather than substantial differences in philosophy, but its leaders were also active in politics. One member, Gheorghe Brătianu, founded a dissident wing of the Liberal Party, while another, P. P. Panaitescu, was briefly associated with the Iron Guard. Giurescu himself joined Brătianu's party, was an adviser of Carol II along with Iorga during the period of the royal dictatorship, and briefly occupied a cabinet post in 1940. Both Giurescu and Brătianu were imprisoned in Sighet after the communists came to power, and Brătianu died there.

The release of Giurescu from prison in 1955 and his gradual rehabilitation was a barometer of the restoration of national traditions in historiography. While he continued his earlier meticulous studies on medieval Romanian social history, two new works published in 1965–1967 were a marked departure: *The Life and Work of Prince Cuza* and *Transylvania in the History of the Romanian People*. The first was an original work of scholarship on an important but neglected ruler, while the second was a more modest synthesis on a politically charged topic. In each case, Giurescu lent his scholarly authority (and the regime lent its imprimatur) to the restoration of national unity as a legitimate topic of scholarly research.

Giurescu was not responsible for the exaggerations of national communist historiography in the following decades. Other professional historians did contribute to the increasing excursions of Nicolae Ceaușescu into Romanian history in his speeches. A highly selective treatment of Dacian history was prepared for the celebration in 1980 of the "2050th anniversary of the establishment of the first centralized unitary state on Romanian territory." The dictator's brother, Lieutenant General Ilie Ceaușescu, was the putative author of *Transylvania: An Ancient Romanian Land,* a unique compilation of anachronistic statements and maps. The publication in Budapest of a three-volume *History of Transylvania* (1986) provoked (some would say intentionally) an intemperate Romanian response. This response characterized the Hungarian work, which competently synthesized the new research of the best contemporary Hungarian historians, as an instrument of territorial revisionism and "the dangerous game of the falsification of history."

Romanians have struggled since 1990 to achieve an adequate understanding of their recent and more distant past. Former political prisoners stimulated the public debate by the publication of their memoirs and especially by their political engagement. Three of the senior leaders of the revived National Peasant Party had spent long years in prison. Their experience added to the moral authority of the leading opposition party in the early 1990s but also provoked a defensive reaction among former communist officials and ordinary Romanians who had not acted courageously in the face of the many pressures to conform. It is emblematic of the difficulty of assessing recent history that historical museums have little to say about the communist period.

The most notable exception is the Sighet Memorial in Sighetul Marmației, in the northwestern corner of the country near the former Soviet border. It opened in 1997 in the former "prison of the ministers" where various politicians, generals, scholars, and bishops spent years in detention, and where many died. The Civic Academy Foundation, led by former dissident poet Ana Blandiana, founded and maintains the museum. In addition to documenting life in this prison, the museum contains exhibits about agricultural collectivization, hard labor on the Danube–Black Sea Canal, and deportation to the Soviet Union and the Bărăgan Plain within Romania. Giurescu's son, Dinu C. Giurescu, emigrated to the United States in 1988 but returned to Bucharest after 1990 and switched his teaching focus to the history of the communist years in Romania. His new specialty is weakly represented in Romanian university curricula.

Lustration, the identification and elimination from power of former informers of the Securitate and even members of the Communist Party, is perhaps more difficult in Romania than in any other East European country. How can it stop at President Iliescu himself, a former high party official who has three times been popularly elected? The insistence of the Democratic Convention of Romania on lustration in some form certainly made its relationship with the civil service more difficult after it came to power in 1996. Legislation in 1999 created the National Council for the Study of Securitate Records (NCSSR). The NCSSR does not have direct access to the archives of the Securitate, but it has been supplied with voluminous documentation and has identified as informers or agents many prominent public figures. Public dissension among the members of the NCSSR has undermined its work and its authority.

Serious historical research on the communist era is becoming possible, especially for the period prior to the thirty-year limit on access to government archives. The National Archives Law of 1996 improved public access to government records, although the National Archives remain under the supervision of the minister of the interior. This subordination has its advantages for historical preservation because the ministry and its prefects work closely with the county archival inspectors to ensure the proper disposition of the records of enterprises and organizations undergoing privatization or reassignment.

There is continuing, and more focused, controversy about the history of World War II, Marshal Antonescu, and the Holocaust. A partial rehabilitation of Antonescu, who was shot after a show trial in 1946, took place even before 1989. Marin Preda's novel *Delirium* (1975) presented a sympathetic view of the dictator, and in later years documents placing him in a more positive light became available to privileged researchers. Calls for the rehabilitation of Antonescu arose beginning in 1990. The newspaper of the National Salvation Front denied Romanian responsibility for the extermination of the Jews and designated Antonescu a tragic hero in 1991; the parliament dedicated a moment of silence to his memory. In 1993–1994 two cities, Slobozia and Piatra Neamț, erected monuments to Antonescu, and many other cities named streets after him. Audiences acclaimed a laudatory film about Antonescu by veteran director Sergiu Nicolaescu, *The Mirror,* after it was released in 1994. A public opinion poll in 1995 indicated 62 percent of respondents viewed the dictator positively, and in 1997–2000 the Romanian government rehabilitated several ministers of the wartime era.

The tide turned against Antonescu after 1999. In 1995 members of the U.S. Congress protested against the Antonescu cult in an open letter to President Iliescu, and in 2000 Social Democratic politicians in Germany warned Romania that its glorification of the wartime dictator might make admission to the EU more difficult. Schools introduced the Holocaust into the curriculum in 1999. The Greater Romania Party, as leader of the opposition, increased its campaign on behalf of Antonescu, proposing that military academies be named after him and he be declared a saint. At the end of 2001, Prime Minister Adrian Năstase declared during a visit to the United States his government's intention to have all monuments to Antonescu taken down and to punish "fascist, racist, and xenophobic" symbols. This was done in special government decrees of March and April 2002. Members of parliament, the government, and President Iliescu continued to make controversial statements about the Holocaust, however. A government declaration in June 2003 denied Romanian responsibility for the Holocaust on Romanian territory but then qualified its statement in response to international protests.

In July 2003 the president prompted protests by stating to an Israeli reporter: "There was no Romanian Holocaust, no German or Polish one. It was a general process, and this European phenomenon also had a Romanian complement." In October of the same year he became honorary chairman of an international commission led by Elie Wiesel that was to present a report by June 2005 on the Romanian Holocaust that would provide guidelines for Romanian textbooks. Even the chairman of the Greater Romania Party, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, retreated from his earlier statements. In a public letter in February 2004, he stated that his denial of the Romanian Holocaust had been "a mistake," and that the Romanian government was responsible for an estimated 400,000 Jewish deaths during World War II.

Controversies over the content of history textbooks underline the sensitive nature of public memory. Schools are required by law to teach from textbooks licensed by the Ministry of Education, but it took years to revise those of the previous regime and then distribute them in adequate numbers. New versions distributed in 1994 assessed Marshal Antonescu more positively, however. There were textbook controversies in the Republic of Moldova as well. The Ministry of Education ordained a course on the history of Romania in 1990, but when it wanted to replace it with a course on the history of Moldova in 1995 student demonstrators burned copies of the new textbook and forced the ministry to reverse its decision. In Romania, a competition to approve more democratic textbooks sparked angry debates in the press and parliament in 1999. One of the approved texts, edited by a Jewish Romanian historian in Cluj named Sorin Mitu, attracted most of the ire of the nationalists because it gave minimal attention to the famed princes Vlad the Impaler, Stephen the Great, and Michael the Brave, and highlighted persistent questions about the events of 1989. The attractively illustrated book was printed in 10,000 copies. Opponents, led by Nicolaescu, a senator for the opposition PSDR, demanded that Mitu's textbook be withdrawn. Waving a copy of the book, Nicolaescu declared: "This book deserves to be publicly burned." The minister of education, himself from the University of Cluj, refused to withdraw the book.

Reformers took heavy blows in the textbook controversy of 1999, but historians presenting a more critical view of national history have been gaining a growing audience. The Humanitas Publishing House published many foreign historical works in Romanian translation as well as fresh research by the younger generation of Romanian historians. Lucian Boia wrote a series of well-received revisionist works, including *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness, The Game with the Past: History between Truth and Fiction, The Scientific Myth of Romanian Communism,* and *Two Centuries of Historical Mythology,* all published by Humanitas. Centers for Jewish Studies exist at three different Romanian universities, and since 1999 the government has required increased attention to the Romanian Holocaust in the schools.

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CHRONOLOGY

106 B.C.E.	Dacia becomes a Roman province.
271–273	Emperor Aurelian withdraws troops, administration; rule of the Visigoths.
376	Rule of the Huns begins.
454	Rule of the Gepids begins.
567	Rule of the Avars begins.
ca. 602	Byzantines abandon Dobrudja.
9th century	Rule of the Bulgarians begins.
10th–13th centuries	Hungarian conquest of Transylvania.
1054	East–West Church schism.
12th–13th centuries	Rule of the Cumans and Pechenegs south of the Carpathians begins.
1227–1247	Establishment of Banat of Severin and Voivodates of Litovoi and Seneslau.
1241–1242	Mongol invasions.
ca. 1310	Founding of Wallachia.
1330	Battle of Posada: Wallachian victory over Hungary.
1359	Founding of Moldavia.
1415	Wallachia recognizes Ottoman suzerainty.
1437–1438	Peasant revolt in Transylvania.
1526	Ottoman victory over Hungary at Battle of Mohács.
1538	Moldavia recognizes Ottoman suzerainty.
1541	Transylvania recognizes Ottoman suzerainty.
1600	Michael the Brave rules Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia.
1697	Romanian church union in Transylvania.
1699	Ottoman Empire recognizes Habsburg rule in Transylvania.
1711–1715	Establishment of Phanariot rule in Moldavia and Wallachia.
1718	Establishment of Habsburg rule in Banat and Oltenia.
1738	End of Habsburg rule in Oltenia.
1784	Peasant revolt in Transylvania.
1812	Annexation of Bessarabia by Russia.
1821	Anti-Ottoman revolt in Wallachia led by Tudor Vladimirescu.
1848–1849	Revolutions in Hungary and the Danubian Principalities.
1859–1862	Union of the Principalities under Prince Cuza.
1866	Abdication of Prince Cuza, accession of Prince Carol I.
1880–1881	Recognition of independent Romanian kingdom.
1907	Peasant revolt in the Kingdom of Romania.
1913	Annexation of Dobrudja after Second Balkan War.
1916	Romania enters World War I.
1918–1920	Annexation of lands from Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Bulgaria.
1920	Land reform.
1940	Lands ceded to Soviet Union, Hungary, and Bulgaria under pressure.
1941–1945	Romania in World War II; lands regained from Hungary.
1947	Abdication of King Michael; Romanian People's Republic.
1965	Gheorghiu-Dej succeeded by Ceaușescu; Socialist Republic of Romania.
1989	End of communist rule after disorders in various cities.
1990–1996	First free elections; President Ion Iliescu and socialist government.
1996–2000	President Emil Constantinescu and conservative government.
2000	Second presidency of Ion Iliescu and socialist government.
2004	Romania joins the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

BULGARIA

RICHARD FRUCHT

LAND AND PEOPLE

The land of present-day Bulgaria comprises 110,994 square kilometers, an area slightly larger than the state of Tennessee, and contains a population of approximately 8 million. Although Bulgaria became an independent state in the nineteenth century, its current boundaries were not fully established until the end of World War II. Bordered by Macedonia and Yugoslavia on the west, Romania to the north, the Black Sea to the east, and Greece and Turkey on the south, it is a country of varied geographic features, dominated by the range known as the Balkan Mountains (Stara Planina), which divides the country in two.

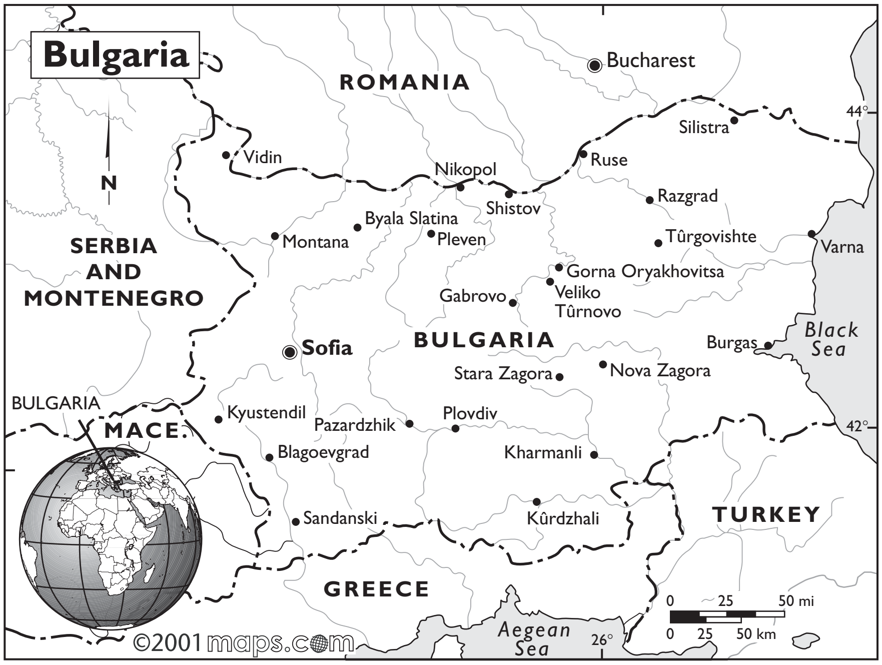
Much of the country in fact lies at an elevation above 600 meters, even though lowlands comprise nearly one-third of the land surface. The Balkan Mountains (Stara Planina) run approximately 530 kilometers along the 43rd parallel. The width of Stara Planina averages 15 to 20 kilometers. The highest peak in the range is Mount Botev, nearly 2,400 meters in elevation; other mountains are nearly as high, measuring 2,000 meters in height. Most of the Balkan Mountains, however, are between 700 and 800 meters high, and there are two main gorges that permit travel to flow through the mountains; the passes were instrumental in the migration of peoples and the passage of armies, both factors critical for the development of Bulgaria's history.

The Balkan Mountains are densely populated, with nearly twenty inhabitants per square kilometer, but the towns and cities are comparatively small in size. Lengthy snow cover, which can last a half a year or longer on the highest peaks, is the source of water for a dozen rivers that flow down the mountainsides. Waterpower from these rivers is vital for electrical production in the country. The Balkan Mountains are also a source of coal (anthracite and black coal), as well as other ores. Agriculture, tourism, and forestry are also significant industries found in the region.

Stara Planina divides the country into nearly two equal halves. Hills, lowlands, and the fertile Maritsa Valley are found south of the range, while the often dry Danubian Plain lies to the north.

The Balkans are not the only mountain range found in Bulgaria; the Sredna Gora Mountains lie south of Stara Planina and run essentially parallel to the Balkans for nearly 285 kilometers. The Sredna Gora Mountains do not form a tall range. Its peaks are significantly lower than those of Stara Planina, averaging only about 600 meters in height. The highest peak in Sredna Gora is Golyan Bogdan, at 1,604 meters.

Lying south of Sofia is the Rila-Rhodope Massif, which consists of the Rila and the Rhodope Mountains. Nestled in the Rila Mountains, at an elevation of 1,150 meters, is the historic Rila Monastery, the largest and most famous monastery in Bulgaria. The Rila Monastery was one of a number of


Bulgaria
ROMANIA
Bucharest
44°
Silistra
Vidin
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Nikopol
Ruse
Razgrad
Shistov
Byala Slatina
Pleven
Montana
Tûrgovishte
Varna
SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO
Gorna Oryakhovitsa
Veliko Tûrnovo
Gabrovo
Black Sea
Burgas
Sofia
BULGARIA
Stara Zagora
Nova Zagora
BULGARIA
MACE.
Kyustendil
Pazardzhik
Plovdiv
42°
Blagoevgrad
Kharmanli
Sandanski
Kûrdzhali
TURKEY
GREECE
0 25 50 mi
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Rila Monastery

Although many of the monasteries of Bulgaria played a role in the cultural and social life of the country, none was more famous than the Rila Monastery, which was designated as a world monument of culture by UNESCO in 1983.

Rila Monastery was founded in the tenth century by John of Rila, a monk born around the year 880. John of Rila became a hermit and moved to a forest cave near the town of Rila. There his message of asceticism attracted many followers, and his tomb became a shrine following his death and subsequent canonization. Around that tomb, the monastery was built.

Rila Monastery sits nestled in the mountains approximately 120 kilometers from Sofia. Construction began in 946, and the first buildings were probably constructed close to the hermit's cave. Aided by generous donations from boiars, construction of a new cathedral began. Seized by the Turks in 1385, the monastery was abandoned in the mid-fifteenth century in the wake of lawlessness in the region. It soon sprang back to life, however, especially after the return of relics of St. John of Rila from Turnovo.

Over the centuries, fires and a lack of funds contributed to a deterioration in conditions. In 1816 renovation began on some of the structures, but in January 1833 a devastating fire destroyed much of the monastery.

In the early days of the national reawakening, funds and master builders were used to rebuild the monastery and restore it as a national treasure. Over the next three decades, master craftsmen created a structure rich in detail (such as the veranda projection on the northwest wing), a fourth floor ornately decorated for visitors, a new kitchen, and new domed chapels. The new cathedral, patterned in part after a similar structure on Mount Athos, the most important monastery in Eastern Orthodoxy, took over twenty years to build. The monastery's Church of the Virgin Mary has elaborate, colorful walls that beautifully capture the spirit of the Bulgarian Orthodox world. Wood-carvers, painters (who made special use of reds and blues), and artisans created a synthesis of design that appealed to the emotions and senses of Bulgarians and visitors alike, an evocation that remains as current in the twenty-first century as it was in the nineteenth. Perhaps the most striking features of the Rila Monastery are the colonnades, arches, and vaults, which capture the essence of nature, beauty, and space in a way that is characteristic of Orthodox architecture.

Apart from the visible architectural design of Rila Monastery, the buildings house some of the finest artwork in all of Eastern Christendom. The library and museum contain numerous manuscripts, many of them illustrated, as well as icons and ethnographic exhibits of embroidery, carpets, and jewelry. The library houses over 16,000 volumes. Manuscripts include a fifteenth-century Psalter, two thirteenth-century Gospels, and numerous histories of the saints. Unique examples of wood carving, such as the doors of the old Hrelyu Church, are found throughout the monastery. But what is most striking is the artwork. The frescoes in the St. John of Rila Chapel, which date from the early fourteenth century, are extraordinary examples of medieval Bulgarian art. The carved wooden iconostasis in the chapel and other frescoes were done with new techniques from the West, thus representing a fusion of past and present.

Among the myriad icons, two of the most famous are the medieval portraits of St. John of Rila and St. Arsenius. Other outstanding icons include St. George Enthroned (sixteenth century) and Our Lady of Tenderness (fifteenth century).

Despite the fires of the early 1800s, and the loss of some of the treasures, the monastery has in a sense lost little; the donations and work of the artistic masters (such as the paintings by the noted Bulgarian artist Zahari Zograf) not only reclaimed the past beauty but enhanced it. Their work spoke volumes about the special relationship between Bulgaria's people and Rila Monastery. Its significance in the lives of Bulgarians is as real today as it was in the days of Paisii of Hilendar, one of the founders of the Bulgarian national reawakening. In his 1762 *Slavonic-Bulgarian History (Istoriia Slavianobolgarskaia),* he wrote that it was the sacred duty of all Bulgarians to safeguard Rila Monastery.

monasteries founded in the mountains and valleys of Bulgaria, and it served as a center of learning and culture throughout the long period of Turkish occupation.

The Rhodope Mountains are the highest range in Europe between the Alps in the west and the Caucasus. Located west and south of the Maritsa Valley, they are often composed of square, leveled ridges, cut by numerous valleys and gorges. The Rhodopes are some of the oldest geographical features in Bulgaria, predating both the Stara Planina and Sredna Gora ranges geologically. They contain the highest peak in the country, Musala, which rises to an elevation of over 2,900 meters. The deep gorges, high peaks (with snow cover that can last as long as six to eight months), and rivers (which provide hydroelectric power) of the Rila-Rhodope Massif meant that parts of the region were often inaccessible to Turkish forces, who preferred to occupy the towns and villages of the lowlands. In fact, this rugged terrain of Bulgaria may have played a role in saving the great city of Vienna from capture in 1529. Swollen rivers, after a prolonged winter, slowed the Turks as they moved through the natural cuts in the mountains toward Vienna, thereby allowing the Austrians needed time to prepare the city's defenses.

The most important river in Bulgaria is the Danube, which forms most of its northern boundary with Romania. Small settlements formed along the banks of the Danube during the time of the Greeks and the Romans. Serving as trading centers, these towns were often razed over the centuries by conquerors, such as the Goths and the Huns. Nevertheless, the Danube, which flows nearly 2,950 kilometers from its source in the Black Forest in Germany to the Black Sea, has served as a vital economic artery from the earliest recorded history to the present. Unfortunately for Bulgaria, the mouth of the river lies outside its territorial boundaries, in Romania, and in the often volatile world of Balkan politics and diplomacy, disputes over water rights and navigation along the Danube have sometimes hampered relations between the riverine states (primarily in the first half of the twentieth century).

There are over five hundred rivers in Bulgaria, most of which flow from the high peaks (where snow is not uncommon for as much as half the year), but generally native rivers are not large (although some of the larger ones, such as the Iskar, which runs for 368 kilometers to the Danube, have been utilized for the production of hydroelectricity). Rather unevenly distributed, due to the nature of the mountain networks, most flow either to the Black or Aegean seas or to large catchment basins (such as the Maritsa Valley). Some of these catchment basins near the Danube River have, like the swamps also situated nearby, been drained for towns and farmland.

There are also few lakes in the country, and of these few, many lie close to the Black Sea coast. There are also glacial mountain lakes high in the various ranges, but many of them are above 2,000 meters in elevation.

Apart from the Danube River, Bulgaria's dominant water feature is the Black Sea, which forms the eastern boundary of Bulgaria. The coastal area is 378 kilometers in length, with a general width of 10 to 30 kilometers. Approximately one-third of the coastline is made up of wide beaches covered by fine yellow and white sand. This naturally beautiful coastal region, combined with affordable tourist facilities, has made Bulgaria's Black Sea coast an attractive vacation destination.

Another contributing factor in the popularity of the Bulgarian coast for European tourists is the climate. Bulgaria has a climate that is classified as "temperate continental," much like other parts of Southern Europe. It is influenced by the Black and Mediterranean seas, which keep the temperatures moderate, and the mountain ranges. This wide diversity of geographical features contributes to warm summers and cold, snowy winters conducive to winter sports.

The average temperature is 10.5 degrees Celsius, and winds, due to the nature and position of the mountains, are constant. Because the winds originate in the northeast in the winter, temperatures can be quite cold (the average winter temperature hovers around freezing) throughout the country. However, the northwest and western breezes of the spring and summer bring warming trends, averaging 24 degrees Celsius, and significant annual rainfall. This precipitation has contributed to the existence of a number of fertile regions in the country, including the Maritsa Valley, the Upper Danubian Plain, and the Dobrudja.

The Maritsa Valley lies between the Balkan and Rhodope Mountains. The Maritsa River, the longest river in the country, flows through the valley before emptying into the Aegean Sea. Rich in forest and agricultural land, the Maritsa Valley is at times plagued by floods, due to the numerous river tributaries that flow through the region. North of Stara Planina is the Upper Danubian Plain. While also fertile, it is drier than the lands south of the mountains and is also relatively treeless. The Dobrudja, in the northeast part of Bulgaria, borders the Danube to the north and the Black Sea to the east. Dobrudja is a hilly region and is one of the richest agricultural regions in Southeastern Europe, thanks in part to a network of irrigation systems from the Danube and local bodies of water. With a mild climate and adequate rainfall, it is ideal for the cultivation of foodstuffs (wheat, fruits, and vegetables). The rich arable land of the Dobrudja was a source of contention between Bulgaria and Romania for decades. The region was taken by the Romanians at the conclusion of the Second Balkan War in 1913, and, after it was briefly retaken by Bulgaria during World War I, was returned to Romania and remained in the hands of Bucharest until 1940, when the southern Dobrudja was returned to Bulgaria.

Many of the cities in Bulgaria have their origins in the distant past. Nevertheless, since the country was primarily a peasant society until modern times, the landscape of many of Bulgaria's cities has taken shape more recently than that of other cities in the region.

The capital of Bulgaria is Sofia, a major metropolitan center with a population of approximately 1.2 million (representing nearly 15 percent of the entire country's 7.9 million inhabitants). Located less than 60 kilometers from the Serbian border in the Iskar River Basin between the Balkan and Rhodope mountain ranges (Mt. Vitosha, rising to a

Beachgoers on a beach in Varna along the Black Sea. (Morton Beebe/Corbis)

height of over 2,000 meters, is a highly visible geographic feature dominating the skyline along the outskirts of the city), Sofia, because of its location, has been a vital center since the time of the Roman Empire. It sat along a key trade route that ran from Constantinople through the mountainous terrain in Southeastern Europe. During the period of the earliest Bulgarian state it was called Sredec. Its present name did not emerge until much later (the fourteenth century) and was derived from St. Sophia Church. Under the Ottoman Turks, who captured the city in 1382, Sofia, because of its location, became a key government center. Numerous mosques were built, symbolizing the town's significance. Although it only had a population of some 21,000 at the time of Bulgarian independence in the nineteenth century, it became Bulgaria's new capital. Over the course of the next century, Sofia expanded dramatically and became the educational center of the country, serving as the home to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and numerous museums. With its rapid expansion in the twentieth century, especially during the communist period following World War II, workers' housing, gray and drab, became as much the visible landmarks of the city as the historic older buildings.

Like Sofia, Turnovo was an important medieval city. Inhabited as early as the Neolithic period, it became a Roman fortress town. During the period of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1396), it served as the capital of the Bulgarian state. Turnovo became a center of learning and presently is the home of two universities. Its picturesque location, in the foothills of the mountains along the Yantra River, led to its primacy in the medieval period. It also held a special place in the history of the country; in April 1879 a constitution was promulgated in the city, proclaiming Bulgaria to be a constitutional principality (later monarchy). This constitution remained in effect until December 1947, when a new "people's democracy" was declared. During the communist period, Turnovo became an industrial center.

Approximately 170 kilometers east of Sofia, in the Maritsa Valley, lies Plovdiv. Plovdiv grew from being an ancient fortification into the economic center of central Bulgaria. The city was formerly known as Philippopolis, named for Philip II of Macedon, who captured the town from the Thracians in 342 B.C.E. and made it his capital. In 1878 Plovdiv became the capital of Eastern Rumelia, an autonomous province under Ottoman control. Seven years later, in 1885, Eastern Rumelia and Plovdiv were incorporated into the Bulgarian nation. Currently containing a population of approximately 400,000, Plovdiv serves as a textile and food center.

During the twentieth century, the small fishing village of Burgas became an important port city on the Black Sea. By

People's Square (Plostad Narodno) and the National Assembly (Subranie) in Sofia. In the rear is the Aleksandar Nevski Church. (Sandro Vannini/Corbis)

the 1990s, Burgas had grown to over 200,000 inhabitants and served as a center for fish processing and the refining of petroleum products. Further north along the Black Sea lies the city of Varna, a key maritime port known for its shipbuilding. Located near the site of an ancient Greek trading colony and a later Roman town, Varna grew in importance as railroads linked it to the Danube. During the communist period, the port (briefly called "Stalin," from 1949 to 1956) grew in significance, especially with the completion of ferry train service connecting it to the Ukrainian port of Odessa.

The overwhelming majority of the nation's population of 7.9 million are native Bulgarians, with Turks making up the largest single minority. Other minorities include Romanians, Tartars, Greeks, and Gypsies (Roma); their numbers are very low. Approximately 70 percent of the population live in urban areas, a dramatic shift from the past century, when most Bulgarians lived in the countryside. There are 72 people per square kilometer, and their life expectancies range from 67.1 years for males to 74.8 years for females, according to statistics compiled by *The Economist*. This discrepancy in longevity between men and women has led to a condition in which there are 94 males for every 100 females. The population has stayed relatively stable for over a decade due to a declining birthrate (minus 1 percent from 1995 to 2000), particularly within the Slavic majority. In fact, approximately the same percentage of the population is over the age of 65 as is under the age of 15. The Turkish population, however, has been increasing, always a potential source of tension in Bulgaria after centuries of Turkish rule. Adult literacy is very high (98.4 percent), reflecting an emphasis on education during the period of communism.

Over 85 percent of Bulgarians belong to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church or identify themselves as Orthodox. Although the communists had controlled the church through the Law on Religious Organizations, and the number of priests declined by almost 50 percent from the late 1940s until 1989 (there were not enough priests for the number of churches), during the 1990s the church experienced a revival, a reflection of its historic place within the country. After forty years of suppression (Bibles, for example, were printed, but in such short supply that there were never adequate numbers available), church property, including historic treasures such as the Rila Monastery, was returned to the church.

Muslims make up the second largest religious sect in Bulgaria, accounting for approximately 10 percent of the population. Islam entered the country with the Ottoman conquest; as a result, most Muslim Bulgarians are Sunni, although there are also approximately 80,000 Muslims who

Bulgarian Language

Bulgarian belongs to the Slavic family of languages. Spoken by approximately nine million people, it was exclusively a spoken language for centuries.

The earliest inhabitants of today's Bulgaria used Greek inscriptions for official matters. In 893 an assembly called by Khan Boris officially adopted the Cyrillic alphabet and the Slavic language. Because the great Orthodox churchmen often credited with bringing Christianity to the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius, were from nearby Thessaloniki (Salonika), the dialect chosen for the language of the church was that of the Slavic tribes nearby. This "Old Bulgarian," also known as "Old Church Slavonic" or "Old Slavonic," became the language of the region, as well as the official ecclesiastical language of Eastern Orthodoxy in Southeastern Europe until the 1700s. "Old Bulgarian" thus had an impact on culture and faith far outside the boundaries of the Bulgarian lands.

Over the centuries, Old Bulgarian, or Old Church Slavonic, like its counterpart in the West, Latin, became an anachronism. By the time of the French Revolution in 1789, and the rising of the nationalist tide that was soon to engulf all of Europe, it was little understood or comprehended by the vast majority of Bulgarians.

For the Bulgarian people, like others who chafed under Ottoman Turkish rule, language was critical for national development and identity. Nationalists saw that modernization required linguistic changes. Thus, during the period of national revival in the nineteenth century, the modern Bulgarian language began to emerge, based heavily on a regional dialect from the eastern part of the country. The first Bulgarian grammar was written in 1835 by Neofit Rilski. Changes continued to take shape well into the twentieth century (such as spelling reforms initiated in 1945).

Bulgarian, which is similar in many respects to Macedonian, uses a modern Cyrillic alphabet and has two principal dialects (eastern and western). Although it is rooted in the Slavic linguistic tradition, it differs from the other Slavic languages in a number of ways. Bulgarian does not use a noun case system, and prepositions are critical in defining the relationship between different parts of sentences. In addition, Bulgarian uses a definite article (like the word "the" in English) that falls at the end of the noun. Although there are numerous verb tenses in the language, the infinitive form of verbs is no longer used.

The modern Bulgarian alphabet is comprised of thirty letters. Most of these represent one specific sound. Three letters (ш [sht], я [yă], and ю [yu]) have combinations of sounds. In addition, ь is not pronounced, but is a softening sound for some preceding consonants.

Most Bulgarian words are spelled phonetically; however, some are spelled etymologically, often due to the fact that they are still spelled as they were more commonly pronounced in the past, a clear case in which Bulgaria's traditions still have the power to shape its present, even in the area of language.

identify themselves as Shia. Many Muslims are descended from Turkish colonists who entered the region when it came under Turkish occupation; at the same time, some native Bulgarians converted to Islam. This minority, known as Pomaks ("helpers"), are considered by many Bulgarians to be Turks as well, even though they have continued to wear native dress and speak the native tongue. Although nearly twelve hundred mosques were located in Bulgaria in the 1980s, persecution of Muslims, beginning in the 1940s and continuing through the last days of the communist regime of Todor Zhivkov in 1989, led to the imprisonment and emigration of many Muslims. Following the fall of communism, religious persecution of the Muslim population eased. New mosques were built, and new Muslim publications appeared.

Small communities of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews also reside in the country. Under the communists, Roman Catholic priests were charged with being agents of the Vatican. Four priests in fact were executed, after being tried and convicted in 1951–1952 on the specious charges that they were spies for the West. Church property was also confiscated. In the 1990s approximately 44,000 Roman Catholics and 18,000 Uniate Catholics (those who accept the pope's authority but practice the rite of the Eastern Orthodox Church) remained.

Although Catholics were a target of the communists, no group was more persecuted than the Protestants, due to their perceived links to the West, especially the United States. During the period of national revival in the late 1800s, Methodists and Congregationalists came to the Balkans. Their activities led to the first translation of the Bible into Bulgarian in 1871. Many Bulgarian leaders, especially ministers, were in turn educated at Robert College, a nondenominational institution in Istanbul, or in the West. In 1949 thirty-one clergy were charged as spies and sent to prison. Although the "mainstream" Protestant churches were allowed to hold services, Protestants were nevertheless considered to be both alien and Western. This continuous persecution left the Protestant community fractured into small denominations.

In 1990 the Jewish population of Bulgaria was small. During the preceding four decades, nearly 90 percent of the Jewish population had emigrated, primarily to Israel or to the United States. Jews had been an important part of Bulgarian life since the early days of the Ottomans, when the early toleration of the Turks saw numerous Jews flee persecution in the West (especially during the Spanish Inquisition) for the relative safety of the Ottoman Empire. Jews often assimilated into Bulgarian life. During World War II, King Boris blocked their deportation, instead passing anti-Jewish legislation that assuaged the Nazis in Berlin, but which either allowed Jews to emigrate with visas to Palestine or which sent them to camps inside Bulgaria, which were internment rather than death camps. Under the communists, however, Jews were classified as being members of a nationality rather than of a religion and were encouraged to leave.

Although cities and towns have long been important to the Bulgarian lands, from the time of the ancient trading villages established by the Thracians and Greeks, to the fortress towns of the Romans, to the cities of the medieval Bulgarian empires, to the industrial complexes created during the communist period, in fact for most of Bulgarian history, the essence of the state was the peasantry.

The term "Bulgar" was derived from an old Turkic word meaning "to mix." This name connoted the migratory nature of the peoples who arrived in the lands south of the Danube River during the sixth and seventh centuries. When they settled into the mountains and valleys that define the Bulgarian lands, the terrain offered protection and a means of preserving their way of life. This was especially true after the Ottoman conquest, when Bulgaria was ruled from Constantinople, but Bulgarian culture was preserved in the day-to-day lives of the peasants.

Peasant life defined Bulgaria for a millennium. Traditional Bulgarian society was composed of three groups: peasants, the *chorbadzhii* (larger landowners), and the *esnafi* (tradesmen). Only the twentieth century, with the twin forces of urbanization and industrialization, especially following the communist takeover and the social disruption and environmental disaster that accompanied that painful chapter in Bulgarian history, changed the peasant nature of the country.

For centuries, peasant life revolved around the family, the village, and subsistence agriculture. The center of that world was the *zadruga,* the communal extended family (generally comprising ten to twenty families), which was a central part of the life of Bulgaria (as it was of Serbia). Family members lived under one roof or in close proximity to one another. The eldest male, sometimes called the "lord of the house" or "the old man," headed the family and made all the decisions for it. The family revolved around him. No one ate before him, and everyone rose when he entered the room. His wife, by virtue of their marriage, likewise took on a position of primacy among the women.

Modernization however brought about the breakup of the *zadruge* (plural). Newer inheritance laws in the mid-1800s and the movement of the peasant class to the cities led to disintegration within the larger group. The breakup of the zadruge however did not end the patriarchal nature of Bulgarian society. Husbands continued to maintain most property rights. Arranged marriages also continued until well after World War II.

Bulgaria was (and remains) a male-dominated, patriarchal society. Leadership positions historically were exclusively male. In the waning years of Ottoman control, some women did become involved in the national renaissance, but their numbers were few and their impact upon national life generally minimal. In the villages, women were considered to be as much possessions as they were people. They were to be seen and not heard. Men, for example, often rode while women walked and did the carrying.

This pattern continued until the 1940s when, ironically, the imposition of communism, which was to shackle the country for four decades through the loss of personal liberties, partially "liberated" women. Women became an integral part of the labor force, comprising half of workers by the end of the 1980s. The areas open to female employment and opportunity greatly expanded, and education led to significant increases in women joining fields outside those considered to be traditionally female. Although many women continued to work in "traditional" occupations such as education, office work, and childcare, they also became engineers and construction workers.

Despite the fact that women became contributors to the economy, the patriarchal nature of Bulgarian society did not disappear. Women were still expected to obey their husbands; to question a male's decision was frowned upon. Women took care of the homes, even after workdays that were as lengthy as that of males. Few women obtained positions of real authority, either in the government or in the economy. Perhaps the most visible woman was Liudmila Zhivkova (the daughter of the president, Todor Zhivkov), who served as minister of culture from 1975 until her death in 1981 from a car accident.

Although the constitution declared full equality for women, that equality created strains within the system. The marriage rate, for example, remained steady until the 1970s but then began to decline. Divorce, which was rare before World War II, increased dramatically, especially for those who lived in the cities. This led to a low or declining birthrate. Large families became rare. In response, the regime, which saw women as mothers more than workers (again reflecting the deeply rooted paternalism in Bulgaria), tightened rules for divorce and increased incentives (though with little effect) for having children.

After the fall of communism and the resulting economic problems of the 1990s, some of the support given to women by a communist regime desirous of promoting childbirth (through maternity leave and day care) declined. Women also lost jobs, as work was no longer guaranteed. Under communism, there had been only one organ for women, the Movement of Bulgarian Women, but women's organizations now sprang up to promote women's rights. Although progress has been made, equality in real terms remains elusive.

Just as the twentieth century saw changes for women, it also witnessed progress in education. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cell schools and reading rooms *(chitalishta)* extended primary education to some segments of the Bulgarian population. Many of the leaders of the Bulgarian revolution against the Turks in the 1870s were teachers. Following national independence, education spread. In 1878 a law established free education that was to stress reading, writing, and arithmetic. By the beginning of the 1900s, one-third of the villages in the country contained an elementary school, but schooling was sporadic, in part due to the lack of teachers. Under communism, literacy and education expanded dramatically. The communist regime saw education as critical for industrialization (thus, technical education was emphasized) and to promote the ideology of the state. By the 1990s, Bulgaria could boast 98 percent literacy.

Education during the communist era, however, was often rote and political. Following 1989, the school system had to be depoliticized, a difficult process owing to decades of ideologically driven textbooks and the fact that most teachers were members of the Party (the renamed Bulgarian Socialist Party). The system for a half-century had stressed doctrinaire learning with little creativity. In 1991 a Law on Public Education, which made education compulsory for all children between the ages of six and sixteen, sought to remove politics from the curriculum. Still, the transition was slow, as many textbooks continued to reflect the past. Many students in higher education had failed to develop critical computer and business management skills. This failure to create a revolution in education to match the one that occurred in 1989 with the fall of the Soviet bloc meant that the shift from communism to capitalism faced as much an educational barrier as a capital one. Nevertheless, significant progress, especially in the area of computers, has taken place in the past decade, leading to an increasing number of high-tech jobs flowing to the country.

Like education, the quality of health care also improved dramatically in the twentieth century. Life expectancy increased as the number of available health practitioners grew. However, the mortality rate was still high (nearly twice that found in Western Europe), especially in the villages, a reflection of the spotty nature of health care delivery. Many in the villages, in fact, continued to rely on herbalists and healing mineral springs as they had done for centuries. Bulgarians also had a high rate of stroke, attributable to smoking (Bulgaria has one of the highest rates of tobacco usage in the world) and alcohol (the average Bulgarian consumes over seven liters of alcohol per month, and that rate continued to grow throughout the 1980s and 1990s), as well as a high consumption of animal fats and sugars. Another contributing factor to the higher mortality rate was the polluted environment. Pollution will be a legacy of communism for decades to come, and it has contributed to severe respiratory problems for many. The communist economic system was unconcerned about the environmental toll of rapid industrialization. Cities were dirty. Toxic wastes were dumped into the air, water, and soil. Many of the country's forests are either dying or have been irreparably harmed. Factories had few, if any, antipollution devices. In fact, the toll from the disregard for environmental safety may never fully be known (although it was estimated that over one-third of the population in the 1990s had health problems related to environmental pollution).

It is estimated that by 2020 Bulgaria will have one of the highest median age populations in the world. In 2000 it already had the seventh highest percentage of elderly population, while having the second lowest birthrate and lowest fertility rate, according to *The Economist*. This will create significant additional pressures upon an economy that will have to provide for this aging demographic.

HISTORY

Like many, if not most, of the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe, the Bulgarians are often overlooked in histories published in the West. This is often due to a twofold problem: limited written source material from much of Bulgaria's past, certainly prior to the eighteenth century, and the fact that much of what has been written has not been in Western languages. Nevertheless, despite certain limitations, such as the need to rely on chronicles that are often notoriously myopic for much of Bulgaria's earliest history, much is known about Bulgaria's rich past, and it is clear that it is integrally entwined with its present.

The Balkan region witnessed habitation as early as the Stone Age (ca. 700,000 B.C.E.). Valleys were used for cultivation, and by the time of the Bronze Age (3500–1000 B.C.E.), during the so-called Thracian period, the region moved beyond isolated communities to a greater sense of integration. For nearly a millennium, despite periods of disruption from invaders, the Thracians were a creative and unifying force in the lands within the present geographical boundaries of Bulgaria. Although Thracian civilization, which experienced its peak in the sixth century B.C.E., never rose to the level of that of neighboring Greece and Macedonia, the Thracian language, part of the Indo-European family of languages, continued to be spoken long after the power of Thracian civilization was eclipsed by the Greeks and the Romans.

During the reigns of Philip II of Macedon and his son Alexander (the Great), in the fourth century B.C.E., the region fell under Greek rule in the form of the Macedonian Empire. Greek colonies also could be found along the Black Sea coast. However, direct Greek control over the territory was relatively short-lived; after Alexander's death, the Macedonian Empire declined, and a new Thracian kingdom was established in the third century B.C.E.

During the first century C.E., the Romans began to push toward the Danube River, building roads for troops and trade. One important crossroads was in an area near present-day Sofia. About that time, the Goths began to weaken the fringes of the Roman Empire, and Christianity made its first inroads into the region.

Beginning in the third century, barbarian raids began to take their toll on Roman holdings in the Balkans, causing disruption in trade and dislocation in some of the more populated regions. The division of the Roman Empire into two parts in 395 for the moment stabilized the situation, with the establishment of the Eastern Roman Empire, which later came to be called the Byzantine Empire. On the other hand, wars conducted by Constantinople depleted the empire's resources, forcing higher taxes on the peasants, which only caused the latter to flee to the mountains to escape. Ironically therefore, defense of the empire (as when Justinian, for example, constructed a series of fortresses along the Danube to keep out the barbarians) in the end only served to weaken the empire in the Balkans, thereby opening the door to further incursions.

Of the various invaders of the Bulgarian lands in the sixth and seventh centuries, it was the Slavs and the Bulgarians who in the end had the greatest impact; most of the other invaders, from the Huns to the various groups of Goths, raided the countryside but had little permanent influence beyond the temporary devastation they caused.

The term "Bulgar" is derived from an old Turkic word signifying a people of a mixed nationality. The Bulgars were a nomadic people of Turkic origin originally from the area near the Sea of Azov. According to some legends, they were descended from Attila the Hun. By the 630s, a loose federation of Bulgar tribes had been established. In the late 600s, led by their khan (prince), Asparuh, the Bulgars crossed the Danube, possibly due to pressure from another steppe people, the Khazars, and occupied what is today's modern Bulgaria. In 681, the date generally held to be the beginning of Bulgarian history, the Byzantine emperor, Constantine V, was forced to sign a treaty establishing a Bulgarian state (the First Bulgarian Empire) under Asparuh with its capital at Pliska, near the present city of Shumen.

The area that now fell under the control of the Bulgars was already occupied by a number of peoples, including the Slavs. The origins of the Slavs have long been a matter of historical debate. They probably originated in the region of the Ukraine, and by the mid-500s they had migrated into northern Bulgaria. Within another half-century, large-scale settlements, whose population spoke an old form of today's Bulgarian language, had begun to form. Along with the Avars, another group that had moved south of the Danube, they presented a military challenge to Constantinople. Although the Byzantine Empire failed to collapse in the face of the attacks from the north, the warfare weakened the state, thus making it easier and more inviting for the Bulgars to expand their holdings; these wars also led to the weakening of the Avars in the 630s, which eventually led to Slavic dominance in the region.

With the entrance of the Bulgars into the lands south of the Danube, the interplay between the Bulgar leadership and the Slavic population began, which was to have an important effect upon the course of Bulgarian history. Although the Bulgars were the political leaders, they were not a numerous people, and thus in the end it was the culture of the Slavs, the majority population, that came to dominate the leadership and define the state. The other inhabitants of the land, the pre-Slavic peoples, had little impact on either the Slavs or the Bulgars.

THE FIRST AND SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRES

From 681 until 1018, the First Bulgarian Empire was a powerful state in Southeastern Europe, one that saw the state move from an identity that was not Slavic to one that was. Pliska was built on a plain, and at first the ruling Bulgars sought to keep their distance from the Slavs. They often built new towns rather than inhabit or build on the old. The Slavs, on the other hand, were a loosely structured, pastoral people. As long as they paid their tribute to the Bulgars, they were allowed to keep their customs. In fact, until the ninth century, writers (often from Constantinople) regularly distinguished between the two groups. Wars between the Bulgars and the Byzantines throughout the mid-700s, however, may have begun the process of bringing the Slavs and Bulgars closer together.

In 803 Krum, a warrior khan, came to the throne, and the Bulgars again found themselves at war with the Byzantine Empire, under the emperor Nicephorus, who captured and plundered the capital at Pliska. After his victory at Pliska, however, Nicephorus left his army in a vulnerable position in the mountains, allowing Krum's forces to attack the exposed Byzantine army; a massacre ensued in which Nicephorus was killed (his head became the khan's drinking cup), and his son was mortally wounded, dying after a few agonizing months. Although Krum himself was to perish three years later (814) on a new campaign aimed at seizing Constantinople, the power of the Bulgarian state was established.

In 852 Boris became khan. By the time of his coming to power, the Bulgarian khanate had departed from its past nomadic roots. With their military successes had come political stabilization (although civil wars to see who would become khan were a constant threat). Moreover, the Turkic elite had long since adopted the language of the Slavs. This Slavization of the Bulgars solidified the state internally. What was not solidified was the religious nature of the people.

Bulgaria was a land of religious plurality. Apart from native paganism, there were contacts with Roman Catholic areas in the West, as well as with the Eastern Orthodox Byzantine Empire. Khan Boris, realizing the need to bring religious unity to the kingdom, now turned to the Eastern rite in 864 (after briefly contemplating turning to Rome), and forcibly converted the population to Christianity. This momentous act not only shaped the religious and cultural future of the state, it created a Bulgarian people by symbolically uniting the inhabitants. Moreover, the Slavic-based language, Old Bulgarian, or Old Church Slavonic, used for the liturgy, gave a linguistic unity to the people that provided the basis for modern Bulgaria.

Boris became a devout Orthodox Christian. Although he built numerous churches, his basilica in Pliska was the grandest, said to be the size of a football field. He brought in translators and scholars, built monasteries, supported the work of architects and artisans, and, perhaps most importantly, replaced the Greek clergy and rite with a Slavonic clergy and a Slavonic rite. Boris even briefly abdicated his throne and retired to a monastery. When his son, Vladimir, reverted to paganism, however, even destroying the great basilica, Boris left the monastery, deposed and blinded his son, and convened a council at Preslav (near his monastery) to recognize his younger son, Simeon, in 893 as khan and Christianity as the religion of the state.

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church

Central to the lives of most people in Southeastern Europe, the Eastern Orthodox Church is a conservative faith that sees itself as the preserver of true Christianity. The very word "Orthodox" itself means true or right worship. Believers hold that the Orthodox Church preserves the true revelation of God to humankind. That revelation is based upon the books of the Old and the New Testaments and is expressed in the early doctrines of the church, most notably the words of the Nicene Creed.

The Nicene Creed and the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) are the cornerstones for the faithful. Jesus of Nazareth, as the son of God, is the redeemer and the hope for salvation. A true believer must read the Bible and, most importantly, accept the mysteries of faith (including the sacraments of baptism, communion, repentance, confession, and marriage). Of greatest significance is the Eucharist, which creates a fellowship in Christ for believers, just as Christ united with his disciples. For the Orthodox, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are of the same essence. The writings of the early church leaders and the work of the seven Ecumenical Councils (385–787) form the essence of Orthodox doctrine, by establishing the traditions that a Christian must follow.

Churches in the Orthodox world reflect the traditional nature of the faith and its adherents. Whether simple or ornate, large or small, churches are houses of God, and all are equal in that house. In the front of the church's interior is the iconostasis, a wall adorned with icons (holy images that depict important scenes in the life of Christ and of the saints) that are viewed as windows between heaven and earth. Along the wall is the royal door, through which the religious leader passes at key points in the service (as if moving from the earthly to the heavenly, again reflecting the mysteries so central to Orthodoxy).

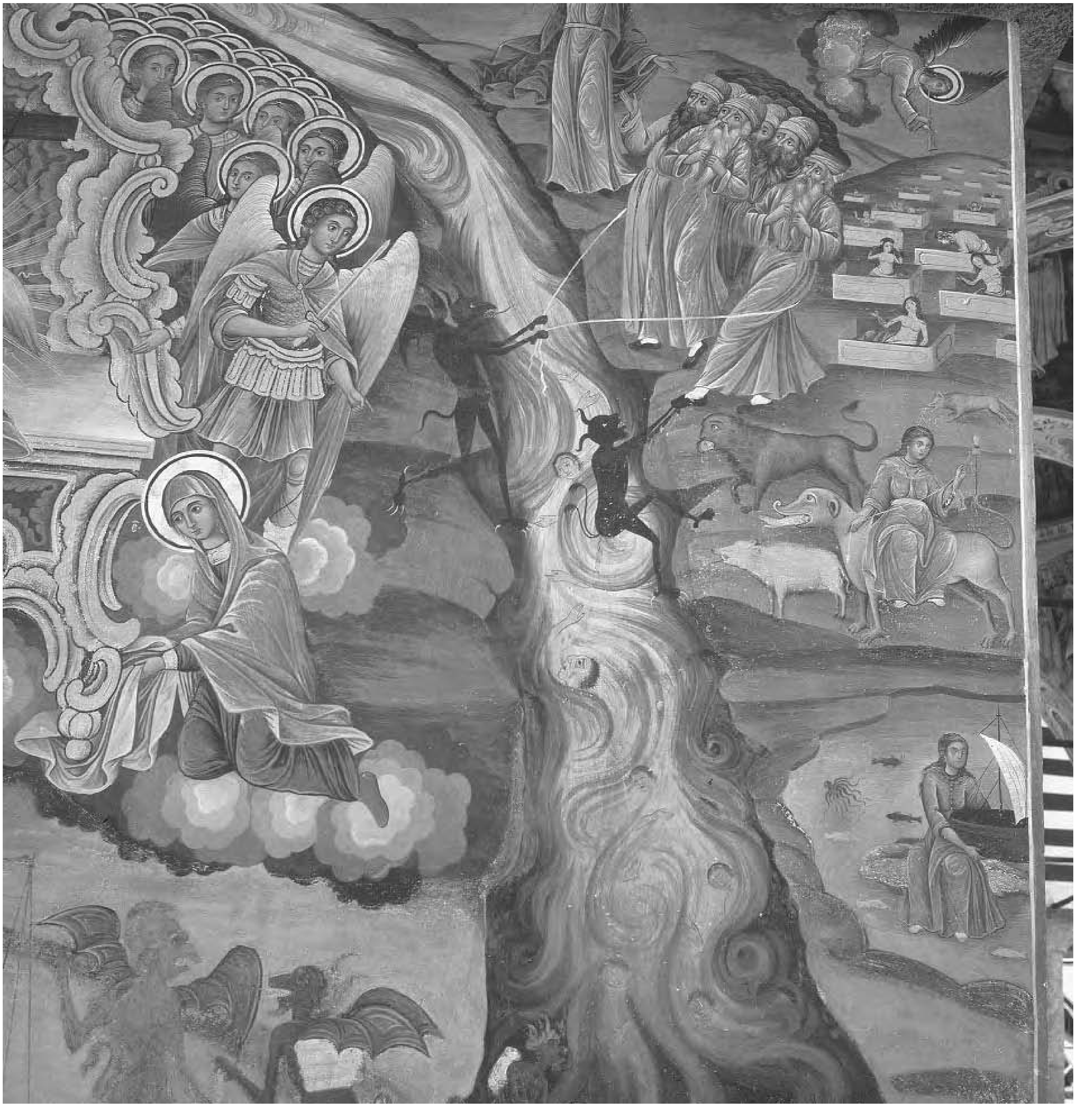
As Orthodoxy spread into the Balkans from Constantinople, rulers began to adopt it and convert the population. This process took place in Bulgaria in 864 under Khan Boris. An independent Bulgarian Patriarchate was established in 917 and recognized by Constantinople in 927. From its earliest days, the Bulgarian church became central to the lives of the people. After the destruction of the First Bulgarian Empire, the seat of the church moved to Ohrid (creating the Autocephalous Archbishopric of Ohrid). However, with the destruction of the Second Bulgarian Empire by the Turks in the late fourteenth century, the Bulgarian church's independence disappeared as the Ottomans placed Orthodox Christians under the jurisdiction of the patriarch in Constantinople. This resulted in the "Hellenization" of the Bulgarian Church in the eighteenth century and a struggle within the Church to break free of Greek influence.

Even during the long period of foreign domination, the Orthodox Church served as the preserver of much of Bulgarian culture. Orthodox monasteries, including those at Hilendar and Rila, became vital in the national reawakening of the nineteenth century; they had guarded and preserved the Bulgarian past. Monks played a critical role in the creation of "cell schools" that served as the genesis of the intellectual renaissance. In 1870 the Ottoman Empire restored the authority of the former Bulgarian Patriarchate under the title "Bulgarian Exarchate." However, the Greek Orthodox patriarch refused to accept the creation of an independent Bulgarian church. Following World War II, the Bulgarian Patriarchate was again officially recognized by the patriarch in Istanbul (Constantinople). In 1953 Cyril of Plovdiv was officially ordained as Bulgarian patriarch in the Aleksandar Nevski Church in Sofia.

Like other religious institutions in the communist world, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church suffered under the socialist regime, especially through the confiscation of church property. Following the fall of communism, the 1991 Bulgarian constitution recognized the Bulgarian Orthodox Church as the "traditional religion in Bulgaria."

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is governed by a Holy Synod made up of the patriarch (who also heads the diocese of Sofia) and the bishops of the other dioceses within the church. Over 85 percent of the Bulgarian population identify themselves as Orthodox

The symbol of Simeon's reign, the height of the First Bulgarian Empire, was the construction of a new capital at Preslav in eastern Bulgaria. The greatness of Preslav was fitting for the new ruler, who took the title of Tsar of the Bulgarians and Autocrat of the Romans (that is, Greeks associated with the Eastern Roman Empire) and sat on his throne in his purple robes. The city became a center of learning and culture, and out of Preslav Greek culture and Orthodoxy spread to other parts of Southeastern Europe. Simeon himself respected Greek culture and had numerous works of literature translated into Old Bulgarian. During his thirty-four year reign (893–927), Simeon the Great, as he came to be known, was a far different man from the kind his background (he had been



The Last Judgment [detail], located in the Church of the Assumption, Monastery of Rila. (Paul Almasy/Corbis)

in a monastery prior to his being chosen) would have foreshadowed.

Although Simeon had been schooled in Constantinople, much of his reign was dominated by conflict with the Byzantine Empire. His armies reached the Adriatic and Aegean seas, taking Albania, Macedonia, and Belgrade, and even attacking the great walls of Constantinople itself in 913. Although his forces could not take the great walled city of Byzantium, to give it its ancient name, his power led the emperor to recognize him as tsar, which connoted equality with the emperor himself. Moreover the emperor granted the head of the Bulgarian church the title of patriarch, again symbolizing power and distinction. Simeon's state also developed a structure and a ruling hierarchy, headed by the great landowners *(boiars),* who also served as his military commanders.

However, despite the achievements of the First Bulgarian Empire, its dominance proved to be fleeting. Like most states in Southeastern Europe, the Bulgarian Empire faced predators (Croatians, Serbs, Russians, Pechenegs, and others) on its borders, and Simeon's conquests had taxed the resources of the state. In 969, for example, the Kievan prince, Sviatoslav, took Preslav and made the tsar, Boris II, his prisoner. Moreover, internal economic, political, and religious weakness had set in. Boiars in the southwest even broke away, challenging the authority in the capital. The patriarch moved the seat of the church to Ohrid. And finally, the state was split by the Bogomil heresy.

Bogomilism was a religious and social movement that grew out of the question of good and evil. Bogomilism held that there was a dualism in the world. To Bogomils, the material and bodily world was evil, the spiritual world divine. To avoid evil, a believer had to avoid the material world as much as possible and instead work for social justice. The nobility and the clergy, however, were impediments to justice, since their interests required their protection of their material possessions. Thus the church and the state were seen by the Bogomils as both evil and tools of the devil. Accordingly, Bogomils rejected rituals, symbols, relics, and the sacraments. This heresy split the population, as the state now fought against its own people.

Whether the internal weakness brought on by the Bogomil movement alone would have destroyed the state is a matter of conjecture, but certainly it provided an inviting target for the Byzantine emperor, Basil II, who defeated the Bulgarian army near Thessaloniki in 1014. Basil's destruction of the Bulgarians was so complete (he blinded almost all of the 14,000 survivors, leaving only a few [one in one hundred] with one eye so that they could guide their comrades home) that he earned the title "the Bulgar Slayer." (Tsar Samuil was said to have died upon seeing the destruction of his army.) Within four years, the Byzantine Empire had reclaimed the Bulgarian territories, thereby bringing an end to the First Bulgarian Empire in 1018.

Although Constantinople had regained control of Bulgaria, the cost of administering a larger empire led to increased taxation of the peasantry and resulting unrest. Additionally, the Crusades mortally weakened Byzantium. In 1185 an uprising against the Byzantines, led by two aristocratic brothers, Asen and Petûr, led to the creation of a second Bulgarian state with its capital at Turnovo. From Turnovo, the Bulgarians resisted and defeated the Byzantines (which in turn weakened the Byzantine state to the point that it was seized by the forces of the West in the Fourth Crusade in 1204). Under John Asen II, "Tsar and Autocrat of all Bulgarians and Greeks," many of the lands Simeon had taken during the time of the First Bulgarian Empire were reconquered.

During the period of the resulting Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1396), which at times stretched from the Adriatic and Aegean seas to the Black Sea and the Dnieper River, Bulgaria was an important trade route to the east, and Turnovo became an important commercial center and a seat of the arts. Now, however, whereas the First Bulgarian Empire had been the dominant state in the Balkans in the tenth century, other states in the region, most notably the Serbian Empire, held a position of primacy. Moreover, numerous other states, from Hungary to the Latin coastal states, competed for trade. As a consequence, the power of the Second Bulgarian Empire was short-lived.

Internal squabbling and Tartar incursions from the east soon weakened the state. In the early 1300s a brief revival occurred under Mihail Shishman. Then seemingly constant warfare, especially with Serbia, cost Shishman his life and economically crippled the state. It was left vulnerable not only to Serbia, which, led by its great ruler Stefan Dušan, defeated Bulgaria in 1330 and made it a virtual vassal for the remainder of its existence, but more importantly to the growing power of the Ottoman Empire in the southeast.

Beginning in the 1360s, Ottoman armies advanced steadily in Southeastern Europe against the forces of the Byzantine Empire and the Balkan states. When the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander split Bulgaria between his two sons, Ivan Shishman (in Turnovo) and Ivan Stratsimir (in Vidin), it further weakened the state's ability to resist the Turkish invasion. In 1389 the Turks destroyed the army of the Serbs at Kosovo, leaving the final conquest of the Balkans in little doubt. Sofia had already fallen to the Ottomans in 1385. Eight years later Turnovo fell, despite a defense led in part by the patriarch himself. Finally, in 1396, Bayezid's army conquered Vidin in a campaign that saw the destruction of the last crusading army in European history (at Nicopolis). Bulgaria had ceased to exist as an independent state.

BULGARIA UNDER THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

For almost the next five centuries, Bulgaria was under the control of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans were the dominant military power in the fifteenth century. The empire's military prowess was exemplified by the conquest of Constantinople on 29 May 1453, an event that stunned Europe and is sometimes considered to mark the end of the Middle Ages. Although by the end of the 1500s the seeds of the eventual weakening and collapse of the Ottomans had already begun to sprout, its control and domination of Bulgaria, as with much of the Balkans, had a profound effect upon the Bulgarian lands and the people who inhabited them.

The old Bulgarian state structure was destroyed by the victorious Turks, and much of the nobility died. Even the separate Bulgarian church ceased to exist, as the Turks placed all the Orthodox peoples within their empire under the authority of the patriarch in Constantinople. The Ottoman Empire was in the beginning perhaps the most tolerant state in Europe, and the Christian inhabitants of the empire were seen as "people of the book" (as Jews and Christians were called, who, because they shared Abraham with Islam as the common father of their religions, were tolerated by their Muslim overlords). Nevertheless, Orthodox Christianity was now controlled by the Turks, through the office of the patriarchate in Constantinople. This loss of religious autonomy in many respects paralleled the destruction of Bulgaria's political independence.

The Ottoman conquest of Southeastern Europe was based upon a combination of factors: military innovation, talented sultans, and the weaknesses of their opponents.

After 1204, and the taking of Constantinople by the forces of the Fourth Crusade, the Byzantine Empire failed to recover, even after the Crusaders were driven out. In 1360 Murad I took the city of Adrianople, which essentially cut the Byzantine capital off from the Balkans. The conquest of Adrianople also gave the Turks a base for operations in Southeastern Europe. In 1371 the Turks defeated Bulgarian forces at the Maritsa River. At first, defeated princes were permitted to remain as long as they paid tribute to the Turks, though they had become, in effect, vassals of the Turkish sultan. By 1396, however, all pretensions of independence were gone.

From 1396 until the end of the nineteenth century, Bulgaria's fate was linked to the fate of the Ottomans, who, in 1453, moved their capital to the great city of Constantinople. Thus, to understand Bulgaria under the Turks, one has to also understand the nature of the Ottoman state itself.

The Ottoman Empire was a warrior state, whose aim was expansion both for itself and Islam. Muslims saw the world as being divided into two houses, that of the faithful (Sunni Islam) and that of war (nonbelievers). When they conquered a territory, however, the Turks did not force conversion of the population to Islam. Turkish forces entering the Balkans were generally tolerant of the indigenous population. A populace that did not convert in fact had benefits for the Ottomans, since non-Muslims paid additional taxes.

Beneath the ruling elite, all peasants, Muslim and non-Muslim, were the *reaya.* However, only the non-Muslim reaya were subject to the *devshirme,* the "child-tax," children taken from the village according to a quota. These children, whose ages ranged from eight to twenty, were then converted to Islam, divided by talent, and taken into the service of the sultan. Some became administrators; others became soldiers in the elite janissary corps, the infantry units that (along with the cavalry, the *sipahi,* who were rewarded for their service with grants of nonhereditary land [*timar*s]) were responsible for Ottoman success on the battlefield.

When the Turks first conquered a territory, a careful assessment of the land was made for the purposes of taxation and the granting of timars. Thus, toleration of the population was beneficial to the state; as long as taxes were paid and wealth flowed to the state's coffers, the ideal of harmony, one of the tenets of Turkish rule, could be maintained.

At first, although the Bulgarian lands were more closely administered than other parts of the empire (due to their close proximity to Constantinople [now Istanbul]), conditions were not harsh. Commerce continued with little disruption. The Turks were on the whole tolerant of their subject peoples, save for some restrictions on things such as church buildings. There was no attempt to convert the population to Islam or to impose Turkish culture upon the people. Taxes were not onerous. In other words, Turkish rule, at least for the moment, seemed at the worst to be benign.

Unfortunately, however, the Ottoman system was a hierarchical one, dependent upon the talents and whims of the sultan. Through the reign of Süleyman the Lawgiver (who was also known as Süleyman the Magnificent), who died in 1566, the sultans had proven to be excellent administrators and military commanders. But the system turned out to have flaws. Less able sultans were captivated by the vast wealth of the empire. In addition, in order to prevent the kind of palace intrigue that proved to be so devastating to other states, upon the death of a sultan, the oldest heir would assume the throne and execute his brothers (with a bow-string). This practice of fratricide was later changed to imprisonment (in what came to be known as the Cage), but what was seemingly more humane often turned out to have worse effects, when sultans took the throne after decades of imprisonment that had resulted in dementia. The early Ottoman rulers had been warrior kings; after Süleyman they ceased being warriors, and expansion, the key to Ottoman rule, turned into retreat.

Increased military costs for the janissaries, coupled with the need to maintain the lavish lifestyle of the palace, meant that once expansion ceased, taxes, which had, when the Turks first entered the Balkans, actually been reduced for many, now had to be raised. As the sultan became more and more immersed in the material pleasures of the palace, local officials, especially the janissaries, were in charge of collecting taxes. The opportunity for corruption was great. By the seventeenth century, the once vaunted and feared military units were rife with corruption.

This debilitation in the military paralleled an economic decline as well. As trade routes shifted following the "discovery" of the New World, the economy of the empire suffered. Trade that had previously run through the Balkans declined, putting further pressures on the state to raise taxes to cover the shortfall. And as the empire weakened, the Ottoman system of dividing the state administratively into *millets* (religious communities), with each religious community administered by its own hierarchy, meant that despite centuries of rule, the population had never developed an identification with Istanbul.

The millet was an institution unique to the Ottomans. With the collapse of the old ruling authorities after Ottoman conquest of a territory, the Turks organized local affairs through the millet, in which they identified a people not by geography but by religion. There was a Muslim millet, a Roman Catholic millet, an Armenian millet, and an Orthodox millet in the European lands occupied by the Turks. The head of the Orthodox millet was the patriarch in Constantinople. At first, two autocephalous churches were permitted to exist, one in Peć for the Serbs, and the other in Ohrid for the Bulgarians, but the patriarch over time abolished them. Over the years, the patriarch became the de facto leader of the Orthodox peoples, even responsible for the actions of his "flock." The patriarch was a part of the Ottoman governing structure, and his powers were wide, even including judicial matters in the Orthodox millet. However, the church (including the patriarch himself), like the Ottoman government it had come to serve, came to experience the same corruption that defined the Ottoman state itself. The office of the patriarch was bought through bribery, a corruption that led to higher taxes upon the peasantry to offset the costs of procuring the office.

Aside from the authority of the church in Istanbul, Bulgaria was at first considered to be part of a single administrative unit. Later it was subdivided into smaller units that varied in name over the centuries. For the average Bulgarian, however, day-to-day society continued along traditional lines, especially through the institution of the *zadruga* (the communal extended family that defined peasant life). Villages had their own organizational structure, and their leaders were often the intermediaries who dealt with the Ottomans. Although these village leaders had opportunities for corruption and did tend to live better lives than the average Bulgarian, it was they who provided leadership during the national revival of the 1800s.

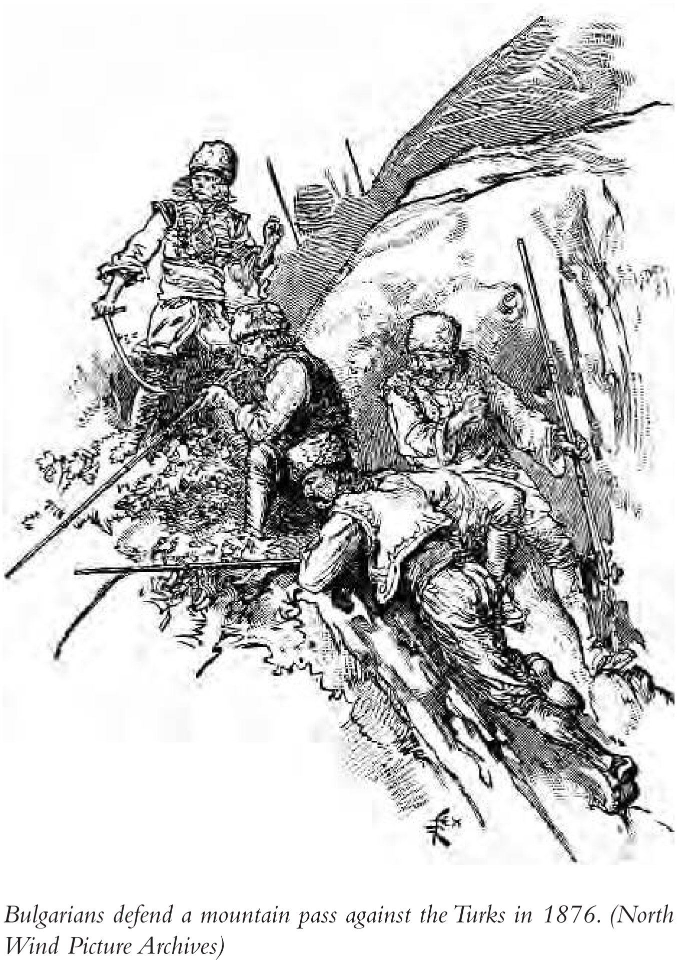
The peasants formed the lowest stratum of society, and in the remotest areas of Bulgaria they could live their lives with little contact with Ottoman authorities. Over the centuries, however, the lot of the Bulgarian peasant declined dramatically. At first, they could maintain their possessions, and taxes were actually reduced. But as the nonhereditary timars were converted to *chiftlik*s (private estates), taxes increased substantially. As Ottoman power receded and local authorities became the dominant everyday force in the region, conditions for the reaya declined even further. Many peasants took flight to the mountains. *Haiduk*s (bandits) became heroes in peasant folklore for resisting the authorities, but the realities of the lawlessness in the countryside caused by their activities was that villagers were just as likely to be the victims of haiduk activities as administrators or landowners.

Making matters even worse for Bulgarians was the fact that as the empire ceased expanding, the inability (and refusal) of the Ottomans to change and innovate to meet the reversals on the battlefield meant that while the outer reaches of the empire (Hungary, for example, during the seventeenth century) were under attack from Ottoman neighbors, the peasants in Bulgaria were under a different kind of assault: taxation and corruption.

During the eighteenth century, the Porte (the name often used for the Ottoman government) fought a series of wars with its great power neighbors, Russia and the Habsburg Empire. These conflicts weakened the Ottoman state and, in retrospect, doomed it, not only through the loss of territory, but by awakening the Balkan peoples. In 1774, after six years of warfare against the Russians, the Turks signed the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji, a devastating agreement that territorially opened the Black Sea to the Russians, but more importantly granted St. Petersburg the power to act as the protector and guarantor of the Christian peoples in the Balkans, as well as the right to open consulates in the region. Kuchuk Kainardji represented a vague, open-ended grant of power to Russia that, in part, led to a century of repeated wars between the Turks and the Russians. For many in Russia, the lure of becoming the emancipators of the Orthodox Christian population in Southeastern Europe was intoxicating. For others in the Balkans, the presence of Orthodox Russia as a great power presented the opportunity to gain that independence.

NATIONAL REAWAKENING

Bulgaria was one of the last states in the Balkans to obtain national independence. During the centuries of Ottoman occupation, because of the close proximity of Bulgaria to Istanbul, the Bulgarians felt a more pronounced Turkish presence. Partly this was due to the sizable number of Turks who had come to Bulgaria following the Ottoman destruction of the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1396. In addition, many Bulgarians converted to Islam over the years (coming to be known as Pomaks [helpers]). But for most Bulgarians, culturally there was no identification with the Turks. Although outwardly life went on as it had for centuries, the failure of the Turks to create any sense of identification among the majority of the population with the rulers in Istanbul meant that the Turkish capital was as foreign to the people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as it was in the fourteenth. Moreover, what was at first a mild occupation by the Turks had degenerated. The army, increasingly corrupt and beset by low morale and poor discipline, used the Bulgarian lands through which it passed as an opportunity to steal. The weak Ottoman administration left the countryside unprotected, both from the corruption inherent in the landowning chiftlik system, which caused many peasants to flee to the mountains, and from the armed bands *(kirdjalis),* which became a threat to the inhabitants north of the Balkan Mountains (as well as to the officials, who could not, or would not, eliminate them). The combination of the chiftlik system and the banditry caused severe economic



Bulgarians defend a mountain pass against the Turks in 1876. (North Wind Picture Archives) and social dislocation throughout the country, but especially within the grain-producing lowlands.

Although the economic and social problems that plagued the Bulgarian lands in the eighteenth century might have by themselves led to rebellion,what in many respects precipitated the reemergence of a Bulgarian national identity was the belief that the very core of the nation's cultural link to the past was under assault. In 1767 the archbishopric was abolished in the wake of scandals, and all ecclesiastical matters passed under the complete jurisdiction of the patriarch in Constantinople. In the process, Greek replaced Old Church Slavonic, or Old Bulgarian, as the language of the church, and the Greek language and Greek culture became dominant, while the Bulgarian church, which had preserved much of Bulgaria's culture, from the liturgy to folklore, lost its identity. It was this challenge to Bulgaria's cultural heritage that led to the national revival.

The process of rebirth in Bulgaria began at the Hilendar Monastery atop Mount Athos (the most important monastery in the Orthodox world). At Hilendar, a monk named Paisii wrote a history of the Bulgarian people entitled *Istoriia Slavianobulgarskaia* (A Slavonic-Bulgarian History) in 1762. Paisii's work reflected a hostility toward what he perceived to be Greek interference in the lives of the Bulgarians. He argued that Bulgaria had a rich and glorious past and that the Greeks were alien to the culture of the people. While his "history" was in many respects little more than a polemic against the Greeks, his defense of Bulgarian culture was a call to arms.

Paisii's protégé, Sofronii Vrachanski, the bishop of Vratsa, continued the attack upon Greek culture by promoting the use of the Bulgarian vernacular, printing his sermons in Bulgarian in Wallachia, the first of a number of such works that were to be published outside of Bulgaria. Histories, translations, and other works printed in the Bulgarian language now found their way into the land, and the linguistic and educational revivals were the first steps in gaining independence.

Another early figure in the movement to reawaken Bulgarian nationalism was Neofit Bozveli, who, after training at the Hilendar Monastery, returned to the town of Svishtov, where he organized a school. Instrumental in the publication of textbooks, by the 1840s he was banished to Mount Athos by Greek officials who viewed him as an agitator for an independent Bulgarian church.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the few schools that existed in Bulgaria were clustered around churches and monasteries and often narrowly focused on the needs of the church. Outside the church, school curriculum was usually taught in Greek or in Old Church Slavonic. Until the nineteenth century, little emphasis was placed on the real world, especially commerce. The Greek schools, however, did introduce students to the emerging ideas of nationalism in Europe.

By the early 1800s, a native educated elite began to emerge. Other students, educated abroad, returned with ideas of liberalism. However, perhaps the greatest influence on the early movement came from Russia, where Pan-Slavs (those who believed in the cultural unity of the Slavic peoples under Russian leadership) formed a Slavic Benevolent Society, which brought Bulgarians to Russia to study. There, Bulgarian students were exposed to the ideals of revolution as well as nationalism.

Ironically, as the beginnings of a quest for national independence began to take shape within the minds of some Bulgarians, conditions within Bulgaria were improving. Confronted by bandits (such as Pasvanoglu Osman Pasha, who, until his death in 1807, carved out a virtually independent domain in Vidin, as well as the kirdjalis, who terrorized the population in the countryside, and rebellious military units who defied their authority, the Ottomans embarked on needed reforms in the 1820s. Moreover, with the revolt in Greece in the 1820s, Greek influence in Ottoman affairs, especially in the economy, declined, leaving the door open for Bulgarian merchants to make greater inroads in the Ottoman economy. As Bulgaria became one of the principal suppliers of grain and manufactured goods for the Ottoman Empire, economic benefits were felt in many parts of the country. During the 1830s, Bulgarian cities served as centers for the manufacture of textiles, notably wool and linen products. A number of Bulgarians in turn became wealthy, and their newfound wealth spilled over into publishing, schools, and a reemphasis on culture. Their patronage of the arts, for example, led to the refurbishing of the Rila Monastery and new architectural designs.

Bulgarians also began to study or live abroad (notably in Bucharest and Odessa). This renewed emphasis on education abroad led to the creation of a strictly Bulgarian school in Gabrovo. Opened in 1835, thanks to the aid of wealthy merchants led by Vasili Aprilov, the school was a Bulgarian one in every respect, from the language of instruction to the textbooks. The Gabrovo school became the model for other such institutions, which began to open throughout the country.

But despite improvements in the economy and a growth in education, as well as Bulgaria's increasingly important position within the Ottoman Empire, Bulgarian nationalists continued to focus on the issue of the church, steadfastly opposing perceived Greek usurpation of culture. With the aid of the patriarch in Constantinople, Greek had become the language of both the church and the majority of schools in Bulgaria. Many who saw oppression at the hands of the Greeks probably made exaggerated claims, but in an atmosphere of charged nationalism, scapegoats and myths are inevitable byproducts of emotion. Certainly, the demand for a national church was a critical aspect of the national revival.

In 1860 Bulgarians living in Constantinople disavowed the authority of Greek prelates over the Bulgarian church, setting in motion a decade-long struggle to bring back a Bulgarian church after almost a century. The patriarch, Ioachim, at first offered linguistic concessions to the critics, but was immediately rebuffed. His successor, Gregory VI, offered to create an autonomous Bulgarian church, but only with a jurisdiction limited to the Bulgarian lands, thereby keeping it out of Macedonia. This too was rejected. Finally the Ottomans issued a *firman* (decree) on 11 March 1870 (against the wishes of the patriarch) establishing a Bulgarian Exarchate, which, although limited territorially at first, provided for the possibility of later expansion (with clear implications for Macedonia). The exarchate, finally established in 1872 even though the patriarch declared it to be a heresy, proved to be the living symbol of a growing national consciousness.

Bulgarians were generally divided politically between those who wanted reforms within the Ottoman governing system and others (many of whom lived in the Danubian Principalities [Romania]) who sought full independence. Beginning in the 1830s, a number of revolutions occurred. Although they failed badly, a few of the leaders, notably Georgi Rakovski, Khristo Botev, Vasil Levski, and Liuben Karavelov, in defeat became the legendary leaders of Bulgarian independence.

Levski, a monk, joined a paramilitary group of Bulgarian émigrés in Serbia (along with Rakovski) and helped establish the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee (BRCC), an organization devoted to fostering an armed insurrection in Bulgaria. Botev was educated in Odessa; while living in Romania, he published a number of newspapers, including one in collaboration with Karavelov, before joining the BRCC. Although Rakovski died in 1867 and Levski was hanged in 1873, the work of émigré radicals inspired a number of Bulgarians to believe the time was right for a rebellion. To spark that revolution they formed *cheti,* small groups whose aim was to attack the Ottomans and gain independence for Bulgaria. Unfortunately their first efforts failed, just as others had failed before.

In May 1876 a revolt broke out in central Bulgaria. Like other such uprisings, including one the year before, the Turks quickly put down the insurrection. However, in stopping the uprising, the Turks utilized irregular forces *(bashi-bazouks)* who exacted a harsh revenge on the local population for previous attacks upon Muslims. Their assaults came to be known as the Bulgarian Massacres, actions that inflamed the West and set the stage for Bulgaria to win its independence.

INDEPENDENCE

In 1875 a revolt in Bosnia-Hercegovina led to a call by Russian Pan-Slavists to aid their Christian Slavic brethren against the Turks. St. Petersburg was caught in the unenviable position of being drawn into war by a small but vocal minority while trying to avoid further chaos in the Balkans that might lead to a wider conflict.

Unable to withstand the calls by the Pan-Slavists to intervene in the Balkans, in April 1877 Russia went to war against the Turks yet again (the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878) and at first gained military success. By July, they had seized the Shipka Pass in central Bulgaria, and the door to the south temporarily appeared open. Turkish defenses, however, stiffened at Plevna, leading to months of intense fighting. By the time the Russian forces broke through, the war had become an issue for the great powers, not just the region; it was clear that Britain had no intention of allowing Russia to reach the sea (thus potentially threatening British interests in the eastern Mediterranean), and Britain made its feelings known. The Russian forces halted, and on 3 March 1878, St. Petersburg signed the Treaty of San Stefano with the Turks.

Among the numerous territorial provisions of the San Stefano treaty, an autonomous Bulgaria was to be created, with its borders stretching from the Danube River to the Aegean Sea. This "Big Bulgaria," as it came to be known, violated earlier pledges by Russia not to create a large client state. It also angered Serbia and Greece, which had claims to parts of the territory. And British fears of unfettered Russian access to the Mediterranean remained. Under pressure from numerous quarters, Russia now had to agree to meet in Berlin to revise the territorial provisions of San Stefano.

In June 1878 the Congress of Berlin convened. San Stefano Bulgaria was now divided into three parts: an autonomous Bulgarian state north of the Balkan Mountains; Eastern Rumelia, between the Rhodope and Balkan ranges, as a semiautonomous territory under Ottoman jurisdiction; and Macedonia and Thrace, which were returned to Ottoman control. While this division satisfied the desires of the Western powers to control both the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the perceived designs of Russia in Southeastern Europe, the treaty was a bitter disappointment for Bulgarian nationalists who refused to accept the new territorial boundaries.

Meanwhile, Bulgaria had attained autonomy, but not by the actions of any one internal political group, which meant that no national leadership had emerged to lead a successful revolt. Rather, those who had long run local affairs found themselves the national leaders by default. Moreover, Russia, which was, according to the Berlin treaty, granted the right to occupy Bulgaria for up to nine months, was made responsible for the formation of a new national government. Prince A. M. Dondukov-Korsakov, the Russian commissioner, now drew up a constitution; after it had been examined in St. Petersburg, it became the framework for the delegates who met in Turnovo in February 1879 to finalize a new government.

The Turnovo constitution called for the creation of a strong unicameral legislature (the Subranie), which was to be elected by universal manhood suffrage. Although the initial ruler was to be chosen by the great powers, special assemblies would have the power to confirm the ruler and amend the constitution. The document centralized power, but also granted significant powers to local areas, a recognition of the long tradition of local authority in the country.

Alexander of Battenberg, a twenty-two-year-old prince from Hesse in Germany (who was also related to both the royal houses of Russia and Great Britain), was selected as the new prince. Although a capable man, Alexander found himself suddenly enmeshed in both Bulgarian and great power politics, neither of which he was prepared to address. The latter proved to be the most troublesome, since the Russians, having failed to create a client state at San Stefano, now looked to maintain their influence in Bulgaria through a loyal Bulgarian army. All officers above the rank of captain, in fact, were of Russian origin. In 1881, with the assassination of the Russian tsar Alexander II, Alexander III came to the throne determined to exert influence in Bulgaria, which he believed owed loyalty to him and his government. This belief naturally irked many in Bulgaria, including Alexander of

Battenberg, who, despite being a relative of Alexander III, was neither close to St. Petersburg nor prepared to surrender authority to it.

This quarrel between the two Alexanders rather quickly spilled over into the matter of Eastern Rumelia. Although the latter was returned to nominal Ottoman oversight in 1878, it was generally understood that union with Bulgaria was a certainty. Societies inside Eastern Rumelia immediately formed demanding unification. Russia at first countenanced such a move, since it was the first step in restoring what it had lost at Berlin when San Stefano Bulgaria was partitioned. Then Alexander III grew reluctant to support any movement that would bring acclaim to what he perceived as a less-than-grateful Bulgarian prince.

In September 1885 a revolt in Eastern Rumelia and calls for unification with Bulgaria placed Alexander of Battenberg in an awkward position. According to the Treaty of Berlin, unification would require great power approval, and Russia was certain to oppose the union. But Bulgarian nationalists demanded Alexander of Battenberg's support, which he gave. Alexander III now withdrew his officers from the country, thus making Bulgaria an inviting target for Serbia, which sought to use the situation, especially a weakened Bulgarian army, to gain land. In November 1885 Serbian prince Milan ordered an invasion of Bulgaria, believing victory would be swift. It was, but not as Milan envisioned. To the surprise of most, the invaders were defeated, and as a result, the powers recognized the personal union of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, that is, the joining of the two areas through the personage of the prince.

Despite the fact that this was supposed to be a personal union, Prince Alexander unified the assemblies of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia and began to rule one country. By now, Russia, which had hoped to be the promoter of unification, only to find itself at odds with a prince who received the credit, looked to end their problem with the prince by organizing a conspiracy to overthrow him.

In August 1886, a coup led by a conspiratorial group of officers forced Alexander of Battenberg to resign and leave the country. Despite Russian convictions that most Bulgarians were pro-Russian, however, the new government failed to gain support and was quickly removed by a countercoup led by Stephen Stambolov, a leading Liberal politician. Alexander of Battenberg was invited to return, but before doing so he erred. He wrote a letter to Alexander III, which, in effect, offered subservience to St. Petersburg. Resentful Bulgarian nationalists now forced him to abdicate for the second time, leaving Stambolov in charge of a regency to find a new prince.

Because of the precarious position in which Bulgaria found itself vis-à-vis Russia, finding a candidate willing to accept the throne was hardly a simple task. Finally, the special assembly called to name a prince offered the position to Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. He accepted, but becoming prince was one thing; ruling was quite another. Ferdinand had a throne but no great power support. He also had to contend with the powerful Stambolov, who until his resignation as prime minister in 1894 (and his subsequent assassination in 1895) was the most powerful figure in the country. Finally, Ferdinand had to deal with the matter of Macedonia, the territory that inflamed the passions of Bulgarian nationalists.

Ferdinand had some success. He was able by 1896 to reach a rapprochement with St. Petersburg and thus finally gain international recognition. But the resolution of that international problem was easy in relation to the Macedonian Question.

At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the great powers returned Macedonia to Ottoman authority, an action that angered both Macedonian nationalists, who hoped to create an independent state, and Bulgarians, who looked to regain the "Big Bulgaria" of the San Stefano treaty. Parts of Macedonia were claimed by Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia. Organizations within Macedonia (as well as outside) formed to support the various claims, organizations such as the Cyril and Methodius Society, formed by Bulgarians in 1884. It was the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), however, founded in Thessaloniki (Salonika) in 1893, which was to have the greatest impact on the region as well as on Bulgarian politics.

IMRO's membership was often split on the organization's objectives. Initially some supported incorporation within a larger South Slav federation. Others sought complete independence, launching a rebellion (the Ilinden Uprising) in August 1903, which, after some initial success, was put down by the Turks. Yet another group, called the Supremists (or the Macedonian External Organization), advocated annexation by Bulgaria. The Supremists had the support of the government in Sofia, and Bulgarian territory served as a base of operations for attacks against officials inside Macedonia. Violence was not, however, confined to Macedonia. Those who failed to back the goals of the Bulgarian and Macedonian nationalists became targets of IMRO and its supporters. Thus, no matter what progress Bulgaria seemed to make in the international arena, the danger of conflict, political or military, that surrounded the question of Macedonia and its relationship to Bulgaria was a millstone around the neck of the country, a situation that eventually led to disaster on multiple occasions.

Meanwhile, during the 1890s, thanks to its rapprochement with Russia, Bulgaria pursued a policy of modernization. Unfortunately, however, the expense of economic development fell heavily upon a peasantry little able to bear additional tax burdens. In the late 1890s poor harvests brought on by bad weather led to increased discontent in the countryside. Although the government met the demonstrators with violence, Ferdinand was forced to appoint a new ministry under Petko Karavelov to deal with the situation. Karavelov lowered the new taxes, but still the problems in the countryside had led to a new peasant movement, the formation of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU, or BZNS). Although the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union was organized by intellectuals rather than peasants, it was a popular movement that sought to raise the quality of life in rural areas. At its first national meeting in 1899, BANU's delegates called for increased education and reform of the tax system. By 1901, when it actually adopted the name Bulgarian Agrarian

Ferdinand I (1861–1948) in his chauffeur-driven Mercedes convertible, ca. 1910. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

National Union, it had become more political, and by 1908, led by Aleksandûr Stamboliiski, it had become the largest opposition party in the country. Although it was still a small voice in Bulgarian affairs, international events soon changed that.

In 1908 the annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina by Vienna, which a weak government in Istanbul was unable to prevent, led to the formal independence of Bulgaria. Ferdinand declared himself tsar of Bulgaria. He saw himself as the ruler of a state that had been deprived of its rightful lands (primarily Macedonia), a view that led to a disastrous policy of war.

Although the Young Turk revolt in the Ottoman Empire in 1908 hoped to revitalize the once proud state, the dismemberment of the Turkish state quickened. In 1912 Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia formed a Balkan League, an alliance fostered by St. Petersburg as a counterforce to Austria-Hungary in the wake of Vienna's annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. St. Petersburg, however, did not foresee the Balkan League as an aggressive alliance; that was a miscalculation. In October 1912 League armies attacked the Turks and quickly drove them back. Bulgarian troops even reached the outskirts of Istanbul before the parties reached a cessation of hostilities. At the London Conference in May 1913, Istanbul relinquished most of its remaining Ottoman possessions in Europe, including Macedonia, which was divided between the Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians.

Still, Bulgaria felt slighted by the territorial provisions of the Treaty of London. On the night of 29–30 June 1913, only a month after the signing of the treaty, Bulgaria attacked into Macedonia in a disastrous attempt to gain what it claimed as rightfully Bulgarian land. Not only did Sofia's former Balkan League allies counterattack, but Bulgaria also faced Romanian and Turkish troops. On 13 August 1913, Bulgaria was forced to sign the Treaty of Bucharest, losing most of its Macedonian lands to its former partners, as well as the rich agricultural land of the southern Dobrudja to Romania. Bulgaria was now isolated in the region as well as humiliated.

WORLD WAR I AND INTERWAR BULGARIA

As World War I broke out in Europe in the late summer of 1914, Bulgaria found itself increasingly drawn toward the Central Powers, led by Germany. In part this was due to its failure in the Second Balkan War. Equally important, the Entente, specifically its members Britain and France, had courted Serbia and Greece, the former because of its struggle against the Habsburg monarchy, the latter due to British concerns for the Mediterranean. Bulgaria, defeated by both Serbia and Greece in 1913, did not offer the Western allies the same advantages and might even threaten the Entente's position in Belgrade and Athens. By 1915, however, Britain, sensing the danger that prolonged war against the Ottoman Empire might create in the eastern Mediterranean, reversed its policy and began to court Sofia with offers of land in Macedonia (even telling Serbia to abandon some of its Macedonian territory so as to preclude the entrance of Bulgaria on the side of the Central Powers).

Britain's change in policy was futile. On 6 September 1915, Bulgaria signed a series of agreements with Berlin, which called for a Bulgarian attack on Serbia within thirty days. The Central Powers had decided to eliminate the Serbian front immediately, and Bulgarian military intervention in the rear would ensure victory. Seeing this move, the Entente countered by opening a front (the Salonika Front) in Greece that was intended to protect Serbia's southern flank; their efforts failed. Although Bulgarian actions in Macedonia were not crucial in the defeat of Serbia, they successfully kept the British and French from aiding their Balkan ally. Bulgaria had its land in Macedonia, and for the next three years the war in the south became a stalemate along the Salonika Front.

In 1916 Bulgaria turned its attention to the northeast. In August Romania entered the war on the side of the Entente with promises of territory (at Hungary's expense). While the initial Romanian attacks into Transylvania went well, German troops soon bolstered the forces of their Austro-Hungarian allies and drove the Romanians back. Bucharest had miscalculated by sending most of its troops against the Habsburg armies, leaving Romania's southern border exposed. On 2 September 1916, Bulgarian troops moved into the Dobrudja, pinching the Romanian army and forcing the abandonment of Bucharest.

Bulgaria had by 1916 forgotten the defeat of 1913. Territories lost had become territories regained. But the euphoria of victory proved to be fleeting, as the war ground on, weakening all parties. In the summer of 1918, Bulgarian defenses broke along the Salonika Front. As the Bulgarian armies retreated, troops mutinied at the headquarters in Kiustendil in the village of Radomir (near Sofia). The rebels demanded an end to the war, the release of political prisoners (including the Agrarian leaders Aleksandûr Stamboliiski and Raiko Daskalov), and punishment for those who had been responsible for the war.

On 27 September, Daskalov declared himself the commander of a new republic and marched toward Sofia. Although the government succeeded in defeating the insurgents, it was clear that Bulgaria had to withdraw from the war. On 29 September 1918, Bulgaria signed an armistice in Thessaloniki (Salonika); four days later, on 3 October, Ferdinand abdicated and left the country.

Bulgaria's defeat in World War I was the second military debacle to befall the country within five years. The Balkan Wars and World War I had resulted in the deaths of over 150,000 in only six years of fighting. This represented nearly 20 percent of the nation's male population between the ages of twenty and fifty. A comparable number of civilians also perished, due in large part to the outbreak of epidemics, notably the pandemic of flu that swept the globe after 1918. Thus, Bulgaria entered the postwar negotiations in a position of defeat and despair.

The Treaty of Neuilly, one of a series of treaties concluded between the victorious allies and the defeated Central Powers, was signed on 27 November 1919. In it, Bulgaria lost another 10 percent of its territory. But it was the geographic and economic significance of the loss that left the country bitter and politically divided throughout the interwar period. Not only was Sofia forced to cede strategic areas along the nation's borders, it lost important food-producing land in the southern Dobrudja, an area that had heretofore provided a significant portion of the country's agricultural harvest. This loss was compounded by the fact that during the war the nation had lost a significant portion of its livestock; it took decades to recover the breeding stock that had died. On top of the loss of territory, Bulgaria was, like its Central Power allies, forced to reduce its military and pay reparations to the victorious Allies.

All of the former Central Powers bridled at the conditions imposed by the peacemakers in Paris. For a nation that had fought two Balkan wars over territorial claims, the loss of additional land was a blow that was unacceptable, not only to nationalists but to the average Bulgarian as well. Nationalists now claimed that the number of "Bulgarians" living outside the boundary of the "homeland" numbered in the millions. These "foreign" Bulgarians (mostly Macedonians), they asserted, represented nearly one-third of all their countrymen and -women. To accept the provisions of Neuilly was anathema to any patriotic Bulgarian. Thus, revisionism, the desire to free themselves from the burdens imposed by Neuilly, and irredentism, the fixation on reclaiming territory that they believed wrongfully sat outside the true territorial boundaries of the country, drove Bulgarian nationalists even more passionately than before.

The most important issue for Bulgarian nationalists was what they perceived to be the continuing sore of Macedonia. Despite Sofia's claims to large portions of Macedonia, it held little more than 10 percent of the region, as compared with the 90 percent that was divided between Greece and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929). Exacerbating Bulgarian resentment over the already volatile Macedonian Question was the fact that Yugoslavia administered its Macedonian lands poorly, while the Greeks used the territory as a place to resettle Greeks displaced from Turkey in 1922, following Greece's disastrous war against the Turkish nationalist leader Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk).

The emotional draw of Macedonia, combined with the continued influence of IMRO upon Bulgarian politics (still, in many ways, in a manner disproportionate to their numbers within the general population), left Bulgaria, its politicians, and its citizens captive to an issue that could only serve to divert the nation from its real, immediate problems. Worse, intimidation aimed at keeping the Macedonian Question at the forefront of the nation's agenda poisoned Bulgarian politics and destroyed any chances for regional rapprochement. Few Bulgarians were willing to be seen as "soft" on Macedonia. IMRO's tactics ensured that Macedonia was on the lips of all. Even when IMRO engaged in terrorist activities that worked against the interest of the nation and destabilized the country and the region, Bulgaria's politicians failed for decades to crack down on the organization, thereby guaranteeing that instability would be the norm.

The history of interwar Bulgaria was thus marked by numerous changes in government but few solutions to its problems. The political parties, over forty of which obtained representation in the national assembly, were often little more than personal mouthpieces for leading political figures. Even the peasant party, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, failed to become a magnet for reform, as it too fell prey to IMRO and the nationalists.

In 1919 association with the military failure in World War I led to the discrediting of the prewar and wartime "bourgeois" parties. After the first postwar elections, a coalition government was formed by the peasant leader and agrarian idealist Aleksandûr Stamboliiski. Stamboliiski's plan, unlike the course pursued by some of his peasant party counterparts in Central and Southeastern Europe, was to reduce the power of the cities and what he believed to be their ahistorical trends, and return Bulgaria to its village roots. In some respects, this program paralleled that of the failed Populist movement in the United States, with its attempt to turn the clock back to a perceived idyllic past. To that end, Stamboliiski mobilized the party's paramilitary organization, the Orange Guard, to suppress a communist-led general strike. Named for the colors of the BANU, the Guard organized in the rural areas, and when the strike broke out, thousands converged on Sofia to combat the strikers. Having broken the workers' movement, Stamboliiski called for new elections, which saw his party gain additional seats in the Subranie. Although his party at first fell short of gaining an absolute majority in the parliament, he invalidated the elections of three rival delegates, thus giving him the numbers he needed.

Stamboliiski envisioned the creation of a "Green International" to reconfigure relations in the region. This federation of like-minded peasant parties would serve as a bulwark against Western capitalism and Soviet Bolshevism. Guided by this dream, Stamboliiski overlooked the reality of Bulgaria's domestic and international position. First, the king, Boris, saw his own powers being eroded by the charismatic peasant leader. Second, Sofia's neighbors, especially the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, had little desire (or even incentive) to follow Stamboliiski's lead. Finally, in seeking a restructuring of the situation in postwar Southeastern Europe, Stamboliiski knew he had to avoid pursuing the matter of Macedonia; that realization however, although correct, ignored the emotional attachment to Macedonia that was felt by many in the country, especially those in positions of leadership, and the single-minded determination of IMRO to assassinate anyone who dared to stand in the way of their sole purpose in life, the restoration of Macedonia. Thus, whatever progress Stamboliiski made in the international arena paled next to the personal danger he incurred.

Tsar Boris III (1894–1949) presiding at a national festival. (Library of Congress)

Stamboliiski's government was able to create a series of land, tax, and legal reforms that offered greater hope to the peasantry. In addition, he expanded educational opportunities to a nation that, despite the progress that had been made since the late 1800s, still failed to provide universal compulsory education. In the end, his reforms failed, not because they were not well intentioned, but because they fell victim to Stamboliiski's inability to deal with the Achilles' heel of irredentism.

Nationalist opposition to Stamboliiski and BANU grew in the early 1920s. In 1921 the minister of war was assassinated. Stamboliiski's opponents began to unite in a parliamentary bloc to oppose the government. The Orange Guard, which had become the paramilitary arm of the government, was unable to stem demonstrations by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization against BANU rule.

On 9 June 1923, a coup was initiated against the government. The coup was led by a shadowy clandestine organization of military officers known as the Military League *(Voenen Suiuz)*. Founded after World War I, the Military League had been ordered dissolved by Stamboliiski a year later; it quickly reorganized underground. The Treaty of Neuilly had required Bulgaria to cut the size of its military to 1,650 officers and 20,000 soldiers. The League thus initially was founded to preserve the camaraderie of the officer corps so as to be ready to defend the country against Bolshevik Russia. By 1922, it had joined the opposition coalition, the Constitutional Bloc. Although the exact details of the coup may never be entirely known (such as whether or not the conspirators had the tacit approval of Boris), the League quietly prepared to act, and when it struck, it did so with brutal force. Five days after the coup began, Stamboliiski died at the hands of the conspirators. He had been tortured before being beheaded and dismembered.

Although idealistic and demagogic, Stamboliiski had been a national leader. His conclusion that the fixation on Macedonia and the politics of the past could never serve a Bulgaria that had severe economic problems, a peasant agricultural base, and hostile neighbors wary of Bulgarian irredentism was at least pragmatic. With his death, perhaps Bulgaria's one chance to gain a measure of stability during the interwar period was lost.

As the coup of 9 June 1923 unfolded, a new government formed under the leadership of Aleksandûr Tsankov. Both the Peasant and Communist Parties were excluded from the new government and were repressed in a form of "white terror" (conservative attack) that targeted them for political reprisal. The Military League formed a special group to carry out assassinations of its political opponents.

A communist uprising in September 1923 was unable to rally the surviving remnants of the Stamboliiski regime or those who had been isolated by the Tsankov coalition. The uprising failed badly, giving Tsankov an anti-Bolshevik aura within many Western circles. The white terror that followed the aborted uprising witnessed a bloody suppression of the "Left" by the conservative forces that was reminiscent of the reprisals that followed the overthrow of the communist government of Béla Kun in Hungary in 1919. (Although suppressed and eventually outlawed in 1924, the Bulgarian Communist Party remained the strongest of the interwar communist parties in Southeastern Europe, often operating clandestinely through various "fronts.")

The wave of assassinations and political retribution following the events of June–September 1923 resulted in a period of political chaos in Bulgaria. And even though the fall of the Tsankov government in 1926 led to an easing of the internal repression, IMRO's actions abroad continued to leave the country isolated within the region. As the 1920s drew to a close, the disastrous combination of political atrophy, regional isolation, and the economic effects of lost territory and markets left Bulgaria in an even more weakened position as the Great Depression spread throughout Europe.

Following World War I, the economies of all Europe's states felt severe strains. The creation of new countries, territorial revisions and the resulting revisionism that sought to reclaim the land, massive debts, and the desire to isolate the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, all served to destabilize the already fragile Balkans. Trading patterns shifted, as past markets disappeared. Countries tried to protect their own economies by creating high tariff barriers against foreign competition. The onset of the Great Depression only worsened the already tenuous position of the Bulgarian economy.

For a country like Bulgaria, heavily dependent upon agricultural exports, the loss of foreign markets was particularly devastating. As exports of tobacco and other commodities plummeted, so too did faith in the government. On 9 May 1934, a group of army officers (led by colonels, many of whom had been members of the Military League) and an ultranationalist secret society known as *Zveno* (Link), which had formed in 1927, initiated a coup against the government. Led by Colonel Damian Velchev, the coup succeeded in making Kimon Georgiev premier; despite their success in gaining power, however, the conspirators lacked both political experience and acumen. Espousing national regeneration was one thing; running the country was quite another. Their failure played right into the hands of the king.

In 1935 Boris suspended the constitution, which had been in place since 1879, thereby giving him virtually full power in the country. He outlawed political parties and created a legislature made up of approved deputies. Boris marginalized the influence of the Military League (many of whose members were antimonarchists) in the affairs of his government, and the organization quickly faded from influence. High-ranking appointments were mere tools of the king. He also placed the press and labor unions under government supervision. Perhaps the only positive step in his authoritarian regime was the suppression of IMRO, but that was hardly a sufficient answer to the nation's various maladies.

Although Boris ruled through a series of ministers until his death in 1943 at the age of forty-nine, his most significant decision was perhaps his pursuit of a pro-German foreign policy. Outwardly this seemed logical. Boris was pursuing a rightist agenda, like many countries in the region, and fascist Italy and Nazi Germany seemed to be models to emulate. More importantly, during the mid-1930s, Germany had stepped up its purchases of Bulgarian goods, thus tying Sofia more and more to the dictates of Berlin. Finally, Germany seemed to be the most powerful state in Europe, able to advance its agenda and destroy its opponents. Sensing this, Bulgaria's neighbors, Romania, Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, formed a regional Balkan Pact to guarantee the boundaries of 1919. Bulgaria's isolation within Southeastern Europe made it obvious that being the ally of Germany offered benefits to Bulgaria, notably the return of land.

Boris's courtship of Berlin in 1940 proved fruitful, as Bulgaria was rewarded with the return of the southern Dobrudja (from Romania) in the Vienna Award. On the other hand, although German-Bulgarian diplomacy had reaped a territorial dividend, German operations against Greece in 1941 meant that Bulgaria would be drawn further into the war.

In March 1941 the head of Boris's puppet government, Bogdan Filov, signed the Tripartite Pact, thereby formally allying Bulgaria with Germany and Italy. As the German Wehrmacht entered Greece through the territory of its Bulgarian ally, Bulgarian troops deployed along the Turkish border so as to protect German operations on their left flank. Hitler, in turn, presented Boris with the portion of Macedonia that had been under Yugoslav control as well as Greek lands in western Thrace. For the moment, Bulgaria, as it had in 1915–1916, had obtained almost everything it had sought in the past. Boris was hailed by his propaganda organs as the unifier of the state. But success was fleeting.

Boris lobbied with Hitler to keep Bulgarian troops out of military operations in the Soviet Union. Past ties with Russia, he argued, were too strong. Despite his pleas, however, although Bulgarian troops did not enter Soviet territory, he had no choice but to join the Anti-Comintern Pact, the alliance aimed against the USSR. On 18 December 1941, Boris further blundered by declaring war against both Great Britain and the United States. Thus, while German troops were being halted in the snow outside Moscow, Bulgaria had declared war against two great powers and allied itself with Germany against a third, the Soviet Union.

To his credit, despite his alliance with Nazi Germany, Boris was able to find a way to send Bulgaria's Jewish population (which numbered almost 50,000) to rural areas in the country rather than deport them to the death camps. Although they lost their homes and possessions, Bulgaria's Jews were able to avoid the fate that befell so many others before war's end.

After meeting with Hitler on 14–15 August 1943 to discuss strategy, Boris returned home. Within days of his return, he fell ill, and he died shortly thereafter. A regency was quickly created for his son Simeon, who was six at the time of his father's death. For the moment, the cabinet remained steadfast in its support for Germany, but that was soon to change.

In early 1944 Allied bombing raids began to strike Sofia from air bases in Italy, causing a sizable portion of the population to flee and causing significant damage to the city. Although the cabinet continued to voice support for the Germans, Bulgarian leaders, like their counterparts in Romania (another German ally), now began to look for a way to avoid the inevitable. Bulgarian diplomats opened talks with the Allies, even offering to withdraw from the lands it had retaken. But the efforts were futile. On 5 September 1944, the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria. Four days later, a coup organized by the Fatherland Front, a coalition made up of the Bulgarian Communist Party, splinter groups of the Agrarian Union and the Social Democrats, Independents, and Zveno (a group of intellectuals and army officers), succeeded in toppling the government. Bulgaria's flirtation with Nazism had come to an end; its encounter with Marxist-Leninist Stalinism had just begun.

COMMUNISM AND POSTCOMMUNISM

Although the communists were never as large a party as the postwar propaganda claimed, the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) had advantages over their partners in the Fatherland Front. Of greatest help was the presence of the Soviet Red Army, which gave them cover and support. The communists also successfully marginalized their partners early; immediately following the takeover on 9 September, they began to use the police apparatus of the Interior Ministry to arrest, try, and execute political opponents under the guise of accusations that they were war criminals. These attacks upon the political opposition fractured the tenuous unity of the Fatherland Front, and an anticommunist movement now coalesced around Nikola Petkov, a leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union. As a counterforce to the communist program, Petkov's popularity forced BCP temporarily to ease their crackdown. But behind the scenes, the communists continued to consolidate their power.

In 1946 a plebiscite was held that called for the creation of a republic. In elections in October, the Fatherland Front, dominated by BCP, won over 70 percent of the vote. Despite legitimate questions whether the vote count was accurate, and whether Petkov would have succeeded in truly free elections, Petkov had become the lightning rod for the anticommunists and the enemy of BCP. His fate, though, was sealed as much by events in the West as by the situation in Bulgaria. The day after the United States ratified the peace treaty formally ending the war against Bulgaria (1947), Petkov was arrested; communist officials no longer had to be cautious with political foes once the ink was dry on the treaty. In September 1947 he was hanged. Other opposition politicians were either arrested or fled abroad.

Clearly the West had written off Bulgaria (as well as much of Eastern Europe). In 1944 Winston Churchill had negotiated the so-called Percentages Agreement with Stalin, whereby the USSR was to play the preponderant role in postwar Bulgaria. By 1947, the communists were prepared to take 100 percent. In December 1947 a draft constitution, patterned after the Soviet model, formally codified the reality.

Georgi Dimitrov, the prime minister (and secretary general of BCP), who had returned to Bulgaria from the USSR, had been the principal mover behind the fall of the monarchy and the institution of the communist regime. Dimitrov now acted quickly to put in place a socialist agenda, nationalizing private property, cracking down on the independence of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, closing Western schools, and setting up tribunals to punish political criminals. He also briefly explored the possibility of allying Bulgaria in a federation with Tito's Yugoslavia. Stalin, however, refused to countenance such a move, and Dimitrov, while conferring in Moscow with the Soviet leader before his death in July 1949, abandoned the plan.

With the death of Dimitrov and the break between Stalin and Tito, Bulgaria now was subjected to a new hunt for political enemies, that is, "Titoists." Anyone who had contacts with the Yugoslav leader or who had even remotely suggested pursuing a course not countenanced by Stalin was branded a traitor, a nationalist, or a deviationist. The most visible victim of the resulting reign of terror was Traicho Kostov, who had been in charge of economic affairs under Dimitrov. Because Kostov had advocated pursuing the national economic interests of Bulgaria rather than merely

Portrait of Georgi Dimitrov (1882–1949), Bulgarian communist leader instrumental in establishing communist rule in Bulgaria following World War II. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

supporting a Soviet-style program, he was denounced by Dimitrov prior to his death, tried in December 1949, and executed.

Leadership of Bulgaria now fell to Vulko Chervenkov, a relative of Dimitrov and a disciple of Stalin. Chervenkov immediately embarked on a political purge of the Party designed to cleanse it of those who had been "infected" by Kostov. Economically, he also pushed a rapid program of collectivization, much as Stalin had done. He also forced over 150,000 ethnic Turks out of Bulgaria, and the numbers would have been much greater had Turkey not closed the border. Although Chervenkov saw himself in the mold of the Soviet dictator, the would-be Stalin did not long survive the death (in 1953) of his mentor.

In 1954 Chervenkov, having allied himself with the wrong side in the power struggle that took place in Moscow after Stalin's death, was replaced as general secretary of the Party by Todor Zhivkov; two years later he yielded his post of prime minister as well to his longtime rival Anton Yugov. For the next five years, Zhivkov, a seemingly drab figure, consolidated his hold on the Party apparatus through the power of appointment. In 1961 he ousted Chervenkov from all positions of authority for his past errors and his "cult of personality." A year later, Zhivkov did the same to Yugov, charging him with a list of offenses ranging from incompetence to rudeness. For the next twenty-seven years, Todor Zhivkov was the face of the Bulgarian leadership.

In May 1971 Zhivkov promulgated a new constitution to replace the "Dimitrov Constitution" of 1947. In it, he made official the role of the Bulgarian Communist Party as the guiding spirit of the state and the Soviet Union as Bulgaria's inseparable friend. Moreover, despite encouraging economic growth, due in large measure to détente in the international arena and foreign investment, increasingly Bulgaria under Zhivkov tied its economic fortunes to the Soviet model and the Soviet trading system, Comecon. As a consequence, the nation fell further and further behind the West, and even some developing nations, economically and technologically. A stagnant economy produced heavy borrowing from the West but no real reform. Rather than dealing with the realities of a failed system, Zhivkov instead resorted to ethnic jingoism by renewing the attack upon the Turkish and Muslim minority; officials even charged that unless measures were taken the Turks would take over the country, due to their higher birthrate.

By the 1980s, the economy had not only stalled but was in severe decline. Even the Soviet Union could no longer be counted upon, as the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev (glasnost [openness] and perestroika [restructuring]) were generally ignored in Bulgaria. Frustration with conditions grew. Demonstrations began, demanding changes. Human rights and environmental groups chronicled the regime's abuses. And as the fissures in the Soviet bloc widened in 1989, leading to the collapse of communism in one country after another, Bulgaria's Party leaders, led by Zhivkov's foreign minister, Petûr Mladenov, came to believe that only the removal of the leader could save the Party. On 10 November 1989, Zhivkov resigned. In the final analysis, despite this shift in power, Zhivkov had been ousted by his former colleagues in the Party not so much because of what he was doing, but rather in an attempt to save their own political positions, even if their power could only survive in another form and by another name. The era of Soviet-imposed communism had come to an end. The often painful transition to a democracy, the reintegration of Bulgaria into the wider world community, and the creation of a civil society had begun.

The political stranglehold over the country by the communists had ended, but at first the change was little more than cosmetic. The Bulgarian Communist Party changed its name to the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and succeeded in winning a majority (albeit bare) in the June 1990 elections behind slogans calling for reforms and greater economic freedoms. Even though this was a multiparty election, the first in a half-century, it was the communists who, for the moment at least, had the political apparatus to deliver the vote.

Despite the victory of the BSP at the polls, demonstrations continued in the streets. The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), a coalition of opposition parties, formed and pressed demands for the "former" communists to resign. The Socialists responded by naming a UDF leader, Zheliu Zhelev, a former Communist who had become a popular symbol of the need for change due to his earlier opposition to the policies of Zhivkov, as president. This new coalition now set about to write a new constitution.

While Bulgarian political leaders looked to create a workable political structure, ethnic and economic problems continued. The past attacks by the Zhivkov regime on the country's ethnic Turkish and Gypsy populations remained sores. Moreover, when the government announced a program of economic austerity to deal with the nation's foreign debt, demonstrations took place demanding higher wages and guarantees of employment. A vicious cycle now had emerged. To correct the legacy of economic neglect and poor decisions, the government had to make hard choices that caused pain. When that pain was felt, demonstrations forced the government to increase wages and pledge to keep open unproductive enterprises, the latter one of the root causes of the economic malaise. This in turn resulted in higher inflation and the need for economic measures that required austerity and pain. Keeping open failed industrial complexes meant that resources were sapped and the overhauling of a system that in many ways had already died in the 1980s was delayed.

In 1991 parliamentary elections resulted in the defeat of the BSP, officially removing Bulgaria from communist control, but what replaced it failed to bring the stability and change that many in the country myopically thought would follow. Parliamentary democracy meant coalition governments with different constituencies and different demands. It also meant that governments could rise and fall quickly, thus lessening the chances for continuity and increasing the chances for inertia. This was quickly obvious in the rapid collapse of the first government, under Philip Dimitrov, by 1992. A second coalition under Liuben Berov likewise failed, and in elections in 1994 the Socialists returned to power.

The Socialists won in 1994 because UDF had failed to deliver improvements in living standards. The new prime minister, Zhan Videnov, was a disciple of Mikhail Gorbachev's belief in the need for restructuring. However, that required loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, monies Videnov was unable to procure because the international agencies demanded actions that would have required economic austerity to reduce the 100 plus percent inflation rate. To take such actions would have incurred the wrath of the population; the failure to do so, however, meant that conditions continued to deteriorate, thereby further incurring the wrath of the population.

By the mid-1990s, Bulgaria was in many respects a Third World nation economically. Real wages had declined, inflation had eroded the lifestyles of many, banks had collapsed and foreign loans and credits had failed to materialize (thus making capital difficult to obtain), and health care had declined. New elections now returned the UDF to power, as the political carousel continued to spin.

The new leader, Ivan Kostov, called for economic reforms designed to gain foreign aid and, more importantly, pave the way for admission into the European Union. To gain that admission required a better record on human rights. Overtures toward the Turkish minority proved to be a positive sign. While substantive steps were being taken on one human rights front, however, on another, namely freedom of the press, there was a regression. A new law limited freedom of speech in the name of protecting domestic tranquillity.

Almost a decade after the fall of Zhivkov, Bulgaria began to move ahead with the difficult matter of privatization and inefficient industries. Long overdue, the program succeeded in stemming the economic downhill spiral.

In 2001 new parliamentary elections were held. As elections neared, it appeared as if it would again be a struggle between the BSP and UDF. However, the former king, Simeon II, announced that he was heading a new political party, the Simeon National Movement (SNM), which provided an alternative for those disillusioned by the failures of the two principal parties. In June SNM won 50 percent of the seats in parliament, and Simeon was asked to become prime minister and form a government.

Made up of reformers, many of whom were educated in the Western capitalist environment, the new government cleverly allayed the fears of foreign investors by its pragmatic program of reform. And even though in November the country elected as president the BSP leader, Georgi Parvanov, who made it clear that he was going to ensure that the new parliament did not abandon Bulgaria's social commitments in favor of a rush to capitalism, Bulgaria had a new public face.

Symbolic of that new direction was Bulgaria's improved international standing. Despite tensions that are always a danger in the Balkans (Bulgaria, for example, was the first state to recognize Macedonian independence in 1992, but refused to admit the existence of a Macedonian language, insisting it was really Bulgarian), Bulgaria has avoided the inter-Balkan squabbles that so strained relations and resources in the past. Moreover, progress was made in gaining admission to the EU (European Union) and NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Bulgaria made a calculated move to improve relations with the United States by supporting American intervention in Iraq in 2002–2003. This support furthered the possibility of Washington moving bases from Western Europe to the Balkans so as to be closer to vital interests in the Middle East; such an action would provide an economic boost to the country as well as accelerate the chances for entrance into the EU and NATO.

Thus, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bulgaria, at least to outward appearances, seemed to have begun a process that in one way or another had eluded the country for centuries, namely full integration into the European and global communities.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Ironically, the most stable period in Bulgarian political history was the four decades of communist rule (1947–1989). This is not surprising, given the late emergence of an independent Bulgarian state in the late nineteenth century, a

Ivan Kostov, prime minister of Bulgaria (1997–2001). (Reuters/Corbis)

state formed after years of struggle against the Turks but with few developed political institutions that could serve as the foundation of a successful political state. Much of Bulgarian political history has been a search for political stability, a goal that remained elusive even at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

For centuries after the destruction of the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1396, the Ottoman Turks ruled the Bulgarian lands. Because of Bulgaria's close proximity to Constantinople, the Turks controlled the territory more closely than they did some of their more distant lands (although the Turks were content to leave many of the local regions relatively alone if the taxes were paid). The destruction of the past ruling elite left the country with few native leaders outside of the village. A native nobility did not exist, as it did in some of Bulgaria's neighbors. Village leaders certainly continued to run local affairs, much as they had before. But, for most Bulgarians, the political elite was often little more than the head of the *zadruga,* the extended family unit around which the lives of most Bulgarians revolved. The Turkish overlords were just that. Day-to-day life and politics remained local, and they were to remain that way for centuries.

The modern Bulgarian state did not emerge until the nineteenth century. A small elite group of wealthy Bulgarians and intellectuals, many of whom lived abroad, became the leaders of a movement that, in large part owing to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, brought a Bulgarian state into being.

In 1879 an assembly gathered in Turnovo and drew up a constitution that created a unicameral parliament (Subranie) with a German prince, Alexander of Battenberg, to serve as monarch. Although at first Alexander had the backing of St. Petersburg, he quickly lost favor with the Russian tsar, Alexander III, and in 1886 the prince was deposed by a faction of pro-Russian officers.

A new prince, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, accepted the throne in 1887, but the real power in Bulgaria was in the hands of Stefan Stambolov, who had headed a regency to find a successor to Alexander of Battenberg. Stambolov pushed a program of modernization, including an expansion in education internally, and an external program of making inroads in Macedonia with the eventual aim of incorporating it. His strong-armed policies however fell out of favor with many, especially the prince, and a year after he resigned (in 1894), he was assassinated by Macedonian revolutionaries.

With the death of Stambolov, Ferdinand was able to govern more directly. He successfully expanded the Bulgarian economy and education, and Bulgaria earned the praise of many, including the former U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt. However, his reign also saw an increase in foreign debt, political assassinations, and a devastating defeat in the Second Balkan War, which cost the country the valuable agricultural land of the southern Dobrudja (as well as the lives of over 60,000 Bulgarian soldiers combined in the two Balkan wars).

In 1915 Ferdinand and his prime minister, Vasil Radoslavov, entered into an agreement with Germany allying Bulgaria with the Central Powers in World War I. While initially Bulgaria regained lands lost in the Second Balkan War and occupied most of Macedonia, by 1918, the war had turned against the Bulgarians. Troops revolted, and Ferdinand and his new foreign minister, Aleksandûr Malinov, sought an armistice with the Entente, which was signed on 29 September. It was, however, too late to save the crown for Ferdinand, who abdicated in favor of his son Boris days later.

Politicians who had supported the wars that had so debilitated the country were discredited by 1918. This enabled the agrarian leader Aleksandûr Stamboliiski, the head of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU), to form a coalition government. Stamboliiski now pursued a program designed to support Bulgaria's peasants, pursue economic recovery, create a Green International to act as a counterforce to Western capitalism and Soviet Bolshevism, and promote regional stability. The latter however proved to be his undoing, since it required him to direct Bulgaria away from its obsession with Macedonia.

For Bulgarian politicians before and after World War I, Macedonia was their Achilles' heel, and IMRO (the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) the joker in the deck. Members of IMRO supported either full autonomy for Macedonia or its incorporation into the Bulgarian state. With Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria all holding claims to the region, the "Macedonian Question" was one of the most divisive issues in the southern Balkans. Its emotional appeal drowned out rational discussions. For IMRO and Bulgarian nationalists there could be no surrender on the issue. Stamboliiski's move to promote better regional relations with Bulgaria's neighbors meant that the Macedonian issue would not be pursued, and therefore Stamboliiski would be pursued, by IMRO and conservative factions within Bulgaria. For anyone who opposed IMRO, assassination was an omnipresent danger.

In June 1923 a coup, led by elements of IMRO and the army, the so-called Military League, bloodily overthrew Stamboliiski, who was tortured and dismembered. A new rightist government, headed by Aleksandûr Tsankov, initiated a wave of terror against its opponents. In 1926 Andrei Liapchev formed a new cabinet and pursued a more moderate policy, even granting new rights to opposition parties.

For a brief moment, Bulgarian politics seemed to stabilize. Although political assassinations on the part of IMRO continued, Liapchev was able to maintain his government for five years. However, by the early 1930s, with the economic downturn brought on by the onset of the Great Depression. Bulgaria was isolated in the region.

Through the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, Aleksandûr Stamboliiski (1879–1923) became the champion of peasant rights and the founder of the Green International, an organization of European peasant parties. A prime minister following World War I, he was assassinated following a coup in 1923. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

In 1931 Liapchev's coalition lost decisively in free elections. A new "People's Bloc," a broad-based coalition, took control of the government, but not the worsening situation in the country. On 19 May 1934, a political group known as Zveno (Link), formed by Dimo Kazasov, and the Military League (*Voenen Suiuz*), a clandestine group of disaffected army officers led by Damian Velchev, overthrew the government and formed a new one under the leadership of Kimon Georgiev. The new cabinet, called the Nineteenth of May Government, dissolved the Subranie and banned political parties. They even succeeded in disarming IMRO. Factional infighting, however, forced the resignation of Georgiev, thereby permitting the king, Boris, to rule with virtually no opposition.

Aleksandûr Stamboliiski

Born in the town of Slavovitsa in 1879, Aleksandûr Stamboliiski never forgot his peasant roots. Although Southeastern Europe's economy at the beginning of the twentieth century was based heavily on peasant agriculture, and peasant parties were important political movements in every country, no one came to represent the interests of peasants more visibly than Stamboliiski.

After studying agriculture in Germany, Stamboliiski returned to Bulgaria with a firm commitment to peasant rights. That belief in the peasant movement led to his creation of a Green International in 1920. Only an international organization of peasant parties, he believed, could ensure social justice and economic prosperity for the peasant class. Such an organization would be a bulwark against Bolshevism in the East and capitalism in the West. These forces were in his view antithetical to peasant welfare and traditions.

In 1903 Stamboliiski became the editor of *Agrarian Banner* (*Zemledelsko zname*), the party organ of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU [Bulgarian: BZNS]), and eventually rose to head the party. The Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, like other peasant parties, formed in the late nineteenth century (1899), calling for easy credit for peasants and an end to oppressive taxation. Stamboliiski saw the peasants not as a class but rather as a distinct occupational group. As time went on, peasant agrarian parties, including BANU, grew more political in their approach as commercialized agriculture disrupted traditional agrarian society. But, like other such political movements, the party had little power before World War I.

Stamboliiski was elected to the Bulgarian parliament (Subranie) in 1908. A vocal critic of his country's military actions in the Balkan Wars and again in World War I, he was imprisoned by King Ferdinand during the latter. Bulgaria's defeat in 1918 left the conservative parties discredited, and Stamboliiski rode the wave of disillusionment brought on by the country's defeat to become prime minister in 1919. He represented Bulgaria at the peace conference in Paris that formally ended World War I.

Concerned about the state of Bulgaria's economy, Stamboliiski worked for agricultural reform and the agrarian movement abroad. Land reform, education, and revision of the tax code that fell heavily on the peasants became the cornerstones of his activities. In addition, he promoted the idea of compulsory national labor service. What he failed to do, however, was to understand the power of the Bulgarian irredentist dream of regaining Macedonia. Despite three failed wars begun, in large measure, to reclaim Macedonian lands, the nationalistic appeal of a Macedonia incorporated into a greater Bulgaria was still alluring to many. Stamboliiski correctly realized that peace with his neighbors, especially with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (the future Yugoslavia), was essential for the country's future. This required international peace and thus a cessation in the activities of IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), which supported armed bands in the region and was a powerful political force in Bulgaria.

In 1923 a conspiratorial group composed of conservatives, the military, and members of IMRO organized a coup that overthrew Stamboliiski. After being tortured for days, the peasant leader was killed. With his death, the country reverted to a state of instability that was to define Bulgarian politics throughout the interwar period.

Boris named officials who would follow his dictates and do his bidding. He allowed elections in 1938, but they were almost scripted, as candidates were not even permitted to represent parties. The election gave him the appearance of allowing political discussion, but the reality was that Bulgaria was being run by the king's personal rule.

In the late 1930s Boris and Bulgaria drew closer to Nazi Germany. In February 1940 a new cabinet formed under the leadership of the pro-German professor Bogdan Filov. The move toward alliance with Germany offered the temptations of land, notably the southern Dobrudja, Thrace, and Macedonia. The former was restored to Bulgaria by the German-imposed Vienna Award. After German actions against Greece and Yugoslavia, Bulgarian troops occupied significant portions of the other two areas. By siding with Germany again, however, again above all because of the lure of resolving its territorial demands, Bulgaria had joined a conflict in which defeat would have a profound effect upon the nation's future.

By 1943, when Boris died unexpectedly at the age of forty-nine, German troops were in retreat in Russia, and the Allied landings in Italy opened the door to air attacks upon Sofia itself. Defeat was inevitable. So too was the political future of the nation, as the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria on 5 September 1944. The resulting Red Army invasion and occupation inaugurated over four decades of communist control of the nation.

Following the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 and, more importantly, *Das Kapital,* the first volume of which appeared in 1867, the ideas of Karl Marx spread from the industrial countries of Western Europe into the Balkans. In 1891 the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was founded, under the leadership of Dimitûr Blagoev. Blagoev was drawn to Marxism while studying in Russia. After his expulsion from Russia in 1885, he returned to Bulgaria and began his political activities. In 1903 he broke away from his own creation to form the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (BWSDP, the "Narrow Socialists") rather than compromise his "pure" Marxism by reaching out to the rural areas; such an action would, he believed, violate his dedication to the proletariat. This single-mindedness, strengthened in 1917 by the success of the Bolsheviks in Russia, even caused him to refuse to come to the aid of the agrarian government of Stamboliiski when it was overthrown by a rightist coup in 1923.

Given the peasant nature of Bulgaria before World War I, it is not surprising that the fledgling socialist party, based on the industrial working class, grew slowly, but by 1919, when it officially became the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), it had become a significant force in the Subranie. Its power, however, was short-lived. Following the violent overthrow of the Stamboliiski government, and the subsequent September uprising (organized by the communists), the Party was officially outlawed in April 1924. A number of the Party's leaders were killed, and many others either went underground or fled abroad. Although it attempted to reformulate itself under different names, it continued to operate clandestinely (especially after the banning of all political parties in 1934) and continued to take its directions from Moscow.

After World War I, the Bulgarian Communist Party joined the Comintern, the Third Communist International. The BCP, like other such movements, henceforth took its marching orders from Moscow. In the 1930s that meant fealty to the directives of Josef Stalin.

During the interwar period, the most prominent figure in the BCP was Georgi Dimitrov, who had been elected to the central committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party and became a member of parliament in 1913. Following the failure of the poorly organized workers' uprising of September 1923, which he had helped organize, he fled Bulgaria and eventually moved to Moscow in the mid-1930s, where he was elected the head of the Comintern. Although many foreign leaders suffered at the hand of Stalin during the purges of the late 1930s, Dimitrov succeeded in not only surviving but directing the Comintern's antifascist policies.

In August 1943 the Bulgarian Communist Party, led by Dimitrov (who had returned to Bulgaria), organized an underground coalition of antifascist parties, the Fatherland Front. On the night of 8–9 September 1944, the Fatherland Front conducted a coup that overthrew the government and installed a coalition cabinet composed of Communist, Agrarian, Social Democratic, and Zveno members.

With Bulgaria out of the war, the Fatherland Front gave the BCP the cover it needed for its political activities. BCP was highly organized and had the support of the occupying Soviet Red Army. BCP supervised political and economic activities in local areas under the direction of the new prime minister, Georgi Dimitrov. Despite the existence of an Allied Control Commission, made up of Soviet, American, and British representatives, Moscow, which had secretly negotiated the so-called Percentages Agreement with British prime minister Winston Churchill earlier that year (which granted the Soviet Union a preponderance of power and control in Bulgaria), watched as Dimitrov repressed political opposition with impunity. In early 1945 BCP forced the Fatherland Front to endorse the creation of a single list of candidates for the Subranie, thereby ensuring their electoral success. Meanwhile, working within the system for the moment, BCP placed its members in key positions in the government, while at the same time eliminating independent organizations and banning opposition parties. In elections in 1946, the communists won the majority of seats in the parliament.

In December 1947 the parliament issued a new constitution for Bulgaria, which simply codified the new political reality; the communist takeover was complete. By the following year, its coalition partners in the Fatherland Front had either been ousted, sworn loyalty to BCP, or merged with it. Now firmly in control, the Party embarked on the classic Stalinist program of industrialization, collectivization, central planning, and the creation of a new society. Along with that overturning of Bulgarian society and politics came terror and political purges.

The new constitution continued the unicameral national assembly, but it was little more than a body designed to endorse the actions of the Party. Modeled along the lines of the Soviet constitution, it guaranteed freedoms on paper (from speech and press to religion) but those liberties were mere words. Churches were placed under state control. Independent organizations were brought under Party control.

In 1949, following the death of Dimitrov, Vulko Chervenkov, who had joined the Party in 1919, became prime minister. Like other Stalinists in Eastern Europe, he ruled with an iron fist and a cult of personality. After the death of Stalin in 1953, Chervenkov eased the terror campaign in an attempt to maintain power, but he was forced to step down as Party general secretary in 1954. Two years later, he was forced to resign as prime minister. For the next five years, Chervenkov shared power with Anton Yugov, the new prime minister, and Todor Zhivkov.

In 1962 Zhivkov, an advocate of industrialization and collectivization, was able to oust his two rivals from the Party. He cleverly began to place his own followers in key positions, while purging those who might prove to be a counterforce to his program and position. By the middle of the decade, new restrictions had been placed upon the arts. In 1968 Bulgaria supported the Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia that ended that country's brief flirtation with a more liberal socialism. Firm internal control and support for Soviet policies abroad were the mainstays of BCP policy through the 1970s.

A new constitution was written in 1971, which defined the Party as the leading force in society. The liberties of the previous constitution were continued, but only as they applied to the interests of the nation. Almost all private property was abolished. A new State Council was created, now headed by Zhivkov after he resigned as prime minister, and the new council had broad powers over legislation.

Although the early 1970s saw an easing of international tensions (détente) and a rise in foreign investment, the Helsinki Accords of 1975 raised hopes that greater freedom would follow at home. Like the rest of the world, Bulgaria felt the pinch of rising energy costs after the oil embargo of 1973. Discontent in Bulgaria resulted in antigovernment demonstrations. Zhivkov responded with cosmetic reforms and demagoguery.

During the 1981 celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the first Bulgarian state, Zhivkov announced the rehabilitation of political foes and eased restrictions on the church. However, the Party also launched a renewed campaign against the ethnic Turkish minority. Early actions in the 1950s and 1970s had limited Turkish language instruction and closed schools. This new wave, which lasted until Zhivkov's last days in office, forced Turks to adopt Bulgarian names and even outlawed circumcision, as part of a full-fledged assault on Turkish Muslim culture. By 1989, hundreds of thousands of Turks had been forced from the country.

As cracks appeared in the Soviet empire in the 1980s, dissent grew, even within the Party. Some leaders looked to follow the program of glasnost and perestroika (openness and restructuring) advocated by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Zhivkov promised reforms, including decentralized planning, but there were few tangible moves to change the system. In a speech to the Party in October 1989, Zhivkov admitted that his plan to renew society and the economy had largely failed.

In 1989, throughout Eastern Europe, regimes fell, emboldening those in other countries to take to the streets. Pressure began to build on Zhivkov. A group, which included the prime minister, Georgi Atanasov, defense minister Dobri Dzhurov, and foreign minister Petûr Mladenov, received the support of the Party and of Moscow to move against Zhivkov. On 3 November 1989, a mass demonstration took place in Sofia. One week later, a plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee announced that Zhivkov had resigned. The Party had tried to save itself, but it was too late; communist control over Bulgaria was over, and a search for a new political stability had begun.

Following Zhivkov's ouster, the Bulgarian Communist Party changed its name to the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) in April 1990 in an attempt to preserve power. Mladenov, the foreign minister for the better part of two decades and the successor to Zhivkov as president from November 1989 until he was replaced in July 1990, was a disciple of perestroika. Such a program, BCP hoped, would reform the state within a socialist structure. (Hard-liners, however, gathered the remnants of the "true believers" in a new Party of the Working People; in June 1990 they retook the name BCP.)

By appearing to support democratization (the Party had renounced Marxism-Leninism at its Fourteenth Congress in January-February 1990), BSP had ended the communist monopoly on Bulgarian political life.

In April 1990 the Subranie ratified a new electoral law. Of the 400 seats in the National Assembly, half were to be elected directly, and the other half would be proportionally elected from the parties that obtained at least 4 percent of the vote. In June the first free elections in a half-century took place, with over a 90 percent turnout.

Despite abandoning the past communist program in favor of democratic pluralism, BSP was the first former communist party to succeed in winning in multiparty elections (with 211 seats). The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) finished second (144 seats), and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF, the "Turkish Party") received 23 seats. The once-powerful Bulgarian Agrarian National Union received only 16 seats.

BSP now moved to create reforms needed for foreign credits through the International Monetary Fund, but a coalition of opposition groups, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), refused to endorse the Socialist program. By the autumn of 1990, street demonstrations and strikes had led to the resignation of the prime minister, Andrei Lukanov, and the installation of the first noncommunist prime minister in over four decades. New elections were scheduled for the following year. In addition, the UDF leader Zheliu Zhelev succeeded Mladenov as president.

In October 1991, out of the 240 seats elected by proportional voting (following a new electoral law promulgated in September 1991), UDF won a narrow victory (110 seats) over the Socialists (106 seats), who were identified with a program of austerity. Led by the new prime minister, Filip Dimitrov, UDF had secured its victory only by forming a coalition with the MRF, representing the Turkish Muslim minority, which had won 24 seats. Genuine reform and change now appeared to be a distinct possibility. Zhivkov and other high-ranking members of the communist regime were put on trial. Zhivkov himself was sentenced to seven years in prison (although he only served four under house arrest before his sentence was commuted). But the new government, like its predecessor, failed to answer the myriad economic problems facing the nation, and by late 1992 Dimitrov fell from power as a new parliamentary coalition formed.

In December 1994 the Socialists returned to power, winning over half the seats (125) in the Subranie. Despite the lack of real economic progress, Bulgaria was a nation of firsts. Just as it had been the first to elect a communist government in multiparty elections and later to sentence former officials, now it was the first to return the former Communist Party, albeit with a different name, to power. For the next year there was relative political quiet. The new prime minister, Zhan Videnov, a critic of his Socialist colleagues' failures to reform the system, now pursued aid from the IMF and the World Bank. But in order to obtain such assistance, Bulgaria had to make choices that would alter social spending in order to bring down inflation, something a Socialist government could not do.

In 1996 the economy suffered a steep decline. Unrest grew, symbolized by the assassination of former prime minister Lukanov. Grain shortages, runaway inflation (over 300 percent), a steep decline in real wages and the gross domestic

Demonstration by opposition in Sofia, 4 January 1997. (Jacques Langevin/Corbis Sygma)

product, and street demonstrations undermined the government, and in April 1997, six months after the Socialists lost the presidency, the revolving door that was Bulgarian politics turned again. The Union of Democratic Forces formed a coalition and, led by Ivan Kostov, returned to power.

Only in 1996 did Bulgarian politicians begin a concerted effort to address the lack of reform that so crippled the country. Of greatest importance was the failure to develop a true program of privatization that would return land to farmers and revitalize the industrial sector by closing outdated plants and creating an entrepreneurial environment conducive to attracting investment. Equally significant was the stifling rate of inflation, which undermined chances for critical foreign investments and caused internal discontent.

By 1996, governments had risen and fallen at a bewildering pace, but little of substance had occurred. Victories were narrow, thus giving successive governments no real mandate for governing. Frustration grew while wages declined. Kostov was thus placed in a delicate position, but one that required action.

Kostov pushed through parliament laws cracking down on crime, encouraging foreign investment, and pushing the pace of privatization. He granted NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) the right to use Bulgarian airspace to fly missions against Serb positions during the 1999 crisis in Kosovo. He was criticized for his crackdown on the press, but inflation was brought under control, and productivity rose.

As elections scheduled for June 2001 neared, the country was still divided between UDF and BSP. Then a surprise occurred, with the announcement by the former king, Simeon II, that he had formed a political organization, the Simeon National Movement (SNM), which received the endorsement of the Turkish party. Other voters too were excited by a party that not only offered something new, but that, due to the presence of Simeon, created a sense of nostalgia. Kostov's shock therapy had admittedly improved the economy, but the pain felt by many naturally brought resentment. The BSP, while offering a safety net, had failed to make the necessary changes when it had been in power. Simeon promised improvements in living standards within three years.

On the first ballot, Simeon's party won half the seats in the Subranie; with the MRF, they held a clear majority. Simeon, the ex-king, became the new prime minister. By virtue of his past experience outside the country, Simeon was able to bolster foreign confidence in Bulgaria's ability to tackle its problems. Simeon also displayed a deft touch in foreign affairs, continuing Kostov's policies aimed at strengthening regional and European ties with the ultimate goal of gaining admission to both NATO and the European Union.

Despite this enhancement of its international position and achievement of a measure of internal stability, politics in Bulgaria remained volatile. Months after what seemed like a decisive victory by SNM, the BSP candidate for president, Georgi Parvanov, was elected, defeating the incumbent, who was a supporter of Simeon's program. This led to continued inertia, as the new president was in a position to veto bills that he and the Socialists believed moved the economy too fast. Although his votes could be overridden, Parvanov's position as president remained an indication that gridlock, which had hampered progress for a decade, was still not far from the surface in postcommunist Bulgaria.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Much of the history of Bulgaria is the story of the average Bulgarian. For hundreds of years, Ottoman domination of the Bulgarian lands dictated that national life should revolve around the village and the peasant. It was that world that preserved the culture of the people and led to a cultural life that was rich, deep, and diverse.

Culture is often viewed through a narrow definition of art (typically painting), music, and literature. In a society that was heavily peasant in nature and often isolated, that definition is too restrictive. It ignores characteristics unique to a people or to a region by relying on a single, often externally defined paradigm that overlooks internal dynamics. Moreover, it often paints that which does not conform to the model definition as "backward."

Cultural life in Bulgaria dates to the ancient Thracians. The Thracians were skilled at metallurgy, and their tombs, some of which continue to be unearthed, contained frescoes that exhibited characteristics reminiscent of their Greek contemporaries. Thracian contacts with the Greeks, Macedonians, and later the Romans led to a greater sophistication in the region, notably in terms of architectural styles that grew more elaborate and ornate (including mosaics, pillars, and murals). Tombs dating from the time of the Thracians and Romans contain remarkably preserved frescoes.

As the Slavic tribes penetrated Southeastern Europe, one might argue that artistic styles reverted to a more "primitive" state. Such a view, however, would ignore the quality of the woodwork (especially in architecture) and ceramics that were part of Slavic society. When the Bulgars migrated to the region from their ancestral lands, they brought the handicrafts so typical of a nomadic people. Then, as the Bulgarian kingdom took root, the culture of the Slavs and Bulgars merged, and the palaces of the rulers, especially at the new capital at Preslav, came to embody the power of the state.

Preslav was a city adorned with churches and palaces. Craftsmen—from wood-carvers to goldsmiths—worked within the walls of the city. They erected buildings that included unique stylized animals carved into the walls. Ceramic tiles were also distinctive features of the art in Preslav. The city's churches were equally distinctive, as beauty and the celebration of nature were always dominant themes in the Orthodox Christian world. The church was a place that brought comfort to the churchgoer, not merely through the words of the liturgy but also through the beauty of the art.

In many respects, Bulgarian culture was born with the country's conversion to Christianity by Khan Boris in 864. By unifying the people under a common faith, Boris quelled the possibility of further divisions among the two principal groups in the region (the Slavs and the Bulgars), and even more importantly, the common language chosen for the liturgy, Old Bulgarian, or Old Church Slavonic, united the people linguistically.

The Slavonic alphabet had been introduced into Southeastern Europe by the monks Cyril and Methodius during the second half of the ninth century. With its introduction, the Slavic-based language of the region remained distinct from the Greek despite the ties of the Bulgarian Church to Constantinople. In turn, the Bulgarian Church was autocephalous, that is, it maintained a quasi independence.

With the conferring of the title of patriarch upon the head of the Bulgarian church by the Byzantine emperor (owing, in large measure, to the emperor's recognition of the power of the Bulgarian tsar Simeon the Great, who ruled from 893 to 927), the center of Bulgarian culture was established. Bulgarian church and cultural centers came to thrive at Rila, Ohrid, and Preslav. This cultural self-realization sustained Bulgars, even after the destruction of the First Bulgarian Empire at the hands of the Byzantine emperor Basil II ("the Bulgar Slayer") in 1018. Without a sense of cultural distinctiveness, the preservation of a Bulgarian cultural and political identity would have been less successful.

When the Second Bulgarian Empire was created in the late twelfth century, Turnovo became not only the state's new political center, but its cultural one as well. Illustrated manuscripts, including perhaps the most famous, the Gospels of Tsar Alexander, and church art, including the frescoes at the church at Boyana, considered by many to be Bulgaria's most renowned and artistic treasure, left a legacy that continued to stand long after Turnovo ceased to be the center of Bulgarian rule.

From the beginning of Bulgaria's Christian heritage, the art and architecture of the churches were the cornerstones of the nation's culture. This was especially true with regard to icons, which became a central focus and feature of Bulgarian art for centuries. The mystical nature of Orthodoxy and the traditional stylized features of Byzantine art became central motifs in the Bulgarian lands. Even the monumental art that was so characteristic of the cities like Turnovo and Preslav (as well as its predecessor, Pliska) gave way to the newer, more decorative religious art form of iconography (religious paintings on wood or glass, sometimes encased in silver, that are part of the mysteries that are so central to Orthodoxy).

Monasteries become the centers of artistic life in Bulgaria even before the coming of the Ottoman Turks in the late fourteenth century. Adorned with scenes of the life of Christ and the lives of the saints, the monasteries and churches were magnets drawing the people not only to the faith but also to the beauty associated with it. Depictions of the fall from Grace and the descent into Hell were reminders to parishioners of the lives that the righteous should lead and the penalties that awaited those who strayed. Art played a role in the lives of all believers, since it celebrated the beauty that God provided and offered a message of salvation. Accordingly, when the Bulgarian lands fell to the Turks, the church's role as preserver and promoter of culture took on a heightened role.

When the Turks destroyed the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1396, they razed many churches over the course of the next five centuries. However, the church as an institution kept alive Bulgaria's heritage. Churches were rebuilt or constructed and painted in secret, and faith became a passive form of resistance to Turkish rule. Icons now took on an even more important function, since they continued to affirm the true faith. The suffering of the Passion story, the themes of Redemption and Salvation, and the Virgin Mary as a mother figure became refuges in a world in which the rulers were Muslim and the Bulgarian identity seemed lost.

The monastery at Mount Athos in Greece (as well as other monasteries) became centers of church art. Manuscripts and works of art were hidden and preserved. It is not surprising then that when life under the Ottomans deteriorated and national feeling began to reawaken, the first manifestations of national self-consciousness were seen in the church. Secluded in the mountains, monasteries, such as that at Rila, had kept traditional Bulgarian culture alive.

It was in the monastery at Hilendar that the Bulgarian national revival may be said to have begun. In the 1740s a young man named Paisii entered Mount Athos. There he was exposed to culture and history unavailable to him in his native land. In Greece and Serbia, a revival in culture was in its infancy, but Bulgaria, it was said by many, had no past. Paisii, who was ordained at the age of twenty-three, rejected this notion. He worked in the library at Hilendar, collecting material on Bulgaria. In 1762 he wrote his *Slavonic-Bulgarian History* (*Istoriia Slavianobolgarskaia*), the first modern Bulgarian history.

Typical of many works in the revivals of the various nationalities in Southeastern Europe, the tome is as much polemical as it is factual. Filled with errors that are often

Rila Monastery. (David Ball/Corbis)

self-serving, the short book, written in Old Bulgarian (or Old Church Slavonic) glorified everything Bulgarian, while blaming others, notably the Byzantines, for the travails faced by the people. It was Constantinople, for example, that failed to defend the West from the Turkish onslaught. Paisii's emotionally charged anti-Greek bias (he was especially critical of the Hellenization of the church) was a critical step, both in creating the beginnings of a national identity and in inspiring the reemergence of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in the nineteenth century. He elevated the medieval Bulgarian tsars and the people to positions of glory, while calling for the oppression from Ottoman overlordship and Greek ecclesiastical domination to be lifted. Only then would the people be able to see their past greatness and work toward a better future (which could only come through love of the homeland and the language).

The work of Paisii of Hilendar was carried forward by his student Stoiko Vladislavov, who became better known by his ordained title, Bishop Sofronii Vrachanski. Like his mentor, Bishop Sofronii attacked Greek influence in Bulgaria and within the church. It was Sofronii who promoted literacy in the Bulgarian lands, stressing the Bulgarian vernacular rather than the Old Bulgarian, or Old Church Slavonic, that was the language of the church. Although he was forced to flee to Wallachia in the early 1800s (due to attacks upon him by both Greek and Turkish officials) and he lived his remaining years in Bucharest, Sofronii's calls for the use of the Bulgarian language, almost always a first step in national rebirth, were critical in Bulgaria's national development.

Prior to the eighteenth century, the Old Church Slavonic, or Old Bulgarian, was the written language in Bulgaria. Codified by the missionaries Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, it was very familiar to the people, due to the fact that it was based on the dialect around Thessaloniki. In the medieval period, schools grew up in Pliska, Preslav, and Ohrid, among other cities, and the early literature of Bulgaria was devoted to the church, especially the lives of the saints. During the thirteenth century, the school in Turnovo was the center of a vibrant culture, but it had come to an abrupt end with the Ottoman conquest. Bulgarian writing and creativity had lain dormant for centuries.

In the early nineteenth century, literature and art began to emerge from years of slumber, and their influence not only inspired a revival in native culture but also the movement toward liberation from Istanbul. The new writers and artists also freed the country from the domination of the church over Bulgarian cultural life. Although the church had served as a valuable bulwark, keeping Bulgarian culture alive after the Turkish invasion, it was at the same time resistant to change and innovation. Now, however, what began as a linguistic reawakening that was in many respects an attack upon Greek influence soon spread into a full-blown artistic revival.

By the early 1800s, wealthy merchants and craftsmen began to support art and architecture. Building projects were the first outward manifestations of this movement, as the homes of the wealthy soon contained prominent displays of colorfully painted rooms, carved ceilings, and ornamental facades.

It may seem surprising that architecture played such a prominent role in the artistic revival. After all, unlike many of the other nations of Central and Southeastern Europe, Bulgaria is rarely thought of in terms of architecture. Lacking the imperial splendor of Budapest, the classic lines of Prague, or even the broad avenues of Bucharest, Bulgarian architectural masterpieces were rooted in traditional forms and styles, but they still had great value.

Bulgarians relied heavily upon wood and stone for their homes. Decorations included carved wooden ornaments, often depicting shapes or stars. Ceilings were often carved as well. The homes, multileveled, were also colorfully painted. This style continued even after the Turkish conquest, and it formed the basic architectural model during the nineteenth century. Woodcarvings remained distinctive features of Bulgarian design, as well as the use of color to represent beauty and nature. And even when Bulgarians traveling and studying abroad returned with new styles, such as the use of columns, these new techniques were blended with the older traditional ones.

Only in the twentieth century, with the growth and expansion of cities heavily dependent upon manufacturing, did a new form of architecture, epitomized by the Stalinist-style apartment blocks and large concrete buildings so typical of Soviet architecture, come to predominate. Monumental in style and austere in appearance, such buildings were found throughout the communist bloc, often blurring the distinctiveness of cities or even regions. Housing, for example, although utilitarian, was often constructed rapidly with poor workmanship. Only the villages maintained a traditional appearance.

The other great source of inspiration for the artistic revival in Bulgaria was the church. The architectural design of the Bulgarian churches, like most such structures in the Orthodox world, emphasized beauty. During the early medieval period, churches in Bulgaria were a synthesis of color and space. Interiors were open, with depictions of church events adorning the walls. This vitality, some have argued, represented a blend of Orthodox Christianity with the pagan background in Bulgaria prior to Boris's conversion. Even after the Turkish conquest, styles stayed the same. Perhaps the highest achievement of Bulgarian church architecture was the Rila Monastery, founded in the tenth century and nearly entirely rebuilt in the 1800s, with new techniques brought in by craftsmen. Not surprisingly, the monasteries at Rila, Dragalevski, and other locations were more than mere architectural masterpieces. They were also magnets for those who would lead the national revival, even if their activities became more secular in scope.

Along with the new synthesis in architectural design found during the nineteenth century, a greater emphasis on secular art emerged in the country. With the growth in national consciousness and increasing ties with Europe, it was only natural that more secular, Western-style art accompanied Bulgaria's transition to modern statehood. That is not to say that the past was forgotten. The schools of art at Debur, Trynava, and Samokov, among others, continued to produce outstanding altarpieces and works in Renaissance and Baroque styles (with a distinctive Bulgarian emphasis on nature, especially birds, leaves, and fruit). But a greater realism had begun to dominate Bulgarian art. Even icons, always a bastion of tradition, began to feature images of real life and ordinary people, rather than merely reproducing past iconic images.

Among the early artists who led this transition away from the traditional were Zahari Zograph (whose work marked a move toward Western styles), Nikolai Pavlovich (who studied in Vienna and Munich), and Stanislav Dospevskii (a student in Moscow and St. Petersburg). Each drew inspiration from different schools in Europe, and together they infused a new vibrancy into Bulgarian art. Although most artists continued to paint portraits, increasingly new themes, such as Pavlovich's historical subjects, changed Bulgarian art. In a way, this art was as revolutionary for Bulgaria as the political winds that led to national independence. And just as Bulgaria formed new political institutions, so too did a new artistic synthesis emerge.

Anton Mitov, who had studied in Florence, became one of the founders of a School of Painting in Sofia in 1896 (later renamed the Art Academy in 1908). Although international in its scope, the institution also emphasized Bulgarian themes, especially folk subjects.

Reflecting the growing internationalization of Bulgarian art was the emergence of impressionist painters such as Nikola Petrov and symbolist-expressionist artists such as Ivan Milev and Vasil Zakhariev in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Bulgarian artists studied abroad in increasing numbers and brought back new techniques from their studies; others came from Europe to work in Bulgaria. Although at first few Bulgarians attended art exhibitions, a magazine entitled *Art,* edited by Ivan Mrkvichka and Mitov, began publication in the 1890s. Mrkvichka, a Czech, had come to Bulgaria in his twenties and painted vibrant village and market scenes.

Perhaps the three most renowned Bulgarian artists—Vladimir Dimitrov-Maistora, Nikola Petrov, and Tsanko Lavrenov—worked in the period during and following World War I. After attending the Sofia School of Art, where he became known as "the master" *(maistora),* Vladimir Dimitrov-Maistora became a painter for the military during the Balkan Wars as well as World War I. After 1918, Dimitrov-Maistora returned to his native region (the Kiustendil valley), where his focus became the people. His subjects, such as young lovers and nature, reflected the simple lives of Bulgarians. His landscapes blended with his human subjects to form a synthesis of nature and humanity, all in broad strokes and bright hues. A contemporary of Dimitrov-Maistora, Nikola Petrov cofounded the Contemporary Art Society in 1903. Also a landscape artist, Petrov painted a wide variety of subjects, from street scenes in Sofia to the primitive mountains of the interior. Unlike Dimitrov-Maistora, however, Petrov's brushstrokes were more delicate and soft, displaying a deft subtlety of subject and treatment. The third noted artist of the period was Tsanko Lavrenov. Lavrenov at first drew inspiration from iconography and later moved to expressionism. His street scenes were particularly emotional and evocative.

World War II and the subsequent communist takeover of the country had as a consequence a loss of artistic independence and creativity. Art, like most forms of culture, became an instrument of the state. Independent organizations and artist guilds were abolished and their members placed under the umbrella of a national artists' union. "Socialist realism," which was devoted to the celebration of the worker and the new socialist world, emphasized "revolutionary struggle." It was designed to "educate" the average Bulgarian artistically and politically. Art was not pursued for its own sake, but rather for the state's. Statues of leaders such as the Bulgarian communist leader Georgi Dimitrov, antifascist paintings, and Stalinist architecture fit the model of art for the proletariat masses. It was not until the fall of communism that art was again freed from the dictates of the state and the Party that demanded conformity and political purity.

The same trends that defined the development of art in Bulgaria during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were also found in literature. What was vibrant during the period of national revival and the interwar era suffered from the stifling of expression during the years of communism.

At the height of the first medieval Bulgarian empire, schools of learning could be found at Preslav and Ohrid. In fact, these schools had an impact upon the development of literature in both Serbia and Kiev Rus. Later, during the second empire, a new school at Turnovo (which also had an impact within the lands of Russia) dominated Bulgarian literature until the Turkish occupation.

The Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria was catastrophic to the development of a national literature. Although an educated middle class did emerge, its loyalties were primarily to the ruling elite. Its ties to the average Bulgarian were little more than linguistic. Since Bulgaria was more closely supervised than most of the other regions in the Balkans, due to its close proximity to Istanbul, learning was more confined to the monasteries. There church works and documents were reproduced, and "cell schools" were established to provide rudimentary education to some segments in Bulgarian society. Beyond the very basics, the most important contribution of the monasteries was the preservation of the language that formed the basis of the national revival. Until then, most of the key literary events actually took place outside the Bulgarian lands, including the first printed Bulgarian work, which appeared in Romania in the early 1500s.

In the early nineteenth century, following the call to arms from Paisii of Hilendar and Bishop Sofronii, Bulgarian writers (such as Liuben Karavelov and Nayden Gerov), partly inspired by the rich native folklore, emerged. Simultaneously, *chitalishta* ("reading rooms" or "community centers") were organized to provide weekend classes for those outside the institutions of traditional educational instruction. Through the libraries and reading rooms, works in Bulgarian, particularly those that emphasized cultural and nationalist themes, became important in the struggle for national independence. Thus the chitalishta served as clandestine organizations to promote national interests (though they also continued to operate long after independence was won).

Two writers, Khristo Botev and Ivan Vazov, serve as examples of the synthesis of literature and nationalism. Botev collaborated with Karavelov on two newspapers (*Svoboda* [Freedom] and *Nezavisimost* [Independence]) in the early 1870s. Although he was killed in a battle in 1876 against the Turks, Botev's poetry, rich and romantic, made him the voice of a people. Vazov, Bulgaria's national poet (in 1920 he received the title "People's Poet"), published his first works in Bucharest, after fleeing Bulgaria in the early days of the 1876 uprising against the Turks. Following his return to his native land, he began to publish novels and poetry; his most famous work, *Pod igoto* (Under the Yoke), written in 1889–1890, gave an account of Bulgaria as it moved toward revolution. Vazov believed that contemporary European trends clashed with the nature of the Bulgarian soul.

After World War II, literature in Bulgaria suffered the same fate as art. Socialist realism led to a stifling of creativity. One indication of the sterility that characterized Bulgarian literature over the four decades of communist rule was the fact that bookstores tended to be full of works that fit the needs and rules of the state, but did not sell, while any older literature that might be printed was quickly purchased. Only the fall of communism removed the bonds on writers.

Ironically, folk culture, which had declined as the central component of the nation's culture during the modernization and urbanization of the twentieth century, was perhaps the aspect of Bulgarian culture that was best able to survive communism. Rich and deeply rooted in the Bulgarian past, folk culture—from folk songs to the folk arts—has served as a timeless expression of the people. In fact, the rich cultural traditions are as varied as the topography, ranging from intricate wood carvings, to folk embroidery, to music.

Wood carving falls into three main categories: general architectural, church, and shepherd. There were a number of Bulgarian wood-carving schools, most notably at Samokov, Debur, and Trynava. In the medieval period an-

Christo

Of all the cultural figures born in Bulgaria, perhaps the best known internationally is Christo. Born Javashev Christo in 1935 in the town of Gabrovo to an industrial family, Christo studied at the Fine Arts Academy in Sofia from 1953 to 1956. After briefly residing in Prague, he studied in Vienna before finally settling in Paris. There he met his future wife, Jeanne-Claude, with whom he has collaborated ever since. In 1964 they moved to New York, and they have made that city their home.

Since husband and wife have always worked together, their art belongs to both of them. Nevertheless, the focus here is naturally on the Bulgarian half of the team. From the beginning, Christo's art revolved around objects. In 1958 his first major rendering involved the wrapping of bottles in fabric. Such conceptual art asks the viewer to visualize the object as it was; the observer is challenged to distinguish that which is real from that which is not.

Although his work includes prints, Christo became internationally famous for his monumental wrappings. These are temporary works, at best lasting several weeks, in which highly visible objects or landscapes are transformed by fabric into what he calls gentle disturbances, thereby giving the viewer a fresh perception of something seen so often that people no longer really see it. Christo has said often that he doesn't like labels, but prefers "environmental" to "conceptual," because his work is actually created out there in the environment, not just conceived.

From 1961, when he prepared his first major outdoor exhibit, *Stacked Oil Barrels, Dockside Packages at Cologne Harbor,* through his latest projects, including the placement of over 7,000 "gates" (woven fabric similar to flags placed 4.9 meters high on poles) throughout New York's Central Park, the works have perhaps become more elaborate and been undertaken on a grander scale, but they have always demanded the attention of those who came in contact with them.

A year after the *Stacked Oil Barrels* presentation (which lasted three weeks), Christo rendered *Iron Curtain-Wall,* 240 barrels stacked 4.3 meters high and 4 meters wide in Paris. However it was not until the late 1960s that his monumental style took flight. In 1968 his *Wrapped Kunsthalle Berne* saw approximately 2,500 square meters of fabric and over 3,000 meters of rope used to cover a façade in Berne. A year later, over 900 square meters of fabric covered the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago. Later that year, another 93,000 square meters of cloth was used to cover fifty-eight kilometers of Turtle Bay near Sydney, Australia, a display that melded his art and the environment.

Since the 1960s, from Italy (numerous projects, including the wrapping of a portion of the Roman Wall in 1974), to California (a "running fence" 40 kilometers long in Sonoma and Marin counties in 1976), to the wrapping of the Pont Neuf Bridge in Paris (1985) and the Reichstag in Berlin (1995), and the exhibition entitled "The Umbrellas Japan—USA (with 1,340 blue umbrellas in Japan and 1,760 yellow ones in California), his works have captured the attention and imagination of millions. His conceptual artistic projects transform a world that people think they know into one that causes them to rethink reality, a world in which the observer is transported to a place in which art takes on almost musical flowing qualities.

thropomorphic designs predominated. However, by the nineteenth century, newer styles, particularly floral designs, were emphasized. Wood-carvers, in turn, were held in the highest esteem.

The exteriors of Bulgarian village homes, distinctive by their colors, often have carved designs around doors and windows. These are usually geometric in design (such as stars) and reflect patterns dating from the time of the arrival of the Bulgars in Southeastern Europe in the seventh century.

Churches always reflect the faith of a people, but Bulgarian churches are especially distinctive in that regard. Throughout the churches, the wood-carving prowess of the craftsmen, who were often men of the villages, immediately catches one's eye. Most striking are the ornate, deep-cut iconostases (the front walls of the interiors).

Most wood-carvers, unlike the artisans who beautified the churches, were anonymous and amateur. But, while their skills varied, their work epitomized the life of their villages. They produced carvings that ranged from plates, bowls, and other such "ordinary" everyday objects to the ornate "crooks" (staffs with rams' heads for handles and lower ends shaped like curved snakes) that the shepherds carried into the fields. What they produced was art that was as rich as anything produced on canvas. The peasant's knife was his brush, and wood was merely the medium.

Another highly visible aspect of peasant life was the colorful embroidery often associated with folk costumes. While the costumes varied by region, all contained similar characteristics, including the red, black, and white color patterns. A woman wore a shirt (a *riza*), a tunic-like dress (a *soukman*), and an apron (a *prestilka*). Head coverings might include a kerchief (a *karpa za glava*), and a vest was often worn. A man wore trousers *(benevretzi),* shirt, belt, and (usually) a jacket or vest; the predominant colors were black and white. Men also usually wore a fur cap (a *kalpak*) as well. The clothes were homemade, and were usually constructed of wool, hemp, cotton, flax, and silk. Embroidery, primarily geometric but often containing small lines of birds, flowers, or even humans, elaborately adorned the sleeves, fronts, and backs of the shirts. The *soukman,* often sleeveless, was also embroidered in numerous colors and was worn with a belt (a *pafti*). The apron was, in most cases, the most decorative part of a woman's costume and made each costume distinctive.

Aside from the regional costumes, Bulgarian peasants were also skilled in decorative textiles (such as tablecloths) in floral and geometric designs. Rugs, made of goat hair, were decorated in geometric patterns and stripes. The dyes, made from plants, blended with the materials to create rich colors that did not quickly fade.

Another aspect of Bulgarian peasant culture that was preserved was music. Bulgarian music admittedly is much less well known than the music of other countries in the region. It lacks the internationally known composer that one associates with Hungary (Béla Bartók) or with the Czech and Slovak lands (Antonín Dvořák or Bedřich Smetana, to name but two). Bulgarian music may not be known within the world of classical music, but it has a rich tradition that derives from its peasant roots. Whereas many folk traditions have either died out or are merely remembered on days of celebration, this folk music tradition is an exception.

Bulgarian folk songs have always reflected the experiences in Bulgaria and within the village. They are filled with joy and sorrow, moods that reflect the difficulty of life and yet the pleasures that life brings. What is most unique about Bulgarian music is the sound of its women, and Bulgarian women folk choruses have become internationally famous during the last two decades of the twentieth century, thanks, in part, to the State Ensemble for Folk Music and Dance, founded by Philip Koutev. Although these choruses do reflect an amalgamation of the folk past with new professional training, the sound produced is still unlike that found anywhere else. Melodies have limited range, but there is a power and expressiveness in their distinctive harmonies. Songs feature sounds that seem to float in the air; they deal with aspects of village life, such as the harvest, with heroes defending the people from oppressors (the songs of the *haiduk* tradition, which glorified the bandits who resisted authority), religious celebrations, feasts and festivals, and love. The choruses are often accompanied by instruments derived from the village, such as the *kaval,* a flute-like instrument used by the shepherds, the *gadulka,* an upright fiddle that is perhaps the oldest instrument used in Bulgaria, and the *gayda,* a bagpipe that is a centerpiece of wedding music.

Thus, while perhaps not internationally known, culture in Bulgaria is deeply rooted in its past, rich in its variety, and, in a way that illustrates the vitality of the people, a synthesis of the old and new.

Traditionally dressed men and women celebrate the Rose Festival. (Michael Freeman/Corbis)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bulgaria's decade-long transition from the command economy of the past half century to capitalism had achieved at best mixed results. The average annual growth from 1995 to 2000 fell slightly over 1 percent. Adding to other economic woes was the continued high inflation rate. Although these rates had declined from the early 1990s, inflation from 1995 until the end of the decade continued to average 5.7 percent annually; in 2001 it rose again to 7.4 percent. Similarly, the rate of unemployment, already high (averaging above 14 percent from 1995 to 2000), rose to 16.3 percent in 2001 (the twelfth highest rate in the world according to *The Economist*).

Certainly the transition from communism has proved to be painful for many Bulgarians, a fact that has affected Bulgarian politics. An economy already underdeveloped during the early twentieth century, then suddenly placed under the constraints of the communist command system (1945/7–1989) in which the failure to innovate was partly responsible for the collapse of the regime in 1989, faced the daunting challenge of suddenly integrating into a world economic system. Even its former trading patterns within the Soviet bloc had been disrupted. As a result, Bulgaria found itself confronted by a competitive system for which it was little prepared. In almost all measures, from gross domestic product (GDP) to purchasing power to deficits and foreign debt (Bulgaria had the thirty-fifth highest deficit in the world in 2003 and the fortieth largest foreign debt), Bulgaria lagged behind most of the other nations in Europe and even some countries normally associated with the undeveloped Third World.

Communist leaders stressed the need for rapid industrialization. The very philosophy of Marxism itself, and certainly its form as Marxism-Leninism, diverted resources into the transformation of an agrarian state into an industrial, one with little regard for the social or environmental ramifications of the planning. Since Bulgarian indices were low in the 1950s, at first the growth rates, especially in the early 1970s, appeared to be dramatic. But the progress was illusory, and by the late 1970s the economy not only stagnated but rapidly declined. Following the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the already poor performance of the economy continued. The clearest indication of the painful legacy of communism was a negative 12.6 percent growth in annual real percentage growth in industrial output during the 1990s.

It would be myopic merely to lay the blame for Bulgaria's economic woes on the communist dictatorship, even if there were few economic positives during the period. Rather, the stagnant economy was a by-product of numerous factors that had stifled growth over the centuries.

Before the fall of communism, people in Bulgaria (as well as other countries in Southeastern Europe) often attributed their nation's economic problems to a backwardness brought on by centuries of control by the Ottoman Turks. It is human nature to seek scapegoats for problems, and the Turks provided an ideal excuse. Certainly Ottoman rule had retarded economic progress, but to blame the Turks for failures in Bulgaria a century after the fall of the Ottomans would be equally myopic. Still, some account of the economic situation under the Ottomans and after provides a necessary background for understanding the economic situation in Bulgaria today.

For centuries, Bulgaria's economy was tied to Istanbul. Turkish landlords controlled large estates *(timars)* in return for military service. These estates produced grains, such as barley, wheat, and rye, as well as vegetables and livestock. Well into the early nineteenth century the essentially feudal nature of the Bulgarian economy changed little, save for the increasing oppression of the peasant class as the Ottoman Empire became more stagnant and corrupt.

Modern economic development in Bulgaria had its infancy in the early 1800s. As the Turks confronted numerous problems, both internally and externally, reforms were enacted that greatly benefited Bulgaria economically. The loss of direct control over Greece and indirect control over the Romanian Principalities created new opportunities for Bulgarian merchants and manufacturers. In 1839 Bulgarians received the right to trade freely throughout the Ottoman Empire. As a result, Bulgaria now became one of the principal suppliers of goods and materials for the Turks. Bulgarians supplied the reformed Turkish army with both food and military uniforms. Cloth production spread, primarily in the form of small woolen handicraft industries. This in turn led to a rise in the population of towns and cities, such as Plovdiv, Gabrovo, and Sliven, which served as manufacturing and commercial centers. Bulgarian merchants traded primary products such as grain, salt, and livestock through offices in Istanbul and other regional centers. Grain exports to Western Europe began in the 1840s. Other products traded included honey and pig iron. Land reforms, especially after the beginning of the largely unsuccessful *Tanzimat* (reform) period in the Ottoman Empire in 1839, saw the establishment of some small, private farms. Tobacco became a key agricultural product for export as well as for consumption within the empire.

While this small economic boom was relatively shortlived, partly owing to foreign competition (primarily from England) following the Crimean War, and partly because of Istanbul's failure to achieve real reforms either politically or economically, a small stratum of middle-class wealthy Bulgarians did come into being. This development, however, had perhaps a greater impact on the movement toward revolution and independence than it did on the economic situation. Artisans and merchants now pushed for education in the form of primary schools (the first such school began in Gabrovo in 1835). For the bulk of the country, however, life, which revolved around a subsistence peasant agricultural system, went on relatively unchanged, and conditions within the entire economy made only sporadic improvement.

Peasants, who constituted over 80 percent of the population, for the most part used archaic equipment, such as wooden plows pulled by oxen. Modern methods of planting, as well as the use of fertilizers, were rare. Illiterate and rooted in tradition, governed by the rules and ideals of the village and the *zadruga* (the communal, extended family that formed the center of peasant society), peasants were reluctant to innovate. Moreover, their lack of income and possessions meant that they were not consumers, thus retarding economic development elsewhere in society.

National independence created both new opportunities and new problems in the economic sphere. Liberation created a euphoria that led to a doubling of land devoted to grain. But an overdependence on wheat, a rise in the peasant population that in many ways offset the increase in arable land, poor soil management, and poor weather at the turn of the century combined to produce an agricultural depression. Reliance on one crop, such as wheat, meant that if things did not go well, the resulting problems would have effects throughout the economy.

Much of Bulgaria's export trade after independence continued to flow toward the Ottoman Empire, a reflection of past trade patterns (although access to these markets became more difficult after 1878, when the country gained autonomy from the Turks), while imports came primarily from Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire. With independence came tariffs that led to a decline in the total trade with the Ottoman Empire, thus further retarding development.

Mechanization, which had revolutionized agriculture in countries with which Bulgaria now found itself in economic

A Bulgarian ethnic Turk hangs up strings of tobacco leaves to dry in the village of Fotinovo in the Rhodope Mountains in 2002. Bulgaria is a major producer of tobacco and tobacco products. Tobacco is grown heavily in southern Bulgaria. (Reuters/Corbis)

competition, proceeded slowly. Yield per acre in fact did not increase, but rather stabilized or declined. Moreover, peasants were forced to pay for the land, thus reducing the size of their holdings (most peasants owned less than twenty hectares, often in unconnected smaller strips of land) and contributing to high levels of debt. A vicious cycle thus developed, one in which peasant income was too small to buy more land and equipment, which only increased the need for land and machinery in order to combat the low income levels. This situation in turn led to peasant dissatisfaction, especially with the lack of government support for projects aimed at lifting the agricultural sector, and so to the rise of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU, or *Bulgarski Zemedelska Naroden Soiuz* [BZNS]) led by Aleksandûr Stamboliiski. Although shut out of the political power structure before World War I, BANU nevertheless was able to create cooperatives and insurance funds, as well as gain credits through the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank (Bulgarska Zemedelska Banka).

Any hope for a rapid improvement in economic conditions in Bulgaria in the period before World War I was hindered by the difficulty in raising investment capital, as well as the unrealistic approach of governments lured by the dream of economic development and restricted by fiscal realities (conditions faced by all countries in Southeastern Europe). The government borrowed heavily to finance projects (such as railroads) that crippled state budgets by consuming a significant portion of the state's revenues (the debt service reached 20 percent of state revenues). Promoting manufacturing, although perhaps commendable, ignored the reality of the difficulty of finding markets. Bulgarian goods could not compete with the higher quality products from Western Europe. Although labor was available, much of it was unskilled, and wages remained low. As a result, industrialization remained but a small part of the overall economy for decades.

This is not to say that the economic picture was entirely bleak. The construction of a transportation network, despite its costs, was critical for future development. Tobacco remained a profitable commodity, and the foodstuff industry remained a bright spot. The expansion of education both within the country and abroad also led to new economic innovations and opportunities.

Bulgaria's defeat in the Second Balkan War (1913) and World War I cost the country valuable resources as well as the loss of land, most notably the southern Dobrudja (to Romania). Fortunately, the country had not suffered physically (only minor fighting took place on Bulgaria's soil during World War I) during the conflicts, thus reducing dislocation. This situation enabled the manufacturing sector to grow throughout the decade following World War I; even so, despite a significant rate of growth, the low levels of manufacturing in the first place make the changes seem far more important than they actually were.

Bulgaria was (and remained throughout the interwar period) an agriculturally based country, and with the loss of the rich lands of the Dobrudja and the changes in markets, the agricultural sector suffered long before anyone spoke about the Great Depression. (One of the few bright spots was the fact that Bulgaria was already a nation of small landholders and was thus able to avoid the painful land redistributions that afflicted some of its neighbors.) Critical to the underlying weakness in the economy, especially in terms of agriculture, was the fact that as the recovering nations of Europe placed high tariff barriers on imported grains in order to bolster their own agricultural sectors, Bulgaria lost potential markets for its agricultural produce. Only tobacco and rose oil (exported to France for the production of perfume) continued to be in demand.

As a defeated state in World War I, Bulgaria, like other members of its alliance, was forced to pay reparations. While not crippling, the payments placed an additional burden on already shaky budgets (until the reparations were renegotiated in 1930). State debts, a prewar problem, thus remained a burden, as it hindered the state's ability to raise capital and promote projects.

With the coming of the Great Depression, Sofia confronted a collapse in the agricultural sector. Markets, already limited, dried up. Although Bulgaria weathered the Depression better than some of its neighbors, it still faced the need for markets. That need was filled by Germany, which better than doubled its share of Bulgarian grain exports between 1929 and the outbreak of World War II a decade later. By 1939, three-fourths of Bulgarian food exports were bought by the Third Reich. Payment for these products was often made by credits or products, thereby increasingly tying Sofia to Berlin economically, a contributing (although not crucial) factor in the alliance that developed in World War II between Bulgaria and Nazi Germany.

As the forces of the Soviet Union defeated the German Wehrmacht, the advancing Red Army entered and occupied Bulgaria in 1944, providing the basis for the imposition of communist rule that was to follow the end of the hostilities. The coming to power of the Fatherland Front, a coalition of center and left parties, in September 1944, began the three-year transition to complete communist rule, which included the full direction of the economy. Symbolic of the subordination of the nation's economy to the Soviet model was the dissolution of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union as an independent organization. For the next four decades, Bulgaria was a prisoner of a command economy, as the new system reversed past policies of decentralization in favor of central planning and state ownership.

In order to build a Soviet-style economic system based upon large-scale industrialization and collectivized agriculture, a 180-degree shift in the economy away from one driven by market forces was required. From 1944 to 1947, as the communists solidified control politically, they moved to nationalize industries. In December 1947, months after Cominform, the Communist Information Bureau that served as the propaganda organ for Moscow, announced that the pace of nationalization would quicken, all private firms in Bulgaria were seized. In addition, all independent banks, of which there were few even before the war, were incorporated into the national system. And the first steps aimed at state planning were announced with a shift in funds from agriculture to industry.

Before World War II, Bulgaria was a nation of small landholders. Nearly 80 percent of the population was engaged in agriculture. Like Stalin in the Soviet Union, the new Bulgarian leaders saw agriculture as potentially providing revenue needed for industrialization, and collectivization as the means to gain that objective. At first, collectivization was encouraged as a voluntary movement, but the policy of suasion produced limited results at best by 1947. With the consolidation of the regime in December of that year, Sofia increased pressure on peasants to join. Over the course of the next decade, either through intimidation or economic pressure, over 90 percent of Bulgaria's agricultural land was brought under the collective system.

Originally modeled after the Soviet system, over the next decade the collective farms decreased in number, while consolidation increased their size. What had been a nation of smallholders had become one of large agricultural complexes. Although these complexes were largely inefficient, as evidenced by the fact that the small plots of land granted to farmers for personal use accounted for nearly 25 percent of the overall production, Bulgaria remained an exporter of agricultural products, one of the leaders in such exports in the entire Soviet bloc. Tobacco remained the most lucrative export; Bulgarian cigarettes, high in tar and nicotine, could be found throughout Europe. In addition, Bulgarian fruits and vegetables (such as tomatoes and grapes) found markets across the continent. France continued to import rose oil for its perfume industry. Although the agricultural sector stagnated in the 1980s, in part due to a series of poor harvests that resulted in the need to import grains, agriculture, although not the primary focus of government planners, remained Bulgaria's economic bright spot.

Communist planners, however, had unflagging faith in heavy industries and central planning. With control of capital and resources, they could build sectors virtually by decree, no matter the cost in valuable resources or in damage to the environment. This freedom for the planners created inefficiency and ultimately economic stagnation.

Symbolic of the disastrous decision making that accompanied central planning was the massive Kremikovtsi Metalurgical Complex, which was built near Sofia. Constructed in the belief that huge deposits of iron ore existed in the area that would provide the needed materials for steel making, the plant in fact had to import iron ore, with much of it coming from the Soviet Union, when the supplies failed to meet initial expectations. The Kremikovtsi works failed to meet production targets, and rather than becoming a contributor to the economic health of the country, it drained it.

Inefficiency was visible throughout the industrial sector. Although industrial production rose impressively from the 1950s through the 1970s, when the industrial sector surpassed agriculture as the leading sector of the economy, fealty to the Soviet model and the five-year plans stripped away at innovation. Gains were made in the chemical and machinery sectors, and major improvements were made in electrical generation. Bulgaria exported heavy machinery, especially forklifts. Large plants were constructed throughout the country, from petrochemical plants at Pleven and Burgas, to shipbuilding at Varna, to machine tools at Gabrovo. Western investment offset the nonconvertibility of the Bulgarian monetary unit (the leva). Nevertheless, the fact that the economic sector was dependent upon the health of the Soviet bloc, since most of its industrial exports were sold to fellow members of Comecon (the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, the Soviet Union's answer to the Common Market in the West), meant that Bulgaria was, in effect, a prisoner of a system that began to unravel in the 1980s.

Although on the surface Bulgaria had seemingly achieved "modernization" in just a short span of time, the economy stagnated, in part due to problems in the agricultural sector, as well as to an inability to generate new foreign investments. Prior to the 1980s, Western capital had masked some of the internal weaknesses, such as a poor infrastructure and the uncertainty of Zhivkov's reforms aimed at reviving the economy. Although Bulgaria had avoided the severe foreign debt burden that plagued some of the other countries in the region (notably Romania), capital generation became critical. In addition, productivity began to decline, causing a greater reliance on state subsidies. Energy production was inadequate. The economy was over-reliant on its trading partners within the Soviet bloc, which absorbed the vast majority of Bulgaria's exports. Most of that went to a Soviet Union that was experiencing its own economic malaise, the malaise that resulted in the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's calls for restructuring (perestroika). The combination of these factors fueled discontent within Bulgaria, which in turn led to the collapse of the regime in the fall of 1989.

With the fall of Zhivkov and the shift away from the command economy, the legacy of the communist economic system to Bulgaria was clear (both in visible and not so immediately apparent terms). Outwardly, the existence of large unproductive enterprises that required excessive energy resources and continued to produce substandard goods that had no market was an obvious problem. In addition, the environmental legacy of four decades of centralized planning that emphasized growth at the expense of health could be seen almost everywhere. In 1990 numerous Bulgarian cities, including Ruse (due to chlorine gas emissions from the Romanian city of Giurgiu that lies across the Danube) and Plovdiv, were declared to be environmentally damaged regions. The power grid remained dependent on a nuclear facility at Kozloduy that had been constructed along the model of Chernobyl in the Soviet Union. Even after the Chernobyl disaster in 1985, the Bulgarian reactor, which leaked radiation, still could not be closed, despite several near catastrophes in the 1970s and 1980s, because the economy was too dependent on the energy.

Cooling pond at Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. (Ed Kashi/Corbis)

While the communist political system crumbled throughout Eastern Europe, so too did the trading patterns that had governed the economies of the Comecon nations. Over 80 percent of Bulgarian trade prior to 1990 had taken place within the bloc. Removal of the overarching economic system in the region left Bulgaria without markets, while having to pay market prices for imports. A year later, the Gulf War destroyed Bulgaria's trade with Iraq, one of its most valuable prewar non-bloc economic partners.

Less visible, but still clear, was the psychological impact of the communist era upon the average Bulgarian. The explosion in urban growth brought on by rapid industrialization and modernization had changed the character of Bulgaria. Old ways and old ties had been broken with little to replace them. The inefficient use of labor (there were in many sectors of the economy too many workers for jobs) and the lack of pay incentives led to a diminution in the work ethic (the old joke throughout the Soviet system was "You pretend to pay me and I'll pretend to work") that is difficult to overcome. Although workers wanted more material goods (one of the dreams of many Bulgarians after the collapse of the Zhivkov regime in 1989), the psychological shift that was necessary to make that even a long-range possibility was virtually impossible for those who had toiled so long under the old system.

Thus, the post-1989 Bulgarian economy has been beset by continuous difficulties, problems that cannot be divorced from the immediate past. Integrating into the world system with outdated plants, poor quality goods, few natural resources, a weak infrastructure (such as an outdated transportation grid), little investment capital, a lack of entrepreneurial innovation, an outdated educational system that discouraged initiative and creativity in favor of ideology, technology that was years if not decades behind the nations of Western Europe, and the reemergence of independent labor unions, which demanded benefits that the state simply could not deliver, all together have constituted a daunting challenge, despite the expectations of the people that things would quickly improve.

An immediate need was to figure out how to handle property. Since the state had owned virtually everything (despite some limited privatization during the 1980s for small areas of the economy such as restaurants), the redistribution of land and other property became vexing issues. Money was unavailable for investment, especially since former high-ranking officials knew where the money was and often expropriated it for their own use.

Moreover the reversion to a market system brought severe economic dislocation, which continued throughout the 1990s. Inflation was high, and wages fell. The country continued to fail to attract foreign investment due to continued bureaucratic red tape (especially in the economic sector) and limited opportunities for a profitable return on those investments. Midway through the 1990s, Bulgaria attracted only one-fourth of the foreign investment that went to neighboring Romania, for example. Inflation remained a constant problem. And the continued power of the restructured communist party has in some respects stalled progress.

In 1992 Bulgaria's parliament passed a privatization law that legislatively paved the way for change, but the reality was that privatization proceeded slowly. By the mid-1990s only about 10 percent of agricultural land had been privatized (although on a positive note, nearly 90 percent of housing had been turned over). And while the pace of privatization quickened, beginning in the spring of 1996, most private farms remain less than ten hectares in size. State cooperatives and farms continued to predominate. Thus, those who use the land continue not to own the land. This in turn has led to a situation in which farm incomes remain low (in part due to a significant decline in production of numerous crops brought on by land degradation caused by a half-century of poor management and soil acidification), thus reducing the domestic market for all products. Lack of credit leaves all farmers short of capital needed to purchase needed equipment.

On the industrial side, the government continued to move at a slow pace away from the state-run economy to a market one. The absence of capital markets hampered stock generation. Outdated large firms continued to operate in part because there was no economic alternative. While small privately owned businesses and shops opened (a striking sight to anyone who had been in the country during the years of communism was the changes in the shop windows from the formerly drab and indistinguishable display of products to a more attractive consumer-friendliness), the legacy of years of heavy industrialization continued to cast a pall over the country.

The government in the early 1990s attempted to sell shares in the state-run industries, but found few takers. Productivity continued to decline, while unemployment increased. Most Bulgarians supported state-run economic endeavors as a means of maintaining employment and price subsidies. But Western banks and international monetary funds demanded a speed-up in privatization and fewer government subsidies to outdated enterprises.

By 1995, inflation was 122 percent, and a year later over 300 percent according to World Bank statistics. Six governments took power between 1989 and 1997, providing few substantive economic answers to the country's problems. Retirees could barely survive on their pensions. People even turned off their heat the following winter because the bills were too high. And economic output continued to decline until 1997, when a few positive signs of increasing productivity, sales, and lower inflation were seen. Still, the failure (or unwillingness) of the government to make a clean break from the past policies of state sponsorship remained a serious problem, lessening hopes for future economic vitality.

Critical for the future of the country at the turn of the century was the prospect of joining the European Union (EU). Talks with the EU began in the spring of 2000. But four years later, Bulgaria had still not met many of the requirements for membership (including administrative and judicial reforms). The government's slow pace of reforms, including barriers to foreign investment in industrial development and budget deficits, continue to hamper the country in fulfilling the requirements for membership.

The burden of ensuring Bulgaria's economic future thus ironically still lies with the government. For nearly a half-century, false hopes were placed on a command economy that shifted the country's economy from the West to the East. For over four decades, governmental decisions hampered the country. With the collapse of communism and a return to a market economy, the government has continued to make choices that have slowed economic regeneration. Despite recent hopeful signs, that failure to meet the challenges and opportunities presented by the collapse of the communist bloc has led to hardship and political dislocation and an almost Third World economic status.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

With the collapse of the Soviet empire, the greatest threat to stability and prosperity in Central and Southeastern Europe is no longer the possibility of external conflict, but rather internal. Two forces have long plagued the region, especially in the Balkans: irredentism and nationalism. Ironically, during the Cold War these forces, so potentially destabilizing, were generally held in check by the imposed communist ideology. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, the restraints fell as well.

Irredentism is the belief or perception that neighboring territory lies unjustly outside the boundaries of the nation. Such a belief may be derived from historic, ethnic, or cultural claims. Given the emotionalism engendered by the issue, irredentism often becomes an instrument of state policy, as political leaders see the opportunity to use the claims for their own political purposes, or are obliged to play to the public clamor for "justice." Irredentist sentiments and demands are tied to nationalism, which for centuries has proved to be the Achilles' heel of the Balkans. Nationalism is an emotional attachment to and identification with a group that sees itself as distinct and possibly threatened by others not part of the group. Historians have long debated the exact nature of nationalism and its variant in Eastern Europe, where ethnic homogeneity is rarely found (unlike many of the nations of Western Europe), and where ethnic divisions have led to genocidal bloodshed, most notably in Yugoslavia during World War II and again during and following the dissolution of the Yugoslav state in the 1990s. What is clear is that the appeal of nationalism has turned neighbors into enemies in the twinkling of an eye. Hot spots are not confined to Kosovo and Bosnia, the most visible problem areas of the 1990s. Transylvania, although quiet as the twentieth century came to an end, has long been a thorn in the side of relations between Romania and Hungary. And Macedonia remains a source of bitter conflict between Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece, over a hundred years after the onset of the "Macedonian Question."

Macedonia dominated Sofia's foreign and domestic agendas for decades. Statesmen who ignored Bulgarians' emotional attachment to the region risked stirring up nationalist passions. The greatest Bulgarian interwar statesman, Aleksandûr Stamboliiski, was killed in a coup in 1923, in large measure because of his belief that the country had greater needs than a nearly obsessive, almost paralytic, preoccupation with Macedonia; instead, he focused on domestic matters, in the belief that they were far more pressing for the future welfare of the state. It made little difference that boundaries in Southeastern Europe, given the shifting movements of people and the various states that existed before the coming of the Ottoman Turks in the 1300s, were often at best ethnic approximations. Claims that were a thousand years old (or more) remain essential to the national soul. Even today, the thought of an independent Macedonia is beyond the imagination of those Bulgarians, Greeks, and Serbs who see the region as part of their historic lands.

Energies in the region thus have often been sapped by inter- and intrastate preoccupation with real and perceived grievances and injustices. Nationalism has often trumped all other needs and made progress much more difficult for a region often termed backward; nationalism has become a millstone around the neck of progress in countries that have far more pressing problems.

If there was one positive effect of the communist takeover in Bulgaria and Eastern Europe in general, it was the apparent cooling of irredentist and nationalist passions by the new ideology of communism and the dream of a socialist future mandated by the new political masters. For four decades, nationalism, at least on the surface, was ideologically anathema, utterly foreign to the rhetoric of internationalism and the socialist fraternity.

In fact, however, the replacement of the old prewar governments with a communist state apparatus could not douse the flames of nationalist aspirations; even during the heyday of communism, nationalist problems continued to arise, a reminder (albeit infrequent) that the past never lurks far beneath the surface in Southeastern Europe. As communism began to unravel in the 1980s, nationalism, as so often in the past, again became a convenient tool for regimes that had lost favor and credibility with the people. Nationalism provided a means of diverting attention away from the realities of economic decline and material shortages.

Marxist claims of a new world in which internationalism would create a new order failed to take into account the fact that nationalism in Eastern Europe was often ethnic in origin, with ethnic minorities living in countries that considered them as "outsiders" and "alien." Romania's Nicolae Ceaușescu used the ethnic divisions within Transylvania (where 30 percent of the population is Hungarian) to prop up his unpopular dictatorship in the 1980s. Likewise, Slobodan Milošević came to power in Belgrade by playing to the memory of the great Serb defeat at Kosovo in 1389.

In the 1980s nationalism also made positive contributions to the lives of the people of Eastern Europe. Poles rallied behind shipyard workers (the Solidarity movement) and a Polish pope (John Paul II) to lay bare the hollow claims that communism had led to a "workers' paradise." Their actions led to the eventual toppling of the house of cards that was the Soviet empire. Moreover, the overthrow of communism was more than merely a political change; it also represented the removal of a kind of foreign overlordship and the restoration of national sovereignty. Yet in the wake of the collapse of communism, a vacuum was created that invited a reversion to past policies. For a "new" Bulgaria, the danger that nationalist sentiments at home and irredentist claims abroad would undermine its efforts at reintegrating the state into Europe was a threat not to be overlooked.

During the 1980s, the economy of Bulgaria was flagging and public discontent was growing; political jokes, always a barometer of public opinion in countries in which the only public voice was the state-run media, became darker and more bitterly directed toward the regime. The Bulgarian government, led by Todor Zhivkov, responded by turning its attention not to the economy (the real focus of the discontent) but to the Turkish minority.

After almost five centuries of Ottoman domination, a small Turkic and Turkified population existed within Bulgaria at the time of national liberation in the nineteenth century. Some were native Bulgarians who had converted during the long period of Turkish overlordship. These Pomaks ("helpers," from a Bulgarian word [*pomagach*] that denoted a traitorous renunciation of the Bulgarian Orthodox heritage for the Muslim faith of the ruling elites) were considered to in fact be Turkish, due to the Ottoman millet system that differentiated the population on the basis of religion. In addition, Turkish settlers had colonized parts of Bulgaria in the 1400s, moving into towns and serving as administrators or irregular military forces. Others populated urban areas as part of the ruling bureaucracy.

When the Ottomans lost control of the Balkans in the nineteenth century, many Turks left, but sizable numbers of Turks and Pomaks remained in the towns and valleys they had inhabited for centuries. The two largest pockets of Muslims could be found in the northeastern part of the country between Ruse and Varna in the Dobrudja and in the valley south of the Maritsa River. Although a minority, they were not an insignificant one. By the 1980s, Turks made up approximately 10 percent of the total population (although the numbers vary depending upon the source; Amnesty International claimed that there were 900,000 ethnic Turks in Bulgaria in 1986).

After World War II, the new constitution of 1947 provided for minority rights and the protection of language and culture. For a Turkish population that numbered some 675,000 out of a total of 7 million and that had seen close to 220,000 leave during the interwar and war years, the guarantee of minority rights was critical. But, like so much written in socialist constitutions, words did not necessarily match reality.

From 1949 until 1951, 155,000 Turks either left the country or were expelled (as Ankara charged) after the new communist government announced that 250,000 Turks would be "allowed" to leave. This exodus placed enormous strains on the Turkish government, which had to absorb this population. Twice, in fact, Ankara had to close the borders with Turkey lest the exodus overwhelm Turkey's capacity to deal with the problem. The majority of the Turks who left Bulgaria came from the southern Dobrudja, the richest agricultural region in the country, which the regime hoped to collectivize. Town names in Turkish in the Dobrudja were replaced by Bulgarian ones.

In 1958 the government closed schools for the Turkish minority and began to crack down on the religious life of Muslims. Turkish schools were replaced with Bulgarian ones. The number of imams (religious leaders) began to decline. By 1965, the census did not even distinguish between ethnic groups, and six years later a new constitution dropped references to ethnic minorities altogether. In 1968 Turkish language publications had been reduced to two (one newspaper and one journal). In 1972 Turkish language classes were banned, and fines were issued for speaking Turkish in public.

In 1971 the Party began the process of assimilating the country's minority population. Pressure was placed on Pomaks (as well as the Roma [Gypsies]) to become Bulgarian. Pomaks with Turkish family names were ordered to change them to Slavic or Bulgarian (that is, Christian) ones or suffer imprisonment. Many Pomaks resisted and were sent to labor camps; they had become enemies of the state by clinging to their names. Effectively, the Pomaks had ceased to exist. By the 1970s, even the use of the word "Pomak" was banned, despite the fact that there were an estimated 170,000 Pomaks in Bulgaria.

For the moment, however, save for the language restrictions, the regime left the ethnic Turkish population alone, perhaps owing to concerns about international reaction. (Bulgaria, like the other states in Eastern Europe, was working toward gaining foreign economic credits and investments.) Instead the regime continued to "encourage" emigration. From 1968 to 1978, an agreement between Sofia and Ankara reopened the border, and another 130,000 Turks left Bulgaria.

In the early 1980s the campaign against the Turks resumed. "Historians" began to assert that the Turks were really ethnic Bulgarians (that is, Pomaks) who had lost their cultural and historic consciousness during centuries of occupation or had been forced to convert to Islam by the Turks.

In 1984–1985, after a few years of quiet, the regime initiated a new campaign designed to end the Turkish presence in Bulgaria. Whatever the motivation for the policy, the effects were catastrophic. All Turks (as well as other Muslims) were ordered to adopt Bulgarian names, as had been done earlier with the Pomaks. This action was intended to signal that they were voluntarily taking the names so as to return to their true ethnic roots. If one refused to comply, a name was assigned, and those who resisted were punished. And the campaign went far beyond names. Towns and villages were occupied. Citizenship cards (with the new names) were issued, and the cards were required for obtaining salaries and pensions. Those who resisted were imprisoned, and some (the numbers range from 500 to 1,500) were killed.

The assault was also cultural. Despite the requirements of Islamic law, circumcision was banned, as was the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of the faith. Birth certificates and marriage licenses could only be issued in Bulgarian. Speaking Turkish became a criminal offense. Muslim sites were destroyed and mosques closed. Even the traditional Turkish peasant costume was forbidden. Nationalism had become both xenophobic and demagogic.

Like much of the propaganda that filled the airwaves or appeared in the newspapers (an old joke in the socialist world was that people preferred not to read the papers; the newsprint merely got their hands dirty), the reasoning issued by Sofia was stunningly brazen. Charges were made that unless something was done and done quickly, the Turkish birthrate was so much higher than the Slavic birthrate that Turks would swamp Bulgarians and the nation would cease to exist. Another angle in the propaganda campaign was that the attack on the Turkish population was really for their own good. The return to their true national culture was the end that supposedly justified the means. In fact, however, this campaign was clearly tantamount to a declaration of war upon the culture of the Muslim minority, requiring the largest single military exercise employed by Bulgaria in decades to enforce the dictates.

Zhivkov perhaps believed that if he could use the Turks to rally ethnic Bulgarians in a nationalist crusade, he could divert the public's attention from the regime's economic failures. Whatever his motivation, the plan backfired. Bulgaria, reeling under the weight of international credits it was unable to repay, and unable to secure new loans or to attract new business or investment, now felt the wrath of the international community. The United Nations, the Islamic Conference, and other organizations swiftly condemned Bulgaria's actions. Zhivkov's campaign was a clear violation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords, which prohibited such violations of human rights. International condemnation did not, however, halt the campaign or its negative effects.

Beginning in May 1989, the government began the forcible removal of Turks from their homes; they were permitted to take only what they could carry. By August, over 300,000 refugees were either in Turkey or in camps along the border waiting to be processed. Although most in the West took little notice (in the summer of 1989, much of the world was transfixed with the rapidly unfolding events in the Soviet bloc that led to the collapse of the empire), this exodus took an enormous toll on both the people and the Bulgarian and Turkish nations directly involved.

Since the Turkish inhabitants of Bulgaria were often agricultural workers or employed in low-paying construction jobs, a labor shortage quickly developed, primarily in the countryside. With the fall harvest season approaching, others had to be recruited to fill the void. The effects upon the economy, including the tobacco crop (one of the country's leading exports and thus a source of essential hard currency), were catastrophic. An already failing economy had just worsened.

Although Zhivkov could not help being pleased with his success in driving so many Turks from Bulgaria, he had clearly isolated himself politically, even within the ranks of the Party. This fact was not lost upon the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, whose needs for glasnost and perestroika (openness and restructuring) in the Soviet Union required that international attention not be focused on the abuses of communism but rather on his attempts at reformism.

Within a matter of months, Zhivkov was toppled from power by the Party, and a new National Assembly (Subranie) moved to retreat from the policy of cultural assimilation and assault. In 1991 lawmakers decreed that those who wished to restore their names could do so (for a period of three years). Slavic endings to ethnic names could also be removed; this decree was directed not just at the Turks but at other groups, such as the Roma, who had been forced to alter their familial spellings. In addition, limited language instruction in Turkish was reinstated. At the same time, however, the Socialists, who controlled the parliament, added a measure to the new constitution that prohibited the formation of political parties on the basis of religion or ethnicity, a provision clearly directed at the Turkish minority. Thus, although some of the provisions of the campaign against the minorities were repealed, and a new friendship agreement was concluded with the Turkish government, the effects and lessons of the xenophobic exercise in nationalism have lingered.

Despite the restrictions on the formation of political parties, a political organ, the Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF), formed to represent the voice of the Turkish population, which increased with the return of over one-half the Turks who had emigrated in 1989. Although the MRF has been courted to participate in coalition governments, criticism of the human rights record toward the Turkish minority (as well as the Roma) has continued to be a barrier toward admission to the European Union and NATO. In the late 1990s the leadership of the dominant political party in the country, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), made overtures to the Turkish population. It was clear that as Bulgaria moved toward full integration into the European system, the problems of aggressive nationalism would be detrimental to the greater cause of economic progress and international respect. Nevertheless, the dangers of nationalism and irredentism, as evidenced by what has occurred in the former Yugoslavia as well as in the case of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, are always potentially sources of division and hostility that linger, influenced by the past. Whether the moves by Bulgarian leaders to deal with the problems of the Turkish minority are sincere or based solely on expediency thus remains to be seen. For Bulgaria to make progress in the third millennium, that part of its past has to stay buried.

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CHRONOLOGY

Fifth century B.C.E.	Thracian kingdom established in Bulgarian lands.
352 B.C.E.	Conquest of the Bulgarian lands by Philip of Macedon.
First and second centuries B.C.E.	Conquest by the Romans.
Sixth and seventh centuries C.E.	Migration of the Bulgars and the Slavs into the region south of the Danube and settlement there.
681	Following his victory over a Byzantine army, Bulgarian khan Asparuh is recognized by Constantinople as the head of a Bulgarian state with its capital at Pliska.
681–1018	First Bulgarian Empire.

Eighth and ninth centuries	The slow assimilation of the ruling Bulgars by the larger Slavic population, who in turn adopt the term Bulgarian for themselves.
803	Bulgar forces, led by Krum, defeat a Byzantine army led by the emperor Nicephorus.
852	Boris becomes khan.
864	Conversion by Boris to Orthodox Christianity.
886	First translations of religious texts into Old Bulgarian, or Old Church Slavonic.
893–927	Height of First Bulgarian Empire under Simeon the Great, with his capital at Preslav.
917	Simeon takes title of "Tsar of the Bulgarians and Emperor of the Romans" after failed siege of Constantinople in 913.
927	Recognition of the Bulgarian Patriarchate by Constantinople.
946	Death of John of Rila; construction of Rila Monastery begins.
Tenth and eleventh centuries	Bogomil "heresy" weakens Bulgarian state.
1018	Fall of First Bulgarian Empire to Byzantine forces led by Basil II ("the Bulgar-Slayer").
1185	Creation of Second Bulgarian Empire with capital at Turnovo, after successful revolution led by Petur and Asen.
1185–1396	Second Bulgarian Empire.
1218–1241	Territorial height of empire under Asen II.
1371	Bulgarian tsar becomes a vassal of the Ottoman Turks; Bulgaria is divided into two parts, with capitals at Vidin (west) and Turnovo (east).
1393	Turnovo taken by Ottoman forces; Bulgarian Patriarchate abolished.
1396	Ottomans take Vidin, ending the Second Bulgarian Empire.
1396–1878	Ottoman rule of Bulgarian lands.
1453	Forces of Mehmed the Conqueror take Constantinople.
1762	Paisi of Hilendar publishes *A Slavonic-Bulgarian History (Istoriia Slavianobolgarskaia),* which attacks Greek influence in Bulgaria.
1774	Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji grants Russia authority to protect Christians in the Ottoman lands.
1792–1807	Warlord Osman Pasvanoglu rules from Vidin over parts of Bulgarian lands.
1806	First work in Bulgarian published in Bucharest.
1809	Bishop Sofronii establishes a Bulgarian center in Bucharest.
1835	First Bulgarian school established at Gabrovo.
1839	Beginning of *Tanzimat* (reform) period in Ottoman Empire, aimed at revitalizing the empire. Reform period lasts until 1876.
1856	First *chitalishta* (reading rooms) are established.
1860s	*Cheti* (armed groups) form in Romania to fight for liberation. Key revolutionaries include Georgi Rakovski, Liuben Karavelov, Khristo Botev, and Vasil Levski.
1870	Ottoman sultan offers the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian church, the Exarchate.
1876	Failed April Uprising.
1877–1878	Russo-Turkish War.
March 1878	Treaty of San Stefano creates an independent "Big Bulgaria."
July 1878	Congress of Berlin revises the provisions of San Stefano. A semi-independent Bulgaria and an autonomous Eastern Rumelia (under Ottoman jurisdiction) are created.
1879	Turnovo Constitution written, which will remain in force until the "Dimitrov Constitution" of 1947.
April 1879	Alexander of Battenberg elected monarch.
1885	Union with Eastern Rumelia.
November 1885	Serbo-Bulgarian War.
8–17 August 1886	Coup led by pro-Russian officers in the Bulgarian army forces Alexander to abdicate; countercoup, led by Stefan Stambolov, invites Alexander to retake throne.
26 August 1886	Alexander formally abdicates.
June 1887	Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg is elected as new monarch.
1891	Bulgarian Social Democratic Party founded.
1893	Formation of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO).
1894	Resignation of Stambolov government.
1895	Assassination of Stambolov.
1899	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU) founded.
1903	Failed Ilinden Uprising in Macedonia.
1903	Formation of Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party by Dimitûr Blagoev.
1908	Bulgaria gains complete independence; Ferdinand takes the title of tsar.
1912	Formation of Balkan League with Serbia and Greece.
October 1912–May 1913	First Balkan War.
May 1913	Treaty of London ends First Balkan War; Bulgaria does not feel properly compensated in Macedonia.
June–July 1913	Bulgaria attacks Macedonia, precipitating Second Balkan War.

August 1913	Treaty of Bucharest ends Second Balkan War; Bulgaria loses territory, including southern Dobrudja.
October 1915	Bulgaria enters World War I on the side of the Central Powers by declaring war on Serbia.
September 1916	Bulgaria attacks Romania.
September 1918	Salonika Front breaks, leading to armistice and Radomir Rebellion.
October 1918	Ferdinand abdicates for son Boris.
November 1919	Treaty of Neuilly signed. Bulgaria loses land to Serbia, Romania, and Greece.
1920	Aleksandûr Stamboliiski forms a government led by the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union.
June 1923	Coup overthrows and murders Stamboliiski; government led by Aleksandûr Tsankov forms.
September 1923	Failed September Uprising against rightist government.
1930s	Effects of Great Depression cause severe economic dislocation.
1934	Greece, Turkey, Romania, and Yugoslavia form Balkan Pact aimed at containing Bulgarian territorial revisionism.
May–June 1934	Boris overthrows government and bans all political parties and organizations; Turnovo Constitution is suspended.
1933–1941	Growth in economic dependence on Nazi Germany.
March 1941	Bulgaria joins the Tripartite Pact.
April 1941	Bulgarian troops occupy Yugoslav Macedonia and western Thrace.
1943	Coalition of parties, led by the Communist Party, forms the Fatherland Front.
August 1943	Boris dies.
September 1944	Soviet army crosses into Bulgaria. Bulgaria declares war on Nazi Germany.
8–9 September 1944	Coup d'état by Fatherland Front overthrows the government.
1946	Fatherland Front candidates control the National Assembly.
November 1946	Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov named prime minister.
1947	Peace treaty with Allied powers ratified; opposition leader Nikola Petkov arrested, tried, and executed; new constitution, the "Dimitrov Constitution," promulgated.
1949	Dimitrov dies; replaced by Vulko Chervenkov, a hard-liner who will purge the Party of "deviationists."
1949–1951	First campaign against the Turkish minority leads to the flight of 155,000 Turks.
1953	Death of Soviet leader Josef Stalin; Chervenkov increasingly isolated politically.
1954	Todor Zhivkov named first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP).
1958	Turkish schools in Bulgaria closed.
1962	Zhivkov consolidates power.
1971	Zhivkov issues new constitution.
1981	Celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the First Bulgarian Empire.
1984–1985	Campaign against the Turkish minority intensifies.
1989	Renewed campaign against the Turkish and Muslim minority.
November 1989	Zhivkov replaced as Party secretary at plenary Party session by Petûr Mladenov; days later he is replaced as president as well.
January 1990	BCP gives up exclusive political power; in April it will rename itself the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).
1990	First free elections in the postcommunist era; despite BSP victory, a coalition of opposition parties, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), refuses to endorse BSP program.
22 November 1990	The People's Republic of Bulgaria is renamed the Republic of Bulgaria.
1991	Zhelyu Zhelev elected president.
1992	Privatization laws adopted.
April 1997	Elections lead to UDF government headed by Ivan Kostov.
June 2001	A new party, the Simeon National Movement, headed by the former monarch Simeon II, wins elections. Simeon becomes new prime minister. Later, Georgi Parvanov, from the BSP, elected president.

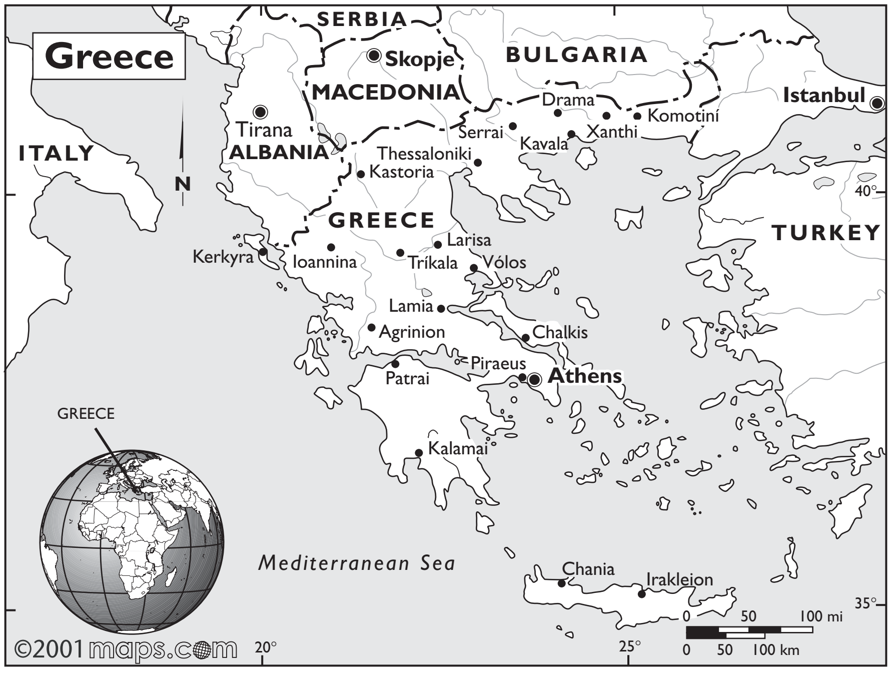
GREECE

ALEXANDROS K. KYROU

LAND AND PEOPLE

At varying times in their almost 4,000-year-history, the Greeks have populated diverse areas of the larger Mediterranean world. The earliest Greek communities emerged within a geographic pale corresponding roughly to Greece's current territory and extending across the Aegean Sea to the central and southern portions of Asia Minor's western coast. At the height of their distribution of settlement in antiquity, Greeks dominated the southern Balkans and the peninsula's surrounding islands, western and northern Asia Minor, southern Italy and Sicily, and Cyprus. At the same time, Greek populations, especially in urban communities, were widely dispersed along the shores of the Black Sea, the Libyan coast in North Africa, and throughout much of the Near East; meanwhile, Greek colonies in Western Europe dotted the Mediterranean coasts of France and Spain, and networks of Greek settlement stretched as far as Iran and Afghanistan in Southwest Asia. During the Middle Ages, Greek society, and its population, consolidated through the Byzantine Empire to form a geographic and population core anchored in, first, the peninsular landmass of Asia Minor and, second, the southern Balkans, as well as the Aegean Islands and Cyprus. Greek communities continued to cling to southern Italy and Sicily, as well as other places, but these particular historic Greek centers steadily declined under the pressures of foreign conquest and assimilation.

During the early modern period, and largely as a result of the Greek world's conquest by the Ottoman Turks, a major territorial contraction of the Greek population took place. In Asia Minor, most of the region's Greek population, despite its survival in considerable numbers along the Aegean and Black Sea coastal areas, as well as places in the interior, was displaced or assimilated by the Turks. In the Balkans, although Greeks continued to dominate the south of the peninsula and even expanded northward into urban settlements throughout the region, Ottoman conquest of Southeastern Europe brought with it Turkish settlement and consequent displacement of many Greek populations, especially in large parts of Macedonia and Thrace. The contraction of Greece's geographic space and population distribution was accelerated in the modern era. Although the Greek nation-state emerged in the early nineteenth century as the first successor to the Ottoman Empire, it proved incapable of liberating and incorporating all of the Greeks' geographic patrimony. Today, in fact, the Greek world is geographically smaller than at any other time in its history. In its present form, the country's territory of 131,957 square kilometers is overwhelmingly mountainous, shaped by a complex coastline exceeding 15,000 kilometers in length, and includes as many as 2,000 islands and islets that dot the surrounding Aegean, Ionian, and Mediterranean Seas.


Greece
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Piraeus
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The Acropolis, Athens. (PhotoDisc, Inc.)

Given Greek society's exceptionally long history, it is not surprising that Greece's geographic stage, and corresponding population landscape, experienced such dramatic change. What is remarkable, however, is that the Greeks managed for over three millennia to maintain or reassert their constant, dominant position in the southernmost Balkans, their historic homeland and geographic base. Often identified as the Greek peninsula, this region, comprising the lands of the modern Greek state, are traditionally divided into nine geographic regions that are differentiated by historic frontiers but not by political administration. The six mainland regions are Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace in the north, and Central Greece, the Peloponnesus, and Thessaly to the south. The three island regions consist of the Aegean Islands, in the Aegean Sea between mainland Greece and Turkey, the Ionian Islands, in the Ionian Sea immediately west of the mainland, and the island of Crete, straddling the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas.

Greece's most underdeveloped area, Epirus, is the Greek part of a larger territory, which extends into Albania. Dominated by a mass of complex mountain lines known as the Pindus Range, Epirus is the most mountainous region in Greece and, by virtue of its rugged topography and limited passageways, the country's historically most isolated area. Because there are no major valleys between its steep ridges, Epirus is also a poor agricultural region, suitable mainly for pasture. The chief city, Ioannina, which enjoyed considerable cultural and political influence in Ottoman times, functions today as the region's primary commercial center. Although the population of Epirus played an important role in the Greek Revolution against Ottoman rule in the 1820s, most of Epirus was not incorporated into Greece until 1913.

East of Epirus, south of the border with the former Yugoslavia and bounded by the Aegean Sea, is Macedonia, the largest region of Greece. Macedonia is the Greek portion of a geographically larger area that also includes the lands comprising southwestern Bulgaria and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM, or the Republic of Macedonia, which until 1991 was the southernmost republic in Yugoslavia). Macedonia's terrain is defined primarily by rugged mountains interspersed with fertile river valleys and an extensive coastal plain shaped by the Axios (Vardar) River, which empties into the Aegean Sea. Western Macedonia, an area dotted with several large lakes, is the mountainous source of Greece's longest flowing river, the Aliakmonas, which meanders eastward to form a swampy delta shared with the mouth of the Axios River. The fertile Strymonas (Struma) River valley is nestled in eastern Macedonia. Central Macedonia's plain is one of the most agriculturally productive regions in the Balkans and a resource crucial to Greece's economy. Greece's second largest city, Thessaloniki, is also located in central Macedonia. Thessaloniki possesses one of the most strategic ports in Southeastern Europe and the city serves as an important commercial center, linking Balkan markets with international trade. Founded in the fourth century B.C.E., Thessaloniki was for many centuries, both in the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires, the most important economic and cultural center in the Balkans after Constantinople. Southeast of Thessaloniki, one of Macedonia's most prominent geographic features, the Chalcidice peninsula, extends three subpeninsulas into the Aegean Sea. The rugged easternmost of these three long arms of land is home to the autonomous religious community of Mount Athos, a legendary Orthodox Christian monastic enclave that has provided seclusion to its male-only members for more than a millennium. Athos, although preserving its status as a self-governing territory, was, like the rest of Greek Macedonia, incorporated into the Greek state in 1913.

Thrace, like Epirus and Macedonia, is the Greek part of a larger geographic and historic region. Greek Thrace is sometimes distinguished as Western Thrace to differentiate it from Turkish Thrace, also known as Eastern Thrace or European Turkey. Thrace's eastern border is defined by the Evros (Maritsa) River, which separates Greece and Turkey, while the Greek border with Bulgaria serves as the region's northern frontier. To the south, Thrace meets the Aegean Sea, and to the west the Nestos River sets the regional border between Greek Macedonia and Thrace. While most of northern Thrace is dominated by the Rhodope Mountains, Thrace's southern lands encompass three alluvial plains, running along the coast of the Aegean Sea and the valley of the Evros River. Thrace became part of Greece in 1919.

The region of central Greece, known historically as Rumeli, extends from the Ionian Sea on the west to the Aegean Sea on the east, and from Epirus and Thessaly in the north to the Gulf of Corinth on the south. The main range of the Pindus Mountains extends southward into the western part of Central Greece, where it connects with another mountain system, the Parnassian Range, which extends southeastward toward the historic area of Attica and the city of Athens. Greece's capital, Athens, is surrounded by its largest metropolitan area and neighbors the country's chief port, Piraeus. Greater Athens is the hub of Greece's lucrative international trade and investing activity and the center of the country's largest industrial complex. Leaving an enormous intellectual, cultural, and political imprint on the development of civilization, the legacy of ancient Athens continues to overshadow much of the modern city, which, like its ancient ancestor, has developed a reputation for rapid growth, overcrowding, an inadequate transportation structure, a frenetic pace of public and private life, and a creative and resourceful population. Center-stage along with the Peloponnesus in the course of the Greek Revolution, fought in the 1820s for liberation from Ottoman rule, Rumeli, or Central Greece, was one of the core territories comprising the independent Greek state established in 1832.

The southernmost part of mainland Greece, as well as the Balkan Peninsula, is a mountainous landmass connected to central Greece by an isthmus only four miles wide at its narrowest point. The isthmus connecting the Peloponnesus to central Greece, is, in fact, cut by the Corinth Canal. Since the canal's completion in 1893, the Peloponnesus has been made a virtual island surrounded by the Gulf of Corinth on the north, the Ionian Sea to the west, the Mediterranean Sea on the south, and the Aegean Sea in the east. The Peloponnesus, like much of Greece, is renowned for its physical beauty, which also reflects an intensely complex concentration of diverse topographical features. The Peloponnesian networks of mountains extend southward to form three peninsulas that make up the southernmost points of the landmass. In the center of the Peloponnesus, surrounded by mountains, rests the Plateau of Arcadia. Lowlands stretch along the northern and western coasts, along inland river valleys, and in several spring-fed mountain basins, while fertile alluvial plains are found in the northeast. All the same, much of the peninsula is arid during summer, requiring irrigation in many agricultural areas. The centrally located city of Tripolis aside, most of the Peloponnesus's population is located on the periphery of the peninsula. Still home to several cities, such as Argos, Corinth, and Sparta, renowned for their importance in the ancient world, today the Peloponnesus's largest and most important city is the thriving industrial, commercial, and port city of Patras on the north coast. A major source of early nationalist revolutionaries and the first region to be liberated from Ottoman rule during the Greek War of Independence, the Peloponnesus was a core territory of the modern Greek state created in 1832.

The region of Thessaly occupies the east side of the Pindus watershed, extending south of Macedonia, north of Central Greece, and on to the Aegean Sea. Thessaly's major river, the Pinios, originating in the Pindus Range and emptying into the Aegean, flows through the region's most important topographical feature, its central plain. The fertile, and relatively large, Thessalian Plain constitutes one of Greece's most vital agricultural areas, particularly for the production of grains and livestock. Another of Thessaly's most prominent geographic features is a spur of mountains extending southeastward from Mount Olympus in Macedonia along the Aegean coast, forming and terminating in the Magnesia peninsula. The peninsula envelops the Gulf of Pagasai along which rests one of Thessaly's two major urban centers, the port city of Volos. The nearly landlocked gulf provides metropolitan Volos with a natural harbor for shipping the agricultural products from the plains just to the west. Thessaly's second large city, Larisa, makes good use of its geographic position in the center of the region's productive plain and at the nexus of major transportation corridors to function as one of Greece's largest food-processing centers. The Ottoman Empire was forced to cede to Greece most of Thessaly in 1881; the remainder of the region's territory was incorporated in 1913.

Greece's islands have long held a special place in the imagination of Greeks and foreigners alike. Like the mainland, however, the islands are geographically and topographically far more diverse than they are popularly represented. Most of the islands are geological extensions of the mountains of the Greek mainland, forming regional clusters in the Aegean Sea. In the northern Aegean the densely forested island of Thasos is part of Macedonia, dry Samothrace belongs to Thrace, and the lush chain of the Northern Sporades make up part of Thessaly.

In the western and central Aegean are a large group of some twenty-four islands comprising the Cyclades. Excluding Naxos and Siros, which benefit from fertile and well-watered valleys, most of the Cyclades Islands are dry, rocky, and infertile. A historic bed of piracy and a source of decisive opposition to the Ottomans for control of the sea during the Greek Revolution, the Cyclades were an integral part of independent Greece established in 1832. East of the Cyclades and close to the Turkish coast is another archipelago known as the Dodecanese Islands, the largest of which is Rhodes. The Dodecanese, wrested from the Ottoman Empire by Italy in 1911 and awarded to Greece in 1947, comprise the last territories added to Greece. North of the Dodecanese are the relatively large islands of Samos, Ikaria, Chios, Lesbos, and Lemnos, the first of which is remarkable for its green forests, the fourth of which is notable as one of Greece's most economically developed islands, known for its enormously profitable olive production. All of these islands were acquired by Greece in 1913.

Shielding the Aegean Islands from the Mediterranean Sea is Crete, Greece's largest island. Crete's location in the eastern Mediterranean and on the cusp of the Aegean has made it historically significant as a natural and vital link in the exchange and diffusion of cultures between Europe and the Near East. Conquered by the Ottomans in 1669, Crete had been a Venetian possession for more than four centuries. After several uprisings against the Ottomans, Crete secured autonomous status in 1897 and was incorporated into Greece in 1913.

Finally, beyond the Aegean and immediately west of the Greek mainland are the Ionian Islands, which share the name of the sea in which they are found. Corfu is the northernmost of the main Ionian Islands, as well as the archipelago's most populous, most prosperous, and most strategic island. In fact, its strategic position, which commands the strait between Italy and the Balkans where the Ionian and Adriatic seas meet, had placed it for several centuries at the mercy and occupation of several foreign powers such as Venice, Russia, France, and Britain. Corfu is the only part of Greece never to have been subject to Ottoman conquest and rule. Corfu, as well as the other Ionian Islands, was ceded by Britain to Greece in 1864. Despite their many differences, the Greek islands share a set of distinctive features that have defined the broader Greek historical experience—the geographical markers of sea and mountains.

NATURE AND ENVIRONMENT

Greece's environment is significantly influenced by its climate, which is largely Mediterranean but with considerable regional variation. There are essentially five main climatic regions in Greece: Attica and the Aegean, the continental northeast, the mainland mountainous interior, the Peloponnesus, and the west (including the Ionian Islands). Considerable local variation within these zones results from differing elevation and distance from the sea. The dominant condition of Greece's climate is the alteration between hot dry summers and cold damp winters typical of the larger Mediterranean climatic belt. Continental climatic and weather influences are, as could be expected, felt more in the north and in the center of the country than in other parts of Greece. In winter, low-pressure systems originating in the North Atlantic reach Greece, bringing rain and drawing cold winds from the eastern Balkans over Macedonia and Thrace. In summer, low-pressure systems decline, allowing for hot and dry conditions throughout most of the country. Precipitation throughout the year is influenced appreciably by elevation, with high mountain regions from Macedonia, in the north, to Crete, in the south, covered with snow for several months during the year.

The rapid modernization that swept Greece in the postwar period also produced severe pressures on Greece's natural environment. Several of the problems associated with ongoing economic development have had a deleterious effect on Greece's ecological system. The considerable expansion of industrial activity, a dramatic increase in the number and use of motor vehicles, poor controls over land use, and massive waves of regular tourism have lowered air and water quality and placed enormous strains on Greece's environment. Athens, for example, has become known for acutely poor air quality and frequent severe incidents of smog. The city's climatic conditions and topography favor formation and trapping of pollutants close to the ground, a condition created in large part because the rapid postwar urbanization of Attica has proceeded without any systematic plan for traffic and industrial expansion. The same conditions contribute to air pollution in Thessaloniki, albeit to a lesser extent. In addition, sulfur dioxide, created chiefly by industrial manufacturing, has severely damaged monuments and stone buildings in Athens and Thessaloniki and generated acid rain that has injured the health of forests in Epirus, Central Greece, and Macedonia.

Water pollution and soil conservation have likewise become serious problems. Greece has shared in the general postwar deterioration of water quality in the Mediterranean basin. Bodies of water adjacent to industrial centers, especially the Saronikos Gulf south of Athens, where virtually half of Greece's industrial complex is located, receive large amounts of untreated industrial waste and municipal sewage. Greece's soil, most of which is naturally poor in organic matter, has been degraded in recent decades by the extensive, and in some instances uncontrolled, use of fertilizers as well as by soil erosion, the latter a problem plaguing Greece since antiquity. Furthermore, together with chronic and apparently increasing droughts, erosion has caused semi-desertification in many agricultural areas. Finally, rural vegetation has been stripped by overgrazing and urban sprawl construction, further contributing to soil erosion. The major agricultural plains of Macedonia and Thessaly have, however, been largely immune to soil erosion problems.

In response to the mounting crises, which became clearly apparent in the 1970s, Greek governments have produced a mass of environmental regulations. Greece's 1975 constitution gives the state authority over the country's environment and natural resources, while the 1986 Law on the Protection of the Environment sets the basic principles of

Greece's environmental policy. However, rather than establishing an efficient, centralized apparatus for implementing and enforcing such principles, the 1986 law provides for no autonomous regulatory environmental agency. In place of such an agency, the law requires nearly one hundred implementation decisions by multiple government agencies before going into full effect. The unwieldy nature of this structure has promoted bureaucratic inaction and even obstruction as much as it has led to any tangible problem solving. Often, for example, government ministries responsible for infrastructure projects and linked construction industries oppose land-use and conservation initiatives.

Despite the state's largely failed attempts to introduce effective environmental protection policies on its own, significant progress has been made on this front in Greece since the early 1990s. This progress is largely the result of the convergence of a number of sources of pressure and activism that have compelled, or forced, government and industry in Greece to undertake measures to tackle the country's environmental problems. The Greek media have been instrumental in this area by increasing attention to escalating problems. Pressure beginning in the early 1990s from the European Community (EC), and later its successor, the European Union (EU), on Greece to uphold national and international environmental obligations were important in motivating the Greek government to act more responsibly. Likewise, major decisions made by the Council of State, the highest administrative court in Greece, overturning antienvironmental policies had a decisive impact on the advancement of environmental concerns. In addition, during the 1990s several grassroots nongovernment environmental organizations emerged, and have continued, to mobilize public opinion in support of specific environmental issues. Moreover, such activist groups have brought environment-driven legal proceedings successfully before the Council of State in Greece and relevant agencies of the EU. Despite steadily increasing successes, Greece's environmental movement remains fragmented and highly localized, beginning only recently to coordinate and coalesce its efforts on a national level comparable to the "Green" groups of Western Europe.

Agriculture, the backbone of the Greek economy since antiquity, has experienced steady proportional decline as a sector of the country's overall economy in the postwar period. This trend, of course, is representative of the transition to an increasingly more developed economy and general modernization. The shrinkage of the agricultural sector, relative to other sectors, has been accelerated especially during the last two decades. For instance, whereas agriculture (together with forestry and fishing, the so-called primary sector) contributed approximately 20 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) around 1980, by the year 2000 that figure had declined by half to about 10 percent. Nevertheless, agriculture remains comparatively more important to Greece than to most other EU countries. In the EU as a whole, the agricultural sector contributes 6–7 percent of GDP. Notwithstanding, employment in agriculture has declined as the primary sector's role in the Greek economy has receded. While in 1980 persons employed in agriculture represented 28 percent of national employment, two decades later that figure had declined by almost one-third to approximately 20 percent.

Despite the modern transformation of Greece's agricultural sector toward export crops, the millennia-old tradition of fragmented, non-contiguous, and small-scale landholdings continues to persist. This pattern of land tenure was reinforced in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries by state land distribution programs that divided national lands to be given to landless peasants. The state's commitment to universal land ownership for the peasantry spared Greece much of the social instability, hence the absence of a significant agrarian political movement, that was common throughout much of the rest of prewar Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, the application of these policies often sacrificed efficiency in land use for equity in land distribution.

Greece's total agricultural utilization area is 3.7 million hectares (one hectare equals approximately 2.5 acres) of land, of which roughly 60 percent is in the plains and 40 percent is in the semimountainous or mountainous areas. While two-thirds of the land under cultivation is used for crops, and about one-quarter for orchards, the remaining agricultural land is used for pasturage and vineyards. In the EU as a whole, the average area per holding is approximately fourteen hectares, while in Greece the average is below four hectares. The small size of individual landholdings is the primary cause of lower agricultural productivity in Greece compared with other EU countries. The economies of scale offered by the most recent advances in farming methods have a limited impact on small plots of land characteristic of the Greek agricultural sector.

Greece's diverse topography and climatic conditions have led to differences in agricultural practices and cultivation methods throughout the country. For example, in Macedonia and Thessaly approximately 85 percent of agricultural land was cropland, while in Crete two-thirds of the island's agricultural areas were occupied by vineyards and orchards. Meanwhile, in the Peloponnesus two-thirds of agricultural land was used as cropland and one-third was used for vineyards and orchards. The approximate shares of major crops in total agricultural production are as follows: 16 percent from cotton, tobacco, and sugar beets; 11 percent from wheat and other grains; 11 percent from fruits and vegetables; 11 percent from olive products; and 6 percent from grapes. Livestock and livestock production constitute roughly 30 percent of the total value of Greece's agricultural output. The largest components of the country's livestock population are sheep and goats, whose meat and milk, respectively, account for 6 percent and 7 percent of the agricultural total. Whereas most of the sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry are evenly distributed among the agricultural regions of the country, about half of Greece's cattle are concentrated in the plains of Macedonia. Beef and milk provide 6 percent of the country's agricultural output, while poultry and eggs account for 6 percent, and pork for 4 percent.

POPULATION

At the time of the 2001 census, the population of Greece was 10,964,020, marking an increase of approximately

700,000 since 1991. The de jure population by region was approximately as follows: 490,000 in the Aegean Islands; 4.6 million in Central Greece; 580,000 in Crete; 400,000 in Epirus; 220,000 in the Ionian Islands; 2.32 million in Macedonia; 1.18 million in the Peloponnesus; 800,000 in Thessaly; and 370,000 in Thrace. Greece's largest urban area is metropolitan, or Greater, Athens with a population of 3,761,810 in 2001. Metropolitan Thessaloniki's population exceeds 740,000, followed by Patras with a population of approximately 175,000. Only three other cities, Heraklion on Crete and Larisa and Volos in Thessaly, have populations over 100,000. According to the most recent statistics, Greece has a population density of 78 persons per square kilometer. As for most other EU countries, the Greek birthrate has been declining steadily in the postwar period from its peak of 20.3 births per 1,000 inhabitants in 1951 to an estimated 9.82 in the year 2000. At present, 18 percent of the population is 65 years and over, 67 percent is 15–64 years, and 15 percent is under 15 years of age. Females, making up 51 percent of the country's population, have an average life expectancy of seventy-nine years, three years longer than that for males. Greece has a literacy rate of 95 percent.

According to official statistics, Greece's ethnic composition consists of a 98 percent Greek population and minority populations totaling only 2 percent. The latter figure typically does not include the small Vlach population, of fewer than 80,000, concentrated primarily in the central Pindus Range area and the even smaller Macedonian Slav population, numbering less than 40,000, located in northwestern Macedonia, both of which have been viewed culturally, if not linguistically, as Greek. Greece's largest minority comprises approximately 130,000 Muslims in Thrace, half of whom are ethnic Turks, one-quarter of whom are Pomaks (ethnic Bulgarian, or Bulgarian-speaking, Muslims), and the remainder of whom are Roma (Gypsies). Greece's indigenous population is one of the most ethnically homogeneous in Europe. Notwithstanding, during the 1990s Greek society experienced increased ethnic diversification through the influx of significant numbers of foreign workers. Historically a net exporter of labor, as the Greek economy developed during the preceding decade, Greece was transformed into a net importer of labor. Whereas a million persons emigrated from Greece between 1944 and 1974 to industrialized countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, since 1991 the trend has been reversed, with the number of immigrants to Greece far exceeding emigrants, the latter's once substantial numbers now altogether insignificant. By 2001 there were perhaps as many as 500,000 to 600,000 foreign citizens living in Greece. Although a significant proportion of that population consists of ethnic Greeks from Albania and the former Soviet Union, the overwhelming majority was made up of laborers from the former East Bloc and developing countries.

Perhaps the most significant postwar change in Greece's demography has been the rapid urbanization of the country's population. Whereas in 1940 only 32 percent of Greece's population resided in urban areas, by 1971 only 35 percent remained in rural communities, and in 2001 only 28 percent of Greece's population was categorized as rural. This dramatic shift of the majority of Greece's population from rural to urban and semiurban life in one generation has also produced dramatic social changes. Furthermore, Greece's population has also shifted into a new geographical axis defined by Athens in the south and Thessaloniki in the north. Through a pattern of expanding chain migration, village families established lives in the city, with migrants to Athens coming mainly from southern Greece and the islands and their counterparts in Thessaloniki coming from the north of the country. The highest rates of this postwar wave of migration took place between 1950 and 1967. Although the trend slowed during the late 1960s and through the 1970s, in those two decades alone Athens grew by 37 percent and 19 percent, respectively, and Thessaloniki grew by 46 percent and 27 percent, respectively.

RELIGION

Reflecting Greece's ethnic and cultural homogeneity, an estimated 97 percent of Greece's population identifies itself as Orthodox Christian, while 1.3 percent is Muslim. The country's remaining religious communities comprise small groups of, in order of their size, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. With Greek philosophy, language, and ideas so decisively informing the development of Christianity in Late Antiquity, with Orthodox Christianity functioning as the chief source of inspiration for cultural production and worldview among the medieval Greeks, and with the imprint of the Orthodox Church as the primary Greek institution for the organization and preservation of collective identity under Ottoman rule, it is not surprising that Orthodoxy remains closely intertwined with national identity in Greece today.

Orthodox Christianity is based on the theology of Christianity as codified in the canons passed by the first seven church councils of the Byzantine (Christian Roman) Empire, as well as by the Christian Church's patristic foundations, established by Christ, the Apostles, and the early Church Fathers. In contrast to Western Christianity, which has developed a largely legal and functional approach to theology, Orthodoxy has consistently emphasized the experiential and mystical dimensions of theology. Furthermore, unlike Western Christendom, which was by the Early Middle Ages preoccupied with conflicts over papal religious versus secular supremacy, Eastern Christendom remained committed to the principle of ecclesiastical unity, but with a decentralized administration. This principle had been realized in practice with the creation of the five patriarchal sees of (in order of their establishment) Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople. Eastern Christendom's tradition of cultural and administrative decentralization as a basis for ecclesiastical organization led to the formation, concurrent with the creation of an independent Greek state, of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Greece (Church of Greece) in 1830; the autocephaly of the Church of Greece was recognized by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1850.

During much of its history, the relationship between the Church of Greece and the Greek state was characterized by simultaneous partnership and ambivalence. One of the means by which the early Greek state sought to legitimize itself and

The Greek Language

Greek is the official language of the Greek state, and the primary language spoken by virtually all of the almost 11 million inhabitants of Greece, as well as the more than a half million Greeks of Cyprus. Greek continues to be spoken in some villages of Apulia and Calabria in southern Italy, throughout much of southern Albania, and among the dwindling Greek community of Istanbul. Greek is also spoken around the world in a global diaspora of 4–6 million Greeks. In terms of native speakers, Greek ranks well down the list of world languages. However, culturally and intellectually its importance is disproportionate to its number of native speakers. As the language of classical Greek philosophy and literature and later as the language cauldron for the development of early Christianity, Greek has profoundly shaped Western thought and world civilization.

Like any other language, Greek has evolved over time, but modern Greek can trace its pedigree to the first attempts at recording ideas in writing. An Indo-European language, Greek, in its several variations, has been used to shape a continuous literary tradition stretching back almost 3,500 years, a role no other European language has played. The earliest records of written Greek, in the archaic Mycenaean dialect, are dated around 1450 B.C.E. Ancient Greek, however, is most associated with Attic Greek, the language of fifth and fourth century B.C.E. Athens, in which most of the surviving classical Greek literature was written. Later, Greek, as it was most widely spoken in the Hellenistic Near East and throughout much of the Roman Empire, became known as *Koine* (Common). This was the form of Greek in which the New Testament was written, and from this version of Greek emerged the medieval Greek that became the official language of the Byzantine Empire and finally modern Greek.

Although its inter-intelligibility with ancient Greek is a matter of debate, modern Greek retains many of the linguistic qualities of its ancient form and a high degree of unity with it. In spite of this basic continuity, until recently the chief linguistic problem for Greece has been a conflict and dichotomy between use of the vernacular language and the literary language. As Greek intellectuals became increasingly influenced by nationalist ideas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, language emerged as an important political issue. As they envisioned an independent Greek state, populist nationalists debated the merits of standardizing the spoken vernacular, demotic Greek, to serve as the language of a future Greek state. In contrast, elitist nationalists sought to return to a form of Greek closer to classical Greek, a literary (or artificial) language, fashioned by intellectuals and known as Katharevousa (pure) Greek. Katharevousa was accepted as the official language of the newly independent Greek state in the 1830s. The adoption of Katharevousa over demotic did not resolve the tensions between the vernacular and higher literary forms. In fact, demotic Greek experienced a creative renaissance beginning in the late nineteenth century and enjoyed increasing support from intellectuals and writers who championed it as a natural expression of the Greek people's nationhood. Although Katharevousa stimulated advances in the sophistication of demotic Greek, the dual-language system tended to reinforce social and economic divisions in Greek society to such an extent that it eventually became associated with a kind of antiquated conservatism. After a long rivalry that contributed as much to its own transformation into a new literary language as to its eventual triumph, in 1976 demotic Greek replaced Katharevousa as the official language of Greece.

its nation-building agenda was by co-opting the Orthodox Church. Meanwhile, the Orthodox Church sought to safeguard its influence in Greek society by virtue of its privileged position vis-à-vis the Greek state. In short, both institutions were interested in the subordination and exploitation of the other; consequently, the Greek state recognized Orthodoxy as the official state religion in 1833. This status for the Orthodox Church ensured that it would have a decisive role in the nation-building process of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but it did not resolve the complex tensions between church and state, which continue, despite fairly recent changes in the status of the Church.

The constitution of 1975 changed the status of Orthodox Christianity and the Orthodox Church from the official "state religion and state Church" to the "prevailing religion and established Church" of Greece. This seemingly minor change, in fact, marked a major reform in church-state relations. By drafting the Orthodox Church as Greece's established but no longer official Church, the state recognized the country's religious majority while acknowledging its religious pluralism. Like several similar constitutionally "prevailing religions and established Churches" in Western Europe, the Orthodox Church of Greece enjoys certain benefits, such as financial support from the state. However, it no longer, especially following additional church-state reforms initiated in the 1980s, wields the kind of influence through the state that it was associated with in the past.

In terms of its administrative structure, the Church of Greece is divided into seventy-eight dioceses, eight dioceses comprising the semiautonomous Church of Crete, four additional dioceses in the Dodecanese Islands, and the monastic community of Mount Athos, which enjoys constitutionally guaranteed autonomy. The Church is governed by a Holy Synod made up of all the diocesan bishops, who convene annually under the chairmanship of the archbishop of Athens, the Church's primate. Twelve bishops, chosen from the Holy Synod on a yearly basis, and the Archbishop of Athens form an executive body responsible for day-to-day Church administration. The dioceses of Crete, the Dodecanese Islands, and, nominally, the monastic community of Mount Athos are officially administratively dependent on the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in Istanbul, Turkey. Mount Athos, given its constitutional protections, is formally organized as the Monastic Republic of Mount Athos and is administered by a committee of twenty monks, each representing one of the community's monasteries.

After Greece's 130,000 Sunni Muslims in Thrace, the country's remaining religious minority groups are made up almost entirely of small Western Christian communities. Chief among these other religious populations are Catholics. Organized into four archdioceses, in 2003 approximately 52,350 Roman Catholics lived in Greece. Most of the members of this community are descendants of Venetian settlers in the islands. Two other Catholic Churches, the Byzantine Rite and the Armenian Rite, have 2,300 and 550 communicants, respectively. The largest Protestant group in the country is the Greek Evangelical Church, which has thirty parishes and approximately 5,000 members. There are also small numbers of Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons in Greece.

Before World War II, Greece had a Jewish population of approximately 75,000. That population, however, like the Jews of every country in Eastern Europe, was devastated by the genocide of World War II. Home to the first Jewish settlement in Europe, Jews have lived in Greece since the fourth century B.C.E. The oldest Jewish communities in Greece, with roots in antiquity, were Romaniote, Greek-speaking, Jews concentrated primarily in Athens and Ioannina. The largest Jewish population in Greece, however, was made up of Sephardic, Ladino-speaking, Jews who first arrived in the Balkans as religious refugees from Spain in the fifteenth century. Before World War II, Sephardic communities of more than a thousand Jews each could be found on Corfu, Crete, and Rhodes, as well as in the towns of Kastoria and Volos. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of Greece's Jews resided in Thessaloniki, where they played a dynamic role in the city's rich cultural and commercial life. In 2003 the Athens-based Central Board of the Jewish Communities of Greece, the main administrative body of Judaism in the country, estimated Greece's Jewish population at about 5,000.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS

The most important official national symbol of Greece is the Greek national flag. Although there is no consensus on the exact origins of the flag, it is clear that it was in use by Greek revolutionaries within the first year of the Greek War of Independence. The newly established Greek state adopted the revolutionary flag as Greece's official flag in 1833. The flag consists of five blue and four white alternating stripes set against a canton, which occupies the upper left corner of the flag. The canton contains a white Orthodox cross over a blue background. The cross symbolizes the Orthodox Christianity of the Greeks and their struggle against the Muslim empire of the Ottoman Turks. The use of nine stripes is deliberate, each stripe representing one of the nine syllables in the revolutionary phrase, *Eleutheria e Thanatos* (Freedom or Death), which served as a motto of determination for liberation from Ottoman rule. According to convention, the flag's two colors represent the blue of Greece's seas and the white of the restless Greek waves. Another view posits that the use of white in the flag was intended by the revolutionaries to symbolize the purity of their cause for freedom.

An unofficial flag, consisting of a simple white cross on a blue background, also dates from the first year of the Greek Revolution. This flag has been used in the past as an alternative national flag but only on land, not at sea. However, from June 1975 until December 1978, this same flag was used as the only official national flag. The law of 1978 reversed this situation, making the striped flag the only official national flag, although the alternative flag can still be seen in unofficial use.

In addition to the country's flag, the Greek national anthem also enjoys official recognition. Inspired by the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Turks begun in 1821, the Greek national anthem is based on the "Hymn to Freedom," a lengthy poem written in 1824 by the distinguished poet Dionysios Solomos, a native of the Ionian island of Zakynthos. In 1828 the eminent composer, and native of the Ionian island of Corfu, Nikolaos Mantzaros, wrote the music for Solomos' Hymn. Although the words and music were an instant sensation and enjoyed immense popularity throughout both liberated and unredeemed Greece, the work of Solomos and Mantzaros was not adopted as the country's official anthem until 1864, when their Hymn, in words and song, finally replaced an unpopular royal anthem that had been imposed on Greece by the Great Powers in 1832.

Rudyard Kipling completed the most popular English-language translation of the national anthem in 1918, as follows:

We knew thee of old,
Oh, divinely restored,
By the lights of thine eyes,
And the light of thy Sword.

From the graves of our slain
Shall thy valor prevail
As we greet thee again—
Hail, Liberty! Hail!

Long time didst thou dwell
Mid the peoples that mourn,

Awaiting some voice
That should bid thee return.

Ah, slow broke that day
And no man dared call,
For the shadow of tyranny
Lay over all:

And we saw thee sad-eyed,
The tears on thy cheeks
While thy raiment was dyed
In the blood of the Greeks.

Yet, behold now thy sons
With impetuous breath
Go forth to the fight
Seeking Freedom or Death.

From the graves of our slain
Shall thy valor prevail
As we greet thee again
Hail, Liberty! Hail!

HISTORY

ANCIENT GREECE

People appear to have first entered Greece as hunter-gatherers from southwest Asia about 50,000 years ago. With the development of agriculture, Neolithic settlers began to establish village life in Greece by 7000 B.C.E. By the third millennium B.C.E., these Stone Age communities were transformed by advances in metallurgy. The subsequent emergence of Bronze Age culture and technology laid the foundations for the rise of Europe's first civilization, Minoan Crete. The Minoans, named for King Minos, a legendary ruler in Greek mythology, had by 2200 B.C.E. created a sophisticated urban society. The Minoan Greeks built considerable prosperity for themselves through maritime trade in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean and innovative agricultural methods at home. Much of their wealth, in fact, was displayed in palace structures and a dramatic architectural and artistic style. The Minoans knew how to write and mastered multiple technologies, including shipbuilding and sailing. The Minoans continued to prosper until about 1450 B.C.E., when the combined pressures of a succession of natural disasters, beginning with a huge volcanic eruption that ravaged the Aegean fifty years earlier, and attacks from neighbors north of Crete brought down Minoan society.

The vulnerable Minoans were attacked and destroyed by the Mycenaeans, probably over control of the lucrative trade routes in the Mediterranean. Greek-speaking people like the Minoans, the Mycenaeans, named for the palace at Mycenae in the Peloponnesus, were settled in the southern Greek mainland as well as most of the Aegean and Ionian islands. Mycenaean culture developed later than Minoan, but by 1400 B.C.E. it had become quite prosperous. Like the Minoans, the Mycenaeans lived in independent communities organized around palaces and ruled by kings. The Mycenaeans had a warrior culture that enabled them to conquer the Minoans, but the Mycenaeans' preoccupation with fighting also contributed to their eventual downfall. By 1200 B.C.E. they began to fight each other in a succession of civil wars that lasted until about 1000 B.C.E., a period that coincided with the arrival in the southern Balkan Peninsula of a new wave of Greek tribes known as the Dorians, who, in turn, were quick to overcome the weakened Mycenaeans and seize many of their lands.

The "invasion" by the Dorians, the Mycenaeans' internecine conflicts, and other still undetermined calamities had major repercussions for the Greek world. These events appear to have caused a major migration of the Mycenaeans across the Aegean to the western coast of Asia Minor and Cyprus. More importantly, and whatever the cause, the entire economic system, kingship and centralized bureaucracy, cities and urban life, art and craftsmanship, as well as literacy disappeared, while population plummeted. For 300 years, from roughly 1050 to 750 B.C.E., after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, a veritable dark age descended on Greece. Recovery came slowly, with the earliest revivals in agriculture and trade occurring in a few locations by 900 B.C.E. Shortly thereafter an innovation in metallurgy helped Greece escape its Dark Age. Greeks acquired from Near Eastern traders the skills necessary for the production of iron and applied this technology to produce, among other things, highly efficient and relatively inexpensive agricultural tools. Plentiful tools helped increase food production and thus stimulated population growth and economic activity.

Technological innovation paved the way for the cultural and political revival of Greece during the eighth century B.C.E. but it was not the only factor behind the rapid redevelopment of Greek society. Other significant stimuli were, first, the restoration of trade with the advanced societies of the Near East, one of the consequences of which was the development of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician script, and, second, the Greek colonization of much of the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts. In response to the pressures produced by a sudden and rapid population growth in a country with relatively limited arable land, large numbers of Greeks left their homeland for livelihood elsewhere. As a result, throughout the eighth century B.C.E. and beyond, Greeks established a network of colonies on the Mediterranean coasts of France and Spain, the Libyan coast of North Africa, the southern and northern shores of the Black Sea, and especially in southern Italy and Sicily, where eventually Greek cities were so densely concentrated and the Greek population so large and dominant that the region would come to be called *Magna Graecia,* or Greater Greece, by the Romans.

The reemergence of cities, among other things, marked the transition from the Dark Age to what is commonly labeled the Archaic Period, lasting from about 750 to 500 B.C.E. The poverty and insecurity of the Dark Age had forced people to cooperate in order to defend themselves, and gradually the Greeks established political power-sharing practices. By the beginning of the Archaic Period most Greeks had organized themselves into independent

Mural, palace of Minos, Knossos. (Corel Corporation)

city-states *(poleis)*. Breaking the tradition of kingship, the Greeks created new kinds of political organization for their growing communities. Initially, most of the city-states were dominated by an oligarchy, a limited elite, which was often overthrown by tyrants who temporarily seized sole power on behalf of the people. By the close of the Archaic Period this process of political evolution led to a political innovation that replaced most tyrannies and remaining oligarchies. In short, driven by the goal of avoiding a strong central authority, and utilizing long-established power and decision-making practices, the Greeks created democracy, a system involving shared self-government by all of the state's citizens. The Greek city-state, or polis, was a political and social organization based on the concept of citizenship, which guaranteed shared rights and responsibilities to its free members. Citizenship made, at least in theory if not always in practice, free men, regardless of their social status or wealth, political partners who shared equal privileges and duties under the law. In Greek democracies, all free adult male citizens, including the poor, shared in government by membership and voting in a political assembly, where laws and policies were decided. Although Greek society was decidedly paternalistic, giving only men the right to participate in politics, women were citizens legally, socially, and religiously, meaning women could own property, were equal before the law, and enjoyed privileged positions in Greek religion.

It was largely within the dynamic of the democratic city-state that Greek culture, especially during the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.E., produced a flood of intellectual and artistic creativity that established the foundation of Western civilization. This period saw the emergence of not only the principle of citizenship and the practice of democracy but philosophy and science as well. Some of the world's most influential thinkers, Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, to name but a few, essentially created our understanding of logic, ethics, and science during this time. Moving beyond their seminal inheritance of Homer, these critical centuries also produced great literary innovations in poetry and theatrical drama and comedy, as well as the first historical writing. In addition, Greek artistic brilliance expressed itself through unparalleled accomplishments in complex and beautiful architecture, as well as masterful sculptures. The works of this period exercised enormous influence in shaping subsequent notions of beauty and excellence in the creative arts and aesthetic concerns, making its own norms and values synonymous with classical standards and ideals. This remarkable confluence of creativity from so many quarters in such a relatively short period of time altered dramatically the trajectory of civilizational development.

Parthenon, Athens. (Corel Corporation)

At any rate, although democracy, most well-represented by the city-state of Athens, was the most common political system among the many Greek polities, by the beginning of the so-called Classical Period, lasting from 500 to 323 B.C.E., kingdoms survived in some parts of Greece, such as Macedonia in the far north, while elsewhere some states blended monarchy with democratic principles to create elite democratic monarchies, such as the militarist city-state of Sparta in the far south of the mainland. What all the Greek states shared in common, however, was a fierce commitment to their respective independence. The continual demand of each city-state for its complete autonomy, combined with Greek geography, which fragmented the country by its mountain complexes, hampered Greek political unity and impeded interstate cooperation even in the face of external threats.

The most serious challenge to Greek freedom, theretofore, arose in the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E. The huge Persian Empire, the most powerful state thus far in existence in the Near East, had conquered the large and prosperous Greek cities and territories in western Asia Minor around 550 B.C.E. Encouraged and supported by Athens, the Greeks in Asia Minor revolted against Persian rule in 499 B.C.E. The revolt was unsuccessful and served only to elicit the wrath of the Persians who now planned to destroy Athens. In 490 B.C.E. a large amphibious force was sent across the Aegean by the Persian emperor Darius to attack Athens. The Persian force did not reach its destination and was instead crushed by the much smaller Athenian citizen-army at the battle of Marathon. For the Athenians the victory was a remarkable demonstration of the superiority of their city-state, and it reinforced the people's confidence in democracy. The Persians, for their part, suffered a severe blow to their prestige that Darius's successor, Xerxes, would attempt to avenge a decade after Marathon. Toward that end, the Persians launched a massive invasion of the Greek mainland in 480 B.C.E., overrunning northern Greece and penetrating as far south as Athens, which had been evacuated before the Persians burned the city. All the same, allied Greek forces led by Sparta, the country's fierce military city-state, had successfully slowed the Persian advance, giving other Greek forces led by Athens, the country's leading naval power, time to consolidate their strength and defeat the Persian navy at the battle of Salamis. A year later, in 479 B.C.E., the Greeks completed their triumph by decisively defeating the Persian army at the battle of Plataia. This string of unexpected Greek victories against the Persians preserved Greek independence and further reinforced their confidence, especially that of the Athenians.

Before the Persian Wars, Sparta was the most powerful and feared city-state in Greece. Athenian power and influence, however, had grown enormously as a consequence of its major role in the defeat of the Persian invasion. Both Athens and Sparta were soon competing with each other for primacy among the Greek city-states. Athens used its wartime fleet to become an aggressive power rivaling Sparta, while Sparta maintained its alliance with other city-states in the Peloponnesus as a counterbalance to the growing influence of Athens. The Delian League, made up largely of the Aegean maritime city-states, brought Athens unprecedented power and wealth. Athens, having established hegemony over the Delian League gradually through the use of force and political controls, converted the alliance into an empire and the erstwhile allies into subject peoples.

As resentment grew against the Athenian misuse of power, the city-state's perhaps most dynamic political leader rose to prominence. Pericles, an Athenian from a distinguished family, and the originator of Athenian monumental public works and building projects, including the Parthenon, became the era's leading politician in the 450s B.C.E. by promoting Athenian dominance within the Delian League and expansionist goals outside the alliance. He sponsored far-flung expeditions in the Black Sea and eastern Mediterranean and engaged the Athenian navy in a confrontation with Sparta. Despite a brief stabilization of relations with Sparta, the aggressive policies of Pericles so threatened the balance of power between Athens and Sparta that any crisis soon acquired the potential to provoke a major conflict. In fact, in 431 B.C.E. tensions erupted when Athens pressured Corinth, a crucial Spartan ally, which was a rival with Athens for maritime trade. Sparta came to the defense of Corinth and the subsequent fighting led to the Peloponnesian War.

Ultimately involving virtually all of the states comprising the Greek political world, and fought in two phases between 431 and 404 B.C.E., the Peloponnesian War began well for Athens, which used its large fleet to good effect against Sparta and its allies. However, the death of Pericles and the superior Spartan army produced a military deadlock. In an effort to break the armed stalemate, the Athenians undertook increasingly bold, risky strategies. In 415 B.C.E. Athens launched an ill-conceived large-scale campaign against Sparta's allies in Sicily, which ended in a catastrophic defeat of the Athenian army outside the city of Syracuse in 413 B.C.E. Athens did not recover from this defeat, and the Spartan victory on land was followed by the destruction of the Athenian navy in 404 B.C.E. and the surrender of Athens in the same year.

Before the victorious Spartans withdrew to their home territory in the Peloponnesus, they imposed a harsh peace on the Athenians. The Athenian empire was dismantled and the Delian League ended. Moreover, Athenian democracy was abolished and replaced by a brutal puppet government made up of an autocratic group of oligarchs. However, with Spartan troops gone from Athens, the oligarchs were unable to keep their hold on power and were overthrown in 403 B.C.E., less than a year after being installed. Athens restored its democracy, rebuilt some of its strength, and entered into a new phase of competition for leadership in Greece. From 403 to 338 B.C.E., Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Thebes competed with each other for hegemony in Greece, with Sparta wielding more power during the first half of this period followed by Thebes during the last half. None of these rivals, however, was strong enough to decisively defeat all of the other competitors and fully dominate Greece. As a result of this intense interstate rivalry, these city-states drove each other to exhaustion by constant warfare, creating instability, weakness, and a veritable power vacuum in central and southern Greece.

The Kingdom of Macedonia stepped into this competition for hegemony in Greece during the reign of Philip II, which began in 359 B.C.E. Despite its comparatively large territory and population, Macedonia had historically been underdeveloped and politically weak. As a consequence, Macedonia rarely played a significant role in Greek politics. In addition, Macedonia's geographic position as Greece's northernmost state had long forced the kingdom to devote most of its attention and resources to the defense of its porous northern frontier against the non-Greek peoples of the central Balkans, the Illyrian and Thracian tribes, who continually raided and sometimes invaded Macedonia's territory. Furthermore, although the Macedonians were ethnically, culturally, and linguistically Greek, they were viewed disparagingly by many southern Greeks as barbarous and even foreign because of their unsophisticated customs and lack of urban ways. Undaunted, the ambitious Philip was committed to asserting Macedonia's leadership in the Greek world. Macedonia emerged as a powerful force when Philip II built up a large, highly disciplined army, which he used to secure the kingdom's northern flank by neutralizing the Illyrians and Thracians and then turned south against his Greek rivals. Effectively employing diplomacy, bribery, and, when faced with resistance, his army and war, by 338 B.C.E. Philip forced the weakened city-states to acknowledge Macedonia's leadership and hegemony in Greece.

Philip's ultimate goal, to lead an allied Greek army in a war of revenge and conquest against the Persian Empire, was taken up by his son, Alexander, who succeeded his father after Philip's assassination in 336 B.C.E. Alexander the Great began the invasion of the Persian Empire in 334 B.C.E., defeating a Persian army near historic Troy, liberating the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, and overrunning Anatolia. Alexander continued his astonishing campaign and added to his growing string of victories through Syria and Egypt, before turning his advance against Mesopotamia, where he demolished the Persian emperor Darius III's final field army in 331 B.C.E., and eventually the heart of the Persian Empire in Iran. After destroying the Persian capital, Persepolis, in an act of vengeance for the Persian burning of Athens almost 150 years earlier, Alexander and his forces resumed their eastward march, conquering former Persian lands in Central Asia and beyond into India. The unity of Alexander's far-flung empire, which he colonized with Greek settlers in a string of newly established cities throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Near East, and within which he had planned to create a new global hybrid society of blended

Greek and Persian peoples and cultures, did not survive his premature death in 323 B.C.E.

The death of Alexander the Great resulted in a power struggle and division of his empire into kingdoms established by his senior generals. Antigonos formed a kingdom encompassing the historic Greek territories in the southern Balkans and Asia Minor, while Seleucus established rule over Mesopotamia, Iran, and the Central Asian provinces, and Ptolemy seized Egypt and initially Syria and Palestine. These absolutist Greek monarchies encouraged the continued Greek colonization of their cities and towns and witnessed the integration of Greek and local Near Eastern cultures to produce a new cultural environment in which the Greek language functioned as the lingua franca for culture, commerce, and administration throughout the Near East. Greek art, architecture, and thought, as well, became prevalent in the eastern Mediterranean during the three centuries following the death of Alexander the Great, a period typically known as the Hellenistic Age.

Macedonia's ongoing domination of the city-states of central and southern Greece, as well as the absolutist rule of the Hellenistic kingdoms, disturbed many Greeks, who remembered their history of political freedom and democracy. Consequently, during the second century B.C.E., when the Hellenistic kingdoms had been weakened by internecine wars, some mainland Greeks appealed for help from the western Mediterranean's emerging superpower, Rome. The Romans, who had begun their steady expansion into the Greek world by conquering the Greek states of southern Italy and Sicily and invading the Greek lands in the western Balkans a century earlier, took advantage of the new opportunity to interject themselves in Greek affairs. After defeating the Macedonians in 197 B.C.E. and declaring the rest of Greece liberated, the Romans proceeded to impose their will on Greece. The Greeks consequently rebelled, but a Roman army invaded the country, burned the city of Corinth in 146 B.C.E., and placed mainland Greece under Roman rule. The Romans continued their expansion into the Greek world, and within about a hundred years Rome conquered the last remaining Hellenistic kingdom with the fall and annexation of Queen Cleopatra's Egypt in 31 B.C.E.

The conquest of the Greek world ensured that the fortunes of the Greeks and Romans would be intertwined for the rest of the Roman Empire's existence. During the two centuries that followed Rome's conquest of Hellenistic Egypt, uninterrupted peace and security in the Mediterranean created the conditions for considerable cultural creativity and economic growth in the Greek world, as well as the emergence of Greek scholars as the empire's intellectual elite and the integration of prominent Greeks into Rome's ruling class. In addition, Greek cities became the administrative and economic centers of the eastern half of the empire. Greek cities such as Alexandria, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna, and Thessaloniki flourished, producing a new urban, and often wealthy, Greek elite. At the same time, life in Greek cities incorporated certain Roman features, and new generations of Romanized Greeks emerged. Concurrently, Roman elites and even emperors embraced Greek culture, actively promoting the Hellenization of much of Roman culture and drawing from Greece to produce architecture, art, education, and literature. Meanwhile, and moreover, the Greek cultural, demographic, intellectual, and linguistic landscape, which had been grafted onto the Near East by Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic kingdoms, was only further embedded and expanded in the region under Roman rule. Greek language and thought, interacting with local religion, created the foundations for the cultural and intellectual development and spread of Christianity, leaving a lasting Greek philosophical influence on the theology and ecclesiology of the Christian Church.

BYZANTIUM AND MEDIEVAL GREECE

The peace and prosperity that the Greek world enjoyed during the first two centuries C.E. began to break down as the result of a series of Roman civil wars and foreign attacks against the empire in the third century. The responses to the growing pressures on the imperial system highlighted the disparity in strength and resilience between regions rather than the unity of the empire as a whole. Such conditions set the Latin West and the Greek East onto separate historical trajectories. When the Emperor Constantine I chose to relocate the empire's capital from Rome to the Greek city of Byzantium (later known as Constantinople) in 324 C.E., he not only advanced the growing separation of the eastern and western halves of the empire, he explicitly acknowledged the superior cultural, economic, and military resilience of the east. This move did not represent a break with Rome; the Roman Empire would continue but under a revised political structure, with a different geographic anchor, and, in time, an entirely new cultural and religious foundation. In short, Constantine established the foundations for the transition of the Roman Empire to the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire, an essentially Medieval and Christian Greek state.

Marking this transformation, in 325 Constantine proclaimed Christianity the empire's official religion and presided over the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea. This gathering of the hierarchical leadership of the early Christian Church, as well as subsequent councils, formalized the faith's doctrines and defined the theology of Orthodox Christianity. During the next two centuries Christianity supplanted the final vestiges of pagan tradition in the Greek world, producing a culture founded on Orthodoxy and Roman identity within a Greek-speaking society. Notwithstanding the fact that the Byzantines were ethnically and linguistically Greek, they thought of themselves as Romans and their empire, quite legitimately, as the direct inheritor of classical Rome. Constantinople in time became the cultural, economic, intellectual, and political center of the Medieval Mediterranean world, and the Byzantines regarded their capital as the center of a theocratic state meant to represent God's heavenly order on earth.

For the Byzantine Greeks, their confidence in the superiority of their state was affirmed by the survival of their empire. The Greek East faced many of the same barbarian waves in the late fourth and through the fifth centuries that would also descend on the West. The Byzantines had even suffered some military losses to the barbarians, but their army succeeded in either destroying or pushing out the invaders. The Latin West, conversely, did not fare as well. By the late fifth century, the western part of the empire had been overrun by Germanic invasions and its lands had been transformed into a patchwork of barbarian successor states. Although Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire eventually triumphed over the Germanic threat and demonstrated a remarkable ability to withstand and survive serious external threats, something that would be repeated continually for many centuries, parts of mainland Greece were devastated by the barbarians. The Visigoths, who had been pushed across the Danube by the Huns, defeated an imperial army at Adrianople in 378 and marched southward wreaking havoc in peninsular Greece, sacking several cities, including Argos, Corinth, and Sparta in 395, before being driven out of the Balkans. Almost a century later, in 465, the Vandals attacked northern and central Greece but were quickly defeated. The Greek mainland recovered some prosperity and the population thrived once more during the following hundred years. However, this peaceful interlude ended with the massive Slav migrations into the Balkans beginning in 582.

Shortly before the Slav invasions took place, the Byzantine Empire launched a major series of military campaigns aimed at the reconquest, or liberation, and reunification of the Roman imperial lands lost earlier to the barbarians in the West. Emperor Justinian I, who ruled from 527 to 565, inaugurated this policy and succeeded at restoring imperial control over Italy, much of Spain, and northwest Africa. However successful Justinian's campaigns may have been in the short term, his policy of reconquest of the West left a vastly reexpanded but perilously overstretched empire, in both financial and military terms. Consequently the empire's core Greek territories in Asia Minor and the Balkans were more vulnerable to external threats after Justinian's reign than they had been before it. This fact was made evident when beginning in the late sixth, through most of the seventh, and into the eighth centuries Slavs broke through Byzantium's northern defenses, entered the Balkans, overran enormous stretches of the peninsula, and penetrated as far south as the Peloponnesus. Meanwhile, the empire's longtime nemesis in the east, Persia, occupied Byzantine Syria and pushed into Asia Minor.

Unlike the previous Germanic invaders, who had been content to raid and loot in the Balkans and Greece, the Slavs established permanent settlements. The Slav migration and occupation of the central Balkans, as well as much of western mainland Greece and parts of the country's interior, had been aided by a plague, which had depopulated and made available much of the region's territory to the Slavs.

Byzantine city of Mistras in the Peloponnesus. (Corel Corporation)

Hagia Sophia

Considered the finest example of Byzantine architecture and perhaps the most impressive building achievement of Late Antiquity and the early medieval world, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, a cathedral overlooking the Bosporus, was constructed on a scale unprecedented in human history. For more than a thousand years it stood as the world's largest structure, with an interior space unrivalled by any other building in both total mass and height. Although there is no available physical evidence confirming it, early accounts suggest that Hagia Sophia was built on the site of an ancient pagan temple appropriated for the service of the Eastern Roman Empire's new official religion, Christianity.

The church underwent three major phases of construction before attaining its final form. The first church on the site was built by Emperor Constantius I, son of Emperor Constantine, and was consecrated in 360. Although little is known about this structure, it is generally accepted that it was a basilica-type building with a rectangular floor plan, circular apse, and timbered roof. The structure was first named Megali Ekklesia (the Great Church) because it was the largest church in the Christian world at the time. Before Constantius's reign ended, the church became known as Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom), a name attributed to Christ by Greek theologians in the fourth century. In 404 the church was destroyed by rioting mobs protesting the emperor's illegitimate exiling of the patriarch of Constantinople. In 415 Emperor Theodosius I rebuilt the church, but it was destroyed by a rebellion of heretics in 532. After putting down the rebellion, Emperor Justinian I, a firm defender of Orthodoxy, ordered the construction of an entirely new church that was to surpass in magnificence all earlier churches.

Driven by his ambition to make his church the greatest structure in the world, Justinian personally supervised the construction of Hagia Sophia and made full use of the empire's resources. The finest and rarest materials from throughout the Mediterranean world were brought to Constantinople to be used in the building of the church. The two most famous architects of the Greek world at the time, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, were entrusted with the design of the church and execution of its construction. They oversaw the work of 100 master builders and 10,000 laborers. Launched in February 532, the construction of Hagia Sophia was completed in December 537. The new building was like no other structure that had been built before it. In fact, the grand basilica represented a major revolution in architecture. In grappling with how to build a circular dome atop a square base, Anthemius and Isidorus arrived at an unprecedented solution and thus created a brilliant, creative outcome. They built four massive columns, each measuring approximately 33.45 square meters, at the base, positioned at each corner of the foundation, and on top of each column they built four arches. The architects then filled the spaces between the arches with masonry to create curved triangular shapes called pendetives, which, once structurally integrated with the arches, created an incredibly strong base of support for Hagia Sophia's most remarkable feature, its huge dome with a diameter of 33.5 meters. The church measures 79.25 by 82.3 meters, and the dome rises 64 meters above the floor. Pierced by forty single-arched windows set at the dome's base, light entered the structure in a way that created the visual sensation that the dome actually floated over the church. In addition, twelve large windows in two rows flooded the building with streams of light, producing the impression of infinite space. Having been damaged by three earthquakes in the sixth century, another in the ninth, and again by one in the tenth century, the church was made progressively stronger and more resilient with each set of repairs and additional architectural buttressing.

Hagia Sophia, the mother church of all Orthodox Christians and the greatest architectural triumph of the Byzantine Empire, even survived foreign conquest. In 1204 Roman Catholic Crusaders attacked and sacked Constantinople. Hagia Sophia was not spared as the crusaders looted and defiled the church, while purposely damaging much of its interior. With the restoration of Greek control in Constantinople in 1261, Hagia Sophia was repaired and again functioned as the cathedral of the patriarch of Constantinople. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque. In 1935 it was converted into a Turkish state museum. Albeit Turkey's most visited museum and the country's most famous tourism resource, Hagia Sophia has not enjoyed government support comparable to that extended to Muslim historical sites in Istanbul and elsewhere. Furthermore, the structure is aggressively marketed and increasingly subjected to the vulgarities of the tourist trade, whereas the religious sanctity and historical integrity of other sites are safeguarded. UNESCO and other international organizations have expressed serious concerns about Turkey's insufficient attention to the preservation, restoration, and management of Hagia Sophia. This crisis of indifference led World Monument Watch to include Hagia Sophia on its list of one hundred most endangered sites.

Nonetheless, this rugged part of Greece had historically been the most sparsely populated area of the country and, given its limited agricultural potential, could never sustain a large population, either Greek or Slav. All the same, most of the Greek population from these territories was displaced and pushed toward the coasts and the eastern part of the country, where imperial defenses held. Where Greek communities survived in the interior, they had been able to do so because they had withdrawn to defensive geographic positions before arriving at local understandings for coexistence with the Slav tribes. By 750, despite the fact that the Greek population in the region had remained intact and was still larger than that of the Slavs, most of northern and central Greece, and even parts of the country's south, had been overrun and occupied by Slav tribes. At the same time, the empire's territories in the Near East had been seized by a new enemy that proved to be an even more serious threat than the Persians, the Arabs, who also raided Asia Minor in depth and threatened Constantinople.

Again demonstrating its resilience, the Byzantine Empire reversed many of these losses by going on the counteroffensive against the Slavs in Greece and pushing the Arabs out of southeastern Asia Minor. Political stability internally, the beginning of a new period of economic growth and expansion in the late eighth century, and dissension among their enemies, enabled the Byzantines, by the year 800, to reestablish control over all of Asia Minor and to reassert the empire in the Greek mainland territories formerly overrun by the Slavs. Once these territories were again under imperial administration, the Byzantines implemented a resettlement policy, like that used earlier with considerable success in parts of eastern Asia Minor, to ensure that the reconquered, or liberated, lands would contain only loyal populations. Consequently, following the expulsion of considerable numbers of Slavs, the Greek communities that had been displaced by the invasions of the preceding century were returned to their original lands, while Greek refugees from southern Italy and surplus Greek populations from densely populated western Asia Minor were also settled in these areas. Pockets of Slavs remained scattered in the Greek territories, but their isolated condition and reduced numbers led in time to their assimilation and absorption by the much larger surrounding Greek populations.

Although the empire had been successful in reconquering mainland Greece and restoring, more or less, the historic Greek ethnological frontier in the south Balkans, Greek security problems in the region were far from over. The Bulgars, a Turkic people assimilated by the Slavs, settled south of the Danube and began to pose a serious threat to Byzantium by the late ninth century. In the early tenth century, under the aggressive leadership of their khans, they established a rival empire and invaded much of northern Greece and the central Balkans. The Byzantines and Bulgars were soon locked in a long series of brutal wars that culminated in 1014, when the dynamic and formidable Emperor Basil II led his army in a string of brilliant actions, decisively crushing the Bulgars (earning the nickname Bulgar Slayer) and conquering all of their lands. Before destroying the Bulgars, Basil had defeated the Arabs in a series of equally dazzling military campaigns beyond southeastern Anatolia, restoring parts of northern Mesopotamia, northern Syria, and the Syrian coast to the empire.

Basil II's reign from 963 to 1025, the longest of any Byzantine Roman emperor, marked the zenith of both the empire's power and the prestige and influence of the Medieval Greek world. All of the Balkan Peninsula south of the Danube was firmly back in Byzantium's grip; even the Croats and Serbs in the region's northwest had voluntarily submitted to vassal status rather than risk the fate that had befallen the Bulgars, total conquest and subjugation. On the eastern frontier, with the Arabs defeated and the Byzantines having established forward defense positions in Syria, Asia Minor was well protected, at peace, and prospering. In order to create an additional geographic shield for the empire's most valuable territorial base, Anatolia, Basil expanded his control of formerly independent Armenian and Georgian principalities. Although the empire under Basil was smaller than it had been under Justinian, it was more territorially cohesive and fundamentally stronger. Protected by border conquests and an innovative system of layered and territorial defense, Byzantium's core, historic, and Greek-populated lands—Asia Minor, the southern Balkans, and southern Italy—now formed a more compact, homogeneous, manageable, and powerful territorial unit than at any previous time.

Byzantium's large, professional, well-led, yet still primarily citizen-soldier army was the most efficient and feared fighting force in the Mediterranean world, but the empire's power and influence was not limited to military affairs. The empire experienced a dramatic revival of intellectual life beginning in the ninth century that continued through the tenth century. During this period, ancient manuscripts were recopied and disseminated in large quantity, reference works and encyclopedias were compiled, and astronomy, literature, mathematics, and philosophy received new attention. The revival of classical learning was accompanied by a conscious return to classic models in art and literature, which were found to complement rather than conflict with Byzantium's dominant religious aesthetic in the creative arts. The empire also experienced a remarkable, steady economic expansion during this period, fueled in large part by intensified trade in the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Byzantium so effectively dominated international trade, accumulated such incomparable wealth, and enjoyed such fiscal stability, that its coinage was for centuries accepted as the international hard currency standard for trade throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond.

Moreover, Byzantine cultural, religious, and intellectual influence radiated throughout Eastern Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, and much of Italy. It was during Basil's reign that the state of Kiev converted to Christianity and a new era of development began for Russia. Two centuries earlier, the Greek monks Cyril and Methodius had been instrumental in establishing the foundations for the conversion to Orthodoxy of the Bulgars, Serbs, and East Central European Slavs by creating a literary language, Church Slavonic, for liturgical use among all Slavs. The Medieval Greeks, from their cosmopolitan centers of Constantinople and Thessaloniki transmitted modes of art, architecture, and thought that were embraced and reproduced by the peoples newly converted to Orthodoxy. In short, these Eastern European and Russian peoples, like the historic Christian populations of the Near East earlier, were drawn into a kind of Greek cultural commonwealth that extended far beyond the empire's political borders, leaving a lasting Byzantine civilizational imprint on their societies.

By the death in 1025 of Emperor Basil II, the empire was once again the paramount economic, cultural, political, and military power in the Mediterranean world, rivaled only by the Arab caliphate in Egypt and Syria. Byzantium's accomplishments and monumental wealth created unparalleled grandeur and prestige for the empire, often articulated through a tradition of imperial statesmanship and adroit diplomacy. Notwithstanding, sometimes Byzantium's image was greater than its actual strength, and it often disguised the empire's problems, both small and large. After Basil's death, the empire enjoyed continued economic expansion and prosperity but suffered from a series of mediocre emperors who neglected the state's needs and allowed the army to deteriorate. Increasing state demands for revenue clashed with short-sighted aristocratic resistance to tax paying, while political factionalism in the imperial court led to policy failures, the dangerous overestimation of military strength, and neglect of defenses. Paradoxically, these structural problems, which rapidly sapped the empire's real power and ability to respond to serious threats, went largely unnoticed because of the universal perception of Byzantium's presumably unshakable prowess.

Byzantium's image as an invincible superpower was so great that even the magnitude and implications of the strategic disaster that befell the empire in 1071 could not be fully understood or appreciated by both belligerents in this clash, Greeks and Turks. When Seljuk raiding parties were able to defeat a major (but inadequately trained and poorly led) imperial force at the chaotic battle of Manzikert in Armenian Anatolia in 1071 and capture the emperor, Romanus IV, the empire could offer no organized counterattack. As a result, the interior of Asia Minor was open to invasion by the Seljuk Turks, and central Anatolia was lost permanently to the empire. Asia Minor, the empire's agricultural breadbasket, the source of most of its soldiers, and the core of its population base, would now be vulnerable to attack and invasion. For centuries the Byzantines had relied on the rugged, mountainous, excellent natural defense lines created by the geography of eastern Anatolia to defend the rest of Asia Minor. Other invaders had penetrated Asia Minor in the past, but the empire had always been able to respond with successful counteroffensives that forced the Arabs or Persians back across the eastern frontier defenses. Now, however, conditions changed as the Turks could not be dislodged from the central Anatolian plateau. This strategic turn began the steady multicentury transformation of Asia Minor from an entirely Christian and Greek-populated region to a predominantly Muslim and Turkish one.

Ironically, in their relations with their fellow Christians in the West, the imperial majesty, prestige, and wealth that the Byzantines enjoyed proved to be as much a liability as an asset. The Latin, and from the perspective of the Byzantines, semibarbarous, Westerners, increasingly resented the power and influence of Byzantium, while they coveted the Greek world's spectacular wealth. Furthermore, many of the petty princes and kings of Western Christendom had irritated the Byzantines since the ninth century by seizing the empire's lands in Italy and, more menacingly, by challenging the legitimacy of Constantinople's emperors as heirs of the Roman Empire and affecting the pretense themselves as inheritors of the Roman Crown, thus implicitly threatening Byzantium. The bishop of Rome, or pope, contributed to the growing tensions between Western and Eastern Christendom by aligning his see with the political ambitions of Germanic and other imperial pretenders to the Roman Crown in exchange for their political and military support to press his own objective of papal supremacy over the entire Christian Church. Although the early Christian Church reserved, among its ancient ecclesiastical sees, primacy of honor for Rome, this primacy was honorific among equals, not administrative over subordinates. Consequently the early Christian tradition of ecclesiastical autonomy, cooperation, and decision making in ecumenical councils, still vibrant in Eastern Christendom in the ninth century and beyond, necessarily required the sees, or patriarchates, of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem to reject the growing autocracy and imperial ambitions of the pope. More immediately for Byzantium, after centuries of growing tension, the expanding political and cultural gulf between Eastern and Western Christendom reached a crisis with a formal schism between the papacy and the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1054. This mutual excommunication would have significant political implications for Byzantium and the freedom of the Medieval Greeks.

As relations between the Latin West and the Greek East deteriorated, an atmosphere of hostility emerged that many Western adventurers, with their attention focused on Byzantium's wealth, were quite willing to exploit. Violence was initiated by the Normans, who began raiding Byzantium's western territories in 1080 from their base in Sicily. In 1146, and underscoring the serious nature of the threat posed by the Latin West, the Normans attacked mainland Greece, ravaged much of the countryside, and sacked the city of Thebes, which had been targeted because of the wealth it had acquired from the silk trade. Approximately forty years later, the Normans once more invaded Greece and sacked the great cultural and commercial center of Thessaloniki, Byzantium's second largest city. The Byzantine emperor turned to the growing naval power of Venice for help in interdicting the Normans at sea. The Venetians agreed to assist the Greeks but only in exchange for access to the lucrative trade markets of the empire. Once the Venetians penetrated the empire's economy, they ruthlessly and systematically exploited their privileges. Although the Byzantine emperors attempted to curtail predatory Venetian policies, Byzantium found its former ally a deadly threat embedded within the empire.

The Greeks' fears of the West's intentions materialized during the Fourth Crusade. The Venetians exploited Western prejudice against the Greeks and persuaded the Crusader army, mobilized earlier by the pope and organized in France, to attack Constantinople rather than go to the Holy Land. In 1204 the Fourth Crusade besieged and sacked the empire's capital, Europe's and the Mediterranean world's largest and wealthiest city. Constantinople's population was brutalized and much of the city was burned while most of its treasures and wealth were looted and carried off to Western Europe. The Crusaders then proceeded to partition many of the empire's territories into a ring of Latin kingdoms, principalities, and duchies based in Constantinople, the Greek mainland encircling the Aegean, and the Aegean islands. These occupation states imported Western feudalism and Catholic hierarchs to exploit the Greek subject populations economically and to oppress them religiously. The actions of the Crusaders ended the possibility of any ecclesiastical reconciliation or political cooperation between the Greeks and the West.

Their general incompetence at governance, coupled with the popular hatred against them that their conduct produced, ensured that most of the Latin occupation states would be short-lived. Moreover, as soon as the Crusaders began their occupation of Greece, resistance against them was organized. From their territorial bases in western and northeastern Asia Minor and Epirus in the Balkans, Greek Byzantine successor states waged a war of liberation and reconquest against the Latin occupation forces in and around Constantinople. Led by the new Paleologos dynasty, in 1261 the Greeks recovered Constantinople, much reduced in population and condition by the Latin regime's abuses, and reestablished the city as the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

Although the empire was revived, the events of 1204 had so weakened Byzantium that it was no longer a great power. The empire consolidated most of its territorial base in northern Greece and western Asia Minor during the late thirteenth century but was unable to assert itself beyond this area. Furthermore, the empire's Balkan territories remained caught in a strategic pincer during the fourteenth century, with the Bulgars and Serbs, having reasserted their independence after 1204, pressing on Byzantine Macedonia and Thrace from the north and the surviving Latin states clinging to parts of central Greece to the south. At the same time, the Byzantine position in Asia Minor was threatened by the emerging strength of the Ottoman Turks.

Under these overwhelming conditions, the much truncated and weakened empire could not have expected to survive much longer. The empire's resources after 1261 were acutely limited in terms of finances, territory, and military strength. Remarkably, despite the ongoing depredations of the West, the continual loss of territory to rival Balkan states, followed by the loss of virtually all of Byzantium's remaining lands to the expanding and powerful Ottomans, Late Medieval Greek society experienced an astonishing outburst of artistic, cultural, and intellectual creativity. The empire's waning years saw another major revival of Greek classicism as Greek scholarship and increasing numbers of Greek intellectuals found their way to Italy, where both would have a significant impact on the Renaissance. Nonetheless, by the middle of the fifteenth century, Byzantium had been reduced to little more than Constantinople and its outlying villages, the historic Spartan portion of the Peloponnesus, and a few Aegean islands, all surrounded by the Ottoman Empire. The end came in 1453 when, after a two-month siege, an Ottoman force of 200,000 overcame Constantinople's 8,000 defenders and captured the city. Although the Ottomans had conquered most of the Greek lands in Asia Minor and the Balkans years earlier, and although it was some years before all Byzantine territories were conquered, the fall of Constantinople marked the end of the Greek medieval empire and the Greeks' freedom.

MODERN GREECE

During the three centuries after the Turks first entered Southeastern Europe, the Greek world came almost entirely under the control of their Islamic and dynastic empire. Between 1354, the year the Ottomans crossed the Straits into Thrace, and 1461, the year the final Byzantine fortifications in the Peloponnesus fell to them, the Ottomans had not only conquered all of mainland Greece but virtually the entire Balkan Peninsula as well. With their own state destroyed, the Greeks now became spectators and victims in a struggle for dominance of the eastern Mediterranean between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. Although much smaller Venice lacked the military resources that the huge Ottoman Empire possessed, the apparently unequal struggle was sustained by a potent combination of the Italian republic's wealth, diplomacy, naval power, and religious fanaticism. The rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and Venice was fought out almost entirely on Greek soil, and the fate of much of the Greek population was determined for the next several centuries by the fortunes of these aggressive rivals. Control of strategic positions on the coasts of the Greek mainland and in the islands of the Aegean and Ionian Seas was fiercely contested and was regarded by both the Ottomans and Venetians as essential to their survival.

The first Turko-Venetian War broke out in 1463 and ended in 1479. The war did not produce a change in the strategic balance between the Ottomans and Venetians, but it did establish a pattern of conflict and fighting between the two protagonists, which resulted in more injury to the local Greek population than to either of the belligerents, that would be often repeated. Renewed wars were fought on the Greek islands, as well as in coastal and southern Greece, from 1499 to 1502 and again from 1537 to 1540. Between 1566 and 1669 the Ottomans and Venetians fought each other without respite. This brutal, protracted phase of the Ottoman-Venetian rivalry over Greece led to a series of Ottoman victories culminating in the Turkish conquest of Venetian-held Crete and Cyprus, as well as the Aegean islands not already under their control. Emboldened by the Ottoman failure to capture Vienna a year earlier, the Venetians launched a counteroffensive war in 1684. The Venetians successfully reoccupied the Peloponnesus and advanced into central Greece, positions they would hold onto until their final defeat in 1715. It was during this campaign that the Parthenon, largely intact since antiquity, atop the famed Acropolis, was seriously damaged by Venetian cannon fire.

The near destruction of the Parthenon, caught between Venetian cannonballs and exploding Ottoman gunpowder magazines, served as a symbolic analog for the fate of much of Greece during the Turko-Venetian Wars. For the Greeks, both the Turks and Venetians were foreign masters who denied them their freedom, exploited them and their lands, and imposed often violent and arbitrary rule. The greatest impact of the two-century-long conflict was on the physical condition of the hapless Greek population. Most of the crews, in both the Ottoman and Venetian navies, that fought each other were made up of Greeks pressed into service by their respective occupiers. Greeks also had to provide military levies to both belligerents. But the enormous loss of life among Greek sailors and soldiers paled in comparison to the level of destruction experienced by the general population. The savage intensity of these wars, the marching of armies back and forth over the same territories, and the depredations of both Turks and Venetians against local villages and towns left much of central and southern Greece depopulated, while many Aegean islands were made entirely uninhabitable.

The Greek populations in Asia Minor and those north of the fighting in the Balkans escaped the devastation that affected other parts of the Greek world during the Turko-Venetian Wars. These communities, which experienced uninterrupted Ottoman rule, may not have been exposed to fighting but they did not escape the dictates of the Ottoman state, which was, in its classic form and function, an Islamic war machine whose purpose was constant expansion. The lives of ordinary Greek people were, accordingly, structured to satisfy the interests and needs of the Ottoman system. The Greeks, as the empire's most populous and important subject peoples, were profoundly affected by this situation. Their taxes paid for the sultan's wars and their agriculture was organized to sustain the economic needs of a feudal Ottoman military caste. They built, captained, and crewed the sultan's fleet. Finally, through the *devshirme,* a human tax on the subject Christians, Greek children were taken from their families, converted to Islam, and trained to form the elite corps of the sultan's army, while others ascended the imperial system to serve as the highest officials and diplomats of the Ottoman state. The non-Muslim inhabitants of the sultan's territories were regarded by the Ottoman state as *reaya* (cattle), a resource to be tapped for manpower and material in pursuit of Islamic and imperial expansion. The customs, social structures, and religious institutions and hierarchies of the Greeks (as well as other Christians) were of no interest to the sultan, so long as they provided the resources to serve the empire's policies and did not challenge the state's total authority and Islam's supremacy.

As an Islamic polity, Ottoman society was organized into millets (nations), in effect, administrative units based on religious identity. Thus, over time, the Patriarchate of Constantinople functioned simultaneously as an ecclesiastical institution and an administrative, civil, and judicial apparatus for Orthodox Christians in the empire. The patriarch, as head of the Orthodox population, answered to the sultan, for whom he administered the Orthodox populations, and was responsible for ensuring the subject Christians' loyalty and obedience to the empire. As a result of this situation, the Orthodox Church was put in the paradoxical position of acting to advance the interests of the Ottoman Islamic theocracy while trying to preserve through limited autonomy the survival of Christian culture and Greek society. This delicate balancing act did not always work, as more than one patriarch paid with his life for his coreligionists' resistance to the sultan's rule and as significant numbers of Orthodox Christians converted to Islam in order to escape the devshirme, discriminatory taxes, abuses, and restrictive and demeaning regulations that accompanied the Ottoman separate but unequal *millet* system.

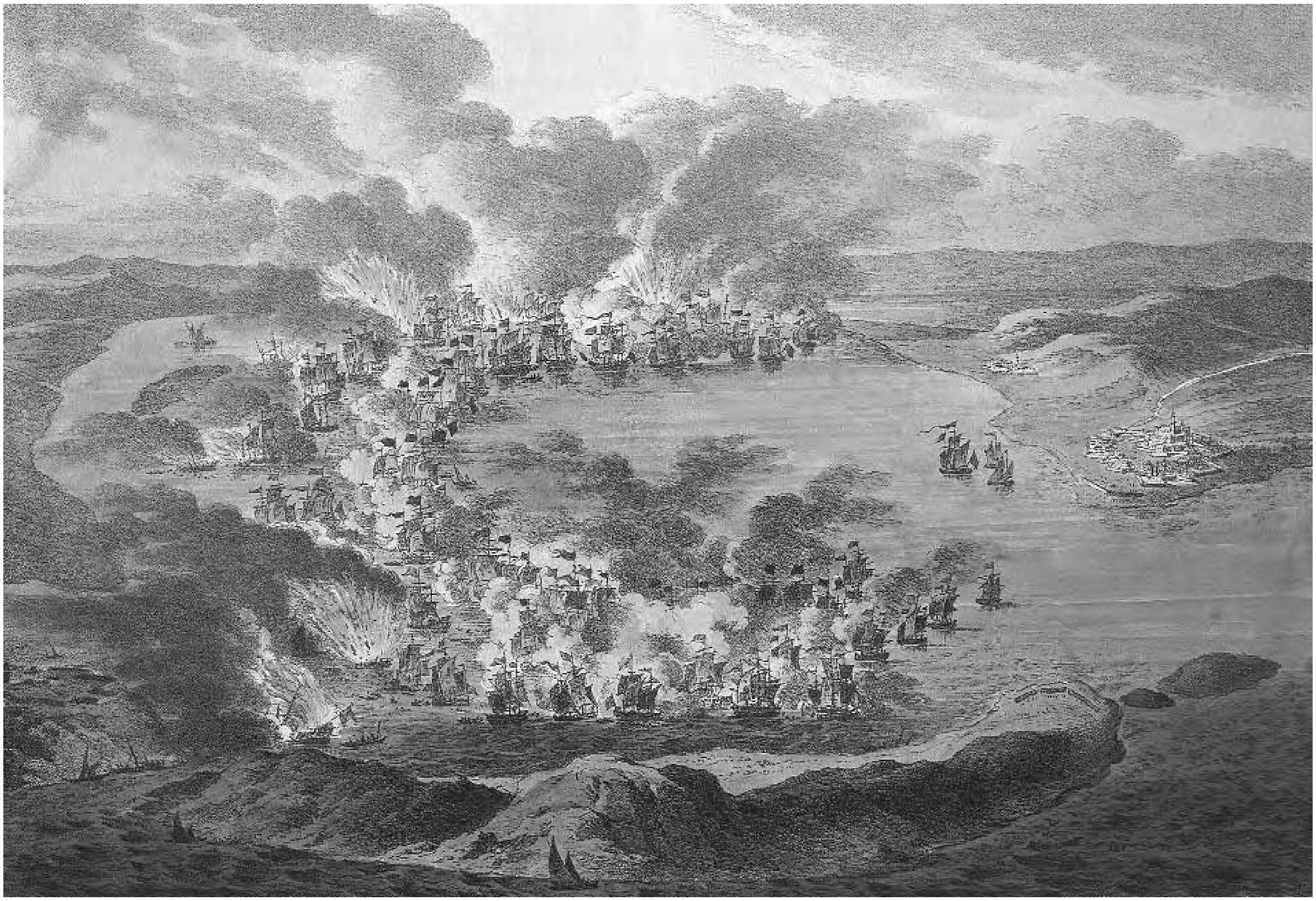
Many Greeks suffered while others benefited from this system of contemptuous tolerance. So-called Phanariot Greeks, members of a small group of families originating in the Phanar quarter of Constantinople, came to hold important administrative and diplomatic positions in the service of the sultan, forming an influential elite and, for a period, exercising considerable autonomous authority in the Ottoman Romanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. In the Greek countryside local elites, especially in the Peloponnesus, enjoyed some social status and privileges in exchange for controlling their peasant counterparts. Finally, given the Muslim Turks' disdain for the usurious aspects of commerce and investment, Greeks were allowed to dominate trade and eventually banking in the empire. Their involvement in commerce within the empire led to the emergence of a prosperous Greek merchant class that was dispersed throughout the urban centers of Asia Minor and especially the Balkans. Furthermore, Greek networks of trade expanded beyond the empire to link Ottoman markets and Europe's economies, with Greeks operating as the commercial middlemen in the process. The subsequent growth of international trade activity led to the demand for a large Greek merchant marine that, by the end of the eighteenth century, dominated Mediterranean ports. These conditions eventually combined to create a Greek diaspora of wealthy business families settled throughout Europe's commercial, urban centers.

Increasingly influenced by exposure to the ideas of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the radical concept of nationalism, some members of the wealthy Greek diaspora, along with an émigré intellectual community that their patronage had helped create, began to explore the idea of Greek political independence. In 1814 a secret revolutionary organization, Philike Hetairia (Friendly Society), was formed by Greek nationalists in the Russian port city of Odessa with the aim of overthrowing the Ottoman Empire and liberating the Greeks. The group enrolled members and began to collect resources and organized plans for a revolt. Alexandros Ypsilantis, a Greek general in the service of the Russian tsar Alexander I, accepted leadership of the organization, and early in 1821 launched an attack from Russia into Ottoman Moldavia. Ypsilanti's revolutionary forces, however, were defeated when the assistance the revolutionaries expected from the tsar did not materialize. Nonetheless, and almost simultaneously, another uprising broke out in the Peloponnesus and soon spread to other parts of Greece.

The Greek War of Independence, or Greek Revolution, began in March 1821 and initially went well for the Greeks. In the early stages of the revolution, the Greek insurgents achieved some striking successes against the Ottoman army while the Greek revolutionary fleet won a string of impressive naval victories. Continued Greek advances, however, were undermined by factional struggles among the insurgents that led to a veritable civil war within the liberated Greek territories in 1824. Capitalizing on the Greek internecine conflict, and the arrival of a large army from Egypt, the Ottomans launched a major counteroffensive against the Greeks in 1825 and retook most of the gains the Greeks had made. Responding to growing public support for the Greek cause in Europe, the Great Powers overcame their initial hostility to the Greek Revolution, and in July 1827 Britain, France, and Russia signed the Treaty of London, which called for the establishment of an autonomous Greek principality. However, the unplanned, spontaneous battle of Navarino in October 1827, resulting in the destruction of the Ottoman navy at the hands of a combined British-French-Russian fleet, impressed the Great Powers to move beyond mere autonomy to support Greek independence.

The Great Powers proclaimed the independence of Greece under the London Protocol of February 1830, which also placed the new kingdom under their protection. Greece's boundaries were subsequently established by the Treaty of Constantinople (July 1832). The new state contained only the Peloponnesus, Rumeli, or Central Greece, and the Cyclades in the Aegean, meaning most of the Greeks in the Balkans and none of the Greeks in Asia Minor were liberated. Also in 1833, Prince Otto of Bavaria, whom the Great Powers had chosen a year earlier, arrived in Greece to become the independent country's first king.

Otto did not prove to be a popular monarch. The Bavarian administrators he brought with him to Greece alienated most of the population. Furthermore, Otto's refusal to grant a constitution, his failure to convert to Orthodoxy from Catholicism, and his inability to produce an heir to the throne culminated in a military coup in 1843, which led to a reduction of the king's powers. In 1844 Otto was forced by military and political leaders to accept a liberal constitution, which defined the country's political system as a constitutional monarchy. Nevertheless, Otto continued to act as an autocrat, only producing more opposition to his rule. In 1862 growing dissatisfaction with King Otto led to an uprising and finally his abdication. The Great Powers offered the throne to Prince William of Denmark, who in 1863 was crowned George I King of the Hellenes.



The Battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827, during the Greek War of Independence, where the Turkish and Egyptian forces were defeated by Greek allies Great Britain, France, and Russia. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

George's title, King of the Hellenes, not merely King of Hellas, expressed the popular nationalist sentiment that all Greeks, not only those in the limited territory of the Greek kingdom, should, along with their historic lands, ultimately become part of a larger fully unified Greek nation-state. The fact that only one-fourth of the Greeks who had been under Ottoman rule were included in the territories composing independent Greece in 1832 all but guaranteed that irredentism would become Greece's chief political preoccupation for the first century of its existence. Greek elites and common people alike passionately supported the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea) of uniting the unredeemed Greeks still under Ottoman rule in the Balkans and Asia Minor within a single state. Greeks cherished this goal despite the fact that it was bound to bring the small and comparatively weak Greek kingdom into conflict with the Ottoman Empire.

Independent Greece's first territorial gain came not from the Ottomans but from the British. In order to mark the beginning of King George's reign, Britain ceded the Ionian Islands in 1864, over which they had exercised a protectorate since 1815. Following the defeat of the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the sultan was forced by the July 1878 Treaty of Berlin to cede most of Thessaly and a portion of southern Epirus to Greece in 1881. As part of the same settlement, Britain acquired the right to occupy and administer the predominantly Greek-populated island of Cyprus beginning in 1878. During the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries, Greece's expansionist ambitions focused on the Ottoman territories of Macedonia and Crete. In Macedonia, Greek insurgents and Bulgarian guerrillas fought each other in a complex, protracted, and savage contest for domination over the region before its liberation from the Ottomans, while in Crete, Greek nationalists expressed their fervent desire for union with Greece through repeated rebellions against Ottoman rule, eventually sparking a brief, failed Greek war against the Ottoman Empire in 1897.

Constantine I, King of Greece. (Corbis)

The lesson of the humiliating defeat of 1897 was not lost on the Cretan politician and ardent nationalist, Eleutherios Venizelos, who, as leader of the Liberal Party, became prime minister of Greece in 1910. Venizelos realized that Greece could not unilaterally challenge the still considerable power of the Ottoman Empire, and he therefore sought to develop alliances with the other Ottoman successor states in the Balkans, particularly Serbia. Consequently, in October 1912 the First Balkan War began when an alliance consisting of Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia launched a coordinated attack against the Ottoman Empire, defeating the Turks and pushing their army to the outskirts of Constantinople. Unsatisfied with its territorial gains in Macedonia, in June 1913 Bulgaria attacked its former allies, Greece and Serbia, only to be defeated by them, Romania, and the Ottoman Empire one month later. This Second Balkan War ended with the August 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, which awarded southern Macedonia, most of Epirus, Crete, and the Aegean Islands to Greece. Under the leadership of Venizelos, Greece increased its territory by 70 percent and almost doubled its population.

When World War I broke out in August and September 1914, Venizelos, emboldened by the victories of the Balkan Wars, was confident that Greece was poised to achieve the *Megali Idea* at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. At the outset of the war, Venizelos advocated Greece's entry on the side of the Entente Powers, or Allies, who were arrayed against the Central Powers, which eventually included the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. However, King Constantine I, who had succeeded his father, George I, in 1913, favored neutrality. The differences in foreign policy perspective between the king and the prime minister led to increasingly hostile confrontations between the two leaders. Forced to resign twice in 1915, Venizelos broke with King Constantine in October 1916, and with the support of Allied forces already in Greece, he established a rival government in Thessaloniki. This serious rupture between Venizelos and the king marked the beginning of a national schism that would divide Greek politics and society into two rival camps, Liberals versus Royalists, for at least the next two decades. Intervening in Greek domestic affairs, in June 1917 British and French troops occupied Athens and forced Constantine to resign in favor of his second son, Alexander.

Eleutherios Venizelos (1864–1936)

Generally regarded as the greatest Greek statesman of modern times, Eleutherios Venizelos was born in Chania, Crete, on 23 August 1864. After studying law in Athens, Venizelos returned to his native Crete, then part of the Ottoman Empire, and became involved in the island's liberation movement. He was politically active during the Cretan revolt of 1897 in favor of union with Greece. When Crete became autonomous as a result of international intervention following the revolt and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897, Venizelos played a major role in drafting the island's constitution. As a member of Crete's assembly, he actively promoted the cause of union with Greece. After making his mark in the politics of Crete, he was projected onto the stage of national politics by the military coup of 1909 in Athens, becoming the choice of the coup leaders, or Military League, for prime minister and assuming office in October 1910. As founder and leader of the Liberal Party, Venizelos dominated Greek political life for the next quarter century, serving as prime minister for twelve of those turbulent years.

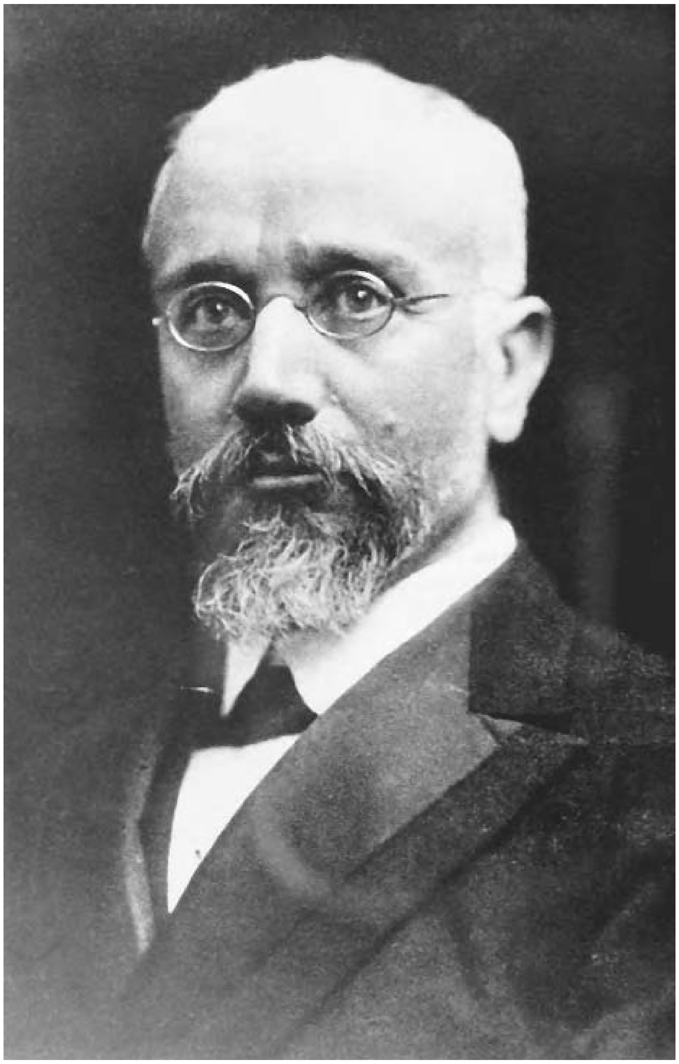
During his first two years as prime minister, Venizelos presided over a vigorous reform program that extended to the administration of the state, public education, and the national economy. Simultaneously he led Greece into an alliance network with Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia aimed at wresting from the Ottoman Empire its remaining Balkan territories. Indeed, Venizelos first achieved international prominence as the architect of Greece's spectacular victories against, first, the Ottoman Empire in the First Balkan War in 1912 and, second, against Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War, fought in 1913. As a result of Greek successes in the Balkan Wars the country doubled its territory. Encouraged by these successes, Venizelos was committed to Greece's entry into World War I on the side of the Entente as a means to liberate the Greeks and their territories still under Ottoman rule. Venizelos and King Constantine, who favored neutrality in the war, soon clashed over foreign policy differences. The subsequent feud between the two leaders resulted in Venizelos's forced resignation twice in 1915 and the eruption of a crisis that divided Greek politics and society between supporters of Venizelos and supporters of the king. This division, or National Schism, became irreversible when Venizelos established a rival government in Thessaloniki in 1916. In 1917 King Constantine was forced to leave Greece under British and French pressure, and Venizelos returned to Athens to lead a reunified but bitterly divided country.

Restored to office by British and French military intervention, as prime minister, Venizelos brought Greece into World War I on the side of the Entente in June 1917. Representing Greece at the Peace Conference in Paris, he secured Allied consent to occupy the important Anatolian city of Smyrna in 1919, and a year later he obtained major territorial concessions for Greece against the Ottoman Empire in Eastern Thrace and western Asia Minor. Venizelos's apparent postwar achievements were, however, short-lived. In 1920 he was defeated in national elections and went into self-exile. By 1922, Venizelos's policy of involvement and expansion in Asia Minor ended in disaster when the Greek army was defeated by nationalist Turkish forces and over 1.3 million refugees poured into Greece.

Venizelos represented Greece at the 1923 Lausanne Conference, ending hostilities between Greece and Turkey, before returning to Greece to serve briefly as prime minister from 1923 to 1924. During his last term as prime minister, from 1928 to 1933, his regional diplomacy significantly improved Greece's bilateral relations with Romania and Yugoslavia and built a rapprochement with Turkey. Faced with the repercussions of the international economic crisis, Venizelos fell from power in 1933. An abortive March 1933 coup by pro-Venizelos army officers tarnished his controversial reputation, and his involvement in another attempted coup two years later forced him to go into self-exile once more. Fleeing to France in March 1935, he lived the last year of his life in Paris, removed from politics. Shortly before his death on March 18, 1936, Venizelos urged his followers to cooperate with King George II, who had recently returned to Greece, for the sake of stability and national unity.

That same month Venizelos returned to Athens in triumph as prime minister of a reunited Greece, declared war against the Central Powers, and began a purge of royalists from government and the state bureaucracy.

After the Allied victory in 1918 and Greece's subsequent diplomatic successes at the postwar settlements in Paris, Venizelos's policies appeared to be vindicated. The November 1919 Treaty of Neuilly required Bulgaria to transfer Western Thrace to Greece. Moreover, after long negotiations, many of Venizelos's territorial aspirations against the Ottoman Empire seemed to be obtained with the signing of the Treaty of Sevres in August 1920. According to the provisions of Sevres, Greece acquired all of Eastern Thrace, excluding Constantinople, the rest of the Aegean islands,



Eleutherios Venizelos. (Bettmann/Corbis)

excluding Rhodes, and a mandate to administer Smyrna and its hinterland in western Asia Minor, pending a plebiscite in five years to determine the area's permanent status. It now appeared that realization of the *Megali Idea* was within reach. However, Venizelos's diplomatic triumph in Paris was illusory. Overwhelmed by opportunity, Venizelos overestimated the Allied, especially the British, commitment to the postwar treaty, especially once the Turks proved unwilling to ratify Sevres. Furthermore, he underestimated the challenges facing the Greek position in Asia Minor, and he dismissed all counsel, civilian and military, that advised him that Greece did not possess the resources necessary to act unilaterally against Turkey, the fundamental principle that had guided his earlier more restrained foreign policy.

Before any treaties regarding the status of Ottoman territories had been concluded, Venizelos had involved Greece militarily in Asia Minor. At the behest of Britain, France, and the United States, who sought to use Greece as a counterweight against another ally, specifically Italy and its expanding sphere of influence in southwestern Anatolia, Venizelos landed Greek forces in Smyrna in May 1919. The presence of Greek troops in Asia Minor aroused a Turkish backlash and helped to fuel the growing armed Turkish nationalist movement led by Mustafa Kemal in the Anatolian interior. With British encouragement, in October 1920 Venizelos ordered the Greek army to advance from Smyrna in order to put down expanding Turkish nationalist resistance to the Treaty of Sevres. A month later a war weary electorate voted Venizelos out of office, returned the Royalists to power, and restored Constantine to the throne, Alexander having died only weeks before the election. Venizelos's electoral defeat proved to be a blessing for his political career. Having put Greece in an increasingly untenable diplomatic and military position, Venizelos now went abroad and did not have to preside over the disastrous outcome of his Asia Minor policy.

Locked now in an irreversible conflict, with no meaningful opportunity for negotiation, the Royalist government continued to pursue a military solution to Greece's Anatolian dilemma. In early 1921 the Greek army began a sweeping offensive deep into Anatolia with the goal of decisively defeating Kemal's illusive nationalist forces. Securing a series of victories along its advance, the Greek operation reached the outskirts of Ankara where it engaged the Turks in a fierce but indecisive battle in September. Unable to overpower the Turkish forces, the Greek army withdrew to and held defensive positions between Smyrna and Ankara during the winter and spring of 1922. Isolated and weakened by the Allies' abandonment and declaration of a policy of neutrality and now realizing that a military victory was impossible, the Greeks were left paralyzed. In August 1922 Kemal's now large and powerful nationalist army launched an enormous, well-coordinated offensive, quickly routing the Greek army, pushing a mass of Greek refugees ahead of its advance, and burning Smyrna in its wake. Meanwhile, Constantine, who was blamed for the fiasco in Anatolia, abdicated in favor of his son George II, after a military coup took place against the Royalist government.

The Treaty of Lausanne, signed in July 1923, formally ended the Greek-Turkish War and introduced a new, draconian principle to the resolution of international conflicts—forced population exchange. Along with fixing the boundary between Greece and Turkey, which required that Greece relinquish all territories awarded to it earlier by the Sevres Treaty, Lausanne dictated the exchange of minority populations between Greece and Kemal's Turkish republic, which had succeeded the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, 1.3 million Greeks, many of whom had already been uprooted by the Turks, were expelled from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace, in exchange for 350,000 Turks who were expelled from Greece. The only exceptions to this compulsory exchange of populations were the 80,000 Muslims, half of whom were ethnic Turks, in Western, or Greek, Thrace, and the 120,000 Greeks left in Istanbul. The Greek disaster in Asia Minor, remembered by the Greeks as the Great Catastrophe, ended the *Megali Idea* in a tumult of chaos and human suffering and shattered forever the goal of a fully restored Greece encompassing all its historic lands. Greece and the Greek people were exhausted, confused, defeated, and demoralized. Although the circumstances probably could not have been worse, the population exchanges, ironically, resulted in the unification of the Greek people, albeit in a smaller and poorer Greece than most Greeks could have foreseen a decade earlier.

A country of barely 5 million people before the population exchanges of 1923, Greece's interwar problems necessarily focused on the economic and social integration of the nation's refugees. Greek society's ability to tackle the serious issues that confronted it was, however, undermined by political instability. The leaders of the military coup that had removed Constantine from the throne yielded in January 1924 to a democratically elected government led by Venizelos, recently returned to Greece. In March of that same year the parliament declared Greece a republic, and the proclamation was confirmed by a subsequent plebiscite. Although the constitutional issue of the monarchy appeared to be resolved, the political polarization created by the wartime Constantine-Venizelos dispute continued into the 1920s and 1930s between the Liberal and Royalist parties and their supporters. Intense factionalism precluded political dialogue and led to repeated breakdowns of the parliamentary system. The interwar period was wracked by multiple military interventions in the political process, with pro-Liberal coups followed by pro-Royalist countercoups and vice versa. Practically the only thing the two major political parties could agree on was their opposition to, and fear of, the small but exceptionally well-organized and disciplined Greek Communist Party (KKE), which capitalized on the economic distress and social discontent of the interwar years. Finally, the republic's domestic problems were too great and its institutional foundations not strong enough to withstand the international turn toward authoritarianism that affected most of Europe and virtually all of Eastern Europe by the close of the 1930s. The failure of an anti-Royalist coup in 1935 led to the end of the republic with the restoration of the monarchy under King George II, whose return to Greece and exaggerated fears of a communist seizure of power paved the way for dictatorship. In August 1936 a retired general, Ioannis Metaxas, seized power, suspended parliament, and abolished all political parties.

Despite Metaxas's authoritarian governance and affinity for fascism, he maintained a foreign policy oriented toward Britain, which soon brought Greece into direct conflict with Germany and Italy. Metaxas's efforts to keep Greece out of World War II ended in October 1940, when fascist Italy attacked Greece from its bases in Albania. Against overwhelming odds, the Greek army repulsed the Italian invasion and pushed Mussolini's forces, which were saved from a complete rout by weather and poor communications, deep into Albania. Hitler intervened to rescue Mussolini from his widening fiasco and German forces invaded Greece in April 1941. The country was quickly overrun and divided into German, Italian, and Bulgarian occupation zones.

The brutality of the Axis occupiers provoked resistance. In fact, several resistance movements soon emerged in the mountains. By far the largest of these was the communist-led National Liberation Front (EAM) and its military arm, the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS). Of the smaller armed movements, the most significant was the National Republican Greek League (EDES), a nationalist organization that supported restoration of the republic. In an effort to monopolize control of the resistance movements in anticipation of liberation, the ELAS, in the midst of the occupation, attacked its noncommunist rivals in October 1943, provoking a civil war that was halted by an uneasy truce in February 1944. In August representatives of the surviving resistance organizations joined in support of a government of national unity established in Cairo under the leadership of a Liberal Party prime minister, George Papandreou.

Despite the agreement arrived at in Cairo and the German withdrawal from Greece in October, the prospects for political reconciliation were ended shortly after liberation. A ministerial crisis between the Papandreou government and EAM over the disarmament of ELAS led to violence in December and quickly escalated into a full-fledged battle for the control of Athens fought between the small Greek government forces, police, and allied British units on one side and ELAS forces on the other side. Meanwhile, in the rest of the country the ELAS returned to the offensive against the EDES and other noncommunist resistance

Bird's-eye view of large crowd jamming University Street, off Constitution Square in Athens, Greece, as the EAM stages a protest rally on the eve of the first free Greek elections in ten years, March 1946. (Library of Congress) forces. The ELAS, however, lost the battle of Athens and signed an armistice in January 1945. Responding to the events in Athens and the brutal ELAS suppression of opponents in the countryside, all of which had the appearance, if not the substance, of an armed communist attempt to seize power, a rightist reaction descended on Greece. A cycle of retributions and counter-retributions created a state of chaos and lawlessness throughout the country. The restoration of King George II to the throne by plebiscite in September 1945 further polarized the Greek Left and Right. The KKE ultimately responded by organizing a guerrilla army and launching a civil war in March 1946. Implementing the Truman Doctrine, the United States intervened in Greece against the communists precisely one year later and provided the national government with economic aid and military supplies sufficient to turn the tide. After more than three years of intense fighting, the death of 160,000 combatants and civilians, and the dislocation of over 800,000 people, the communist insurgency was defeated in August 1949.

Although the decade-long ordeal of war, invasion, occupation, and civil war left Greece devastated, the country recovered quickly during the 1950s. In 1952 Greece became a member of NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), and with significant aid from the United States the conservative government that dominated the decade of the 1950s inaugurated a rapid economic and social modernization of the country. This period of growth was primarily associated with the policies of Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis, leader of the National Radical Union, a conservative party despite its appellation.

Many of Karamanlis's domestic achievements, however, were overshadowed by an increasingly bitter conflict over Cyprus, a British Crown colony since 1914 with an 80 percent Greek population. During the 1950s, British colonial forces brutally suppressed the Greek Cypriots' growing struggle for self-determination expressed through demands for union, *enosis,* with Greece. The problem of Cyprus soured relations between Greece and Turkey. The British, pursuing a policy of divide and rule, encouraged Turkey, which had abandoned its interest in Cyprus since 1878, to interject itself in the Cyprus issue as the protector of the Turkish Cypriot minority, which composed 18 percent of the island's population. Moreover, in order to manufacture a rationale for a continued colonial presence, British policy deliberately created intercommunal conflict that led, for the first time, to violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In 1959, as an alternative to the wishes of the majority of Cypriots, who continued to favor enosis, Britain, Greece, and Turkey, all acting as protecting powers, reached an agreement that Cyprus would become an independent republic within the British Commonwealth. In 1960 Cypriot independence was established under the leadership of the new country's president, and its Orthodox primate, Archbishop Makarios. Within a few years, the dysfunctional constitution and arcane power-sharing political system that the British had imposed on independent Cyprus led to a paralysis of government and subsequent intercommunal tensions and ultimately violence.

Portrait of Constantine Karamanlis, prime minister (1955–1963, 1974–1980) and president (1980–1985, 1990–1998) of Greece. (Embassy of Greece)

Meanwhile, events in Greece were pushing the country toward another period of instability and crisis. Karamanlis, who had clashed with King Paul and Queen Frederika, resigned in 1963 and went into self-exile. In the elections of February 1964 the Center Union Party, led by wartime leader George Papandreou, defeated the conservatives, winning a clear majority in parliament. Against a background of renewed crisis in Cyprus, Papandreou found himself embroiled in a conflict with King Constantine II, who had succeeded his father, Paul, in March 1964. In an apparent effort to protect his son, Andreas, whom some conservatives alleged had been involved in a conspiracy with radical military officers, Papandreou moved to assume control of the Ministry of Defense. The king refused to sanction the older Papandreou's attempt to take control of the ministry and thus Papandreou resigned in protest in July 1965. For almost two years, parliamentary democracy steadily broke down as a succession of weak, coalition caretaker governments failed to function effectively, while polarization between Left and Right reached a fevered pitch in countless massive demonstrations. Finally, when Panayiotis Kanellopoulos became prime minister in April 1967, he dissolved parliament and announced that elections to form a new national government would be held the following month.

Before the planned elections that would have finally replaced the string of unstable caretaker governments with an elected government could took place, a group of army officers led by Colonel George Papadopoulos seized power in a bloodless coup on 21 April 1967. The junta, whose members became collectively known as the Colonels, claimed that they had acted to thwart a communist takeover. In reality their primary motivation was to forestall the May elections, which they feared would return George Papandreou to power, who was expected, at the behest of his son, Andreas, to purge ultraconservative officers such as themselves. The junta suspended the constitution, abolished political parties, imposed censorship, and arrested thousands of opponents from across the political spectrum. The dictatorship was extremely unpopular and did not even enjoy support among the military. In December 1967 King Constantine launched a countercoup with units of the army. The attempt to topple the Colonels failed and Constantine fled into exile. In May 1973 elements of the navy tried to bring down the junta but their mutiny failed. When anti-government demonstrators headed by university students tried to end the dictatorship through a massive protest in November 1973, they were brutally suppressed with tanks and troops. When the junta finally fell, it was the result of its own bungling. In July 1974 Turkey invaded and occupied northern Cyprus following a short-lived coup against Archbishop Makarios that had been instigated by the junta. Paralyzed by incompetence and international isolation, and unable to mobilize Greece's armed forces in response to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the junta collapsed.

Within days of this critical juncture, Constantine Karamanlis was recalled to Greece from Paris and sworn in as prime minister. Karamanlis quickly reestablished civilian government and brought the seven-year military dictatorship to an end without bloodshed. In November 1974 the first general election in a decade resulted in an overwhelming victory for Karamanlis's conservative New Democracy Party. In December 1974 a plebiscite abolished the monarchy, ending definitively the historically vexing constitutional issue, and in June 1975 the parliament approved a republican constitution. Emphasizing economic modernization, political pluralism, and integration within the evolving framework of European cooperation as the keys to the consolidation of democracy, growth, and security in Greece, Karamanlis achieved one of his primary long-standing objectives when he helped secure agreement for Greece to enter the European Community (EC), the precursor to the European Union (EU), in 1981.

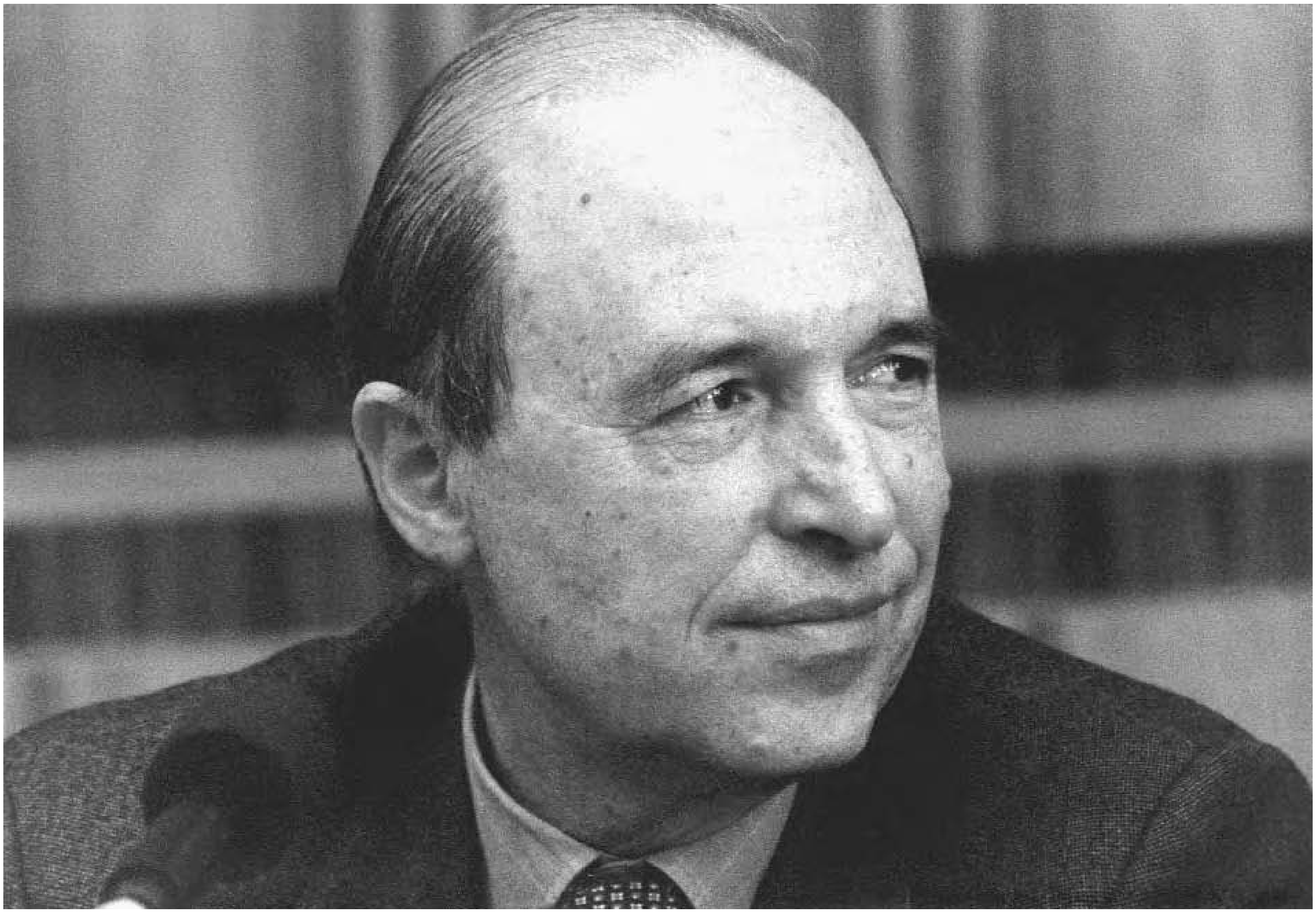
When Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) won the elections of 1981, the new government continued along the EC policy lines established by Karamanlis while simultaneously instituting sweeping social reforms that promoted further modernization and broadened political participation at the grassroots level. Growing economic problems, coupled with scandals in the government and in Papandreou's private life, contributed to the defeat of PASOK in the parliamentary elections of 1989, but after a brief coalition government and then a New Democracy Party interlude, Papandreou and the socialists were returned to power in 1993. Managing (not always satisfactorily) a worsening state of relations with an increasingly revisionist Turkey and struggling to maintain security in the troubled central Balkans after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Greece's domestic development was often overshadowed by foreign policy crises during the 1990s. By the turn of the century, however, it was clear that the government of Costas Simitis, who succeeded the ailing Papandreou in 1996 and represented the modernizing, technocratic wing of PASOK, was beginning to enjoy the results of successful economic modernization policies, an improved foreign relations and security environment, and steady progress toward full integration within the European Union. Although Greece's path to its current position was difficult and it continued to face many challenges, the country's entry into the Economic and Monetary Union of the EU in January 2001 capped Greece's ultimately successful effort over two centuries, if not longer, to build a modern, stable, and democratic nation-state.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Greece, the oldest and most stable democracy in Southeastern Europe, is a parliamentary republic whose president is the official head of state and whose prime minister is the head of government. The government and political system is based on the constitution of 1975 and the 1986 revisions to the constitution, with the former concretizing the establishment of a representative republic and the latter curtailing presidential power. The 1975 constitution marked the resolution of the so-called constitutional question, the conflict over a monarchy versus a republic, which plagued countless governments and had been at the center of political instability in the country since the establishment of an independent Greece in the 1830s.

The country's constitution was drafted by a legislature elected through popular elections held after the fall of the last military dictatorship in Greece in 1974. The document, reflecting the overwhelming vote of the national referendum of December 1974, abolished the monarchy and established the basis for a democratic republic. Based on the fundamental view that the state's legitimacy stems from the self-determination and will of the nation, the constitution notes that sovereignty rests with the people. Employing the principle of checks and balances, the constitution establishes a governmental structure, and accompanying functional responsibilities, dividing the state into three branches—executive, legislative, and judicial. The president of the republic, who is placed above the three branches of government and is intended to be above partisan politics, functions as a titular head of state, especially since the constitutional amendments of 1986.

As in most nations in the European Union (EU), but to a lesser extent than most Eastern European countries, the ethnic model, not the citizenship model, remains the chief informal norm for identity in Greece. Nonetheless, the constitution grants equal rights to all persons residing in

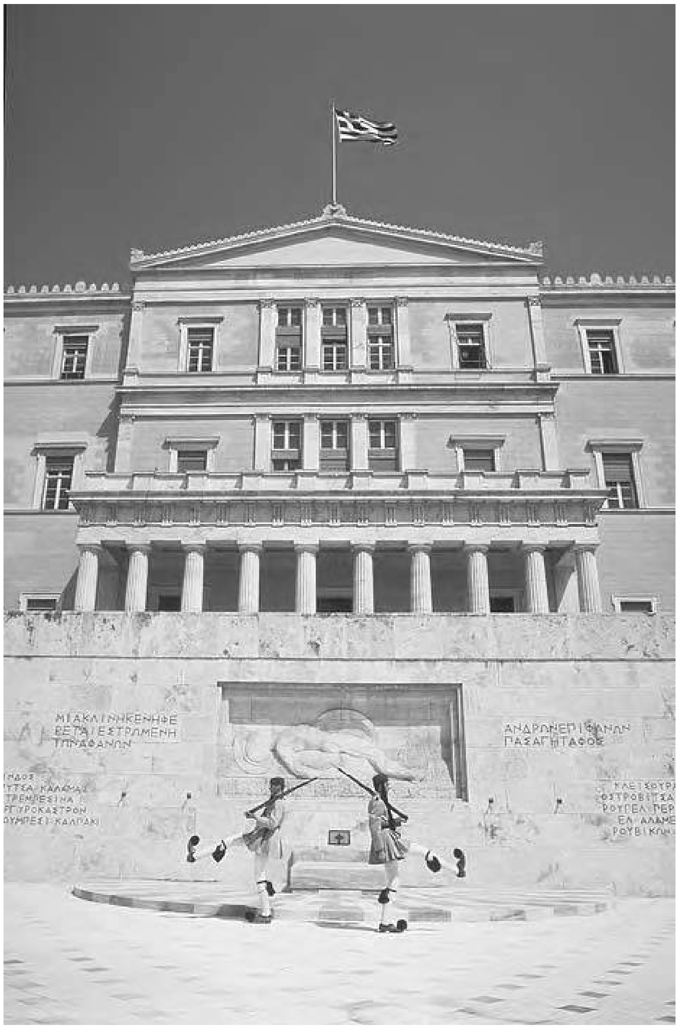


Portrait of Costas Simitis, prime minister of Greece (1996–). (Embassy of Greece)

Greece. The full range of human rights is protected under the constitution, which notes that all citizens of Greece may enjoy "full protection of their life, honor, and freedom, irrespective of nationality, race, or language and of religious or political beliefs." While every adult citizen has the right to participate in the economic, political, and social life of the country, the Greek state and all its agents are to ensure that individual rights and liberties are protected and exercised fully. The constitution specifies that basic rights and liberties include freedom of speech, of the press, of peaceful assembly and association, and of movement; furthermore, basic rights extend to economic freedom and ownership of property, the inviolability of privacy, and equality before the law, as well as legal due process. Also guaranteed by the constitution are the rights to social security and housing, to education, and to health care, as well as the right to petition the state for redress of grievances. In addition, the constitution states that work is a right, and that all workers are entitled to equal compensation for equal labor or services performed. The freedom of workers to organize (including the right to strike) is protected, but judicial functionaries and members of the state security forces are prohibited from striking.

While the basic articles of the constitution, such as those defining Greece as a parliamentary republic, those guaranteeing fundamental rights and liberties, and those establishing and distributing respective powers to the three branches of government, remain unalterable, all other parts of the constitution may be amended. In order to amend the constitution, a proposal for change must be introduced into the parliament by at least fifty of the three hundred members of the legislature. The next step in the amendment process requires that 180 (the equivalent of three-fifths) of the members of parliament vote in support of the amendment on each of two ballots held at least one month apart. Finally, the next session of parliament enacts the amendment by a majority vote of the total legislature's membership, at least 151 out of 300 representatives. At any rate, constitutional revisions cannot be made before a lapse of five years from the completion of a previous revision. These methodical, incremental, and reflective provisions are designed to ensure the stability of constitutional order in Greece and have succeeded.

Inspired by the modern systems of government in Western Europe, especially the French model of state organization, Greece is a unitary state based on a system of parliamentary democracy. In order to prevent the concentration of power in a single authority, the powers and functions of the state are separated into three branches of



Parliament, Athens, Greece. (Corel Corporation)

government. Despite constitutional provisions to strengthen local administration and the 1994 inauguration of direct local elections for provincial governors (formerly appointed by the central government), real power rests overwhelmingly with the central government in Athens.

At the head of the central, or national, government is the president. As the principal link among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, the president is insulated from direct political pressure by virtue of his election by the parliament for a term of five years, and a maximum number of two terms. The presidency, especially after the constitutional amendments passed in 1986, enjoys largely ceremonial functions as a sort of representative national figurehead. The day-to-day governance of Greece is conducted by the three branches of government arranged according to the elected parliamentary system, with an independent judiciary and an executive branch that operates with the approval of the legislature.

The executive branch, or government, consists of the prime minister and his cabinet, which includes twenty-two departmental ministers, thirty-one alternate or deputy ministers, and one cabinet-rank minister to the prime minister. All major cabinet ministers are members of the parliament, while others are chosen by the prime minister and formally appointed by the president. Led by the prime minister, the executive branch is collectively responsible to the parliament for the formulation and implementation of general government policy, while each minister is also individually responsible for the work of his respective office as an agency of the national government. The cabinet must receive and maintain the confidence of the parliament. A confidence vote by the legislature is required whenever a new cabinet is established. This vote, which is determined by an absolute majority, focuses on the broad outline of the government's proposed policies and programs. If a government is forced to resign as a result of a no-confidence vote, a nonpartisan caretaker government must be formed to administer new elections. Although two attempts have been made, in 1988 and 1993, no government has been censured by a no-confidence vote since the adoption of the constitution of 1975.

The National Assembly, or Parliament, is a unicameral body of three hundred deputies elected through direct universal ballot to a term of four years. The parliament elects its own officers and a committee that organizes the body's legislative work agenda. At the beginning of each annual session, which convenes in early October, committees are formed to examine bills, with committee membership proportional to party representation in the parliament. Bills may be introduced by the government or by any member of the parliament. In practice, however, the vast majority of legislative initiatives originate with the government. Bills become laws by a majority vote in the full assembly or by a majority of a proportionally representative section of parliament that continues to meet while the remainder of the assembly is in recess.

The current legal system, with roots in ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine civil law, as well as modern French and German models, is administered by an independent judiciary, which is divided into civil, criminal, and administrative courts. Underscoring the independence of the judiciary, judges enjoy personal immunity and are subject only to the constitution and the law in discharging their responsibilities. Judges and other judicial personnel are appointed and promoted by presidential decree, based on the prior decisions of the Judicial Council. The Judicial Council comprises the presidents of the three highest courts in Greece—the Supreme Court for civil and criminal justice, the Council of State for administrative cases, and the Comptrollers Council for fiscal matters. All legal proceedings are public and, depending on their severity, are decided by juries, judges, or magistrates. At the top of the judicial system is the Special Supreme Tribunal, comprising the presidents of the Supreme Court, the Council of State, and the Comptroller's Council, as well as four members of the Supreme Court chosen by lot every two years, and two distinguished professors of law also chosen by lot. The Special Supreme Court Tribunal interprets and rules on the constitutional validity of laws in cases where the Supreme Court, the Council of State, and the Comptroller's Council have rendered conflicting judgments. In these instances, the ruling of the tribunal is irrevocable. Constitutional interpretation in other cases is left to the legislature, not the judiciary.

The foundational linchpin and primary legitimizing instrument of the entire Greek political system is the principle of democratic representation, which is practiced through the electoral system. Except for the period of military dictatorship between 1967 and 1974, the electoral process has provided the country's citizens a tangible (if sometimes imperfect) structure for the exercise of democratic choice in postwar Greece. Elections, which are direct, universal, and achieved through secret ballot, are held every four years for both parliamentary and municipal elections unless the dissolution of the parliament necessitates an interim election.

The three hundred members of the parliament are elected from fifty-six local districts, which are represented by from one to thirty-two seats according to their population. Candidates are elected under a so-called reinforced proportional representation system in which 288 members of the parliament are chosen directly from the fifty-six constituency districts, while the remaining twelve seats of the assembly are occupied by so-called national deputies, elected not in any of the electoral districts but at large from political party lists in proportion to the popular vote the parties receive. Thus these national deputies, who enjoy the same rights and functions as directly elected representatives, represent the entire country. In one form or another, the reinforced proportional system has been in operation since the 1920s, with virtually every successive government modifying the system to maximize its own electoral prospects. As a result, the proportional system has consistently worked to the advantage of Greece's larger, dominant political parties. The justification for such a practice is that the proportional system helps to preserve political stability and, more importantly, functional one-party governments. Reinforced proportional representation, usually expressed through the allocation of most or all national deputy seats to a plurality party, makes it possible for a parliamentary majority to be formed even if a winning party fails to secure a majority of the popular vote. This outcome is made possible by awarding extra parliamentary seats to the larger parties that obtain more than a minimum percentage of the national vote.

Despite its demonstrated capacity for promoting stability, the proportional representation system has been controversial since its implementation. The proportional system has been consistently opposed by Greece's small political parties, especially those representing the ideological left, to whom reinforcement has been an exclusionist instrument that minimized their numbers in parliament between the 1950s and 1970s. As the fear of the Left receded in the 1980s and 1990s, the country's two dominant political parties, the conservatives and socialists, reached a consensus in favor of a system that made representation more in proportion to the direct vote but still significantly favoring the largest parties. Despite its problems, the electoral system has provided remarkable political stability in Greece. Since the restoration of democracy in Greece in 1974, of the nine parliamentary elections held, only two held in 1989 failed to produce a one-party majority government.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SERVICE

Although important in traditional and historical terms, Greece's nine geographic regions have no administrative significance. They are, however, the basis for subdividing the country into fifty-two prefectures, or provinces, which are the main local administrative units and the chief links between central and local government. The prefect, or *nomarch,* operating as a provincial governor, oversees local administration and functions as the principal agent of the central government. It is the prefect's responsibility to coordinate the activities of the ministerial field offices within his jurisdiction. The office of the prefect works in concert with a provincial council. For its part, the provincial council consists of the mayor of the prefecture's administrative capital, two representatives drawn from the province's municipalities and communes, and representatives of mass organizations for farmers, workers, professionals, entrepreneurs, and public corporations. Provincial councils may also meet with senior officials of the central government ministries on matters of shared local interest.

At the lowest level of local administration, the provinces are subdivided and organized around the country's approximately 350 municipalities and 5,600 communes. Typically, a municipality is a city or town with a population exceeding 10,000 residents, while a commune is a town or village containing fewer than 10,000 persons. Municipalities and towns elect councils headed by a mayor and president, respectively. The tenure and mandate of these councils is renewed every four years through popular election. Membership in the local councils varies from five to sixty-one deputies, depending on population.

Traditionally, through the entire Ottoman experience and most of the modern Greek state's history, local government had been popularly viewed as the exclusive domain of wealthy elites. The concept, let alone prospect, of popular participation in local administration was seen as remote until fairly recently. In 1982 Greece's first socialist government, which had promised to fully democratize local decision making by enacting the conditions necessary for popular involvement in provincial administration, passed legislation that began the profound transformation of local government. A new legal framework was created that began the transfer of considerable decision-making authority from the central government to the prefectures, municipalities, and communes. Although the decentralization initiatives, which had lost momentum by the mid-1980s, stalled with the return to power of the conservatives in the early 1990s, the socialists, on returning to power in 1993, renewed the agenda for decentralization. The now continuing strides forward in this area were made especially evident in 1994, when provincial governors, formerly appointed by the central government, were for the first time determined by direct popular local elections.

With major reform goals achieved in virtually all areas of government, the state's civil service remains the most intransigent challenge to Greece's state evolution. Like other modern governments, the Greek state is entrusted to a network of public personnel within a vast civil service bureaucracy. Entry into the civil service is generally made possible by competitive state examination. However, government ministries often bypass the regular recruitment system and engage personnel, without benefit of civil service examinations, by individual contract. The logic behind this accepted practice is based on the need for governments to employ specialists to fulfill certain tasks that the existing civil service pool cannot address as effectively. Such contract specialists are hired through a noncompetitive procedure at higher salaries than the mainstream ranks of the civil service bureaucracy. Furthermore, after several years of service, contract personnel are entitled to receive civil service tenure, or guaranteed permanence of position and salary. Precisely because these contract positions depend on the discretion of each minister, the practice is highly conducive to political patronage and favoritism. Furthermore, the effective internal division of the state bureaucracy into two unequal categories of recruitment and compensation has promoted resentment and often undermined professionalism and efficiency within the ranks of the regular civil service.

Despite periodic attempts to rationalize the goals and the methods of the system, the civil service apparatus is the single most visibly inefficient sector of the Greek governmental process. Since 1974 both ruling parties, the conservatives and socialists, have offered various programs to deal with the problems endemic in the civil service, especially in the area of personnel recruitment. However, the impact of these legislative reforms has been minimal, apart from broadening the immediate political influence of the governing party. In the final analysis, continued reliance on subjective criteria and personal connections in state agencies is a (perhaps throughout the Balkan region) practice rooted in the late Ottoman experience, a norm reinforced during most of the history of the independent Greek state. This pattern has cultivated in Greek citizens a general distrust for formal criteria such as exams, inspectors, and objective qualifications. Yet, at the same time, the consequent inefficiency associated with the civil service has bred almost universal contempt for its agencies.

THE PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL EVOLUTION

Although the ancient Greeks invented democracy, their nineteenth- and twentieth-century descendants had to struggle for generations to create a viable and truly representative government, a modern version of a democratic political system. Although the current Greek political system still grapples with serious flaws, the transition to and solidification of democracy since 1974 is often cited for the effectiveness with which it has dealt with political problems lingering from the past. Political development in nineteenth-century Greece was forestalled by the continual interference of the Great Powers in the country's domestic affairs. Political evolution in the first half of the twentieth century was handicapped by war, a pervasive culture of political patronage, polarization and schism between liberals and royalists, and a collapse of constitutional order.

The chief postwar political problems in Greece were the final disposition of the monarchy and the legalization of the Communist Party. By resolving both of these issues within one year after the fall of the junta in 1974, Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis removed two of the major issues of the postwar political environment that had made the accession of a military dictatorship possible in 1967. The immediate result of World War II had been a brutal civil war fought between communists and the national government from 1946 to 1949. The trauma of the conflict left Greece with a succession of repressive rightist governments and a stunted parliamentary system characterized by a meddling monarchy, pervasive domestic surveillance, and a Cold War–driven, paternalistic, interventionist U.S. ally throughout the 1950s and most of the 1960s.

After seven years of highly unpopular military rule and political isolation, let alone decades of parliamentary dysfunction, preparing Greece's political system for vigorous democratization and long-term stability was a formidable task. The conservative, decidedly democratic government of Karamanlis's New Democracy Party that came to power in 1974 tried to recover the economic momentum that had propelled a rapid political evolution in the late 1950s and made possible the liberal policies of the mid-1960s. The military dictatorship's pariah status and its general incompetence had separated Greece from the developmental path followed by its Western European counterparts, leaving the economic system that emerged from the early 1970s unprepared to cope with the monumental social changes and political demands of the remainder of the century.

The establishment of a republic and the legalization of the Communist Party and other leftist parties under the Karamanlis government cleared the way for the consolidation of democracy in Greece. The expanded political spectrum stimulated calls for further democratization, a goal vigorously embraced by New Democracy's chief opposition party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). Founded as an anti-junta organization by the Greek diaspora intellectual and member of a prominent political family, Andreas Papandreou, PASOK was transformed into a political party in 1974. Seven years later, the new party and its charismatic leader came to power to form the first socialist government in Greece's history. PASOK's rapid rise and its electoral success in 1981 confirmed that government power could pass in orderly democratic fashion from one party to another, even between parties of quite different ideology.

The first socialist government launched a wave of jarring and controversial social and political transformations. Central features of the early 1980s were an environment of increasing openness and a concurrent sense of disorientation. PASOK's initial fiery rhetoric created high public expectations that were frustrated by deepening economic problems and by the socialists' unfocused long-term agenda. Nonetheless, PASOK's first term brought new segments of society, which until that time had been marginalized in the political life of the country, into the political mainstream. This process of expanding democracy and political participation stalled under mounting economic pressures during the socialists' second term, which ended in 1989 amid malaise and scandal. A subsequent New Democracy gov-

Portrait of Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece (1981–1989, 1993–1996). (Embassy of Greece)

ernment was unsuccessful in both domestic and foreign affairs, so the electorate again turned to Papandreou's Socialist Party, which returned to power in 1993.

Following Papandreou's death in 1996, Greece's newly elected prime minister and leader of PASOK, Costas Simitis, began a restructuring of policy, which has produced considerable success in achieving his government's primary goals. Simitis's government, reelected in 2000, is committed to economic stability and modernization, monetary integration into the EU, and security through multilateral and cooperative international structures. Under Simitis's technical and sophisticated (if not charismatic) leadership, Greece has achieved most of its goals in these areas. Moreover, Simitis's approach to expanding domestic political life has been crucial in stimulating another vital evolutionary step in Greece's political development. Although the process is not entirely complete, the country's major political parties have been transformed to a considerable extent from exclusively elite organs to instruments for popular participation in the increasingly urgent process for reforming and modernizing national institutions.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

FAMILY AND FOLK TRADITION

Reflecting the enduring influence of traditional culture, Greek society, for the most part, continues to prioritize collective over individual identity in assigning social status to persons. The family remains paramount in society's perception of an individual's public standing and value. Because of its patriarchal structure, Greek culture defines family membership through patrilineal descent, but bilateral kinship remains a factor in determining family relationships. Although mitigated by the growing imprint of Western culture, two basic categories of kinship exist simultaneously within the larger family system. The basic, primary category is based on notions of bloodline, or biological bonds, and is composed of the nuclear and extended family. The second category of relationships is established through sacramental sponsorship in weddings or baptisms and thus unites different families into so-called affinal, or nonbloodline, networks of kinship. The two categories of kinship—primary and affinal—are denoted in the conceptual terms *oikogenia* (family) and *koumbario* (affinal relation), respectively.

Breaking from the centuries-old pattern of multigenerational households, the nuclear family has for the last few decades constituted the basic domestic unit in Greek society. Consistent with general demographic trends among the EU countries, the average nuclear Greek family in the 1980s and 1990s consisted of four people (husband, wife, and two children) who generally occupied a common residence apart, although often close to, extended family households. Marriages arranged by parents or trusted intermediaries were typical in Greek culture as recently as the first half of the twentieth century but have been replaced by largely independent unions. Traditionally marriages functioned, at least in part, as economic mergers and alliance structures between families and thus tended to be arranged. Courtship rules, which once were appropriate only to engaged couples, have been relaxed since the 1970s but remain (at least formally) restrictive, especially as applied to girls and women in rural communities.

Underscoring the general continuity of roles and values, male heads of household are chiefly responsible for engaging the public on behalf of the family's interests, while their female partners are typically responsible for most of the family's domestic management. Mothers tend to be the primary caregivers in most Greek families, although grandparents and elder siblings are often actively involved in child rearing. Although early childhood is associated with considerable freedom, behavioral controls that are intended to protect family reputation and status are applied to children and are expanded and adjusted with age. Consistent with traditional patriarchal norms, male children generally enjoy more autonomy and privileges than do female children and are subject to less family and community scrutiny in terms of social conduct. Primary and secondary education is prized from the perspective of most traditional families as a system for inculcating children, especially boys, with competitive principles. Social elites aside, higher education is valued almost exclusively as an instrument for children's economic advancement, leading to an emphasis on professional and vocational training, often at the expense of creative and intellectual pursuits.

Although material factors such as individual wealth and education operate as the primary factors in the acquisition of status and influence in community life, intangible yet culturally significant factors can build or undermine social status regardless of personal wealth and power. The basis for this dynamic, as well as the source for the attendant mechanisms of social control, lies in the integrated principles of honor and shame. Although less openly pronounced at present than in earlier periods, these principles continue to resonate within Greek society. Honor functions as a moral commodity defining, or at least contributing to, a family's status. Family honor, and hence respectability and status, can be compromised and lost by the deviant actions of any member of the family. The collective, corporate nature of honor consequently requires that individuals conform to the interests of the family in abiding by the norms of the community. Acting otherwise brings shame not only to oneself but to one's entire family. Shame, in the form of public derision and social marginalization, thus works as an inducement for conformity and a deterrent against aberrant behavior.

THE VISUAL AND PERFORMING ARTS

Despite their enormous influence and presence in the lives of most Greeks, folk art and popular aesthetic tradition did not attract the interest of modern Greece's first artists. The post-Byzantine tradition of religious art that prevailed before the Greek Revolution was ultimately challenged by a Western influence that came to Greece with the Bavarian monarchy and administration imposed on the independent Greek state by the Great Powers in the 1830s. The majority of nineteenth-century Greece's most important artists studied or completed their training or education in Bavaria. The most prominent of these artists, Nikolaos Ghizis, became an influential professor of art at the Munich Academy and gained considerable fame abroad. Other leading artists making up the cohort of talent known eventually as the "Munich period" artists included George Iakovides, Nikiforors Lytras, and Constantine Volanakis, who returned to Greece to accept appointments at the School of Fine Arts in Athens. Heavily influenced by Western European sensibilities, the only Greek element in the work of these artists was the subject matter, which was sometimes drawn from folklore. Although less influential, a more indigenous tradition came from the local artists of the Ionian Islands, which became part of Greece in 1864.

The work of Greek artists living in Western Europe during the first half of the twentieth century was affected significantly by postimpressionism. The most accomplished among this group of artists was Constantine Parthenis, who returned to Greece to teach at the Athens School of Fine Arts, where he influenced a generation of artists that studied under him. As a symbolist and exponent of modern trends, Parthenis's work demonstrates a strong interest, emulated by his students, in Greek light and color. An equally influential but opposite artistic influence came from a refugee from Asia Minor, Photios Kontoglou. Committed to reviving the tradition of Byzantine religious art, Kontoglou rejected Western influences and urged his students to seek out creative roots in Greek culture. Eventually the cross-fertilization of Parthenis and Kontoglou produced a postwar generation of artists with a unique hybrid vision of Greece and Greek culture.

When Greece became independent in the 1830s, it enjoyed two dominant musical traditions, colored by countless regional variations. The first of these traditions was so-called demotic music, which had originated in the Ottoman period and was heavily influenced by liturgical music. The second tradition was found in the music of the Ionian Islands, which escaped Ottoman rule and was influenced by Italian forms. In the twentieth century the musical folk tradition divided into the older demotic songs of the countryside and a new type of urban song, known as *rebetika* or *rebetiko,* which appeared mostly among Asia Minor refugees and Greek immigrants in the United States.

Once Greece obtained its independence, many Greeks living in Western Europe returned home to introduce Western musical culture. Moreover, Greece's first monarch, King Otto of Bavaria, established bands, imported Western musical instruments, initiated musical education in schools, and sponsored musicians from Germany, Italy, and the Ionian Islands to perform in Athens. Opera was introduced, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, Greece was home to numerous orchestras, choirs, and musical societies. Among the most respected representatives of the Western musical tradition, expressed through the Ionian school of composers, were Nikolaos Mantzaros, who wrote the music for the Greek national anthem, Pavlos Karrer, and Napoleon Labelette and Dionysios Lavrangas, the founders of the Greek National Opera. Under the creative composition of the Asia Minor Greek, Manolis Kalomiris, Western and Greek folk traditions merged to form a new orchestral style. The most revered of Greece's operatic performers, and perhaps the most renowned twentieth-century master of classical voice, was the diaspora Greek Maria Callas, born Maria Kalogeropoulos, who enjoyed a brilliant career in Greek opera before being discovered in the West.

Regardless of its unique classical composers and unmatched operatic artists, Greece is best known abroad for its popular music. Manos Hatzidakis was the first of a generation of composers who introduced themes from *rebetika* in their work and, in the process, legitimized nonmainstream music. Hatzidakis's compositions and Greek popular music gained global recognition through international film, beginning with *Never on Sunday* (1960). This phenomenon was magnified with the film *Zorba the Greek* (1964), which showcased the music of the influential and politically controversial Mikis Theodorakis, whose compositions became widely known throughout Europe and beyond.

Greek filmmaking first drew international attention through the work of Cypriot-born Michael Cacoyannis, the director of the immensely popular *Zorba the Greek* and the critically acclaimed film *The Trojan Women* (1971), as well as other major features. Another filmmaker who has achieved recognition as one of Europe's most original cinematic artists is the director Theo Angelopoulos, the recipient of countless awards for works that entered the European canon of classic films during the 1980s and 1990s.

THE LITERARY ARTS

Of all the aspects of cultural and artistic creativity associated with modern Greece, literature and everything connected with language was the most lively and perhaps most important realm of expression. Although Greek writing in the early nineteenth century depended largely on the formal and rigid literary tradition of the Ottoman-era Constantinopolitan elites, the incorporation of the Ionian Islands into an independent Greek state in 1864 marked a critical turn in the development of a modern Greek literature. Ionian poet and author of the words of the Greek national anthem, Dionysios Solomos, and his contemporary Andreas Kalvos experimented with a largely unexplored, yet vibrant and potentially rich vernacular. In doing so, Solomos opened the way to poetic emancipation from the formal, stilted idiom. Although the formal idiom, Katharevousa, produced a large group of nineteenth-century prose writers, the only impressive and lasting craftsman of this medium was Alexandros Papadiamantis, a short story writer of considerable genius. The son of a poor priest and a native of the island of Skiathos, Papadiamantis studied briefly at the University of Athens before earning a modest living as a translator and prolific writer. He led an ascetic life, dominated by the Orthodox religious calendar, for whose traditions his writings reflected admiration and nostalgia. Papadiamantis's short stories and novels centered on historical and cultural themes. They appeared in serial form in periodicals during his lifetime and were published as books only after his death.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a wellspring of extraordinary poetic writing flowing from both formal and vernacular camps. The most talented of the vernacular poets during this period and a celebrated exponent of demotic was Kostis Palamas, whose approach to verse was highly original and unrestrained by convention. Palamas was one of the best known and most loved Greek poets of his time. Born in Patras and educated in Mesolonghi, he worked as a journalist and literary critic before publishing his first collection of verses, *The Songs of My Fatherland,* in 1886. After the publication of his second collection of poems in 1897, he was appointed secretary-general of the University of Athens, a position he held until his retirement in 1926. On the opposite end of the stylistic spectrum was the understated poetry of diaspora Greek Constantine Cavafy. A native of Alexandria, Egypt, Cavafy spent much of his childhood in Constantinople and England before settling permanently in Egypt in 1885. He

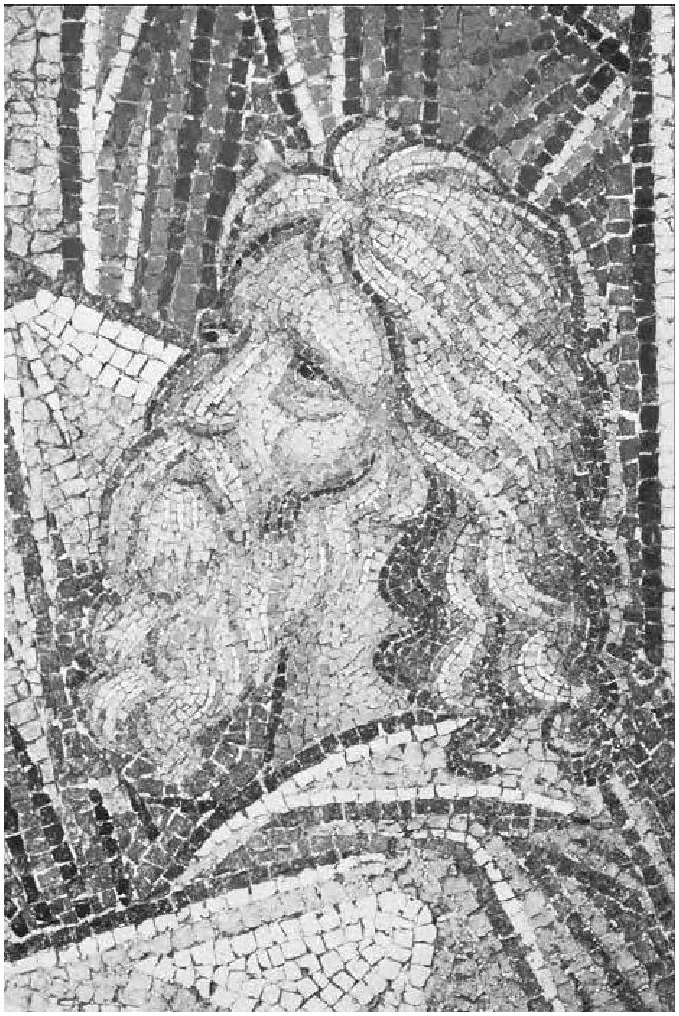
Adamantios Koraes

The leading figure of the eighteenth-century Greek Enlightenment, a Western-inspired intellectual revival, Adamantios Koraes (1748–1833) was born in Smyrna, the son of a merchant from the island of Chios. Although Koraes obsessively identified with Chios, there is no evidence that he ever visited the island from which his family originated. While a young man in Smyrna, Koraes was introduced to Latin and exposed to Western classical scholarship by Bernard Keun, a Dutch Protestant pastor. Between 1771 and 1778, Koraes attempted to pursue the family trade as a merchant in Amsterdam. His experience of freedom in Holland fueled his hatred for the Turks, whom he considered nothing more than barbaric oppressors. Not finding fulfillment in his life as a merchant, Koraes studied medicine at the University of Montpelier from 1782 to 1786. Nonetheless, his real interests lay in ancient literature, and he soon developed into one of the foremost classical scholars of his day in Europe. From 1788 until his death in 1833, Koraes lived in Paris, experiencing at close quarters the turbulent events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Alarmed by the violent excesses of the revolution, mob rule, and Napoleonic despotism, Koraes embraced the virtues of moderation.

Koraes's passions were manifest in his private pursuit of classical scholarship and his public effort to raise the educational level of his fellow countrymen and instill in them an awareness of a glorious past that was universally admired in Europe. Toward achieving the latter, Koraes conceived the idea of publishing the *Hellenic Library,* consisting of editions of ancient Greek authors and aimed at a Greek audience. Koraes believed that the Greeks would never attain freedom from the backwardness of Ottoman bondage unless they became versed in the knowledge of their ancient heritage. As a result, he thought the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821 was premature by a generation, since the Greeks had not yet reached the educational level required to make them truly free. Nonetheless, he published works in support of the revolution, as well as pieces aimed at ensuring that his fellow countrymen did not merely substitute native tyrants for their Ottoman masters. A central participant in the debates of the early Greek intelligentsia over the form of the language appropriate to an independent Greece, Koraes was one of the chief architects behind the formal language, or what became known as Katharevousa.

made a living as a bureaucrat in the British Imperial Irrigation Office of Alexandria, but his poetry was his private life and all-consuming obsession. The 154 poems that compose Cavafy's completed works fall into three categories, which the poet himself identified as philosophical, historical, or hedonistic reflections. The poems of the first category, all published before 1916, often displayed a didactic imprint. The historical poems, the first of which was published in 1906, explored the unity and continuity over time of the Greek experience, paradoxically by setting them in the Hellenistic age. In this context Cavafy drew considerable inspiration from the decline of Hellenism and the conflict between Christianity and paganism. As for the third category, Cavafy's hedonistic poems first saw publication in 1911 and by 1918 had become increasingly explicit but also expressive of a social dimension as they depicted life on the margins of society.

The period between the two world wars witnessed the emergence of Greece's most dynamic and influential crop of poets and novelists. This new wave of intellectuals and writers, who would dominate Greek letters during the rest of the twentieth century, vacillated in their outlook between the complete despair and isolation of the suicidal Kostas Karyotakis and the sophisticated resignation of George Seferis, born George Steferiadis, to the exaltation of the senses in the vision of Odysseus Elytis, born Odysseus Alepoudhelis. The poetic medium in Greek culture, an international literary form, marked a high point of achievement with the award of Nobel Prizes to Seferis and Elytis in 1963 and 1976, respectively. Seferis, a professional and senior diplomat as well as an accomplished poet, developed an international following thanks to skillful translations of his work that retained his poetry's brilliant lyrical quality. Elytis became world celebrated for his poetry's vigorous commitment to the struggle for freedom and creativeness. Closely associated with this group of poets, who all began their long careers during the interwar period, was an important cadre of intellectuals who became known as "the generation of the 1930s." Prolific and thoughtful advocates of liberal democracy and political moderation, the most prominent members of this group were Constantine Dimaras, Kosmas Politis, and George Theotocas.

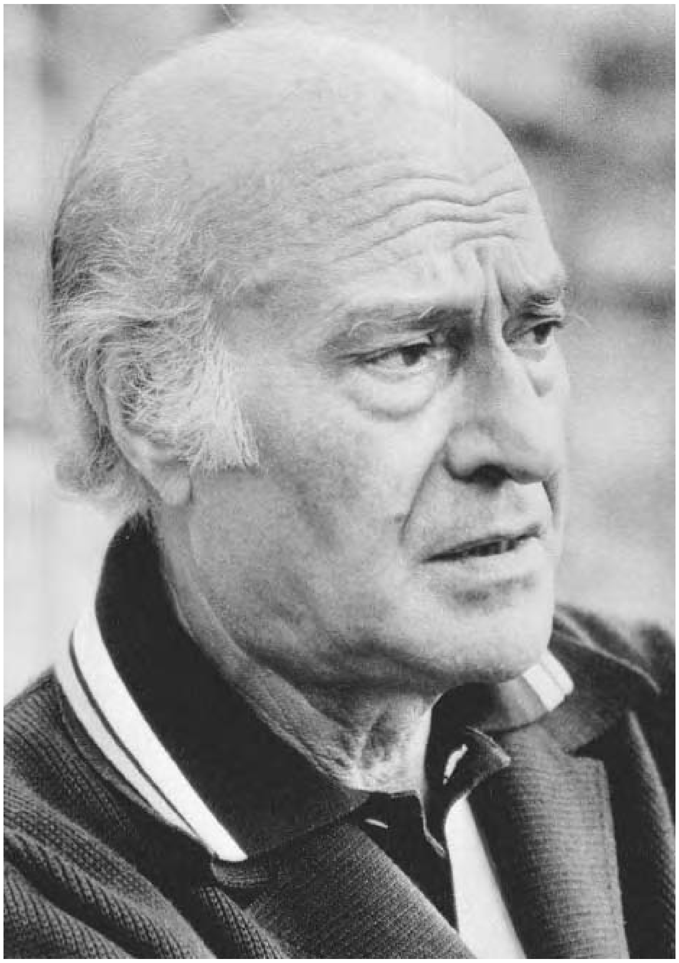


Adam, Church of the Holy Apostles, Thessaloniki, Greece. (Corel Corporation)

Kostas Karyotakis, born in Tripoli in the Peloponnesus, was the son of a rural engineer, whose family moved continually from one provincial town to another in pursuit of work. Karyotakis spent most of his lonely childhood in Crete, where he began to publish his writing, his first poems appearing in children's magazines when he was only sixteen years old. After completing his law degree in Athens, he was posted as clerk to the prefecture of Thessaloniki. Openly contemptuous of his superiors and unwilling to accept the conventions of bureaucratic life, Karyotakis was dismissed from his position and assigned to a series of demeaning positions, many in the countryside. These experiences added to his existing sense of misery and alienation, themes that dominated his poetry. In 1919 Karyotakis published his first book-length collection, *The Pain of Man and Things,* which was dismissed by literary critics. Two years later he published his second book of poetry, *Nepenthe,* a term denoting freedom from sorrow and grief. His last book was published in 1927; a year later, consumed by depression, he killed himself. Marking the influence of the nineteenth-century French symbolist poets on Greek writing, Karyotakis's haunting, complex verse was appreciated as a reaction against the emotionalism of romanticism only after his death.

George Seferis, the son of an accomplished university literature professor, was born in Smyrna and educated in law in Athens and Paris before studying English in London. Although his real interest was in philology, Seferis pursued a diplomatic career while writing and publishing poetry. In 1931 he published a small collection of thirteen poems. Despite the booklet's brevity, it was important in marking Seferis's desire to shed new light on the existing Greek poetic landscape and overcome the shadows of Palamas and Karyotakis. Other poems soon followed this first publication, many of them built on the intermingling of Greek history and mythology, a theme that would inspire much of Seferis's writing for decades. During World War II, when Seferis served with the Greek government in exile in Egypt, his poetry was deeply influenced, as Cavafy's was earlier, by Alexandria's climate of cosmopolitanism and diaspora Hellenism. The decade after the war was a particularly successful one for Seferis as both a poet and diplomat. In 1947 he published his most mature work, *The Thrush.* Meanwhile, Seferis's diplomatic career skyrocketed with a series of prestigious assignments, culminating in 1957 with his appointment as ambassador to London, where he would finish his career in the Greek foreign service corps. In 1963 Seferis became the first Greek author to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. Seferis achieved international recognition not only because of the extraordinary quality of his poetry but also because of the creative ways that his work explored intellectual concerns. In the final analysis, Seferis was concerned with the dynamic interrelationship between the ancient and Modern Greek language, between the power of Greek civilization and its modern expression, and finally between tradition and innovation.

Greece's second Nobel laureate, Odysseus Elytis, was born in Heraklion, Crete, to a family from the island of Lesbos. During the 1930s, Elytis was influenced by French surrealist poetry and adopted surrealism's rejection of traditional modes of poetic expression. These qualities were manifest in the publication of Elytis's first collections of poetry, *Orientations* (1939) and *Sun the First* (1943), joyous celebrations of the Greek landscape as an ideal world of sensual enjoyment and moral purity. Elytis's experience of war, when he served as a junior officer on the Albanian front, where the Greek army thwarted the fascist Italian invasion in 1940, marked a departure from the sunny atmosphere of his early poetry. From this point, Elytis began to identify himself, through more sorrowful writing, with the loss and suffering of the Greek nation. This direction in his writing reached its zenith with the publication in 1957 of his most ambitious and important work, *Axion Esti*. This monumental work is a three-part composition of intricate structure, aiming to present Modern Greek consciousness through the development of a first-person narrator who is simultaneously the poet himself and the voice of his country. In this poem Elytis attempts to identify the vital elements of Greece's long history and complex tradition. In all of his poetry Elytis consistently emphasized humanity's innocence, dismissed guilt and fate, and professed the redeeming quality of light. He criticized the vulgarity and materialism of contemporary society and culture, showed the possibility of a different relation with the things of the world, and reformulated the fundamental and minimal essentials of life.


Odysseus Elytis. (Bettmann/Corbis)

GREECE'S CHIEF CULTURAL EXPORT: NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS

Any review of modern Greek culture must include Nikos Kazantzakis, a prolific novelist, poet, essayist, and author of plays, who was arguably the most important Greek writer and philosopher of the twentieth century. Kazantzakis, the Greek author with the most translations in several languages, is more known to people outside Greece than any other writer from the world of Greek letters. Thanks to highly successful film adaptations of some of his most popular novels—including *Christ Recrucified* by French director Jules Dassin, *Zorba the Greek* by Greek director Michalis Cacoyannis, and *The Last Temptation of Christ* by American filmmaker Martin Scorsese—Kazantzakis achieved world recognition.

Born in Heraklion, Crete, to an entrepreneurial couple, Kazantzakis was raised in a provincial town under Ottoman rule and teeming with revolutionary fervor. On completing his secondary education at the Gymnasium of Heraklion in 1902, Kazantzakis studied law for four years, receiving his law degree from the University of Athens in 1906, the year of his first publication, a narrative entitled *Snake and Lily,* and his first stage play. The following year he went to Paris and studied philosophy until 1909 under Henri Bergson. After his studies in France, Kazantzakis authored in 1910 a tragedy, *The Master Builder,* based on a popular Greek folktale. Returning to Greece, he began translating works of philosophy and in 1914 met and formed an influential friendship with the lyric poet and prominent playwright Angelos Sikelianos. Together with Sikelianos, whose enthusiastic nationalism served as a wanderer's guidepost among Greek communities in Europe and the Middle East, Kazantzakis traveled for two years in places where Greek culture, outside Greece, flourished. His personal knowledge of the Greek diaspora was put to practical use in 1919 when, as recently appointed director general of the Ministry of Public Welfare, Kazantzakis undertook the humanitarian relief and relocation of Greek populations from the Caucasus to Greece. By 1927, when Kazantzakis resigned from his post, he had been responsible for rescuing 150,000 ethnic Greeks from famine, revolution, and civil war in the southernmost region of the Soviet Union.

Kazantzakis's experience in the Caucasus became the beginning of a continuous global wandering. Like his hero, Odysseus, Kazantzakis lived most of his artistic life, excluding the years of World War II, outside Greece. Driven by an intense internal urge, Kazantzakis spent short periods of time in Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia until his death from leukemia in 1957 in Freiburg, Germany. His numerous journeys inspired Kazantzakis to publish the series *Travelling,* which included books on China, Egypt, England, Italy, and Japan and became known as masterpieces of Greek travel literature. Kazantzakis himself considered *The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel,* a massive book informed by his humanitarian involvement in the Caucasus, to be his most important work. Written seven times before being finally published in 1938, this immense spiritual exercise followed the structure of Homer's *Odyssey,* divided into twenty-four rhapsodies and comprising 33,333 verses. During the interwar period and through his travels, especially to Germany and later the Soviet Union, Kazantzakis was attracted to communism but never became a communist. Kazantzakis became increasingly disillusioned with revolutionary materialism and rationalism. Yet his exposure to communism tempered his earlier nationalism and replaced it with a more universal ideology. Bringing his views back to public service, as minister of state in the Greek government from 1945 to 1946, he tried in vain to reconcile the factions of left and right in Greece between the end of the Axis occupation and the outbreak of the civil war. During the 1950s, his career, especially as a novelist, reached its most creative and prolific peak, and in 1957, the year of his death, Kazantzakis came close to winning the Nobel Prize, ultimately losing by a single vote to the French writer Albert Camus.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Like most of the countries of Eastern Europe, Greece had an economy that was dominated by agriculture until the postwar period. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Greece drew most of its income from the export of a few highly profitable agricultural products, such as tobacco and dried fruits, and from its expansive shipping industry. After the 1940s, the Greek economy underwent significant transformation. Driven largely by government policies, and the results of membership in the European Community (EC), later the European Union (EU), manufacturing and services emerged as the chief areas of economic activity, accounting, by the 1990s, for roughly 85 percent of the gross national product (GDP). By 2001, it was estimated that Greece's labor force of approximately 4,590,000 people was divided into a primary, or agricultural, sector employing 18 percent of workers, a secondary, or industrial and manufacturing, sector engaging 23 percent of labor, and a tertiary, or service, sector utilizing 59 percent of the country's workforce. Greece enjoys the highest proportional level of entrepreneurial self-employment and family-based small business ownership in the EU. This employment characteristic has limited, compared to most of the EU, the growth of labor unions outside the public sector. Nonetheless, approximately 600,000 members of the Greek workforce are members of private or public sector labor unions.

Reflecting the modernization and progress of the economy, per capita income in Greece has increased from $500 in 1960 to $19,100 in 2002, the highest in all of Eastern Europe. Despite the fact that the Greek economy is ranked as one of the lowest performers in the highly developed and industrialized EU, in the world it is ranked twenty-third in per capita income and is placed in the top 10 percent of the world's national economies. Furthermore, despite slowing, or, according to some analysts, stagnant trends in the early 1990s, since 1995 the overall economy produced an annual average growth rate of 3.6 percent, exceeding the average rate achieved by the EU. According to 2002 statistics, Greece's GDP had reached $203 billion, an increase of 33 percent in only four years. These comparatively impressive figures do not, however, tell the full story of recent economic development and national wealth creation. Such official statistics understate Greece's actual prosperity because an estimated 40 percent of all economic activity in the country takes place in an unofficial, unrecorded, market outside the tax and social security systems.

Despite its remarkable postwar accomplishments, the Greek economy continues to grapple with serious problems and potential threats to its long-term growth. The significant size of the unofficial, or underground, economy is an obstacle to complete economic modernization, as black market merchants rarely make improvements to their businesses or comply with commercial regulations. Another problem confronting the economy is the large size of the public sector, which, in expenditures, constitutes one-third of Greece's GDP. Although attempts were made in the 1990s to reduce the size of the public sector through privatization, these efforts were only partially successful when confronted by severe opposition from powerful public sector unions opposed to reform.

The Greek government in the late 1990s sought to tackle many of the Greek economy's impediments to long-term growth by prioritizing monetary integration, seen as a necessary building block for attacking structural problems. Consequently in 1996 the government undertook efforts to qualify Greece to share a proposed single European currency, the euro, with other EU member states. These initiatives involved the implementation of austere and unpopular measures aimed at reducing Greece's chronically high rate of inflation, at 18 percent throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, and increasing its tax revenues. By the close of 1999, Greece had effectively reduced its deficit to an acceptable EU standard and had reduced its rate of inflation to 2.6 percent, thus meeting the qualifying criteria to join the EU single currency system. In January 2001, Greece, marking an economic and political threshold in its development and

Olive grove on Euboea. (Yann Arthus-Bertrand/Corbis)

modernization, adopted the new euro currency, thereby fully integrating its economy with the EU.

During the nineteenth century, the most important developments in the Greek economy were in the agricultural sector, which employed more than three-quarters of the labor force. Prior to liberation from Ottoman rule, of the 120,000 peasant families residing in the lands that would compose independent Greece by 1832, approximately 85 percent were landless and worked as sharecroppers for Turkish large landowners. Independence, however, changed the structure of land ownership and therefore the nature of agricultural production in the newly liberated regions of Central Greece, the Peloponnesus, and the Cyclades Islands. Although it was not completed until 1871, the Greek state's distribution of the former Ottoman estates to the peasantry led to the replacement of formerly large estates by relatively small family plots. Furthermore, before the Greek Revolution the large Ottoman estates had produced wheat for export, while after independence the proliferation of small family plots, not conducive to profitable wheat farming, caused the currant (the "raisin of Corinth"), a comparatively viable commodity for small landholders, to become Greece's major export item. Thus the production of currants dominated Greece, especially in the Peloponnesus, at the expense of wheat and other grains. During the 1870s, in fact, currant exports constituted more than half of the value of all exports. Wheat, the chief export before the 1830s, had declined to 41 percent in the 1840s, to 38 percent in 1860, and plummeted, following the completion of the land distribution process, to 23 percent by 1880. The lands of independent Greece, which had been exporters of wheat at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had become dependent on the importation of wheat before the close of the same century.

Demand and price fluctuations of the currant, nineteenth-century Greece's major export item, had a significant effect on the condition of individual peasant cultivators, as well as the national economy. Single-crop cultivation in southern Greece was especially encouraged by the blight that devastated French vineyards in the 1870s and spurred Greek farmers to fill the vacuum in the international market for currants. As a result, currant production increased from 43,000 tons in 1861 to over 100,000 tons in 1878. Once the French vineyards recovered and production returned to normal, surpluses emerged that, combined in 1892 with the French imposition of high tariffs on imports from Greece, triggered a plunge of 70 percent in the price of Greek currants. Despite the efforts of the Greek state to relieve the plight of financially devastated peasants, thousands of villagers were forced to migrate, thus setting into motion the largely economically driven exodus of over 500,000 Greeks to the United States between 1891 and 1922.

Despite the disaster that befell Greece's economic sector at the end of the nineteenth century, the decades that followed independence saw significant progress in the development of other areas of the national economy, especially in a crucial sphere long ignored by the former Ottoman rulers—the country's infrastructure. The profitability of export crops such as currants depended largely on the Greek merchant marine fleet, which had expanded, thanks in large part to favorable international treaties, to dominate much of the carrying trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the last several decades before the Greek Revolution. After independence was achieved in 1832, domestic growth of Greek commerce was a further stimulus to expansion of the merchant fleet.

Expanding trade in agricultural products, chiefly currants, provided the impetus for the development of the first post-Ottoman Greek financial networks, as well as the creation of a variety of domestic economic infrastructures. The establishment of the National Bank of Greece in 1841 marked a significant development in building the country's financial system. Authorized to issue banknotes and able to deal in both domestic and foreign currency, the National Bank of Greece fostered the gradual unification of a national market by making a uniform national currency available throughout the country. This critical development greatly facilitated domestic and foreign trade, saving and investment, availability of credit, and access to capital from abroad. By the 1870s, the National Bank of Greece had emerged as the country's leading economic institutional force, and a major international financial actor.

Thanks in large part to the success of the financial and capital systems, other parts of Greece's economic infrastructure could be improved or, where they did not exist, created. In the 1880s and 1890s paved roads and modern bridges, the first network of railroads, the opening of the Corinth Canal, and the construction and rehabilitation of several port sites all contributed to Greece's growing infrastructure, as well as to the movement of Greek goods in domestic and foreign markets. The country's first manufacturing facilities also appeared during this time, in conjunction with Greece's large infrastructure projects. Nonetheless, major industrial growth was hindered by the instability of the agricultural export sector, government debt, and resulting economic crises.

Greek industry, plagued by sluggish growth in the nineteenth century, was not successful at attracting either domestic investors or foreign capital at the beginning of the twentieth century. World War I brought commerce to a halt and produced the adoption of trade barriers to protect Greek industry from foreign competition, but the end of the war revived the adverse factors that had originally impeded industrial growth. The majority of early twentieth-century industries were involved in food processing or the production of consumer goods that required neither technological nor organizational modernization. Furthermore, manufacturing enterprises typically were small-scale operations, as evidenced by 1920 statistics indicating that workshops with fewer than six workers made up 92 percent of the industrial sector, while those with more than twenty-five workers represented less than 2 percent. Although the Greek state was committed to a policy of economic modernization, its programs were interrupted by a decade-long series of wars beginning in 1912.

As a result of these conflicts, Greece experienced a rapid and dramatic transformation of its economic and social structures. Beginning in 1915 and culminating in 1923, Greece, with a population of around 5 million, was forced to absorb almost 1.5 million refugees, mainly from Asia Minor, whose displacement and resettlement acted as a catalyst for profound change. The financing of the resettling of the refugees expanded the involvement and power of the state in the country's economy, as well as increasing the importance of such institutions as the National Bank of Greece. Wartime activities and public projects generated an enormous increase in government expenditure and a corresponding rise in taxes and state borrowing. Between 1914 and 1926, the external national debt tripled and outstanding debts to foreign creditors became an obstacle to contracting new public and commercial loans. Nonetheless, and after faltering under multiple domestic and foreign pressures, the economy experienced a revival beginning in 1927. The sophisticated entrepreneurial and modern farming skills introduced to Greece by the refugees, as well as increased domestic demand for goods, combined to stimulate a period of growth and industrialization. This growth was reinforced by financial reforms that included the stabilization of Greece's currency, the drachma, and the establishment of the Agricultural Bank of Greece. All the same, these institutional changes aimed primarily at improving the allocation of resources, not the extension of the benefits of economic growth to broader segments of the population. Consequently, despite growth, widespread economic hardship persisted in interwar Greece.

In 1931 the onset of the Great Depression ended Greece's interwar growth cycle. A year later, under the weight of the international market collapse, Greece was obliged to suspend interest payments on its foreign debt. This development consequently forced the country to dedicate the remainder of the decade of the 1930s to the management of the financial crisis caused by the default. A new period of economic stagnation, together with urban poverty, stimulated social tensions, the growth of political militancy, widespread labor unrest, and finally the imposition of an authoritarian dictatorship in 1936. Responding to the international economic depression and anticipating war in Europe, the Greek dictatorship of the late 1930s was committed to the goal of national self-sufficiency. Through price-support measures and various debt moratorium policies, the state restored considerable stability to the economy, especially its agricultural sector. Furthermore, the state succeeded in promoting significant increases in the production of vital, strategic crops. The output of wheat, for example, rose from 30 percent of domestic consumption before the dictatorship to 60 percent by 1939.

Fascist Italy's attack on Greece in 1940 upset the balance of the economy, but the Nazi invasion of the country in 1941 and subsequent Axis occupation destroyed the basis of Greece's productive capacity. Given Greece's low level of industrialization and the prevalence of small-scale manufacturing, the Axis occupation authorities saw no incentive to maintain the country's production plants and enforced an extractive policy in Greece. In short, Greece's economic resources were systematically plundered between 1941 and 1944. In addition to pillaging the Greek economy, the Axis authorities exacted payment from Greece for the enormous cost of the Bulgarian, German, and Italian occupation of the country. This deliberately cruel policy had the effect of unleashing a wave of hyperinflation that destroyed the value of Greece's currency, created a destructive web of black markets, and pushed the economy down to a barter level system for goods and services.

Unlike the rest of Europe, Greece's economic recovery did not begin with the end of World War II. The postwar reconstruction efforts of the Marshall Plan in Western Europe provided no immediate benefit to Greece, which underwent a bitter civil war from 1946 to 1949. A new round of violent conflict produced yet another period of physical destruction, inflation, and economic instability. Although Greece was a major recipient of American aid under the Marshall Plan, beginning in 1947, the overwhelming majority of this support was dedicated to either military assistance or war-related economic needs. At the close of the decade of the 1940s, the country's shattered economy had not yet had a chance to recover from the combined destructive impact of world war and civil war.

Although the Greek Civil War ended in 1949, economic stabilization was not achieved until 1953. A critical threshold in the country's postwar recovery, restoration of public confidence, and economic development was a package of economic measures implemented by the Greek government in 1953, which included the devaluation of the drachma and the lifting of most controls that impeded exports. The package also included new banking regulations to counter inflation and speculation, as well as new laws for the protection of foreign investment. These monetary and trade reforms were followed by an ultimately successful policy to attract foreign investment, and by an equally ambitious program that produced significant achievements in rebuilding, modernizing, and expanding the country's infrastructure, including not only Greece's roads and seaports but its airports and electric power and telecommunications networks. The initiatives launched in 1953 began a twenty-year-long period of sustained and high growth rates, low inflation, effective industrialization, export expansion, urban growth, and significant, albeit uneven, prosperity.

The period from the late 1950s to the late 1960s is often characterized as an era of unprecedented growth, the so-called Greek economic miracle. During these years, Greece's GDP grew at the fastest rate in Western Europe, averaging almost 8 percent annually. Meanwhile, industrial production grew at an average annual rate of 10 percent, exceeded in Western Europe only by Spain. Marking a major turning point, in the 1960s manufacturing exports surpassed agricultural exports for the first time in Greece's history. Yet the dramatic changes produced by economic growth, especially those associated with rapid urbanization and inequities in the distribution of Greece's growing wealth, also caused social tensions in the 1960s. The basic weaknesses of the Greek economy, including the lack of competitiveness in the country's manufacturing sector, remained untreated. Neither the conservative government of the 1950s and early 1960s that was the architect of the economic recovery, nor the centrist government that led the country in the mid-1960s, nor the military junta that seized power in 1967 resolved these problems.

After two decades of growth, the global energy crisis of 1973 and the ensuing international monetary turmoil had a profoundly adverse effect on the Greek economy. One of the most pernicious and lasting results of the economic disruption was the unleashing of high rates of inflation. Running for more than a decade at only 3 percent, the annual rate of inflation jumped to 16 percent in 1973 and 27 percent in 1974. The negative effects of the economic recession brought on by the crisis of 1973 were magnified by the ineptitude of the military junta in managing Greece's problems. The collapse of the junta in 1974 and the restoration of democracy marked another major turn in Greece's economic development. With a civilian government returned to office, in 1981 Greece became a full member of the European Community, the tenth member in the economic alliance of European states to join the community. As a community member, Greece began to eliminate its protectionist policies, leading eventually to full liberalization of trade and the movement of capital and labor within the EC.

The democratic governments of the 1970s and 1980s inherited the accumulated economic and social problems that had been either ignored or suppressed by the junta. Issues that needed to be tackled before the structural adjustments necessary for long-term economic growth and modernization could be made possible included labor legislation, social insurance, education reform, and the provision of public health care. Furthermore, the state had to address the serious problem of a rising inflation rate that damaged business competitiveness, caused increasing energy costs, and triggered escalating pressures for higher wages. Adding to the state's challenges, the policy requirements for resolving Greece's economic and social problems were often contradictory. Modernization of social protection required increased public spending while economic stabilization and adjustment, an urgent need with the internationalization of the Greek economy through the EC, required spending restraints by government.

The conservative government that restored democracy in Greece in 1974 and secured the country's membership in the EC was unable to hold on to power in the 1980s. Reflecting the frustrations of those in the middle and lower classes who felt that they had missed out on the boom of the late 1960s and 1970s, when the annual growth rate averaged around 7 percent, the socialists were handed a major electoral victory over the conservatives in the national elections of 1981. After decades of sustained growth, it fell to the socialists to preside over the beginning of a decline in the Greek economy. The rate of growth in the 1980s fell to approximately 1.5 percent. The government under the socialists failed to restructure the economy at a time when most developed countries were moving away from labor-intensive industries toward those based on higher technology. Such readjustments caused significant increases in unemployment, which the new government was unwilling to face. Consequently, instead of taking measures to continue the modernization of the economy and make the Greek marketplace more competitive, the state sought to cushion the impact of the decline on the electorate by expanding welfare programs. The entire economic policy orientation of the socialist government in the early and mid-1980s prioritized political expediency and day-to-day survival over the interests and needs of long-term development and growth.

The mounting economic crisis, characterized in the public sector by high budget deficits, public borrowing, and an erosion of tax compliance in combination with economic stagnation, created serious problems that persisted into the early 1990s. Long overdue stabilization policies finally implemented in 1986 and 1987 began the arduous and difficult process of rebuilding the economy. From 1990 to 1993, a conservative government undertook more systematic efforts at stabilization accompanied by a government austerity agenda and a privatization program for state-owned firms, all measures aimed at increasing marketplace efficiency and competitiveness.

The socialists, back in power in late 1993, did not reverse the economic policies set into motion by the preceding conservative government. In reality, the socialist governments of the 1990s had considerably less economic policy latitude than in the 1980s. Greece, as a signatory of the Treaty on European Union, known as the Maastricht Treaty of February 1992, was now bound to a set of standards of state policy and economic performance. Indeed, EU membership imposed strict rules and disciplines on the economic behavior of the Greek state, and introduced long-term structural changes that no government could have achieved outside the larger European framework. Motivated by the new EU architecture, which promised greater integration of member states, a goal that Greece supported, both the conservative and socialist parties began to move to a common economic policy outlook.

The Maastricht Treaty had a profound effect on Greek policies and the Greek economy. In pursuit of the goal established by Maastricht for the increased integration of EU states through a monetary union, a common euro currency, the Greek government successfully implemented policies aimed at producing positive structural changes in the Greek economy. Chief among these policies were a reformed, more efficient tax structure and a pragmatic course of privatization of major segments of the public sector. The impact of this approach was positive, finally breaking Greece's perennial inflation problem and stimulating a vigorous revival of economic growth that has outpaced EU averages since the mid-1990s. Problems such as unemployment and a troubled, albeit reduced, public sector persisted, but the recent dynamism of the Greek economy reflected favorable domestic structural changes that also underscore the importance of, and are to a large extent the product of, EU membership. The changes undertaken to achieve successful integration into the supranational EU, magnified by entry into the Euro single currency system in January 2001, reflected a new and remarkable level of responsible and disciplined state-economy relations and leadership in Greece. By the late 1990s, after almost two decades of decline or stagnation and vacillating, indecisive policy directions, Greece had rebuilt the foundations for sustainable growth and, for the first time in its modern history, enjoyed a political consensus and common vision for the county's economic future.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

DOMESTIC CHALLENGES: IMMIGRATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Since the 1990s, Greece has undergone a significant transformation from a land that was for centuries associated with the emigration of its own population to a country that is now a major European recipient of foreign immigrant populations. The late-twentieth-century influx into Greece of economic and political refugees from foreign countries marks a striking reversal of the historic pattern of population movement in Greece. For the first time, in at least its modern past, Greece has attracted the immigration of not only uprooted ethnic Greeks from abroad but people from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Greece has drawn significant numbers of immigrants because of the opportunities that the country's growing economy and its free and open society offer to the destitute and oppressed. Yet the new immigration is also characterized by several problems and challenges: immigrants are mostly employed in the informal or tertiary economy, their social position is at the end of the social scale with little opportunity for advancement, they are not organized in trade unions or other collective structures, and most of them are illegal, clandestine immigrants with no documentary record. The immigrants' status depends on several factors, including whether they are in Greece as political refugees, in which case they are granted temporary residence in the country. In addition, there are many nonpolitical immigrants that come to Greece with temporary work or tourist visas. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of immigrants who reside in Greece are there illegally and remain undocumented.

The number of overall immigrants, legal and illegal combined, has never been determined with any accuracy. Nonetheless, Greek government estimates in 1999 indicated that there were between 500,000 and 600,000 immigrants in Greece, while some unofficial estimates suggested that the number was actually closer to 800,000 persons. In the beginning of the 1980s Greece accepted the settlement of some 200,000 ethnic Greeks who were displaced by turmoil in a host of African and Middle Eastern countries and were thus considered political refugees. During the same period, approximately 50,000 ethnic Greeks from the Soviet Union were permitted to immigrate to Greece, beginning a pattern of migration that continues to the present at an annual rate of around 10,000 ethnic Greek immigrants largely from Georgia, Russia, and Ukraine. Ethnic Greeks from Albania, especially from the country's southern region where a sizable Greek minority is concentrated, represent another large body of political immigrants who settled in Greece in the beginning of the 1990s.

Because of their status as ethnic Greeks, and often as political refugees, most of these immigrants obtained Greek citizenship. Nonetheless, the adjustment to life in Greece has not been without its difficulties for many of these immigrants. Approximately half of the ethnic Greek refugees from the former Soviet Union spoke little or no Greek, making their assimilation into a familiar culture but a forgotten language particularly challenging. Although most ethnic Greek immigrants from Albania were Greek speaking, they had fled from one of the world's most closed societies and one of its most oppressive, isolated regimes. As a result, not all Greek immigrants from Albania were equipped to cope with a modern, open society and marketplace that required initiative and creativity for success. The displaced Greeks from the former Soviet Union have been received in Greece better than the Greek immigrants from Albania. The Greek authorities, concerned by declining domestic birthrates, have generally welcomed this injection of Greeks from the former Soviet Union but have not provided adequately for their settlement. With the exception of modest language instruction programs to promote their facility in Greek, and some assistance to meet initial expenses, most of these immigrants have been left to their own devices. Working chiefly in low-wage manual labor or service positions, and settled largely in Athens and Thessaloniki, these "Russian Greeks" remain socially marginalized and are often economically exploited by unscrupulous employers. Despite these significant hardships, the problems stemming from the integration of ethnic Greeks into Greek society have been considerably less complicated than the problems confronting other immigrant groups.

Ethnic Greeks may constitute the largest group of legal immigrants in the country, but Albanians are the most prominent group of illegal migrants in Greece, probably forming a plurality of the overall immigrant (legal and illegal) population. Reliable estimates indicate that there are between 250,000 and 350,000 ethnic Albanians in Greece, most of them illegal economic immigrants and migrants. The collapse of the communist regime in Albania in the early 1990s triggered a flood of Albanian migrants who crossed the border into Greece in pursuit of economic opportunities. Most of this initial stream of destitute, desperate people found low-skilled service employment in Greece's urban areas, while much of the subsequent wave of Albanian movement into Greece has been characterized by migratory and seasonal patterns of employment related to the labor needs of Greece's agricultural and construction sectors. As a result, Albanians constantly cross the border into Greece illegally and are immediately deported by the Greek authorities, only to return to Greece as soon as they can again reach the border. This problem, although it continues into the present, reached its peak in 1993, when the Greek government reported that over 220,000 Albanian citizens were apprehended entering Greece illegally.

Never having experienced such an influx of foreign migrants, the Greek state was not prepared to cope with this unprecedented phenomenon. During most of the 1990s there was no coherent migration policy, as Greece was still considered to be a net exporter of population. Institutions such as support centers for the legal, social, and economic orientation of immigrants barely existed. Furthermore, illegal Albanian (and other) immigrants were excluded from aid by the public social service system, especially regarding the provision of housing, health care, and personal safety, which historically were provided by the Greek state only to Greek citizens and documented foreigners.

Albanians were prepared to assume the risks associated with illegal migration because of their dire economic plight. The legacy of the inefficient communist economic model, the breakdown of economic structures, the closure of 90 percent of Albania's factories during the early 1990s, and the chaotic revolts of 1990–1991 and 1997 were just a few of the many factors responsible for the exodus of hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers to Greece. The importance of economic migration for Albania is paramount because it functions as a kind of development aid through the export of labor and the import of capital. Remittances from Albanians abroad are an indispensable financial source for the development of Albania's domestic economy, especially as other sources such as export revenues and foreign investment have remained insignificant. Moreover, since 1991, the majority of Albanian families have depended on remittances for their survival. Since 1991, most of these payments have come from Greece, averaging annually 80–85 percent of the Albanian national total. In addition, technical knowledge and work experience obtained by Albanian migrants in Greece has been used to modernize the private sector as many of these workers have returned to Albania.

The employment of foreign workers in general, and Albanian workers in particular, has also had a significant impact on the Greek economy. One of the positive consequences, for the economy but not necessarily for workers, is that Albanians are employed with lower wages and without social security, thus reducing production costs and increasing the competitiveness of Greek exports. In addition, Albanian workers and their families help increase the private consumption of goods and services, thereby stimulating growth of domestic markets. Furthermore, undocumented workers form a readily available, flexible, and unorganized labor force that benefits countless small Greek enterprises, whose survival could be threatened without occasional, seasonal, and above all inexpensive employees. The majority of Albanians are employed as unskilled workers at building sites, as transient agricultural workers, and, in the case of most women, as household domestics.

Although Albanians, like most immigrants in Greece, exert a positive influence on the Greek GNP, some negative consequences have also been produced by the large and rapid influx of migrant labor. The skilled labor sector has been largely unaffected by these new conditions, but increases in unemployment among manual and unskilled Greek workers is directly linked to the growth of immigrant labor. In many cases, the low salaries paid to Albanian immigrants have pushed away Greek workers, especially those in the industrial and construction sectors. As a result, there has been a general decline in wages in these sectors, and the position of the working class has become weaker, as a consequence of the abundance of alternative and cheaper employees. In order to meet the costs associated with massive repatriations of illegal migrants and the editing of visas, Greek public spending is increasing while tax revenues are lost to Albanian workers, whose incomes are usually unreported. Finally, it is impossible to estimate the moral costs to Greek society associated with the exploitation of foreign workers, especially women and children.

Since 1991, both of Greece's conservative and socialist governments have focused on security as their primary concern in relation to the immigration question, especially regarding the country's Albanian migrants. Apart from the obvious security concerns that the routine violation of the Greek border with Albania poses, illegal Albanian immigration is linked, although much exaggerated in its scope by the Greek media, to Albanian crime cells that prey on undocumented immigrants and utilize the illegal flow of migrants to traffic in narcotics and exploited human beings. The failure of Greek authorities to deal effectively with Albanian organized crime networks, a problem confronting much of the western and southern Balkans, has contributed to the common public perception that criminality is rife within the Albanian immigrant community, thus promoting considerable mistrust and misunderstanding of Albanians in Greece. Greek feelings toward the Albanian immigrants are overwhelmingly negative. Although the 200,000 to 250,000 Arabs, Bulgarians, Filipinos, Kurds, Pakistanis, Poles, and Romanians making up the remainder of the immigrant population have not been integrated into the mainstream of Greek society, unlike the Albanians, these groups are not perceived as a threat to public security and hence have not encountered the kind of prejudice and negative stereotyping that characterizes popular views of Albanian migrants.

Greek public opinion is beginning to adjust to the growing realization that Greece has become a more heterogeneous society than it was before the 1990s. Xenophobic and even racist sentiments, although real in some quarters, are tempered by countervailing attitudes, which emphasize the need to extend legal status to immigrants, as well as the historic dynamism and resilience of Greek culture and identity often expressed through the historic assimilation of non-Greeks. Increasing economic interaction between Greeks and immigrants has also contributed to the erosion of group barriers, the growth of mutual familiarity, and declining prejudice. The Greek state, in 1999 and again in 2001, began the complex process of establishing a coherent immigration policy through new parliamentary legislation. Finally, despite many shortcomings in dealing with its immigrant question, Greek society has demonstrated a considerable capacity for tolerance and flexibility in accommodating itself to a new cultural landscape. There have been no efforts to endanger the security of immigrants, there is no anti-immigrant political movement in Greece, and there are no parties in the parliament that hold an anti-immigrant or anti-immigration stance, all phenomena that have been observed in Austria, France, Germany, and Italy, as well as in most of Greece's other EU partner states.

FOREIGN CHALLENGES: GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, THE EU, AND NATIONAL SECURITY

It is commonplace to argue that Greece and Turkey have been constant rivals. After Greece achieved independence from the Ottoman Empire in the 1830s, its diplomatic history in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was dominated by irredentist wars and rebellions against the declining empire. These conflicts led to the formation of Greece's borders and embedded the view that Greek and Turkish interests could only be antithetical. Nevertheless, the establishment of the nationalist Turkish republic in the early 1920s led to an interwar reconciliation and period of détente between the two countries.

Cordial relations, however, were disrupted by a massive pogrom against the Greek minority in Istanbul and the emergence of the Cyprus issue in the 1950s. The frustration of self-determination on Cyprus by the British colonial authorities, the establishment in 1960 of a nonviable state system for an independent Republic of Cyprus, and the consequent deterioration of relations among the Greek majority and Turkish minority communities on the island directly affected Greek-Turkish state relations. The process reached a critical threshold in 1974 when a botched nationalist coup instigated by the Greek junta against the Cypriot government was used as a pretext by Turkey to invade and occupy the northern part of the island.

Greece and Turkey came to the brink of war during the Cyprus crisis, and this tension had a spillover effect fueling disputes in the Aegean and beyond. The invasion of Cyprus, a fait accompli achieved with little international protest, was a watershed in Turkish foreign policy. For Ankara's military and diplomatic elites, the invasion, occupation, and partition of Cyprus established the lesson that war can accomplish foreign policy objectives and that the principles of international law should not act as a restraint on Turkish interests and actions. Thus encouraged by its experience in Cyprus, Turkey confronted Greece with a new set of contested issues, or revisionist demands, beginning in the 1970s. Ankara insisted that the international status quo regarding three issues in particular was unacceptable—control of air traffic over the Aegean, the allocation of operational responsibility for the Aegean and its airspace within the NATO framework, and, most important, the delimitation of the Aegean continental shelf, an issue that brought Greece and Turkey close to war in 1976 and 1987. Athens has viewed these demands as incremental steps aimed at the gradual dismantling of Greek sovereignty in the eastern Aegean, and has thus responded with proposals to have the growing disputes between Greece and Turkey resolved by the International Court of Justice. Turkey has consistently refused to accept the jurisprudence of any international mediation and, instead, has increased coercive pressure on Greece by inaugurating an armaments buildup and simultaneous concentration of armed forces along the border with Greece. Greece's response to the increasing military threat from Turkey has been to develop a deterrent through its own military buildup. At the same time, Greece has used diplomacy to safeguard its security.

Problems in Higher Education

Greek culture historically placed a high value on formal education. In the postwar period the public demand for education grew with the increasing modernization of Greek society, which since at least the nineteenth century has viewed education as the key to upward social mobility and status. The national educational system established shortly after Greece gained independence in the 1830s was the result of a combination of the contemporary French elementary school model, the Bavarian system of education, and the late-nineteenth-century German university system. Many elements of that original system have survived with very little change, especially in the sphere of higher education.

Greece's first modern university, known eventually as the National and Capodistrian University of Athens, was established in 1837. The University of Athens opened a new era in Greek education, producing the first modern indigenous Greek intelligentsia and professional class, as well as serving as a model for the development of other educational institutions in the other Balkan countries. At present there are nineteen Greek state universities, the largest being the University of Athens, with over 70,000 undergraduate and graduate students, followed by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the University of Crete, the University of Thrace, the University of Patras, the National Polytechnic University of Athens, the University of the Aegean, and the University of Macedonia.

Several private universities and colleges, all of foreign origin, also operate in Greece but are not recognized by the state, leaving their graduates with no official credentials in the public arena. The rationale for this constitutionally mandated policy is that education should not be commercialized, not even at the level of higher education, nor should the marketplace determine access to education. Nonetheless, the state system has not provided a sufficient supply of higher education in response to increased demand. The high social status and competitive advantage associated with a university education have produced an enormous increase in the demand for the relatively small number of student positions in the university system. During the 1990s, on average, annually there were 150,000 applicants for only 40,000 state university and technical college slots.

The intense demand for higher education has had several problematic results. Secondary students with sufficient means utilize the large network of supplementary private schools throughout the country to prepare themselves for university entrance examinations. This practice undermines the official principle of equal access to higher education by producing inequities of opportunity among university applicants. Many students who are not accepted into the Greek university system go abroad to study. Underscoring the impact of this situation, in the 1980s Greece had the highest ratio of foreign to domestic university enrollment in the world. Moreover, a significant number of these students remain abroad, establishing careers outside Greece, depriving their homeland of their expertise and creating a brain drain. Furthermore, because of their very limited funding, Greek universities offer few graduate programs, and faculty have little incentive to pursue advanced research. Finally, despite efforts initiated in the 1980s to make the administration of the country's universities more professional, university and departmental administration has actually become more politicized by reforms inspired more by the governing socialists' populist agenda than the university system's practical needs.

Membership in the EU, and earlier the EC, has served as Greece's chief asset in its relations with Turkey. Turkey's persistent violation of Greek sovereign rights and disregard for international law and norms had not, until fairly recently, attracted any significant international support for Greece's positions as other states defined their policy in the region on the basis of their own interests. In that environment Greece had to rely on its own resources and options against Turkey—thus its emphasis on the EU as an instrument for the protection of its national security and sovereignty. As Turkey's main strategic objective is integration into the European political, economic, and cultural architecture, its campaign to join the EU has become critically important and this has increased Greece's leverage in using its EU membership to exert counter pressure on Turkey.

Until the late 1990s, Greece exploited Turkey's ambitions for EU membership by conditioning its consent to the improvement of EU-Turkish relations on the modification of Turkey's revisionist policies in the Aegean and a resolution of the Cyprus problem. As Turkey proved unwilling to alter its policies, EU-Turkish relations suffered a stalemate, as any decisions that could improve EU-Turkish relations were blocked by Greece's EU member veto. Nonetheless, as a gesture of goodwill, and in exchange for a commitment from the other member states to discuss Cyprus's future EU membership application, Greece lifted its objections to Turkey's entry into the EU customs union agreement in

Turkish soldiers stand on a tank outside Kyrenia ten days after they launched their invasion of Cyprus, July 1974. (David Rubinger/Corbis)

March 1995. The Greek move, which satisfied an important demand of the Turkish government, elicited no positive response from Ankara. In fact, Greek-Turkish relations sharply deteriorated after the customs union agreement came into force at the beginning of 1996.

Having already threatened Greece with war in June 1995 if Athens were to exercise its legal right according to international law conventions to extend the country's territorial waters from 9.66 to 19.3 kilometers, Turkey renewed the threat of war by launching a provocative incident in January 1996. Executed during the first twenty-four hours of the administration of a new government in Greece, the Turkish action on the barren Greek islet of Imia ultimately led to Ankara's official claim to the islet as well as to several other islands in the Dodecanese complex and beyond, extending as far into Greece as the island of Gavdhos, south of Crete. The crisis was defused through American mediation, but a Turkish claim to actual land had now been added to the weighty list of Greek-Turkish problems. No longer able to ignore the seriousness of Greek-Turkish troubles, not only the United States but NATO too became involved in efforts to mediate between the alliance's two southeastern states, the organization proposing confidence-building measures to avoid future crises. The EU added its voice to the issue in July 1996 when its Council of Ministers issued a declaration stating that relations between Turkey and the EU should be guided by respect for international law, international agreements, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the EU member states.

Clearly an important factor governing Greek-Turkish relations is the perception that each side has of the other. Where the Aegean is concerned, Turkey believes that Greece is interested in transforming the area into a "Greek lake," while Greece believes that Turkey aspires to make inroads in the region at the expense of Greek sovereignty in the eastern Aegean islands. Furthermore, Turkey's political instability, its ongoing occupation of Cyprus, its poor human rights record, the systematic obliteration of its Greek minority, routine threats of war against multiple neighbor states, its blockade of Armenia, and Ankara's response to the Kurdish autonomy movement have made Greece suspicious of Turkish motives in the region. Finally, the tendency of the Western powers to view what Greece considers to be Turkish provocations as merely a dispute between two allies has been interpreted by Athens as Western tolerance of aggression. More important, given Turkey's enhanced strategic role in the region, most Greek political leaders believe that the United States has adopted a policy of appeasement vis-à-vis Ankara at the expense of the potential victim, Athens. In response, and on the whole, Greece's policy is centered on defending the territorial status quo, while Turkey appears committed to challenging certain legal aspects regulating Greek sovereignty and rights in the region.

Again, given these conditions, Greece has seen its membership in the EU as its chief asset in defending its sovereignty vis-à-vis Turkish revisionism. Adversely affecting Turkey's primary strategic goal of EU membership, in the EU Copenhagen summit of June 1993 the EU leaders agreed on a set of conditions to be met by all states aiming to accede to the European Union. These requirements, known as the Copenhagen criteria, included, among other things, the stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for and protection of minorities, as well as the existence of a functioning market economy and the ability to take on the aims of political, economic, and monetary union. Despite Turkey's failure to meet any of the Copenhagen criteria, Greece had to routinely use its veto power to block Turkey's request for official EU candidacy status during most of the 1990s. Greece's EU partners, although generally unenthusiastic about the prospects of Turkish membership, were also dissatisfied by the way Greece appeared to undermine EU official policies with respect to Turkey. Although Greece was effectively depriving Turkey of any closer relations with the EU through its consistent veto policy, this objective was being achieved at increasing political cost to Greece's image within the EU.

In 1996 Greece's newly elected prime minister, Costas Simitis, began a restructuring of domestic and eventually foreign policy aimed at rebuilding Greece's position within the EU. A pivotal part of the foreign policy restructuring necessarily involved policies toward Turkey. Toward that goal, in May 1999 Athens launched a dialogue initiative with Ankara on low-profile bilateral issues, such as environmental protection, tourism, and trade. The display of mutual goodwill at both the governmental and popular levels during the earthquakes that hit Turkey and Greece in August and September 1999, respectively, contributed to a dramatic reversal of hostile attitudes in the press and public opinion of both countries.

The growing rapprochement between Greece and Turkey had a positive influence on EU-Turkish relations. Ankara had suffered a severe setback at the EU Luxemburg summit of December 1997, when Turkey was omitted from the list of states awarded candidate status. In this instance, and again as Ankara resumed its effort to achieve candidate status, Greece was decreasingly hostile toward Turkey's EU membership process, while other states such as Germany and Sweden, which could no longer conveniently take advantage of Greece's veto and simultaneously express consternation with Athens, were revealed as staunch opponents of Turkey's candidacy. Nonetheless, with active support from Greece, the EU Helsinki summit of December 1999 extended official recognition to Turkey as a candidate state for accession to the EU. The Helsinki summit also established that before the start of EU accession negotiations, Turkey should settle its disputes with Greece or, alternatively, bring the disputed issues before the International Court of Justice, while substantial progress was the least to be expected for the Cyprus problem. In short, under the Simitis government, Greece was now using the EU as a more nuanced asset, offering Turkey a set of structured incentives in exchange for corresponding changes in Ankara's behavior instead of simply imposing punishment for its unflinching policies.

Greece's position toward the prospective accession of Turkey to the EU marked a critical turn in Greek diplomacy. In 1995 Greece had abandoned its veto policy against any improvement of EU-Turkish relations and conceded to the customs union between the EU and Turkey. This did not mean, however, that Greece would support the prospect of Turkey's membership in the EU. The latter was to happen only after the December 1999 Helsinki EU summit, when active support for Turkey's efforts toward EU membership became a key component of Greek foreign policy strategy. This policy came to its culmination during the EU Copenhagen summit of December 2002, when Turkey's compliance with the 1993 Copenhagen criteria was evaluated by the EU member states. Although Turkey failed to meet the established standards, Greece, along with Italy and Spain, argued that the EU should reconsider Turkey's progress in the implementation of the Copenhagen criteria within 2003, so that Turkey's accession negotiations could start in 2004, provided that compliance with the Copenhagen criteria was achieved. In response, the European Council decided to reconsider Turkey's progress in December 2004 and to not set a date for accession discussions.

Although Greece's proposal on dealing with Turkey's candidacy was not accepted by the Council, the fact that the state that had kept EU-Turkish relations frozen for more than a decade had emerged to lead the minority of EU member states that supported acceleration of Turkey's accession process was characteristic of the change in the Greek view of EU-Turkish relations and the role of the EU in Greek-Turkish relations. By February 2004, the Simitis government could claim that its policy of support for Turkey in the EU succeeded in creating the necessary inducements for Ankara to agree to finally support a UN-sponsored plan for the reunification of Cyprus, regardless of the plan's unresolved implementation questions or actual viability. Nonetheless, although Greece under Prime Minister Simitis played a decisive role in promoting Turkey's EU vocation, a significant gesture of reciprocity regarding the basic issues of Greek sovereignty and concerns for international law in the Aegean has yet to materialize in Ankara.

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CHRONOLOGY

3000 B.C.E.	Bronze Age culture replaces Neolithic culture on the Greek mainland, the Cyclades, and Crete.
2200 B.C.E.	Minoan Greek culture emerges in Crete.
1450 B.C.E.	Minoan society is destroyed by natural disaster.
1600–1150 B.C.E.	Mycenaean Greek civilization flourishes in the southern mainland. Mycenaean communities are destroyed by a wave of human and natural catastrophes (Homer's Troy destroyed in 1184).
1050 B.C.E.	An "invasion" of most of the mainland by Dorian Greek tribes begins. Dorian and Ionian Greek populations spread across the Aegean and Mediterranean to settle the western coast of Asia Minor and Cyprus.
1050–750 B.C.E.	A highly limited record of cultural activity characterizes this so-called Dark Age (776 traditional date for the first Olympic Games).
800–700 B.C.E.	City-states emerge throughout most of Greece.
700–500 B.C.E.	Greece's many polities are ruled by aristocratic elites during the so-called Archaic Period. In the sixth century many of these elites are overthrown and replaced by tyrannies, which in turn are overthrown and supplanted by oligarchies.
500–400 B.C.E.	The century known as the Classical Period produces Greek democracy and an unparalleled flood of intellectual and artistic creativity to form the foundation of what develops into "Western civilization," as well as a complex of foreign wars and city-state rivalries and conflicts.
490 B.C.E.	After conquering the Greeks of Asia Minor fifty years earlier, the Persians attack mainland Greece and are defeated by an Athenian force at the Battle of Marathon.
480 B.C.E.	The Persian Empire launches a massive invasion of mainland Greece, penetrating as far south as Athens. Greek forces led by Sparta slow the Persian advance, giving other Greek forces led by Athens time to consolidate and defeat the Persian navy at the Battle of Salamis and, a year later, the Persian army at Plataia.
478 B.C.E.	Athens forms the Delian League, an alliance of city-states, to pursue the war against the retreating Persians.
478–431 B.C.E.	Athens, subjugating its erstwhile allies, uses the Delian League to create an empire for itself in the Aegean. Led by Pericles, Athenian power and influence grows.
431 B.C.E.	Resentment against Athenian hegemony over other Greek states leads to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.
431–404 B.C.E.	The Peloponnesian War, ultimately involving most of the Greek world's city-states and kingdoms, ends with the defeat of Athens by its chief rival, Sparta.
404–371 B.C.E.	Sparta wields political and military domination over most of the Greek mainland.
371–338 B.C.E.	The city-state of Thebes defeats Sparta and establishes its own period of hegemony over Greece.
338–336 B.C.E.	Thebes and its allies are overpowered by Greece's northernmost state, the kingdom of Macedonia, which, as the Greeks' final hegemonic power, forcibly unites most of the Greek world under its leadership.
336–323 B.C.E.	Succeeding his father, Philip II, as king of Macedonia, Alexander the Great launches a Greek war of revenge against the Persian Empire, invading and conquering all of its vast territories throughout the Near East.
323–146 B.C.E.	Alexander the Great's successors establish several Greek dynastic states in the conquered lands of the former Persian Empire. Greek populations, the Greek language, and Greek culture spread into the Near East, creating the foundations for the emergence of a hybrid Hellenistic civilization, the cultural cauldron in which the emergence and spread of Christianity later takes place.

197–86 B.C.E.	The Romans defeat Macedonia and progressively annex all the remaining Greek states in Europe and Asia.
30–300 C.E.	The convergence of Greek philosophy and Jewish religious thought within the framework of a politically united Roman Mediterranean and a Greek-speaking East create the conditions for the development and expansion of Christianity.
324	The Roman emperor Constantine relocates the empire's capital from Rome and the Latin West to Byzantium, eventually known as Constantinople, and the predominantly Greek East, establishing the foundations for the transition of the Roman to the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire, a medieval Greek state.
325	Constantine, declaring Christianity the empire's official religion, presides over the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea, which formalizes Christian doctrine. This and subsequent councils define the theology and ecclesiology of Orthodox Christianity.
325–550	Christianity supplants the final vestiges of pagan tradition in Greece (Olympic Games are suppressed in 395; Athenian pagan philosophical schools are closed in 529).
550–750	The Byzantine Empire's control over most of the northern and western Balkans collapses as Slavic raids and settlement extend into central and southern Greece, displacing much of the Greek population from the interior and pushing it toward the coasts and the eastern part of the country.
800–900	Byzantium reasserts control over the Greek lands previously lost to the Slavs. Greek populations are resettled in these territories, while most of the Slavic tribes not destroyed are either pushed northward or gradually Hellenized. Cultural differences between Eastern and Western Christendom begin to take on an increasingly political dimension.
900–1025	The Byzantine Empire reaches the zenith of its power with the destruction and conquest of the Bulgars in the Balkans and the decisive defeat of the Arabs in the Near East.
1054	After centuries of growing tension and mutual suspicion, the expanding cultural and political gulf between Eastern and Western Christendom reaches a crisis with the formal ecclesiastical rupture between the See of Rome (the emergent Roman Catholic Church), on one hand, and the Sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem (the Orthodox Church), on the other hand.
1071	The Byzantine Empire suffers a major defeat at the Battle of Manzikert in eastern Anatolia, opening the interior of Asia Minor to invasion by the Seljuk Turks. This strategic turn begins the steady multicentury transformation of Asia Minor from an entirely Christian and Greek-populated center to a predominantly Muslim and Turkish region.
1080	The Normans, from their base in Italy, begin raiding the western territories of Byzantium. These raids escalate to a series of wars fought for Byzantine land and wealth that continue until the Fourth Crusade.
1185	Underscoring the serious threat posed to the Byzantine Greeks by the Catholic West, a Norman army sacks the great cultural and commercial center of Thessaloniki, Byzantium's second largest city.
1204	The Fourth Crusade sacks Constantinople, breaks up the Byzantine Empire, divides most of its territories and spoils, and subjects most of its population to the feudal exploitation of a series of petty Western occupation states. These actions end the possibility of ecclesiastical reconciliation or political cooperation between the Greeks and the West.
1204–1261	From their territorial bases in Asia Minor and the Balkans, Byzantine Greek successor states wage a war of liberation and reconquest against the Western occupation forces in and around Constantinople.
1261	The Greeks recover Constantinople and reestablish the Byzantine Empire, which still enjoys enormous prestige and influence but in its weakened state and reduced domain is no longer a major power.
1261–1453	Despite the ongoing depredations of the West, the continual loss of Byzantine territory to rival Balkan states, and the loss of virtually all of Byzantium's remaining lands to the expanding and powerful Ottoman Turks, late medieval Greek society experiences an incredible outburst of artistic, cultural, and intellectual creativity.
1453	After a desperate siege, on 29 May Constantinople falls to the Ottoman

	Turks, who make the city the capital of their expanding Islamic empire.
1453–1821	Under Ottoman rule, the Greeks are organized according to Islamic political principles and placed under the administrative authority of their religious leaders while simultaneously subject to the absolute authority of the sultan and his government.
1463–1479	The first Turko-Venetian war takes place, ravaging the population of southern Greece and the islands.
1499–1502/ 1537–1540	The second and third Turko-Venetian wars continue to devastate Greek populations on the mainland and the islands.
1566–1669	Greek populations are further reduced by Ottoman wars in the Aegean and Mediterranean that lead to the conquest of the Aegean Islands, Crete, and Cyprus.
1684–1715	The Venetians occupy the Peloponnesus and raid Central Greece (the Parthenon, largely intact since antiquity, is seriously damaged by Venetian cannon during a siege of the Athens Acropolis in 1687).
1774	The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji ends the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774 and gives Russia considerable concessions in the Ottoman Empire, which fuel early Greek nationalist aspirations for freedom.
1774–1821	The Greek commercial diaspora throughout Europe begins to shape the intellectual foundations for a Greek nationalist revival.
1814	The secret nationalist revolutionary organization Philike Hetairia (Friendly Society) is established by Greek nationalists in Odessa with the aim of overthrowing the Ottoman Empire and liberating the Greeks.
1821	The Greek War of Independence against Ottoman rule breaks out.
1822	The first constitution for an independent Greece, a liberal and democratic document, is drafted by the revolution's leaders.
1827	The unplanned, spontaneous battle of Navarino sees the destruction of the Ottoman fleet at the hands of a combined British, French, and Russian fleet, producing Great Power support for Greek independence and a Russian invasion of the Ottoman Balkans.
1830	Britain, France, and Russia recognize the independence of Greece under the London Protocol (3 February), which also establishes the three Great Powers as protecting states over Greece.

1832	The Treaty of Constantinople (21 July) between Britain, France, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire formally establishes Greece's boundaries.
1833	Prince Otto of Bavaria arrives in Greece to become the independent country's monarch.
1834	Relocating it from Nafplion, Athens becomes Greece's capital.
1843	In a bloodless revolt, King Otto is forced by the troops of the Athens garrison and a popular demonstration by the capital's citizens to grant a constitution.
1844	Otto officially accepts the new constitution, which defines the political system as a constitutional monarchy.
1853–1857	Popular Greek support for Russia against the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War leads to a blockade and eventual occupation of Piraeus by British and French troops, enforcing strict neutrality on Greece.
1862	Growing dissatisfaction with Otto leads to an uprising in Athens and Nafplion against his rule, and produces his abdication.
1863	Prince George of Denmark becomes "King of the Hellenes."
1864	Britain cedes the Ionian Islands to Greece through the Treaty of London (29 March). The new constitution defines the political system as a "crowned democracy."
1866–1869	An uprising in Crete fails to liberate the island from Ottoman rule.
1870	The Ottoman sultan recognizes the autonomy of the Bulgarian Exarchate Church, which inspires a Bulgarian nationalist reaction against Greek cultural and ecclesiastical dominance, as well as ethnic presence, in Macedonia.
1878	According to one of the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (13 July), Britain occupies and assumes administration of Cyprus, which officially remains part of the Ottoman Empire.
1881	As an addendum act to the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, which established Romanian and Serbian independence, along with an autonomous Bulgaria's borders, Britain forces the Ottoman Empire to cede most of the province of Thessaly and the region of Arta to Greece.
1883–1893	The reformer Charilaos Trikoupis and the expansionist Theodoros Deliyannis alternate in power during this decade, marking the heyday of the two-party system and establishing a dynamic of political rivalry that will be repeated by

	other politicians to more divisive results in the twentieth century.
1896	Cretan rebellion against Ottoman rule.
1897	Set into motion by the rebellion in Crete, a Greco-Turkish war breaks out. The Greeks are quickly defeated and Athens is forced to surrender some strategic border territories in Thessaly.
1893–1908	Local Greek armed bands, some supported by Greek officers, organize to counter the Bulgarians' guerrilla forces operating in Ottoman Macedonia. Both sides fight each other for the liberation and future control of Macedonian territory.
1909	Frustrated by the lack of effective political leadership in Athens, a group of officers organizes a Military League and coup that force the government to draft reforms.
1910	The liberal nationalist Cretan Eleutherios Venizelos, the Military League's political adviser, wins an overwhelming popular mandate in general elections and launches extensive reforms.
1911	Italy attacks the Ottoman Empire in Libya and occupies the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean.
1912	Venizelos and his Liberal Party enjoy a landslide election victory. Greece and its allies, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia, defeat the Ottoman Empire and push its army to the outskirts of Constantinople in the First Balkan War.
1913	Dissatisfied with its territorial gains in Macedonia, Bulgaria attacks its former allies, Greece and Serbia, only to be defeated by them, Romania, and the Ottoman Empire in the Second Balkan War. Greece doubles its territory with the acquisition of the Aegean Islands, Crete, most of Epirus, and southern Macedonia in the Treaty of London (30 May) and the Peace of Bucharest (10 August).
1914	World War I begins, Britain declares war on the Ottoman Empire, an ally of the Central Powers, and annexes Cyprus.
1915	Prime Minister Venizelos and King Constantine clash over Greek foreign policy in response to the outbreak of World War I. Venizelos advocates a Greek alliance with the Entente Powers (the Allies), while Constantine remains committed to neutrality. Bulgaria joins the Central Powers. Venizelos resigns under pressure from the king.
1916	A national schism develops as Greece is divided between north and south with a revolutionary government under Venizelos backed by the Allies in Thessaloniki and the official government in Athens appointed by Constantine.
1917	Under Allied pressure, Constantine abdicates and is succeeded by his second son, Alexander. Venizelos reestablishes his government in Athens and Greece severs relations with the Central Powers who declare war on Greece.
1918	The Greek army, alongside other Allied forces, scores major successes on the Macedonian front, defeating the Bulgarian army and forcing German forces to retreat. Bulgaria and Turkey sign armistices.
1919	Venizelos takes his place among the victors of World War I and puts forward Greece's territorial claims against Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire at the Paris peace conference. At the behest of Britain and France, Greek forces land in Smyrna. The Treaty of Neuilly (27 November) requires Bulgaria to transfer Western Thrace to Greece. Mustafa Kemal declares his independence from the Ottoman sultan and establishes a Turkish nationalist movement and army in Anatolia.
1920	Under the Treaty of Sevres (10 August) Greece acquires Eastern Thrace, the rest of the Aegean Islands, and a mandate to administer Smyrna and its hinterland in Asia Minor, pending a local plebiscite to determine the area's future status. With Allied backing, Venizelos orders the Greek army to advance from Smyrna to put down growing Turkish nationalist resistance and forcibly impose the terms of the Sevres Treaty. King Alexander dies prematurely. Venizelos is defeated in the ensuing elections, and the royalists return to power and restore Constantine to the throne.
1921	The Greek army's offensive against Kemal's nationalist forces reaches the outskirts of Ankara but is blocked from further advance. The Allies, abandoning Greece, declare a policy of strict neutrality.
1922	The Turks launch a massive offensive, routing the Greek army in Asia Minor and sacking Smyrna. Constantine abdicates in favor of his eldest son, George, after a military coup against the royalist government.
1923	The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July) fixes the boundaries between Greece and Turkey and imposes an exchange of

	populations. Almost 1.5 million destitute ethnic Greek refugees arrive in Greece, a country of barely 5 million people. Venizelos's Liberal Party wins almost all the seats in parliament after the royalists abstain from the national elections.
1924	Venizelos accepts the premiership and Greece is declared a republic.
1924–1926	The republic is destabilized by a series of pro-royalist and pro-Venizelist military coups.
1926–1928	In order to curb instability, an all-party government takes office.
1928–1932	Venizelos returns to power and initiates a Greek-Turkish diplomatic rapprochement.
1932–1936	Renewed rivalry between liberals and royalists erodes the republic's stability.
1935	The failure of an antiroyalist coup leads to the restoration of King George.
1936	Greece's leading senior politicians, including Venizelos, die in quick succession. King George suspends the constitution and enables retired General Ioannis Metaxas to assume dictatorial powers.
1936–1940	Metaxas establishes a nationalist authoritarian regime but enjoys little popular support.
1940	Greek resistance to the thwarted Italian invasion from Albania results in the first Allied victories in Europe during World War II.
1941	German forces invade and overrun Greece. A Greek government in exile is established in Egypt.
1941–1944	Greece is occupied by German, Italian, and Bulgarian forces. Armed resistance obliges the Germans to maintain a large number of forces in Greece. Internal strife and political rivalry between Communist-dominated and nationalist resistance groups erupts into a short-lived civil war.
1944	Greece is liberated but an armed rebellion of the Communist-dominated resistance leads to intense fighting in Athens and deepening political polarization.
1946–1949	A large-scale civil war is fought between the Communists' insurgent army and the national government and its armed forces.
1947	In accordance with the Treaty of Paris (10 February) Italy cedes the Dodecanese Islands to Greece. Under the Truman Doctrine, the United States grants massive aid to Greece.
1952	Greece becomes a member of NATO, and a reconstruction program of the war-ravaged country is launched with significant aid from the United States.
1955	A massive state-sponsored pogrom against the Greek community of Istanbul takes place as Turkish nationalists demand the annexation of Cyprus by Ankara.
1956	Elections are won by the newly formed conservative party, National Radical Union, led by Constantine Karamanlis. British colonial forces suppress the Greek Cypriots' growing struggle for self-determination, expressed through demands for union with Greece.
1959	Finalizing a British compromise involving Greece and Turkey, Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders, the former under British pressure, sign the London agreement on the independence of Cyprus.
1960	Cyprus, albeit saddled with a nonviable constitution and political system, becomes an independent republic with Archbishop Makarios as president.
1963	Karamanlis and the conservatives lose the national elections to George Papandreou, leader of the Center Union, a party formed by the coalition of all of Greece's center factions. Papandreou, however, refuses to form a coalition government with the political left and resigns. As the state system begins to fail, violence breaks out between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus.
1964	In new elections the Center Union wins an absolute majority. The Turkish air force bombs Cyprus after a series of violent incidents between the Greek and Turkish communities.
1965	King Constantine II, who came to the throne a year earlier following the death of his father, King Paul, clashes with Papandreou over ministerial appointments, leading Papandreou to resign in protest and demand new elections.
1965–1967	Political conditions deteriorate as the monarchy interjects itself in parliamentary affairs and tensions grow across party lines.
1967	A junta of colonels stages a coup against the civilian government and establishes a military dictatorship. King Constantine flees Greece after an abortive effort to oust the colonels.
1973	Units of the Greek navy launch an abortive coup against the military dictatorship.

1974	Turkey invades and occupies northern Cyprus following a short-lived coup against Makarios instigated by the dictatorship in Athens. On the heels of its disaster in Cyprus, the junta collapses. Democracy is restored and Karamanlis returns from self-exile in France to lead his New Democracy Party and to be elected prime minister. The monarchy is abolished and Greece becomes a republic after a national referendum.
1975–1976	Following the entrenchment of the Turkish occupation in Cyprus, Greek-Turkish relations are further strained by a series of Turkish provocations against Greek sovereignty in the Aegean.
1979	Karamanlis signs a Treaty of Accession (28 May) to the European Community (EC) with the nine EC member states.
1981	Greece officially joins the EC. The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), led by Andreas Papandreou, the son of George Papandreou, wins the national elections. The new socialist government launches a wave of populist reforms.
1985	Papandreou and PASOK retain power following victorious parliamentary elections.
1987	Greek-Turkish relations face a crisis over renewed disputes in the Aegean.
1988	Papandreou and Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal meet in Davos, Switzerland, to defuse tension between their two countries.
1989	A deadlocked election leads to the formation of a short-term coalition government made up of the conservative New Democracy Party and the Communist Party. Papandreou faces serious financial corruption charges. Subsequent to inconclusive elections, an all-party caretaker government is formed.
1990	New Democracy, under Constantine Mitsotakis, wins the national election. Mitsotakis's government introduces an economic austerity program to overcome economic malaise.
1992	The issue of diplomatic recognition of the newly independent Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) dominates Greek foreign policy under the Mitsotakis government. General strikes over privatization and social security reforms paralyze the economy. Mitsotakis dismisses his entire cabinet after disagreements over economic policy and the Macedonian issue. Andreas Papandreou is acquitted of corruption charges.
1993	Greece accepts international arbitration to resolve state name and other disputes with FYROM, the name under which the country is admitted into the UN. Mitsotakis government falls with the defection of some New Democracy Party members. PASOK is voted back into office and Papandreou again becomes prime minister.
1994	In reaction to the FYROM policy of diplomatic intransigence, Papandreou imposes a nominal trade embargo. Although this assertive policy backfires, creating significant international antipathy for Greece, it succeeds in forcing Skopje to negotiate with Athens.
1995	Greece and FYROM resolve several disputes and agree to begin normalization of relations. Turkey threatens Greece with war over sovereignty issues in the Aegean.
1996	Failing in health, Papandreou resigns and is replaced by Costas Simitis. Greece and Turkey come close to war over disputed islets in the Aegean. Simitis and PASOK win national elections.
1997	The Simitis government pursues decisively its convergence policy, ensuring that Greece will meet criteria to qualify to participate in the EU Economic and Monetary Union.
1998	Greece's relations with its Balkan neighbors continue to improve while Greek-Turkish relations reach a new low amid tensions over Cyprus, the Aegean, and Greek complicity in the international passage of the anti-Turkish Kurdish independence movement's leader, Abdullah Ocalan.
1999	Although Greece does not take part in military operations against Yugoslavia, the Simitis government, facing strong public opposition, maintains solidarity with its NATO partners. Greece becomes the strategic linchpin for the deployment and supply of American and other forces into Kosovo. Greece and FYROM sign a series of important cooperation agreements.
2000	Simitis and PASOK remain in power after a narrow election victory.
2001	Having satisfied all criteria, Greece officially joins the Economic and Monetary Union of the EU.
2004	PASOK, now led by George Papandreou, the American-born son of

the party's founder, Andreas Papandreou, suffers a major defeat in national elections. PASOK, which dominated the Greek political system more or less since 1981, is succeeded by the conservative New Democracy Party. Costas Karamanlis, the nephew of New Democracy's founder, Constantine Karamanlis, becomes Greece's new prime minister.

2004 Olympic games are once again held in Athens.

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